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A philosophy of “wildness” (*yasei*): Fumiko Hayashi’s *Ukigumo* and the postwar version of *Hōrōki*

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要旨

本稿は、近代日本文学における女流作家の代表的人物の一人である林芙美子（1903 - 1951）に関して、晩年となる戦後の創作活動に注目し、長編小説『浮雲』と、第三部を加筆して出版された戦後版『放浪記』との関係を、「野性」という共通点に即して分析した。『浮雲』のエピグラフに掲載されるシェストフの文章は、新プラトン主義の哲学者プロティノスに関する論考の一部であり、シェストフが指摘するプロティノスの「理性」批判は、小説『浮雲』において、主に「野性」的な人物「ゆき子」を通して描かれている。この「野性」は『放浪記』にも通じる点があり、第三部で、よりアナキーな側面を強調した姿勢と重なる。戦後になって、自己注釈的に第三部が追加された戦後版『放浪記』と、戦前における徴用体験を自己省察的に描いた『浮雲』が、「野性」という特性によって結びつき、彼女の文学的評価を好転させる要因の一つとなり、また、モダニストとしての再評価にもつながった。

Key word: Fumiko Hayashi, *Ukigumo*, *Hōrōki*, Plotinus, wildness

1. Postwar era for Fumiko Hayashi

That said, there are few novelists who have been subjected to as much criticism as Ms. Hayashi. From the beginning, she was the target of abuse. When she entered the world of literature, she was called “an amateur novelist whose poverty is her sales point.” Next, she was an “upstart novelist trying to peddle her half-year spent in Paris.” Then, from the Second Sino-Japanese War up through the War in the Pacific, she was a “novelist on government retainer, blowing pipes and beating drums enthusiastically for militarism,” etc.

Things changed, however, in the six-year period after the war. For six straight years, she devoted herself to writing about the sorrows of ordinary Japanese people like us, devastated by war. Here, she continuously worked through the nights, all the while caring for her weakened heart . . . one critic went so far as to write that her frenzied working style “is a kind of slow suicide.”

Next week, we plan to start broadcasting a six-part series of the final portion of *Ukigumo* (*Floating Clouds*), one of Ms. Hayashi’s representative works. (Inoue 2002, 174)

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Japanese playwright Hisashi Inoue wrote a work discussing the life of Fumiko Hayashi as a fiction. In this work, a radio announcer is evaluating Hayashi and her work. Although not a historical quotation, this evaluation does give us an important implication. From 1930, when her *Hōrōki* (*Tales of Wandering*) appeared, until her death in 1951, Hayashi was a leading woman writer, prewar, interwar, and postwar. Her representative works, *Hōrōki* (*Tales of Wandering*) and *Zoku Hōrōki* (*Tales of Wandering: Continued*), were published by *Kaizōsha* in its New Literature Series (*Shin’ei Bungaku Sōsho*). These became bestsellers, selling over 600,000 copies (Imagawa 2014, 551), and suddenly Hayashi

was in the literary spotlight. *Tales of Wandering* and *Tales of Wandering: Continued* present the unadorned confessions of a single woman who, in her desire to live in a modern city, sought an escape from poverty. Further, these works cross literary boundaries, as they also include poems and diary entries. This freedom and exuberance in literary form overlaps with the freedom and exuberance of the female protagonist and gave the literature of that time a fresh stimulus. These topics have been noted in the studies of Ericson (1997) and Fessler (1998) on Hayashi as a woman writer, as well as in the research of others in regard to Hayashi’s position in the Japanese modernism, modernity, and mass culture in the 1920s, including studies by Lippit (2002), Gardner (2006), and Silverberg (2006). Looking at contemporary newspaper articles, however, one can easily confirm the “peddling her poverty” criticism.¹ From a research perspective, too, starting with her following the army to Hankou, China, at the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War, her wartime activities were frequently the target of criticism, as she was called a “recruited writer” of the army.²

In this sense, we should notice that, while the announcer emphasizes the change of style in Hayashi’s works after 1945, he announces forthcoming broadcast of *Ukigumo* (*Floating Clouds*) soon thereafter. This is because the content of *Floating Clouds*, Hayashi’s final long novel, evokes the activities and experiences of Hayashi as she followed the Japanese Army in Southeast Asia. To rid herself of her prewar label as a “literary hack,” perhaps it might have been better for her not to write about her experiences and work of that time period. In fact, cases in which Japanese authors sought to cover up their wartime activities and writings are far from rare. On the other hand, Hayashi published a novel with recollections of her own experiences, which was received as one of her major, representative works (Fessler 1998, 42).

The issue here is related to the chronology of publishing her early-period major work, *Tales of Wandering*. Just before her involvement in *Floating Clouds*, Part Three of *Tales of Wandering* was being serialized. Moreover, what had been published as Parts One and Two, namely, *Tales of Wandering* and *Tales of Wandering: Continued*, was now being newly published, in three parts, in a postwar version of *Tales of Wandering*.³ In other words, Hayashi had chosen to boldly publish at this time the work that had been denounced as that of “an amateur novelist whose poverty is her sales point.” In this period, when she was being favorably evaluated as devoted “to writing about the sorrows of ordinary Japanese people like us,

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¹ Ichiko Kamichika, “Recent Status of Women Writers” (“Joryū sakka no kinkyō”), Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun*, August 11, 1930, page 5. Anonymous, “Fumiko Hayashi Goes to France: A Look Back at Her ‘Lumpen’ Habits” (“Hayashi Fumiko san Furansu e: Burikaeshita rumpen kuse”), Tokyo *Asahi Shimbun*, June 10, 1931, page 7, etc.

² Starting with Nakagawa (1996), a number of papers have dealt with the experiences of Fumiko Hayashi in China and in “southern countries” (*nanpō*). Most recently, Noda (2020) focused on Hayashi’s stay in Beijing, by carefully tracing the historical context of the multiple articles published by Hayashi under the title *Pekin Kiko* (*Peking Travelogue*).

