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The fiction for which Nakajima Atsushi (1909-1942) is best known was published in the early years of the Pacific War, a period coinciding with the end of his life. In this paper I will refer to Nakajima’s fiction from this period, which corresponds roughly to the years 1939 to 1942, either as his late fiction or as his wartime fiction. Several examples of Nakajima’s late fiction are set in ancient China and are based on Chinese historical or literary sources. Another of his best known works, the short novel *Hikari to kaze to yume* (Light, Wind and Dreams, 1942), is a fictionalized biography of Robert Louis Stevenson’s life on the island of Samoa. The milieu in which these were written and the sources to which Nakajima turned for his settings have led the scholar of Japanese literature, Donald Keene, to suggest that Nakajima’s fiction from this period manifests his support for and approval of the Japanese militarists’ expansionist activities in China and the South Pacific during the Pacific War. He hypothesizes that the choice of ancient Chinese settings and of Stevenson’s life in the South Pacific reflects Nakajima’s insistence that “the East, including Samoa and other islands not usually associated with Asia, has a civilization of its own that is of equal or perhaps even greater value” than that of the West and that the choice of Chinese source material in particular shows Nakajima’s underlying “rejection of the West.”¹
Keene also cites Nakajima's short story "Deshi" (The Disciple, 1943), which deals with the relationship between Confucius and his impetuous disciple Tzu Lu, as an example of Nakajima's view that Japan was the champion of Asian civilization. According to Keene's analysis, the story exhibits Nakajima's belief that "the Japanese acted impetuously at times but always with sincerity and with the hope of bringing to fruition the teachings of Confucius; by extension, they had also to rid Asia of alien, imperialistic Western influences."

It is true that some aspects of characterization from Nakajima's fiction from this period resonate with traditional samurai values, such as courage and fealty, which the Japanese militarists promulgated during the Pacific War. For example, in "Deshi," Tzu Lu is depicted as a man ready to sacrifice his life for a cause he feels is just. And in Nakajima's novella "Ri Ryō" (Li Ling, 1943), two central characters display a kind of samurai ethic. The Han Chinese general Li Ling is depicted as a brave warrior who is ready to fight to the death against overwhelming odds, and the Han envoy Su Wu is portrayed as so devoted to his home country that he tries to commit suicide rather than accept the kindness of the barbarians in whose land he is exiled. After enduring harsh living conditions for many years, Su Wu still remains loyal to his Emperor and refuses to defect to the barbarians despite the comfortable life they offer him.

While there are such examples of characterization in Nakajima's late fiction, to ascribe to these stories an attitude supportive of Japanese
colonialism in China and the South Pacific is to overlook other facets of his characters' personality. In "Ri Ryô," Li Ling himself engages in critical self-examination when he is captured by his barbarian enemies and is torn between feelings of loyalty to his homeland and a new appreciation for the lifestyle of the northern nomads among whom he dwells. And in "Deshi," Tzu Lu's impetuosity is contrasted with the patient wisdom and forbearance of his master, Confucius. After serious contemplation of his master's patient endurance of disdainful treatment even when he is in the right vis-à-vis his own impetuosity, Tzu Lu at length comes to appreciate the significance of Confucius way of life. There are themes of self-examination and alienation in much of Nakajima's late fiction which Keene's analysis does not take into consideration. In this paper, as I examine Nakajima's life and both his earlier fiction and his wartime writings, I shall demonstrate that Nakajima struggled with a sense of alienation from early in his life and that this led him to engage in critical self-reflection in his literature as well as in his personal life. Nakajima's own quest for the meaning of existence and for a sense of self-worth are clearly manifested in his earlier, somewhat autobiographical fiction, but are also apparent in his late fiction, in which his characters search for their raison d'être and try to reconcile themselves to their fate.

Also, to argue on the basis of his choice of Chinese source material that Nakajima's wartime fiction constitutes his "rejection of the West" is to overlook his upbringing as the child of a family of Confucian scholars, an environment in which Nakajima was exposed to and developed a
fondness for classics of Chinese history and literature, including the *Shih chi* (Records of the Grand Historian), the *Han shu* (History of the Former Han Dynasty), the *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan* (Spring and Autumn Annals with Exegeses by Tso), the *Annalects of Confucius*, and the Taoist classic *Chuang-tzu*. Nakajima drew on these sources for his stories set in ancient China, but this fact should not be interpreted as his rejection of Western civilization. In fact, in his short story "Gojô shusse" (Wu-ching's Quest, 1942), based on the sixteenth-century Chinese novel *Hsi-yu chi* (Record of A Journey to the West), there are allusions to Western philosophy and literature including the philosophical work *Pensees* (Thoughts) by the French mathematician Blaise Pascal and to the romantic writings of the German author Novalis. Nakajima was well read in Western literature, and even suggested to a friend that he wanted to make his version of *Hsi-yu chi* his *Faust*.³ The fact that Nakajima had the famous novel of the German author Geothe in mind when writing "Gojô shusse" and its companion story "Gojô tanni" (Wu-ching's Admiration, 1942) would make it difficult to consider Nakajima's "Chinese" fiction as a "rejection of the West" merely because its setting and characters are drawn from Chinese literature. On the contrary, the settings of Nakajima's late fiction indicate his fondness for the exotic, and in addition to ancient China included Samoa and the South Pacific, ancient Egypt and ancient Assyria. This exoticism is also manifested in earlier fiction set in Korea and Manchuria.
If Nakajima did not intend his wartime fiction to support the colonial activities of the Japanese militarist government during the Pacific War, why is it possible to interpret some of his stories as sympathetic to the state's goal of establishing a Co-Prosperity Sphere in which all Asian culture, freed from the philosophical yoke of Western civilization, would flourish? When one considers Nakajima's literature from the historical perspective of the early years of the Pacific War, and remembers the excitement of Japanese citizens after early victories in the South Pacific, Nakajima's characterizations of Li Ling and Tzu Lu, etc., may indeed suggest his approval of the state's expansionism. However, this interpretation does not take into consideration other elements of Nakajima's characterization and style which suggest that his fiction was more concerned with existential questions regarding his own worth and the meaning of his life. Moreover, this interpretation does not consider Nakajima's own statements in his essay, "Tako no ki no shita de" (Under the Pandanus Tree, 1943) published posthumously. Using an ironic tone to suggest that his six month assignment as a bureaucrat on the island of Palau has left him too dimwitted to understand the complex problems faced by his fellow countrymen during wartime, he writes, "when I wasn't thinking carefree thoughts, I wasn't thinking at all. 'War is war,' I thought. 'Literature is literature.' I had been possessed with the idea that the two are completely separate things." He continues with this ironic tone throughout the essay, making it clear that he would not deign to use literature to support the activities of the state.
It may be then that those who would interpret Nakajima’s wartime fiction as supportive of Japanese expansionism may be “interpret[ing] literary works to some extent in light of [their] own concerns,” to quote the literary theorist Terry Eagleton. An example of such artistic interpretation is given by James Kavanagh in his article “Ideology.” He discusses events in American politics in 1984 in which a conservative newspaper columnist described Bruce Springsteen as a symbol of the potential for America’s working underclass to achieve wealth and status in the economic climate fostered by the current Republican regime. The president, campaigning for reelection, then appropriated this theme in his speeches, and soon young concert goers appeared on the national news echoing the rhetoric that Springsteen was living proof of working class potential for success under the current administration. The matter had become so confused that finally the artist himself had to remind his fans that his music did not praise “the durability of the American dream.” To the contrary, it described what had come about as a result of the manipulation of the working underclass by the capitalist elite.

I cite this example to illustrate the notion that art, and therefore literature, may be appropriated by anyone with some kind of agenda, and that the appropriated art, interpreted according to that agenda, may be used to promote that agenda. As with Springsteen’s music, the intentions of the appropriator may be quite different from (and even contrary to) the intentions of the original artist. In the following pages, I argue that Nakajima’s literature does not support the imperialism of the Japanese
militarists, but that Nakajima sought to convey to his readers his insights into the meaning of man's existence as a pawn of fate and that he tried to faithfully portray the internal struggles and self-analysis by which he achieved these insights by putting his characters through the same philosophical rigors he had experienced. In the first chapter I will focus on Nakajima's family background, education and the experiences which helped to shape his philosophy. I will also examine a number of his earlier as well as two of his later works of fiction to illustrate that development. The second chapter is devoted to Nakajima's wartime fiction and will include analysis of four works of fiction which are set in ancient China, including "Ri Ryō" and "Sangetsu ki" (Tiger-Poet, 1941). In this chapter will also examine his essay "Tako no ki no shita de." And finally, in the third chapter I will consider Keene's analysis of "Deshi" and Hikari to kaze to yume and his arguments that these works manifest Nakajima's support for the Japanese militarist government.
NOTES


2 Keene, 943.

3 Nakajima Atsushi, *Nakajima Atsushi zenshū* (Collected Works of Nakajima Atsushi), vol. 3, ed. Nakamura Mitsuo (Tokyo, 1976), 597. All subsequent references to this work will be abbreviated *NAZ*.

4 *NAZ*, 1, 549.


CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND AND PHILOSOPHY

In the preceding chapter, I offered that Nakajima Atsushi was a man who experienced deep feelings of alienation, who sought truth and meaning in a world he perceived as cruel and who was unsure of his own worth in that world. I also suggested that his philosophical struggles are manifest in his fiction. In this chapter I briefly examine his family background, his education, and his exposure to foreign (i.e. non-Japanese) cultures and ideas and discuss the impact that these influences had on shaping his philosophy and art. Because Nakajima's fiction tends to draw heavily from either his personal experience or his own psychological questioning or both, a close consideration of some of his fiction in view of his background will provide insight into the development of his philosophy and will support my argument that he was a writer concerned more with discovering the meaning of existence and self-worth than with supporting his nation's expansionist policy.

Nakajima Atsushi was born in 1909 in the Yotsuya ward of Tokyo, the eldest child of a Confucian scholar, into a family which valued Chinese studies highly.1 His father Nakajima Tabito was the seventh of nine children of Nakajima Busan. Busan was a member of the school of Confucian studies founded two generations earlier by Kameda Hôsai. It was known as the setchûgaku-ha or Eclectic School of Confucianism, due
to Hōsai's mingling of the arts of painting and calligraphy with the study of Confucianism. Busan studied with Hōsai's son Ryōrai for a time, but more importantly he studied with Hōsai's grandson Ōkoku, who was concerned with the union of Confucian doctrine and Shinto doctrine and participated in the sonnō jōi movement. The Confucianism Busan espoused dwelt on harmony between "the Great Way of the Emperor and the Gods" and "the morality of harmony and justice" of the six (Confucian) classics. Busan opened his own school in his home in Kuki in Saitama Prefecture, where he specialized in teaching the Chinese classics. Nakajima Tabito was trained in the classics by his father, as was Atsushi's mother, Chiyoko, who had been a primary school teacher before marrying Tabito. Atsushi's father, after receiving accreditation from the Ministry of Education in 1897, taught kambun at the middle school level.

The influence of the Chinese classics in Nakajima Busan's household was quite strong. Four of his seven sons, including Tabito, grew up to become Confucian scholars. Atsushi's uncle Tan, one of those four, was a devoted scholar with a gift for Chinese poetry. His favorite of the Chinese classics was the Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-shih chuan, a work from China's Warring States period (403-221 B.C.), from which Atsushi drew material for some of his short stories, including "Gyūjin" (Bullman, 1942) and "Deshi." Tan was fervently patriotic. Concerned about Western colonial activities in China and what they meant for Japan, he published a book on the impact of the partition of China after the Republican Revolution and
several articles bemoaning the lack of understanding of Chinese culture and traditions on the part of Japanese diplomats to China. Nakajima Shō, another of Atsushi's three uncles who was a Confucian scholar, was also devoted to the study of the Chinese classics. But in contrast to Nakajima Tan, Shō did not concern himself with political issues. Instead, he quietly built on the research that his father, Busan, had done on Kameda Hosai and compiled collections of the Chinese poetry of his father and of Tan. Shō lived for ten years in China and studied the language and history of Manchuria extensively. Atsushi had a special respect for Shō's scholarship.

One senses the impact these uncles had on Atsushi in his short story "Tonan sensei" (Master Tonan, 1942), in which he describes the relationship between a young man named Sanzō (modeled after Atsushi) and his uncle Tonan (which was Tan's pen name). Tan died in 1930, and Atsushi was moved to write this piece of autobiographical fiction in 1933. The relationship portrayed in the story is patterned on Atsushi's relationship with his uncle Tan, and shows how his impressions of his uncle changed from the time when he was a schoolboy through the period following Tan's death. Atsushi describes the differences between Sanzō's two uncles, differences very similar to those between his uncles Shō and Tan. The younger of Sanzō's two uncles (modeled after Shō) is a quiet, pony-tailed, white-bearded hermit who devotes himself to research on the classics. By contrast, the elder uncle, Tonan, though also a devoted scholar, has a volatile temper. He often berates people and rails against
the world. Having been likened to Tonan by his family, the mortified young Sanzô resolved to overcome this odious disposition.