³ Part Three of *Tales of wandering* was published serially by the magazine *Nihon Shōsetsu* (*Japanese Novels*) from May 1947 through October 1948. Thereafter, it was published by Rume Shoten in January 1949 as *Tales of Wandering: Part Three*. Then, in December 1949, the content of Part Three was published in *Hayashi Fumiko Bunko* by Shinchōsha as *Tales of Wandering II*. In June of the next year (1950), Chuōkōronsha published Parts One through Three as *The Complete Tales of Wandering*. Meanwhile, *Ukigumo* (*Floating Clouds*), was serialized in the magazine *Fūsetsu* from November 1949 through August 1950, and in *Bungakukai* from September 1950 through April 1951. Then, *Floating Clouds* was also published in book form by Rokko Shuppan in April 1951. Hirohata (2019) presents an overall summary of empirical research concerning the works of Fumiko Hayashi.

devastated by war,” why would she continue to expose her past self?

Regarding the postwar version of *Tales of Wandering*, first let us focus on the reprinting in 1946 of Parts One and Two by *Kaizōsha*. The question here is why *Tales of Wandering and Tales of Wandering: Continued* should have been republished after the war. Hayashi herself said that this work had been restricted during wartime. Certainly, this may have been the direct reason for the republishing. Yet there are also indications that portions of the work could be written without fear of censorship after the war. An example is the revision that depicted more directly the treatment of the Koreans (*Chōsenjin*) who were murdered in the Kantō Massacre (Hirohata 2013, 194). In Part Three, there were clear statements about how general anxieties and fears could be expressed as mass violence in a crisis situation. Similarly, Part Three also mentioned by name the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae.

It has also been indicated that, while the style of Parts One and Two of *Tales of Wandering* involved an exposure of private life, in Part Three, there was a change of style—now Hayashi emphasized more her awareness of being an “author” (Iida 2016, 118). In this revision, which included a portion on anarchy, there was also a new depiction of Jun Tsuji and others that clarified the work’s relationship with Dadaism. While Parts One and Two served as a so-called “self-annotation,” Part Three made the social criticism aspects of *Tales of Wandering* more readily apparent. This point, too, is important. What I want to take up here, however, is a point seen in *Tales of Wandering* overall, namely, the emphasis on the “wild (*yaseiteki*) nature” of women.

In *Tales of Wandering*, the material and physical desires of women are depicted in a straightforward way. This “free-spirited” or “wild” nature of women is a value that is directly opposed to that of “reason.” If one grants that “reason” runs wild when it cannot control instinctive anxieties and fears, then a life of “wildness” is actually more faithful to human nature as a whole and should be emphasized as such. Such a claim can be recognized more clearly in *Ukigumo (Floating Clouds)*. The epigraph to *Ukigumo* by Lev Shestov reads thus: “If, then, reason is the ground of all things and all things are reason, if it is the greatest of misfortunes to renounce reason and to hate it . . .” Following this conditional text is a reference to the philosophy of Plotinus, stating Shestov’s passionate stance that “reason” can also itself be considered a derivative of the “One.” In other words, Hayashi wrote her novel with Plotinus, and Plotinus’s critical view of reason, in mind, and the concrete human subject depicted therein is shown to be a “wild” woman.

Existing values and even common sense disintegrated with Japan’s defeat in war. The “wild” living style of women depicted in *Tales of Wandering* once again gained purchase in these moral ruins. The same can be said of *Floating Clouds*. In this novel, “wildness” was depicted through the trajectory of Japan’s imperialist expansion and its course thereafter. Perhaps Hayashi met the expectations of readers who lived at the dawning of a more positive era. This is a romance between a man and a woman sent as bureaucrats to former French Indochina, now under Japanese rule. The novel traces their circumstances after the war, when they are repatriated to Japan. *Floating Clouds* presents a self-examination of Fumiko Hayashi herself, she who was criticized for being enamored of Paris and then of having had a part in the war. The novel portrays the contrast between a woman who, both during and after the war, sought to live and grow via a sense of “wildness,” and a man at the mercy of an unstable “reason,” who gradually is withering away. Thus, *Floating Clouds* presents its readers with a fundamental issue, a comparison of “wildness” with “reason.”

In April 1951, Fumiko Hayashi published *Ukigumo (Floating Clouds)* as a book, and two months later, in June, she died suddenly of a heart attack. That same year, *Shinchōsha* began publishing the *Complete Works*

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of *Fumiko Hayashi*. Hayashi had depicted women practicing a philosophy of “wildness” during chaotic times, including the reconstruction of the imperial city Tokyo after the Kanto Earthquake and the dissolution of the Empire with the war defeat. This is the thread that unexpectedly unified and achieved literary consistency between her representative work of the early period and that of her last years. Directly thereafter, Hayashi’s literary activities began to leave their traces within the publishing world.

In Japan, Fumiko Hayashi is rarely noticed as a member of modernists. However, this does not mean that she was not recognized as a modernist in Japan, and some examples point out the relationship with modernism even in the postwar reconstruction period, which was a turning point in the evaluation of Fumiko Hayashi. Despite this, her reputation as a modernist has not been established precisely because of her philosophy of “wildness” developed in *Ukigumo* and *Tales of Wandering*, and because she has been positioned in literary history based on the conventional view of modernist literature that has been understood to emphasize “reason.” Therefore, in this paper, I will try to reconsider the history of modernist literature in Japan by re-positioning Fumiko Hayashi as a modernist through focusing on the process of reprinting and revising *Tales of Wandering* and *Tales of Wandering: Continued* and adding Third Part after the war, and considering the relationship with the philosophy of “wildness” that comes to the fore in *Floating Clouds*.