Though Sanzô's attitude was not altogether unreasonable, his view of his uncle at that time was unsympathetic and it was incorrect. That is to say, to the extent that his uncle's eccentric speech and behavior were laughable and offensive to the young Sanzô, for his uncle born half a century before him this same behavior was only natural and genuine. Sanzô simply could not understand this fact. If he tried describing his uncle, it seemed to him that the man's spirit was constituted by a blending of an old-fashioned Confucian scholar's temperament with the disposition of a fanatical patriot. This sort of visage has gradually disappeared even in East Asia, and as far as he knew, his uncle was one of the very last such authentic people.\

Through the course of the story, Atsushi reveals that though Sanzô has often criticized his uncle Tonan for his temper and stubbornness, he greatly respects his commitment to his ideals. Indeed, Atsushi was influenced by both of these uncles. His respect for their dedication to Confucianism and classics of Chinese history and literature, together with the instruction in the classics he received from his father provided him with a firm grounding in Chinese studies. His reliance on this store of Chinese history and literature for material for his short stories "Gojó tanni," "Gojó shusse," "Meijin den" (The Expert, 1942), "Deshi" and "Sangetsu ki," as well as for his novella "Ri Ryó" demonstrates that his upbringing in a Confucian family played an important part in the development of his art. It also might be noted that the respect he had for his uncles and their dedication to their ideals had an impact on the
development of his philosophy. When one considers examples of Nakajima's late fiction, namely "Ri Ryô" and "Deshi," this respect for ideals comes through. Characters who remain true to their ideals, like Ssu-ma Chi'en from "Ri Ryô" and Confucius and Tzu Lu from "Deshi" are portrayed almost heroically.

In addition to the influence of Chinese classics on the intellectual development of Nakajima Atsushi, events during his emotionally formative years contributed to the shaping of his philosophy. Lessons in change and separation came early in his life and prompted feelings of isolation which spurred him to a spiritual search for meaning even at an early age. Atsushi's early childhood may be characterized as one of perpetual change. His parents' marriage was apparently not a happy one for they separated in 1910, two years after marrying and less than a year after Atsushi was born. Eventually his parents divorced. The infant Atsushi went to live with his grandparents in Saitama prefecture in February 1910. The following year Atsushi's grandfather Busan died. Then in February of 1914, Atsushi was sent to join his father, who had remarried and was teaching in Kôriyama in Nara Prefecture. He entered Kôriyama Primary and Higher School in 1916, and then in 1918, he transferred to Hamamatsu Primary School in Shizuoka Prefecture, because his father had taken up a teaching position at Hamamatsu Middle School. In 1920, his father transferred to another teaching position, this
one at Ryûzan Middle School in Seoul, Korea. So Atsushi transferred to Ryûzan Primary School.9

Despite all these transfers, Atsushi was a good student and received high marks in all subjects.10 However, the frequent moving must have made it difficult for him to develop friendships or a feeling of belonging to any particular place. In his short story "Toragari" (Tiger Hunt, 1942) a fictional work which draws on his experiences while a student in Korea, Atsushi describes the unpleasantness of being a newcomer in the classroom.

In the second term of that fifth year I transferred from my school in Japan to Ryûzan Primary School in Korea. Anyone who has had to change schools repeatedly when he was young because of his father's business or some such reason will probably recognize my experience. When first entering the new school, there is nothing too disagreeable: different customs, different regulations, different pronunciation, different ways of reading from the textbook, that sort of thing. But then there are those many malicious eyes looking as though they would like to bully the newcomer for no good reason. Feeling as though just one sneer would do me in, I was sent packing by a withering timidity. Twenty three days after I transferred to the Ryûzan primary school, at the hour allotted to reading, I was to read about the poem written on the trunk of the cherry tree from "Kojima Takanori."11 When I began reading, everyone burst out laughing. Turning crimson, I tried diligently to correct my mistakes, but as much as I corrected myself, everyone gave way to laughter. At length, a thin smile rose even to the instructor's lips and settled there. A thoroughly hateful feeling encompassed me and when that hour ended, I bolted from the classroom and went and stood alone in a corner of the playground staring dejectedly into
the sky and wanting to cry. I still remember it even now: that day seems like the dense cloud of a violent dust storm.}

It seems from this and other passages that Atsushi’s own frequent transfers and the attendant emotionally trying experiences must have had a lasting impact on him and must have led to feelings of alienation.

Family life did not offer much relief from these feelings of isolation. His relations with his father were apparently not very warm. And there were difficulties between Atsushi and his stepmother. In one instance she tied him to a tree in the yard to punish him. He remained an only child until he was fourteen years old. Then in 1923, his stepmother died shortly after giving birth to his half-sister, Sumiko. His father married for the third time in 1924, but Atsushi’s relations with this stepmother were no better than with his first. While his family remained in Korea long enough for him to establish some friendships at school (Atsushi graduated from Ryūzan Primary School in 1922 and went on to graduate from the elite Seoul Middle School in 1926), his early childhood was not an especially warm and happy one.

Atsushi’s loneliness may have caused him to contemplate existence from a more philosophical basis than many children his age. His short story "Rōshitsu ki" (Diary of a Confused Man, 1942) concerns the psychological struggles of a man trying to discover the meaning of existence. The following passage relates an episode from early in the protagonist’s life in which the comments of his primary school teacher cause him to wonder about the meaning of existence. As in "Tonan
sensei," the protagonist in this story is named Sanzō and is the alter-ego of Atsushi.

It must have been around the time of his fourth year in primary school. One day his gaunt, long haired teacher, who seemed to suffer from tuberculosis, happened to be speaking about the fate of the earth. "The earth is cooling down and mankind will no doubt become extinct," he proclaimed. "Our existence is utterly meaningless." The teacher repeated such things to his young students with a malicious insistence. When Sanzō thought about it later, it was clear that these comments were a poison which the teacher was injecting into the students, a poison to which no one was immune and for which there was no antidote, and he had done it with the sadistic objective of striking terror into their young hearts. Sanzō was frightened. Pale, horrified, he listened intently. The earth cooling, mankind becoming extinct, he could endure that. Yet, eventually, the sun too would die out. If the sun cools down and then dies out, the cold, black planets will simply circle around and around in the darkness of space with no one to see them. When he thought about these things, he couldn't bear it. "Why are we living then?" he thought. "If I die, but the earth and the universe go on as before, that's fine. The death of one person is nothing. But if things are as the teacher has just now described, then isn't being born into this species and into this universe utterly meaningless? What's the point of being born?" For a long while after this the eleven year old Sanzō suffered something akin to nervous depression.\(^\text{14}\)

While "Rōshitsu ki" is a fictional work, Nakajima relied on his own experiences and psychological struggles for much of its content. It illustrates the kind of existential questions with which Nakajima wrestled for much of his life. His use of literature to articulate his psychological and philosophical viewpoints is one of the most readily identifiable
characteristics of his writing. However, even though I have used his early works as autobiographical documents to elucidate his childhood, we should not identify his later work as autobiographical fiction. Even in the case of "Rōshitsu ki", one of the most clearly autobiographical of his short stories, Nakajima's concerns are more philosophical than personal. Usui Yoshimi, writing with regard to "Rōshitsu ki" and "Kamereon nikki" (Chameleon Diary, 1941, another semi-autobiographical story which considers Existential questions), suggests that these should be considered "records of (Atsushi's) life" instead of "I-novels" or watakushi shōsetsu. And Fukunaga Takehiko, another Nakajima scholar, writes that "rather than calling these 'I-novels' we should call them moralist literature which depicts the interior of the ego, that is, essays on the pursuit of self." In the latter part of this chapter, I will examine two examples of Nakajima's late fiction which reveal more about his philosophical development, specifically his familiarity with the works of Western thinkers whose philosophies contributed to the development of the existentialist movement. Becoming familiar with the philosophies of thinkers like Pascal and Spinoza, Nakajima, who was already struggling with the meaning of existence, began to assimilate some aspects of Western philosophy to his own point of view. His allusion to Western thought and literature in these two short stories bear this point out.

However, before turning to the question of Nakajima's later philosophical development, I will consider other examples of his early fiction which illustrate his artistic development. In these early short
stories, Nakajima uses devices which can also be found in his later fiction. Nakajima's use of irony, of "exotic" settings and his fondness for historical source material in these early works portends their appearance in his wartime fiction. The exoticism and reliance on historical sources in these early stories suggest that Nakajima's motivation for drawing on ancient Chinese sources for several of his later stories was not symbolic of his "rejection of the West," but was a natural outgrowth of his artistic development.

In 1926, Atsushi graduated from Seoul Middle School after completing his fourth year (most students graduated after five years). He then entered the literature program of the prestigious First Higher School in Tokyo (Daiichi kōtō gakkō). He began contributing short stories to the magazine published by the school, Köyukai zasshi (Alumni Magazine) in November of 1927. He became a member of the editorial staff of that magazine in 1929 and continued to contribute short stories to it. He was also among the founders of a quarterly student magazine called Symposium, to which he contributed his editorial skills but no literature. His short stories from this period were submitted only to the official school magazine.

Two of the short stories which he contributed to Köyukai zasshi are noteworthy here, "Junsa no iru fūkei" (Scene with a Policeman, 1929) and "D-shi shichigatsu no jokei" (Sketch of D-City in July, 1930). Since the first is set in Korea and the second in Manchuria, they illustrate
Nakajima's early use of "exotic" settings. He used this technique in several of his later and better known works such as "Ri Ryō", "Sangetsu ki", "Meijin den", and "Deshi" which are all set in China, and "Miira" (The Mummy, 1942), "Mojika" (The Curse of Letters, 1942), and "Kitsune tsuki" (The Possessed, 1942) which are all set in the Middle East. Another significant characteristic of these two early short stories is Nakajima's use of irony, a device which he skillfully employs in some of his later fiction and which he uses very effectively in his essay "Tako no ki no shita de," an essay which shall be examined in detail in the third chapter. It is also important to note that the tone of these two stories is similar to that of the proletarian literature which was popular in Japan at the time. "Junsa no iru fūkei" and "D-shi shichigatsu no jokei" demonstrate a point of view quite unlikely for a writer who is alleged to have supported through his literature the expansionist state policy of a militarist government. And since they are based on observations he made while living in Korea and traveling in Manchuria, it is safe to assume that they express Nakajima's own thoughts about the impact of Japanese colonization. Thus while Nakajima does not utilize proletarian themes in his later fiction, they are skillfully employed in these two stories which serve to illustrate his general distaste for colonialism.

"Junsa no iru fūkei" depicts a day in the life of a Korean policeman in Seoul in the winter of 1923. This story, perhaps more than others set in Korea (among them "Toragarì" and "Puuru no soba de" (Beside the pool, written 1932)) illustrates the variety of Korea which must have
impressed Nakajima during the six years he lived there. According to his friend Hikami Hidehiro, Nakajima’s years in Korea played a significant part in his development as a writer in that they fostered his love for the exotic and enabled him to put some “distance between himself and his colonial surroundings.” Such a love for the exotic may be seen in his descriptions from “Junsan no iru fūkei” of the diverse population in Seoul in 1923. The ethnic diversity Nakajima observed in Korea, which he would not have experienced to the same extent in Japan, is clearly expressed in the following passage, in which he cleverly uses images of footwear to depict the various nations represented.

Not much snow had fallen, but the streets were frozen solid. On those streets various feet went walking along, slipping and sliding, tumbling and falling. There were the wooden clogs of the Koreans which looked like small boats; the shining zori of the young Japanese women; the fir boots of the Chinese which looked like bear’s claws; the heavy wooden clogs of the Japanese students, who looked as though they would fall at any moment; the highly-polished shoes of the aristocratic Korean students; the high-heeled red boots of the white Russians who had fled from Wonsan; and also the worn-out shoes of the ubiquitous coolies—Korean laborers who transported packages around on their backs.

In addition to providing his readers with an exotic setting, Nakajima depicts a number of incidents in this story which suggest the psychological tensions of the Koreans as subjects of the Japanese colonialists. The protagonist, Jo Kyo-yong, encounters much of this tension as a policeman trying to keep the peace. Nakajima illustrates how
pervasive this tension is by portraying it both in scenes of conflict between Korean subjects and Japanese authority, as when a Korean radical assassinates the Japanese governor-general, and in more mundane situations, like the interaction of Koreans and Japanese riding on a train. For example, Nakajima sets the tone early in the story with a situation involving the policeman and a Japanese middle school student on the train.

Whenever Kyo-yong rode the train, being a policeman, he did not have to pay the fare. He always stood on the driver's platform, leaning against the glass with both hands stuffed in his pockets. And each time he rode the train, he also recalled the incident involving that one Japanese middle school student.

-- It happened on a summer's morning. He was on his way to the police station, and as always, he rode along standing on the driver's platform. The train was full of students on their way to the middle school. Then, perhaps wanting to feel the cool breeze, a Japanese student came and stood on the driver's platform and would not enter the car. Since this was not a place where he should be standing to begin with and since he was now getting in the way, the driver told him to get back inside the car. However, he haughtily challenged the driver.

"Hey, tell it to that guy," he said, pointing to the policeman standing there. "If you don't make him go back inside, then I'm not going either!" (Naturally, the driver was also a Korean, which would account for the boy's insolence.) So saying, the student looked with amusement first at the nonplussed driver, then at the policeman, and then went right on standing on the platform. --

Even now as Kyo-yong recalled the look in that student's eyes, he felt uncomfortable.
As the protagonist ponders this uncomfortable feeling, he overhears a quarrel going on inside the car. Looking into the matter, he finds that a shabby Japanese woman has offered her seat to a Korean student, unwittingly using the derogatory term "yobo." Yobo is a Korean term of address used appropriately either: (a) between people who are on intimate terms, such as a husband and wife, two friends, etc.; or (b) when the speaker is the recognized elder (i.e., superior) of the person addressed. The woman's use of the term yobo is about the same as her calling the student omae.\(^{22}\) The implication of this shabby woman addressing the student as yobo would be that she recognizes her superiority as a Japanese, since the student is probably a yangban (a member of the Korean aristocratic class) and therefore is probably her social superior. Thus, the term amounts to a racial slur.