2. Part Three as “self-annotation” : The postwar version of *Tales of Wandering*

Regarding *Tales of Wandering* and *Tales of Wandering: Continued*, published in succession by *Kaizōsha* in 1930, often discussed in Japan are the many versions of these works that came thereafter. *Tales of Wandering* was included in both the 1937 *Kaizōsha* publication of *Selected Works of Fumiko Hayashi* and in *Chuō Kōronsha’s Collected Long Novels of Fumiko Hayashi*, which appeared the following year (1938) . In 1939, *Shinchōsha* published *Tales of Wandering: The Definitive Version*. There are several differences among these three versions, and the work was also revised subsequently, making it difficult to accept the 1939 book as “the definitive version.” Hirohata has indicated the following:

the *Shinchōsha* versions Part One and Part Two are works of a completely different nature from the original book published by *Kaizōsha*. The 15 versions of these works published during the life of Fumiko Hayashi are a still unsolved puzzle (Hirohata 2013, i).

Certainly, it is not rare for an author to use the opportunity provided by a re-publication to make some changes to her manuscript. In the analysis of Kang (2013) and Odaira (2015), as Hayashi grew in maturity, she came to recognize the unskillful style of her previous writings and thus made many changes within the *Selected Works* and in the *Definitive Version*. In September 1933, Hayashi was detained for nine days at the Nakano Police Department under suspicion that she had provided funds to the Communist Party. She would thus have naturally been concerned about potential censorship, and, in fact, there were several portions of her work in which “cross” marks were used to show censored text.

Despite Hayashi’s efforts, the works were banned during wartime. In the 1946 re-publication, she expressed her feelings in this regard as follows:

For a long time during the war, the publication of *Hōrōki* was banned, and I thought it would never again see the light of day. The fact of its being published now is something that deeply moves me as the author. I learned the happiness of knowing that something that conveys truth can in no way be considered a forbidden thing. (Hayashi 1946a, 262)

In this re-publication, Hayashi made an important revision to a section in *Tales of Wandering: Continued*, which described the damage of the Great Kanto Earthquake. In a conversation with people who had escaped from the disaster, mention was made of “the mob” (*bōto*).

“Are you going to live with your parents for a while?”

“No, my parents are poor like me, just living in a rented room, so I can’t stay with them long. Surely Jūnisō has not burned down . . .”

“Well, they say that the mob on the city outskirts has it pretty rough . . .” (Hayashi 1946b, 36)

From the first publication of *Tales of Wandering: Continued* in 1930, the reference to “the mob” (*bōto*) in this portion was censored (replaced with “x” marks). Finally, in 1946, this term was replaced. Yet the fact that only two of three missing words are replaced (in Japanese, only two of three syllables) shows that this was not a complete restoration of the original text. Only in the new *Shinchōsha* version published the following year (1947) was “the mob” revised to “Koreans” (*Chōsenjin*), making this sentence read, “Well, they say that the Koreans on the city outskirts have it pretty rough . . .” Another passage in the text had a similar change: “Last night, my father was mistaken for an xxx. It was finally determined that they were mistaken, so he told that to a student who told it to us.” (42) Again, this language was first changed to “a troublemaker” (actually, the same Japanese term as above, *bōto*), and then to “Koreans” (*Chōsenjin*) (112) .

There is no doubt that, from the first publication in 1930, the censors blocked any reference to the Koreans massacred in 1923 just after the Kanto Earthquake. In every version thereafter, this practice was followed, and the restoration actually took place in two stages, first using the term “mob/troublemaker” (*bōto*) and then “Koreans/Korean” (*Chōsenjin*). When Hayashi wrote, “something which conveys truth can in no way be considered a forbidden thing,” one can imagine that she was stressing the restoration of these portions, something which she never gave up on. As pointed out by Iida (2016), after the success of *Tales of Wandering*, Fumiko Hayashi wrote about an unfulfilled first love in *Tales of Wandering: Continued*, making the episode the centerpiece of the book (120). Nevertheless, for this book, which was anticipated to be sold as a “private life exposé,” “truths” were published that had to be suppressed, just as the author indicated.

In this way, Part Three of *Tales of Wandering* also included the name of the anarchist Sakae Ōsugi, who was murdered in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake (Hirohata 2013, 162). Unlike Parts One and Two, in Part Three, the kind of woman the author aspired to become is placed in the forefront, and Part Three also included the names of several contemporary authors with whom Hayashi had contact. Included among these was Chōkō Ikuta, who was strengthening his friendships with, among others, Toshihiko Sakai and Sakae Ōsugi (Kawamoto 2003, 60), as well as the dada poet Jun Tsuji. The style here gives one a sense of the literature and thinking environment experienced by Hayashi at that time.

The name Sakae Ōsugi appears in a passage describing a visit to the house of Chōkō Ikuta.

He was a gentle person with a quiet voice.

As he said nothing, I asked him if he would please take a look at my manuscript. He said that he could not look at it right away.

At the time, I only had 70 *sen*, and I felt myself become warm.

“Whose poetry have you read?”

“Oh, I’ve read Heine. And I’ve also read Whitman.”

I thought that it would be best if I said that I was reading some of the best poetry. But in fact, the poems of Whitman and Heine were actually thousands of miles distant from my heart of hearts.

“I like Pushkin.”

I hurried to say something which was actually true.