The Korean student is trying to find out what the woman meant by calling him yobo. The woman replies that she did not say "yobo," she said "yobo-san," that is, "Mr. yobo." After a tense exchange, the student ultimately resigns himself to the impossibility of making the ignorant woman realize the impact of this term yobo, with or without the polite suffix san, and can only scowl at her in silence.\(^{23}\) Observing the scene, Kyo-yong wonders why the student thinks he is above such treatment by a Japanese, why he must feel ashamed of who he is. He then remembers the scene he witnessed that afternoon at an election rally to which he and another officer had been assigned. All of the candidates were Japanese save one, a popular and respected Korean. Just as the Korean began to
deliver his speech, a shabby Japanese youth stood up in the audience and said, "Shut up! You're only yoboi!" As Kyo-yong's partner dragged the troublemaker outside, the politician said to the audience, "I have just now heard some very regrettable words. However, I firmly believe that I and my people are part of the glorious Japanese race." His remarks were met with thunderous applause.24

As Kyo-yong thinks about the politician's comments and the young Korean student's argument with the Japanese woman, about the Japanese nation and about the Korean people, he realizes that he has recently been suffering from the feeling one gets when one has forgotten something, like the pressure of an unfulfilled obligation. He is not sure of the origin of this feeling, and not sure he wants to discover it. While struggling with these emotions, he encounters a well-dressed Japanese gentleman who bows deeply to him. "Chotto otazune itashimasu ga..." (I humbly inquire of you), the man says, proceeding to ask for directions using equally polite language. Kyo-yong, somewhat flustered at being addressed by a gentleman in such a courteous manner, gives the man directions and is thanked with more polite words and another polite bow. As he watches the gentleman walk away, Kyo-yong wonders at the pleasant feeling he received at being addressed so politely. To his horror he realizes that it is similar to the feeling a child gets when taken seriously by an adult. No longer able to laugh at the young Korean student from the train, or to comment on the Korean politician's words, he now realizes that this is not
just his problem. "My people have been trained to have this sort of disposition from long ago."25

Nakajima's treatment of racism and chauvinism as experienced by Koreans under Japanese domination is rather different from the portrayal of oppression in proletarian literature. Instead of relying on didactic depictions of the imperialist's exploitation of the weaker underclass, Nakajima deals with the psychology of a proud but subjugated people. This psychological treatment of oppression foreshadows his later short stories, like "Rōshitsu ki" and "Kamereon nikki" which deal with his own psychological oppression by questions about the meaning of existence and his own worth. In his historical fiction as well, the tension which carries the story forward is often a conflict within the protagonist's own mind as opposed to an external conflict. In "Junsa no iru fūkei," this psychological conflict resonates with that of Nakajima's later protagonists, but it also provides a realistic depiction of the mental anguish which Koreans must have endured under Japanese domination. Such a treatment of the colonization of Korea by a Japanese writer (albeit a higher school student) is certainly unique for the time. Moreover, Nakajima uses psychological conflict quite effectively in the development of this story, building tension to the point where, in a climactic moment at the end of the story, Kyo-yong determines that he "must do something" about the fate he shares with "this peninsula, this race."26

There are several instances in "Junsa no iru fūkei" where Nakajima builds tension by depicting psychological quandaries. For example, the
Japanese middle school student's disrespect toward the policeman and the train driver is quite effective. They are his elders, but because he is Japanese and they are Korean, he can openly defy them and fear no consequence. It is also quite ironic that the lower class Japanese woman addresses the young Korean student using what amounts to a racial slur, and yet wonders why he bristles at being called "yobo-san." And even when the Korean protagonist is deferentially addressed by a Japanese, there is irony in the fact that he detects chauvinism and racism by its very absence in the man's politeness. While Nakajima's use of irony is effective here in creating psychological tension, it also evokes the reader's sympathy for the protagonist and for the plight of the Korean people. Thus Nakajima causes his reader to consider the effects of Japanese colonialism in Korea by skillfully employing irony to develop psychological tension and without resorting to fiery proletarian rhetoric or polemic.

Later in the story, Nakajima portrays a young Korean woman who has turned to prostitution to support herself after the death of her husband. He had been in Japan on business during the summer of 1923, but when he did not return as planned in the autumn, she guessed that he must have been killed in the Kantō Earthquake. When she tells a customer about him, the customer, somewhat saddened by the woman's situation informs her about the probable fate of her husband. "Your husband, surely.... The poor guy!" The Japanese reader would readily understand that in this ellipsis Nakajima alludes to the massacre of thousands of
Korean nationals in Japan in the aftermath of the 1923 Kantō Earthquake. In the days following the earthquake, rumors were rampant that Koreans were setting fires and poisoning wells in an attempt to destroy a weakened Japan. As martial law had been declared after the devastating tremor, military troops, police and vigilante groups gathered up Koreans and others indiscriminately and detained, beat and even killed them. In the months that followed, dissemination of news of the event was strictly controlled by the Japanese government so that many Koreans did not know the truth about the event let alone the extent of the massacre. Nakajima's oblique reference to the facts was quite daring, even though he was only writing this story for his school magazine.

After the customer informs the prostitute about the likely circumstances of her husband's death, he warns her not to speak of it because of the danger to herself. Yet several hours after he has left, beside herself with grief, she rushes out into the cold street in her night gown. "Do you know about what happened after the earthquake?" she shouts to the people on the street and then she relates the story she heard that evening. "Then, the bastards, they covered it up! The miserable bastards!" At this point a policeman grabs her. "Hey! Quiet down! Quiet down!" Tears streaming down her face, she yells at him, "What about you? You're a Korean, too, aren't you? Aren't you?!" The woman is then sent to prison. There is some irony in the fact that while many innocent Korean citizens had been murdered by Japanese, and the colonial Japanese government had participated in a cover up of the
massacre, one defenseless prostitute is imprisoned for telling the truth about the incident. Nakajima forces the reader to think about the Japanese government's colonial policy in particular, and the oppression of the underclass in general. While "Junsan no iru fūkei" is certainly not one of Nakajima's major works, it is important as an indicator of the psychological style and technique which characterize his later fiction. It demonstrates his taste for exotic settings and historical events as source material. But also illustrates his opposition to the exploitation and oppression of indigenous peoples by a colonial power. All of these characteristics are especially conspicuous in his biographical account of Robert Louis Stevenson in Samoa, *Hikari to kaze to yume*, which I will examine in chapter four.

If "Junsan no iru fūkei" relies more on psychological tension and irony than on proletarian rhetoric, then "D-shi shichigatsu no jokkei," depends more on typical proletarian stereotypes of imperialist oppressors and their helpless victims, the underclass. However, in "D-shi shichigatsu no jokkei" Nakajima relies on historical facts in satirizing Japanese colonialism in the Manchurian city of Dairen (that is, "D-shi"). While "D-shi shichigatsu no jokkei," like "Junsan no iru fūkei," illustrates Nakjima's fondness for exotic settings, it also foreshadows his later fiction in which he resorts to historical facts and well known figures from literature.