He was sick and absolutely miserable, and I was poor and absolutely miserable, too. My mother always said that there was nothing more terrible than poverty or any kind of disease. And that is why I liked Sakae Ōsugi, who was killed. (Hayashi 1951a, 191)

In the midst of her “absolute misery,” the protagonist had a literary encounter with Ikuta. She recalled her ally in poverty, Sakae Ōsugi. Her sympathy with his misery made her refer to “Sakae Ōsugi, who was killed.” Just as with the Koreans/Korean discussed above, Hayashi felt sympathy for the victims of the Great Kanto Earthquake. This stemmed from her empathy with the socially weak, while, at the same time, serving as a protest against the nation and people of authority who showed their barbarism when, in a time of crisis, they lost control of their “reason,” and sought to thoroughly exclude the Other. She also stated, “It doesn’t matter how many copies of Jun Tsuji’s translation of Max Stirner are sold, the world will not change that much. That’s the kind of place Japan is. The kingdom of bondage” (ibid, 251–252). Thus, Jun Tsuji, who translated that dedicated proponent of egoism, Max Stirner, also appears as a personage with an extreme affinity for anarchy. In the midst of her admiration for Tsuji’s work, considering her expression “the kingdom of bondage,” she herself shows a certain affinity for anarchistic thought.

We can see how this pride that she displayed as “a writer of novels” encouraged Hayashi’s emphasis on depicting persons of free thought not aligned with any system. Part Three, then, thrusts this “writer of novels” into the forefront. When coupled with Parts One and Two to form a new *Tales of Wandering, Part Three*—with its postwar additions—thus supplements and “annotates” Parts One and Two.

Iida points out that, as a woman writer writing a “true story,” there is “a creation and then exposure of one’s own privacy, aimed at arousing a voyeuristic desire.” Iida adds that “while skillfully riding the rails she has laid out,” Hayashi “succeeded in infiltrating the male genre of the autobiographical *bildungsroman*” (119). One can certainly agree with this indication. Moreover, I would like to point out that the sense of “wildness” that can be frequently ascertained in the life of the depicted woman, who lives in accordance with her readers’ own desires, does not contradict in any major way the sympathy the woman has toward anarchism, as displayed in her writing about Ōsugi, Tsuji, and others.

The female protagonist in *Tales of Wandering* has lived life since her infancy wandering from place to place. She becomes an adult and moves to Tokyo, after which she becomes the servant of a writer. Yet she quits before she can become used to her work and then moves from job to job, as an office worker, a factory worker, a café server, and so on. Her mind, as expressed to the reader in the form of diary entries, has a certain rawness: “Hunger and sex! Could I get a bowl of rice by doing what Toki-chan did? Hunger and

sex! Wanting to cry, I chewed on these words” (ibid, 95) . Here one senses the dilemma of the protagonist: her friend had sex for money, and perhaps she should, too, begin a life of satisfying men so as to satiate her hunger. This emotion is depicted without obfuscation, and it is not difficult to imagine that this kind of exposure of one’s personal life and experiences of a woman who chose to become an author would stimulate the curiosity and interest of readers.

Here, “Toki-chan” is introduced as a friend of the protagonist. In a separate portion (Part Two), this is said of Toki-chan: “She was a very lovely girl, wild, and without knowledge of manners and ceremonies. She was a girl with many good aspects” (ibid, 161). In Part Three, there is this description: “Tomotani-san was also a beautiful woman. She was brimming all over with self-confidence. Her skin was slightly dark, a color that gave off the fragrance of a wild fruit” (ibid, 219). Thus, in *Tales of Wandering*, the term “wild” means more than simply “roughness” or “barbaric” —it is also given a sense of fascination and charm. In Part One, one does find passages such as these: “When I think I want to study, I am filled with an immoral wildness, an enormous laziness” (ibid, 54). However, “wild” is also used in this way just before this section: “At root, I was wild. It was more oppressive to kowtow to the traditions of a wealthy family than to commit hara-kiri” (ibid, 21). The “wildness” of these women considered the human appetites for food and sex and instinct as positive. In Tokyo that, after the Great Kanto Earthquake, was moving forward with rebuilding itself, “wildness” serves as a philosophy of life and form of survival for the lower classes who were unable to escape poverty. Or perhaps it was the hope of “wildness” serving as such a philosophy, and its possibilities, that Fumiko Hayashi presented to readers as a kind of “self-annotation” in Part Three, as the author strived to live through the chaotic early postwar years. The possibility of this reading also holds for *Floating Clouds*, where, as described in the next section, the “wildness” of a woman becomes the pivot of the narrative.

3. The “One” and “wildness” : *Floating Clouds*

Fumiko Hayashi’s novel *Floating Clouds* began serialization in November 1949. The final magazine installment appeared in April 1951, and *Floating Clouds* was published as a book the same month. Since Hayashi died at the end of June, one might even consider this her posthumous work. The setting of this novel is the prewar city of Dalat in French Indochina, as well as postwar Tokyo, Ikaho, and Yakushima island.

In the same period, Hayashi was writing the additions to Part Three of *Tales of Wandering*, with its inclusion of elements of anarchy. Similarly, in *Floating Clouds*, Tokyo, in ruins after the war, is depicted as a space where a type of anarchy rules. The female protagonist Yukiko says the following after she returns to Tokyo from overseas:

Yukiko bought some tangerines at twenty yen a pile, clambered atop the rubble, and sat down. She peeled a tangerine and ate it. All the troublesome old ways of life had been smashed to bits, she thought. This gave her a cool, refreshing feeling. More at ease here than anywhere else, she spit the pips of the sour tangerines out on the ground.

Would the revolution Japan had experienced actually change people’s hearts? She wondered. The faces in the crowd all seemed as dear to Yukiko as family.

It was amusing to think that, right about this time, Tomioka would be returning home and giving his wife some explanation for his overnight absence. (Hayashi 1951b, 52)

The main character, Yukiko, has moved from Shizuoka to Tokyo, to study to become a typist. She begins living at a relative’s house, but she is raped by her relative, Iba. She then becomes his nominal lover, and she is unable to escape this state for three full years. To escape from that life, she goes to Dalat, where she meets a man named Tomioka at her new workplace. Soon she enters into a relationship with Tomioka, who has left his family back in Japan. Their relationship continues even after they are repatriated to Japan at war’s end. The above quotation comes at a scene in which the lovers have just re-met in Japan and spent the night together. Yukiko considers the war defeat a “revolution” and enjoys a sense of refreshment. This novel is a story of how Yukiko lived, both before that defeat and thereafter.

Fumiko Hayashi makes the setting for this novel the resort town Dalat in Vietnam, where Yukiko has gone to work. During the war, in 1942, Hayashi was dispatched as an Army Corps reporter to Jakarta, Indonesia, and Borneo; there is no record of her having visited Vietnam. Why would she then pick Dalat, a place she had never personally visited? This is thought to have been because of her admiration for France—French Indochina seemed an apt choice for a writer who sought to live a Bohemian lifestyle (Mochizuki 2008, 89–90) .

The French-style environment of Dalat gives an element of European romance to the love affair of Yukiko and Tomioka. At the same time, Dalat can serve as a “touchstone” for determining to what extent Japan was able to overcome and substitute for French colonial administration (Makino 2002, 440). Torgovnick has made a richly suggested analysis of stories of women who have gone from the sovereign nation to a colonial entity, using Europe and Africa as examples.

The primitive continued to be associated with heathenism, sexuality, and excess in a way that supported the idea that primitives needed Western guidance and control – in short, the goals of imperialism and empire. But alternatively – and with increasing force up through our time – primitivism became a medium of soul-searching and self-transformation in which the idea of merging has been the key, especially for people who feel ill at ease or constrained in the West. (Torgovnick 1997, 13)

While the men and women sent to a colony had the mission of carrying “enlightenment” to the “barbaric” people of that colony, in many cases, they had in fact felt constrained and anxious about the contemporary situation in the West; many were “searching for themselves,” or to change their current selves, seeking a more primitive environment. This can also be said to be the case of Yukiko in *Floating Clouds*, despite her being from, and in, a different setting. Yukiko had gone to Indochina to break off her reluctant love affair with Iba. In Dalat, she was blessed with a natural environment that seemed a paradise:

Yukiko leaned against the edge of the stone veranda and let the morning breeze wash over her. The feeling was indescribable. She had no idea that such a dreamlike country even existed. Listening to the cries of the little birds, Yukiko gazed out over the canal. (Hayashi 1951b, 12)

Soon after this quoted passage from the novel, Yukiko was suffused with the two kinds of ecstasy mentioned in the Torgovnick book quoted above: “spiritual register” (14) and “sexual register” (15). She yearned for the abundant nature of the setting, harmonized with it, became one with it, while at the same

time devoting herself to her affair with Tomioka: “Yukiko was not able to keep her emotions to herself, there was something almost primitive [*yaseiteki*, also, “wild”] about her heart that was lovable.” (57–58) Thus, Yukiko is pictured less as a woman of “reason” and more as a woman of “wildness.” (Yuan 2017, 59–60) *Floating Clouds* shares this trait with *Tales of Wandering*, and, in a certain sense, this is consistent with the image of women depicted by Fumiko Hayashi. Regarding this “wildness” in the case of *Floating Clouds*, it is necessary to refer to the Russian Jewish philosopher Lev Shestov, whose writings made the “philosophy of anxiety” popular in Japan in the 1930s (Haya 2005, 102). As already noted, *Floating Clouds* includes an epigraph, a text by Shestov: “If, then, reason is the grounds of all things and all things are reason, if it is the greatest of misfortunes to renounce reason and to hate it . . .” Yet the conclusion of this conditional clause is not written in the epigraph, nor is there a reference to the quotation’s source.⁴ What I have clarified is that this quotation comes from a portion of Shestov’s Plotinus theory (“In Job’s Balances ”, English version in 1932). A Japanese translation of this passage does not exist, and it is not known how Hayashi came across this quotation. Nevertheless, one can surmise that she included this quotation at the beginning of her novel to show her sympathy with Shestov’s criticism of “reason,” as becomes clear when one reads the entire passage, including the epigraph of *Floating Clouds*.

If, then, reason is the ground of all things and all things are reason, if it is the greatest of misfortunes to renounce reason and to hate it, then how, one wonders, could Plotinus exult with such enthusiasm his "One", and deep participation in it. And what has happened to the law of contradiction, which is also an *archê* (beginning, fundamental principle), indeed, a *bebaiôtatê tôn archôn*, the most unshakable of all fundamental principles? I think that this question can in no wise be evaded; I think, too, that Plotinus's modern commentators are wrong in trying so hard to prove that Plotinus never renounced reason, and that when he thought and wrote down his thoughts he never turned his gaze away from the law of contradiction. It seems to me that old Zeller saw more clearly and came nearer the truth when he declared fearlessly: "It is in contradiction with the whole trend of classical thought and a decided approach to the spiritual methods of the East when Plotinus, like some Philo, can find the final purpose of philosophy only in a contemplation of the divine in which all decision of thought and all clarity of self-consciousness vanish in mystical ecstasy" (V, vi, 11). In another passage Zeller expressed himself more sharply still: "The philosopher (viz. Plotinus) has lost absolute confidence in his thought" (V, iv, 82). Zeller is undoubtedly right. The same Plotinus who extolled reason and thought so often and so passionately has lost his trust in reason and become, in spite of the Platonic tradition, a misologist, a hater of reason. (http://www.angelfire.com/nb/shestov/ijb/jb33_2.html)

For Plotinus, then, “reason” is something that flows from the “One.” Moreover, ecstasy is reached through its melding with the “One.” “Reason,” thus, cannot be the ground of all things. We can say that when *Floating Clouds* depicts the two types of ecstasy indicated by Torgovnick, the grounds for this depiction include elements that are common also for the ecstasy sought by Plotinus. That said, it is not the intellectual thought itself that is at the forefront of Hayashi’s novel. Through her concrete characters, it is the comparatively ordinary things they say that underpin the theory of “wildness,” and the story unfolds on that

⁴ Note that this epigraph is not included in English-language translations of *Floating Clouds*, for example, in the 2006 translation by Lane Dunlop published by Columbia University in 2006.

basis. The fact that Hayashi did not make a full quotation in her epigraph supports this idea, that “wildness” is stated more implicitly than explicitly.