"D-shi shichigatsu no jokkei" is a series of three sketches of characters living in Manchuria in July, 1929. Nakajima depicts a powerful capitalist, a insignificant Japanese employee who enjoys a better life in Manchuria
than he could hope for in Japan, and two unemployed coolies, thus caricaturing the capitalist ruling class, the petit bourgeois and the exploited underclass. He begins with the introduction of the president of M corporation, Mr. Y, an impatient man with a bad case of the hiccoughs. Sasaki Mitsuru summarizes the development of this character in the following passage from his book *Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku* (The Literature of Nakajima Atsushi). One can see in Sasaki's synopsis that Nakajima uses irony in this story, too.

He has been suffering from the hiccoughs since the day before. All night long, letting no one sleep, he has tried various treatments, but finds no relief. This "king of Manchuria" whose power is "in no way inferior even to that of the president of Kwantung, who merely holds administrative authority over the state of Kwantung," oppressed by a common development of nature called the hiccoughs! And while he "recognizes that his chief executive's demeanor is not appropriate" away from the office, he can't help blowing up at his wife and the maids. He drags his body, haggard from lack of sleep, to the office where he looks over the resignation letter he has made his private secretary compose, a resignation that "would keep his name alive forever." Therein are recorded facts about "his industry" which even he didn't know. The final statements regarding M Corporation's national mission and national position "fill him with admiration, 'Brilliant! Absolutely brilliant!'" Just then a petition committee from the city comes in appealing to M Corporation to sell the park it owns for public use. Mr. Y points to the two "half-naked coolies, not even wearing hats in the direct rays of the blazing July sun" who lie on the pavement below his window, one sleeping, the other gnawing on a muskmelon. "He pounds the desk with his fist," exclaiming that the park
is becoming a flop house for coolies anyway. At that very moment, his hiccoughs, which had abated for a time, return with new force. 29

There is irony in the fact that this powerful corporate officer should be humbled by a simple case of hiccoughs, that a captain of industry such as he should read in his own resignation letter written by a subordinate "facts about his industry that even he (doesn't) know," and that two oppressed and pitiful members of the underclass should inflict suffering on this mighty capitalist by causing his hiccoughs to return. But it is the fact that Nakajima's story is based on real political events of 1929 that makes this satire more interesting. Sasaki points out that M Corporation refers to Minami Manshû Tetsudô Kabushiki Kaisha, abbreviated as Mantetsu, the railroad corporation headquartered in Dairen (D-shi) to take advantage of railway rights won from Russia after the Russo-Japanese War. The president of that corporation in 1929, when this story takes place, is Yamamoto Jōtarō (Mr. Y) who exercised great authority in Southern Manchuria. In July of 1929, Yamamoto, a member of the Diet and of the ruling, right wing Seiyûkai party, was forced to resign his position at Mantetsu due to the fall of the cabinet of Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi, referred to as the T Cabinet in the text. The T Cabinet collapsed due to the "famous incident" from the year before, according to Nakajima's story. In fact, Tanaka's cabinet, which governed Japan from 1927 until 1929, met with increasing opposition from the Chinese Nationalist government following the assassination of Chinese warlord Chang Tso Lin in June 1928 by a faction from Japan's Kwantung Army.
Stung by criticism in the Chinese press over his inability to prosecute the guilty parties, Tanaka was forced to dissolve his government, taking Yamamoto down with him. 30

Some of Nakajima's late fiction contains similar elements of irony or satire, and many of his wartime stories manifest his reliance on historical figures and events and exotic locations as frames, much the same way these two early stories do. Another characteristic of Nakajima's early works which is also manifest in his later fiction is his interest in Western literature, especially Western philosophy. If, as has been suggested by Keene who finds his fiction anti-Western, Nakajima were opposed to the cultural imperialism of the West, it seems certain that he would not have read as widely as he did in Western literature. Yet the short stories which I shall examine in the following paragraphs suggest a man searching for truth and meaning in both Asian and Western philosophical traditions.

After graduating from Tokyo First Higher School in 1930, Nakajima enrolled in the literature department of Tokyo Imperial University. He read voraciously, going through the collected works of Nagai Kafū and Tanizaki Jun'ichirō during the summer of 1930 and then reading the collected works of Mori Ōgai, Ueda Bin, and Masaoka Shiki between the autumn and spring of 1931.31 His graduation thesis regarding the Tambi-ha (Japanese aesthetic school), written in 1933, focuses on the
literature and style of Nagai Kafū and Tanizaki Junichirō and reflects his interest in modern literature.

Ochner suggests that Nakajima’s concentration on the literature of the aesthetic school may have been in response to the repression of proletarian writers during this time (his stories published in his higher school magazine show the influence of the proletarian school). Since Nakajima left no record of his reaction to the persecution of proletarian writers, such as the murder of the well known proletarian author Kobayashi Takiji in 1933, it may be difficult to judge the effect that this persecution had on him. But certainly his interest in Kafū and Tanizaki, whose decadent literature was frequently banned by government censors and was somewhat critical of Japanese society, is significant. In his consideration of Kafū’s aestheticism, for example, Nakajima notes Kafū’s despair over the Meiji government’s abandonment of the beauty of Japanese culture in the rush to modernize. Nakajima writes, “(Kafū) had only his feeble artistic aestheticism with which to confront and grapple with such social defects. In the end, his rage was reduced to mere cynicism and sarcasm.” Nakajima then quotes an example of Kafū’s cynicism in which Kafū states that the Meiji government made its citizens learn “strange languages with T’s, V’s, D’s and F’s and such strange sounds as the Yamato people had never before articulated,” not so that its citizens could read Verlaine or Mallarme, but so they could “produce the latest types of torpedos and guns.” Based on Nakajima’s tastes in modern literature, and his understanding of the social criticism inherent
in much of it, it would be unusual for him to then use his own literature to support of state policy.

Nakajima entered graduate school at Tokyo University in 1933, concentrating on Mori Ōgai's literature. But because he had married in 1932, and his wife was expecting their first child, he accepted in 1933 a teaching position at Yokohama Girls' Higher School, which was managed by a former pupil of his father's, and in 1934, he withdrew from graduate school. He remained at Yokohama Girls' Higher School until 1941, when he resigned to take up a bureaucratic position in the Japanese colonial government in the South Pacific. He was sent to Palau where he served as an editor for a Japanese language textbook being compiled for the natives of the South Pacific islands.