Let us attempt to extend the consideration into the meaning of “wildness” in *Floating Clouds*. There are two in particular: the dilemmas experienced by a “wild” Japanese woman while she stayed in the colonial district of Dalat, and after she returns to Japan at war end. The dreams and hopes that Yukiko had in her new land (Dalat) did not long continue thereafter. When she first arrives to work in Dalat, she meets the housemaid, Marie, a “mixed-race” woman:

The contours of her waist and her hips were just right. Viewed from behind, her figure was elegant and beautiful. Her hair, a light reddish brown, was cut in a bob with a slight wave and swung heavily back and forth. Each time Yukiko, who had no accomplishments to speak of, hears Marie’s piano playing, she felt inadequate by comparison. (Hayashi 1951b, 23)

Yukiko was envious of Marie’s fluency in English, French, and Annamese (Vietnamese) in her work, and Yukiko felt a sense of inferiority in comparison (Kleeman 2003, 56–57). While “mixed-race” people are not rare in the novels of this period, these “mixed-race” persons frequently appear in a context in which they are “inferior” compared with “pure-blooded” persons (Toriki 2017, 7). Hayashi, instead, has scenes in which a Japanese person herself is shown to be “inferior.” Stating that Hayashi had certain longings for France, and that she wanted to be assimilated into the “Western world,” merely provides superficial reasons for this stance. Rather, I believe that such settings emphasize that Hayashi’s own imperfections were exposed when she experienced this kind of “mixed-race” person, who had both Western and Asian heritage.

That said, Yukiko is a member of the empire and is thus in a position of privilege *vis-à-vis* the local people. The following statement by Torgovnick can, to a significant degree, be applied to Yukiko when she was in Dalat as well:

She is considered superior to both male and female “natives,” and hence enjoys a level of superiority usually afforded only to men. In isolated locals or remote households, the women could avoid communities whose conventions demanded domesticity and mildness in females. At the same time, because they were women and not men, they didn’t have a place in the imperial, governmental, or bureaucratic structure (corporations, armies) that absorb or reward men. They had no “careers” in the usual sense to pursue in Africa, no promotions or newspaper contracts or missions to fulfill, no bosses to answer in Europe. They were free to establish relationship to the land and its people outside the norms, to select the Africans, they admired. (Torgovnick 1997, 86)

Yet any privileges Yukiko may have had in French Indochina vanished with Japan’s defeat. After her repatriation, her body becomes her “capital” as she negotiates her relationship with men. To gain her financial independence, she lives a life similar to that of a prostitute; her relations include American soldiers as well as her relative Iba (Naitō 2018, 123). Her last ray of hope is her relationship with Tomioka. She meets again with Tomioka in Tokyo, and the two seek to restore their previous passion. Meanwhile, as Mizuta (1995) points out, “Yukiko’s vector of freedom and liberation, which contained her vagabondage, was consistently blocked by the decline of Tomioka’s days of roaming” (323) .

As the novel reaches its conclusion, Tomioka has no hope of success at work and determines that the best course for him is to work with the forest management department of Yakushima island. At the time, Yakushima was an island marking the Japanese national border, a land of abundant nature. It should have been the place for their relationship to once again flourish. However, as Tomioka travels from Kagoshima to Tanegashima island, Yukiko's illness worsens, and by the time they reach Yakushima, she no longer has the means to enjoy her environment—even the sounds of birds seem oppressive (Haya 1998, 99) .

What I want to emphasize is the disparity in their individual circumstances at Yakushima and the fact that their position, as well as their environment, differs from those they faced when they were sent to Dalat. For Tomioka, this was mainly the site of his posting as an official of the Agriculture and Forestry Office. Of course, he was no longer representing the sovereign nation in its colony, but in Yakushima he was also painfully aware of the changes that had occurred in Japan with its defeat in war. He would recognize that he had lost his privileged stance. An officer in Yakushima admonished Tomioka as follows:

An old man called Sakai, the office chief, whose hair was already white, said, "In the old days, almost all the workers were Korean, but now they're all Japanese repatriated from Manchuria and Korea. It's gotten so that five copies of the Communist paper *The Red Flag* are sent here. Even on this island, things have become somewhat democratic. It's become difficult. The world has changed, changed completely. It's so lively now. Everybody is talking at the top of their voices. We old men are no longer necessary on this mountain. Even you, Tomioka, you shouldn't be felling trees. You should become a political orator." Old man Sakai, saying this with a smile, took a cigarette from Tomioka and lit it at the stove. (Hayashi 1951b, 243)

While there is a certain irony in Sakai's term "democratic," as he hints at a relationship between democracy and communism, he did frankly tell Tomioka that the world had changed and that there was no guarantee that he would have any special privileges as an officer. Although there became a workplace for the Japanese that had been previously occupied by workers from colonial Korea, there were still more than a few readers of *The Red Flag*. No longer was it a world that accepted the prewar logic of imperialism and capitalism. And Tomioka himself was one of the "repatriated," as Sakai had indicated in ridicule. The new *Zeitgeist* was flowing into even the most remote districts of Japan. There was no promise that Sakai would be successful in his attempt to recover the past there.