It was during his eight years teaching at Yokohama Girls' Higher School that Nakajima was exposed more widely to Western literature. He read *Pensées* by Blaise Pascal, the collected works of Anatole France and the fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson. He also worked on translations of Western literature, from D.H. Lawrence's *Sons and Lovers* to essays by Aldous Huxley to portions of Franz Kafka's "Reflections on Sin, Pain, Hope and the True Way." Huxley's essays "Pascal" and "Spinoza's Worm" deal with two Western philosophers who were concerned with the meaning of existence. That Nakajima should have read (and translated) these essays suggests that he was interested in a Western perspective on the questions he had struggled with since his youth.
Also during this eight year period, Nakajima continued writing his own fiction. He wrote "Tonan sensei" in September 1933, "Toragari" in February 1934, "Rōshitsu ki" in November 1936, "Kamereon nikki" in December 1936 and "Gojō tanni" in May 1939. He also wrote and compiled a collection of poems between November and December 1937 which continued the theme of self and existential doubt which were discussed above with regard to "Rōshitsu ki." In fact, a scholar of Nakajima's work, Tada Ichirō, writes of the theme contained in this collection of poems as follows: "Nakajima's themes, which are at the heart of these works ("Rōshitsu ki" and "Kamereon nikki")—namely, questions as to what is self, fears regarding the uncertainty of existence, metaphysical doubt and anxiety—these themes extended into his poetry as well."

One series of poems from this collection which both expresses this anxiety and indicates the influences on Nakajima during this time is entitled "Henreki" (Wanderings, 1942). In the fifty-five tanka which constitute this series of poems, Nakajima refers to famous artists and thinkers from both Asia and the West, from ancient and modern times alike. The persons mentioned in these poems range from the medieval Japanese poet Saigyō to Byron, from Lao-tzu to Freud, from Bodhidharma to Christ. There are verses devoted to the writers Anatole France and Robert Louis Stevenson, to the poets Li Po and Hitomaro, and even to Vincent van Gogh and Ludwig von Beethoven. Also conspicuously present are references to the Western philosophers Augustine, Hegel, Kant, Pascal
and Spinoza, all of whom contributed to the development of existentialism. That the ideas Nakajima was exposed to during this period influenced his philosophy is suggested by the allusion to Goethe's *Faust* near the end of this sequence. Nakajima writes that the only way for him to achieve fulfillment in this existence is to act, as "Dr. Faust taught."38

The need to act is a theme which also appears in "Kamereon nikki." The story is written in the first person and concerns a school teacher who adopts the African chameleon brought in by one of his students. The events in this story follow the same pattern as events in Nakajima's own life. In 1935, one of his students at Yokohama Girls' Higher School brought in a live chameleon which, due to his fondness for exotic things, he found quite fascinating. He obtained permission to look after the chameleon in his apartment until a cage was built at the school, but the animal became listless under his care. Eventually he donated it to a local zoo.39 In "Kamereon nikki," Nakajima uses these events to frame the protagonist's psychological self-examination. As noted earlier, "Kamereon nikki" and "Rōshitsu ki" are considered "records of (Atsushi's) life" or "essays on the pursuit of self." So the metaphysical anxiety expressed in "Kamereon nikki" is a reflection of Nakajima's own ennui. In the course of the story, as if to reinforce the protagonist's malaise, these feelings are compared with the chameleon's physical appearance, which worsens every day. In the following passage, the protagonist, who suffers from
asthma just like Nakajima did, rises one morning and looks at the chameleon, who also seems to be sick.

From the time I went to bed last night, I felt pressure on my chest, and as expected, through most of the night I suffered the usual attacks, so I got up. I gave myself an adrenalin injection and sat in bed until morning. The difficulty breathing has subsided somewhat but my head is killing me. Morning has come, but I'm still uneasy, so I've taken eight ephedrin tablets. I don't feel like having any breakfast. Due to my congestion, I can't lie on my side. All day long I'll sit in my chair, leaning against my desk. I'll sit there in front of the chameleon's cage, my chin resting in my hands, gazing at the animal.

The chameleon isn't doing well either. Poised on a branch, it stares fixedly at me through tiny eyes. It doesn't move. It looks as though it's meditating. The way it coils its tail is interesting, as is the way its fingers hold the branch: three in front, two in back. It doesn't seem to alter its color at all. Could it be that since it's been placed in a completely foreign environment, it doesn't have a supply of pigment suitable for this location?

As he looks at the chameleon, the protagonist begins to consider himself as a creature who responds naturally to his environment. He recognizes that human beings are creatures of habit and that custom and environment cause their actions rather than an independent will. People who act without self-consciousness never think about such things, but people like the protagonist think too much. Instead of accepting his circumstance and his existence as given, he tries to understand everything. He has even tried in vain to determine what the self is by
contemplating the various organs of his body for the better part of a day. Eventually the protagonist comes to realize it is his fear of disappointment which keeps from accepting his circumstance and acting spontaneously. Unlike one of his colleagues at the higher school who accepts his surroundings without skepticism and acts without self-consciousness, the protagonist questions everything. In his search for answers, he has read both Asian and Western literature and philosophy, but he has not made anything his own, nor developed his own way of viewing the life. He likens himself to Aesop's vain jackdaw who borrows the feathers of other birds to make himself beautiful. "I have taken feathers from Leopardi, from Schopenhauer, from Lucretius, from Chuang-tzu and Lieh-tzu and from Montaigne. What an absurd and ugly bird I am." 41

While Nakajima claims, through the voice of his protagonist, that he has not made any of these ideas his own, one can see from "Kamereon nikki" that these various philosophies have contributed to the development of his own philosophy. Certainly Nakajima's desire to act spontaneously, without doubting his place in the grand scheme of the universe might be traced to his study of Chuang-tzu and his desire to understand the Taoist concept of "naturalness" (tru-jan).42 And according to much of the Western philosophy Nakajima read, accepting the authority of a universal power, whether it is called God or fate or "nature" (per Spinoza) or "Absolute Spirit" (per Hegel) or "noumena" (per Kant), and resigning oneself to the fact that things will be as they are, this is the
way to true fulfillment. Achieving this recognition of and resignation to
the nature of existence, one is free to pursue one's goals without fear of
failure. Clearly Nakajima's philosophical development was influenced by
his wide reading.

In the short story "Gojō tanni," Nakajima depicts his protagonist, the
river monster Wu-ching, as plagued with the same kind of self-doubt and
metaphysical anxiety from which the protagonist of "Kameoreon nikki"
suffers. Although the characters and events of this story are faithfully
borrowed from the sixteenth-century Chinese novel, *Hsí-yu chi* their
psychological characterizations are Nakajima's innovation. The original
story depicts the sixth century journey of the Buddhist monk, Hsuan
Tsang or Tripitaka, to India to bring the Mahayana scriptures back to
China. He is accompanied by three supernatural disciples, Wu-ching (the
river monster), Wu-k'ung (the stone monkey) and Pa-chieh (the pig
monster). Each of these characters has a distinct psychology, and through
the course of the story, the narrator, Wu-ching, comments on his
companion's strengths, thereby pointing out his own weaknesses. So in
this story, too, there is a tone of critical self-examination. "Gojō tanni" is
noteworthy here because Wu-ching (whose personality most closely
matches Nakajima's) sees the answer to his self-doubt and anxiety in the
existential philosophies of Wu-k'ung and Tripitaka.