Both Dalat and Yakushima were rich in luxurious natural surroundings. Yet, compared with the deluxe Western-style residence where they had lived in Dalat, now the couple lived in an extremely rough and simple residence in Yakushima. The contrast with Dalat was clear to Yukiko as well. She would lie on her sickbed and gaze at the ceiling of her shabby home and express her dissatisfaction. She knew that she was a long way from the dreamlike atmosphere of her "paradise" in Dalat. Further, her illness was worsening, and she would spend her final hours alone, as Tomioka was not home. No one was there to care for Yukiko as she approached death. Worried about her illness, Tomioka had asked a certain Nobu Towai to stay with her and watch her, but Nobu had left Yukiko's side and returned to her home. Before she left, however, she was engaged in reading a medical book on abortion. Nobu felt that Yukiko appeared to have peered into her mind, and Yukiko's aspect took on a tone of menace:

For Towai, the swollen face of the sick person with her eyes opened slightly seemed frightful, hideous. She could no longer stay at the side of a sick individual with whom she shared no relationship, family or otherwise. (Hayashi 1951b, 250)

So was Yukiko regretting the fact that she had to die like this, alone? Naturally, we cannot hear her answer directly. Shown instead is her instinctive will to keep on living. Mizuta provides the following explanation: “Yukiko had traveled hither and yon, always looking for a place where she could find mental peace. Her ideal place of comfort could not be found in Japanese society, in a Japanese home.” In this sense, “the external space of Yukiko’s longing, outside of a ‘systematic suppression to women’ —whether or not it actually existed was an uncertain illusion. However, the ability to imagine something outside of a system continued to serve as an intense inner drive, and Yukiko continued to press forward” (Mizuta 1995, 324). This “intense inner drive” can be understood as the “wildness” found in *Floating Clouds*. If she was searching for her “place of comfort” (*ibasho*) that did not in fact exist in the real world, then she had to continue her lifelong vagabondage. This passion resembles that which Plotinus strived for. Truly, Fumiko Hayashi depicted the “wildness” of women.

4. Reevaluation of Hayashi as a modernist

Any “wildness” shown by men appearing in *Floating Clouds* was in extreme contrast to that of Yukiko. In this regard, Yuan (2017) made an important statement. According to Yuan, like Yukiko, Tomioka was also a character in search of “wildness.” In his case, however, his thoughts of wildness involved self-contradictions and were thus unstable (60). From time to time, while enjoying the lush nature of Dalat with Yukiko, Tomioka would recall his homeland (Takayama 2002, 40). At one point, his thought was exposed thusly.

Even Tomioka did not want to live out a life in this squalid and defeated Japan, gasping with the effort simply to keep his head above water. He could hear something like the voice of nature calling to him once in a while, deep in his heart. Just as Jesus’s hometown had been Nazareth, for Tomioka, his soul’s heartland was the forests of Indochina. There were times when Tomioka felt pulled by a longing that was like love. (Hayashi 1951b, 47)

Tomioka did, in fact, hear “the call of the wild,” namely, when he considered that “his soul’s heartland was the forests of Indochina.” Yet the only times when Tomioka could “accept the ‘wild sentiments’ of Yukiko” was when he was drinking *saké* (alcohol) (Yuan 2017, 60). Tomioka, who had left on a trip determined to commit double suicide with Yukiko, fell into a new illicit relationship with a woman he met on that trip, at Ikaho hot springs. He placed his faith in drunkenness, which was a reason he awoke from his dream of “wildness.” Tomioka’s wildness was thus not like Yukiko’s, which included the essential element that “wildness” itself defined and demanded a specific way of life. For Tomioka, this was a temporary dissipation, a no-holds-barred “letting go.” Seen from a different perspective, a man’s “reason” was not powerful enough to control his “wildness”—in *Floating Clouds*, “reason” was not granted the authority to serve as the “ground of all things.”

“Reason” at the mercy of “wildness,” as well as the vulgarity displayed by “reason,” is remarkably

embodied in the men in *Floating Clouds*. Kano, a colleague also sent to Dalat, falls in love with Yukiko on the day he meets her and desires her—a feeling that he cannot suppress. He feels a strong jealousy for Tomioka, who has become affectionate with Yukiko, and Kano cuts Yukiko with a Japanese sword. After he returns to Japan, he becomes severely ill, and he dies in this weak state. Osei's husband, too, who had gone to Tokyo in pursuit of Tomioka, seeks a reunion, but is denied, after which he kills her. Iba, the very man who had raped Yukiko, founds a new religion after the war. With the funds gained from his success, he once again seeks to surround and capture Yukiko and says the following to her:

Human beings were all prone to stumble, he was saying. For anybody, despair is long, and joy is short. This brief happiness is one type of ecstasy among the five desires of humans. Considering this shortness of joy, inciting this sentiment is an urgent task of religion today, Iba explained. Both men and women spend money for love, for passion. If religion can get a true sense of this ecstasy, and know how to incite it, then religion can be very profitable. This was the gist of his explanation. (Hayashi 1951b, 145)

For Iba, religion is not a matter of faith but a means of making money. “But God only looks after people who make their own way,” (ibid, 145) he tells Yukiko. The ecstasy here is more one of vulgarity than of passion and is poles apart from the kind of ecstasy obtainable from the “wildness” pursued by Yukiko. Iba works in the personnel section of an insurance company, and would thus be seen as an extremely straight, “rational” person. Yet he is depicted as not only a man who brought Yukiko to the floodgates of sexual desire but also as a vulgar man who manipulates using his crafty intelligence. This is an extremely bitter view of where the “reason” of the Japanese led men to in the postwar era.

Men are bound by this vulgar “reason” and are not able to skillfully control the “wildness” hidden within themselves. This drives them at times to barbaric behavior and exposes the “barbaric nature” of their “reason.” In contrast, women seek an escape from the world controlled by reason. They put into practice the philosophy of “wildness” and eventually end up with unfulfilled dreams. This is the kind of world portrayed in *Floating Clouds* and constitutes an even more thorough depiction of the issues presented in *Tales of Wandering*.

At this time, when *Floating Clouds* was being serialized and followed by publication of Part Three of *Tales of Wandering*, the publishing world in Japan was proceeding with a systematic understanding of contemporary literature. Gradually, Fumiko Hayashi was coming to be seen as a modernist. In *Contemporary Japanese Literature Systematized, Volume 44 (Gendai nihon shōsetsu taikei dai 44 kan)*, published by *Kawade Shobo* in March 1950, works of Hayashi were included with those of Shinichi Makino, Chiyo Uno, Gisaburō Jūichiya, Taruho Inagaki, and Isota Kamura. In an exposé in “*Modernism, Volume 2*” (ibid, 374), Sei Itō wrote the following about Fumiko Hayashi:

Viewed by age, Fumiko Hayashi was the youngest person to produce a lyrical novel based on her own life (*shishōsetsu*). In 1929, when that appeared, the New Sensations school (*shinkankakuha*), had been dismantled, and the New Art school (*shinkōgeijutsuha*), composed of younger persons, was becoming the mainstream. In other words, Hayashi was a new author who more rightly belonged with the group more thoroughly described in the next volume (Volume 45). Hayashi's style was natural and had something directly in common with the mood of that time. Yet the freshness of Hayashi's style also

A philosophy of “wildness” (yasei): Fumiko Hayashi’s Ukigumo and the postwar version of Hōrōki

had an influence on the persons of the New Art school of that time. Still, Hayashi showed none of the decadence displayed by that so-called New Art school but was instead an author who pioneered her own path in that era, all the while suffering her own peculiar fate. She was a person who resisted her own time. (ibid, 374–375)

In this way, Sei Itō evaluates Fumiko Hayashi as not belonging to either the New Sensations school (which included Yokomichi Riichi, Yasunari Kawabata, and others) or to the New Art School (Yū Ryūtanji, Toyohiko Kuno, Tomoji Abe, and others), yet as being an author who brought a fresh influence to bear. On a different site than the one quoted above, Sei Itō described Fumiko Hayashi as “a writer having departed from the anarchist poets group formed at the end of the Taishō era, who was gradually regarded as a modernist.” (ibid, 390) Thus, Hayashi, while not within the mainstream of modernism, was in a very close relationship with it, with each influencing the other. Given that Sei Itō himself was a modernist in the mainstream who had proposed “Neo-Psychologism” (*shin-shinrishiugi*), this is thought to be a solid evaluation.

As Itō indicated, the key point here is that “Hayashi showed none of the decadence displayed by that so-called New Art school, but was instead an author who pioneered her own path in that era, all the while suffering her own peculiar fate. She was a person who resisted her own time.” This anthology (Volume 44) contained Part One of *Tales of Wandering*. Here, *Tales of Wandering* had finally shed its prewar reputation, and Hayashi’s creative position was ultimately recognized. Supporting this positive evaluation was the existence of the postwar version of *Tales of Wandering*, which included the addition of Part Three, and *Floating Clouds*, which was written and published in the same postwar era.

After her death, the magazine *Kaizō* planned a memorial issue, which included a “dialogue” (*taidan*) between Yaeko Nogami and Kenzo Nakajima. In this dialogue, Hayashi’s high level of popularity among the “masses” was described in this way:

Nakajima: Hayashi-san certainly had a strange funeral, with a lot of people coming to pay their respects. After the major literary figures had lit their memorial incense sticks, there followed numerous people straight from the city streets. I was so surprised at that!

Nogami: No one in the literary world had been mourned and missed by the people like those seen at Hayashi’s funeral, not at the funeral of Natsume Sensei, nor at that of Mr. Ōgai. (Nakajima and Nogami 1951, 136)

Fumiko Hayashi’s funeral, then, was not like that of Sōseki Natsume, nor like that of Ōgai Mori, as so many of the “townspeople” who had nothing to do with literature offered up for her the incense offering for the dead. She had obtained such popularity and was still seen as an “ally of the people,” even after she passed away. This author, who had been the target of various gossip and degrading titles, was mourned by the people at the end of her life.

The freedom and abandonment of women shown in *Tales of Wandering* were reflected in the postwar *Floating Clouds*, but now with greater self-reflection and awareness. These works had made the literary reputation of Fumiko Hayashi unshakable. Certainly, there will be differences of opinion in evaluations of these processes whether we regard her strategy as the result of sincere self-reflection or as the product of self-directing. Rather than digging deeper into this argument, what I would like to point out that this issue

of her consistent pursuit of the philosophy of “wildness” showed by Hayashi can surely be an important key in rethinking modernist literature in Japan, as this philosophy threads its way through our understanding of the major past trends in modernism, from the New Sensations school to the New Art school and on to Neo-Psychologism. Although Sei Itō acknowledged that Fumiko Hayashi's style shared the atmosphere of the same era as the modernist's literature, he saw her as distinct from them. This is due to the fact that Sei Itō's view of modernists' literature was built on the philosophy of “reason”, which was incompatible with Fumiko Hayashi's philosophy of “wildness”. Sei Itō's view of modernism was referred to from two aspects: as a literary historian and as an actual author. Therefore, on the one hand, the history of literature in the Shōwa period compiled by Sei Itō had no small influence on the direction of literary studies in Japan, and created the ground for understanding modernism as the literature of “reason.” On the other hand, however, it should be noted that he honestly revealed that he had been stimulated by the philosophy of “wildness” as an actual author, and recognized the possibility of viewing modernism from a different aspect than that of “reason.” From the latter standpoint, it is possible to consider Fumiko Hayashi's self-interpretation through Part Three of *Tales of Wandering* and the philosophy of “wildness” she presented in *Floating Clouds*, the culmination of her work, as her understanding of modernism literature. By describing a new literary history of modernism from the perspective of both “reason” and “wildness,” we can fully expect to renew our view of modernism in Japan. Fumiko Hayashi is an important “modernist” who can give us a clue.

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