Wu-k'ung is depicted as a man (actually a monkey) of action who
follows his instincts and does not worry about his circumstances being
other than they are. Although the monkey is illiterate, Wu-ching calls him a genius, saying "I esteem the high quality of Wu-k'ung's wisdom and judgement more than anything else, for they are in complete harmony with his physical strength." In contrast to Wu-k'ung, Wu-ching sees himself as weak due to his indecisiveness and fear of failure. When faced with a difficult situation, while he is still at a loss as to what to think or do, Wu-k'ung has already begun to act. Wu-ching wants to learn from Wu-k'ung, but is afraid of being reprimanded.

As I view (Wu-k'ung's) actions, I cannot help pondering, "A burning fire probably does not know that it is burning. If we harbor the thought that we are burning, then we are not in the true state of burning." When I watch his generous and free actions, I always think, "Free action is an action compelled by inner necessity that grows and ripens inside us and emerges of its own accord." Well, I merely think about such matters. I have not yet been able to follow Wu-k'ung even a step. Although I very much want to learn from him, I cannot draw close to him because I am afraid of the incomparably large scale of Wu-k'ung's personality and of the roughness of his disposition.

Though Wu-ching admires Wu-k'ung's uninhibited action, he also finds Tripitaka's recognition and acceptance of the tragic nature of existence worthy of emulation. It is certainly not unusual that a Buddhist monk should recognize that life is full of suffering, since the path to Nirvana, or enlightenment, begins with the recognition that all is suffering in this world. Consider Wu-ching's description of Tripitaka in this light.

Master Tripitaka clearly understands the position of himself (and of human beings and living beings) within the
larger scheme—he is aware of its tragedy and value. Moreover, he endures that tragic condition and still goes on courageously to seek truth and beauty. Certainly this is a trait that we lack and the master possesses. It is true that we have more physical strength than he has, and we also know a little about the magic of transformation. But once we realize the tragic nature of our own existence, I think that we shall never be able to continue in earnest to lead a righteous and beautiful life. I can only marvel at this noble strength existing within that weak master.45

Tripitaka’s resignation regarding the tragic nature of existence has Buddhist overtones. However, though the path toward Nirvana begins with the recognition that life is full of suffering, an important step along the way is the denial of joy or beauty in the world. While Tripitaka’s acceptance of the tragedy of existence may be considered Buddhist, his pursuit of truth and beauty while conscious of that tragedy has overtones of existentialism. Ochner suggests that Nakajima’s depiction of the nobility of Tripitaka in view of his awareness of the inevitable end of all things reflects Pascal’s comments in Pensées about man as “a thinking reed” who although he be destroyed by the forces of the universe is still “more noble than that which killed him, because he knows that he dies and the advantage which the universe has over him; the universe knows nothing of this.”46 This existentialist tone is perhaps clearer in Wu-ching’s comparison of Tripitaka and Wu-k’ung.

In their manner of living, both of them regard the given as the inevitable and feel the inevitable to be complete. Furthermore, they look upon the inevitable as freedom. It is said that diamonds and charcoal are composed of the same chemical element. It is interesting that these two people,
who seem to differ more widely than do diamonds and charcoal, both have ways of life based on such an understanding of reality. And what could this "equation of inevitability and freedom" be, if it is not the proof of their genius?47

The concept of inevitability as freedom clearly derives from existentialist thinking. One of Spinoza's tenets was that once a person recognizes that things cannot be other than they are, he is freed from the disturbance of the passions.48 "Gojō tanni" is a clear example of the influence of Western ideas on the development of Nakajima's philosophy. It is interesting that he presents such ideas in a distinctly Asian cultural frame, that is, a classic of Chinese fiction. Even the title of the short story is an allusion to Asian culture. Ochner points out that the characters for tanni (欺異) are the same as those in the title of the Tannishō (欺異抄) Collection Inspired by Concern over Heresy), the thirteenth century record of the teachings of Shinran, an important historical figure in the Jōdo sect of Buddhism in Japan. The characters may be translated as "lamenting the differences" and certainly Wu-ching laments the weakness of his character as opposed to the spiritual strength of his companions. But if translated according to a Buddhist reading for tan (敬) of "admiration," the title may be rendered "admiring the differences." Since Wu-ching observes Wu-k'ung and Tripitaka with the idea of emulating their nobler qualities, the latter seems a more appropriate interpretation for this story.49 In any event, this mingling of concepts from the West and from Asia is strong evidence against the hypothesis that Nakajima's
use of Asian settings for his fiction was intended to denounce Western cultural imperialism: had that been a significant motivation in his creation of this story, it is doubtful that he would have incorporated elements of Western philosophy to the extent that he did. 50

The companion short story to "Gojō tanni" was "Gojō shusse" which was completed in 1942, and was grouped together with the former under the title "Waga saiyū kī" (Account of My Journey to the West), a play on the title of the Chinese novel on which they are based, Hsi-yu chi, (Record of the Journey to the West). Although it was written later than "Gojō tanni," the events in "Gojō shusse" take place before the events in the former in the chronology of the Hsi-yu chi. The story is set in the River of Flowing Sand (Liu Sha Ho)51 and concerns Wu-ching’s metaphysical anxiety and his search for answers to his questions about the meaning of existence among the myriad philosophers whose schools line the river bottom. The idea of fish philosophers indicates the kind of humor and irony which characterizes this story. But at the same time, the philosophies represented have their basis in traditional Asian and Western schools of thought. There are allusions to Taoism and Zen Buddhism, but also to Christianity, to the Romanticism of the German author Novalis, and to the existentialist ideas of Pascal. Thus while Nakajima depicts the river bottom philosophers with humor, he does not really lampoon the ideas they espouse, but rather presents an overview of the schools of thought which he had investigated in his own search for the meaning of existence.
Nakajima begins by describing Wu-ching’s illness. "No matter what he said or did, he grew tired of it; everything he saw or heard caused his spirits to fall; he loathed himself for what he did and had lost all faith in himself." In the end he came "to doubt everything he had previously accepted as natural." After consulting with a physician, he decides that his only hope is to search for an answer to his doubts among the philosophers of the river bottom. He eventually meets a Zen master named Tsuo Wang who possesses "strong powers of meditation and only (wakes) up once in fifty days." Wu-ching waits for the Master to open his eyes.

On the fourth day after Wu-ching had arrived, the Master opened his eyes....After sitting opposite him wordlessly for a while, Wu-ching asked fearfully, "I am very sorry to disturb you like this, but I have something I want to ask you. What is this thing which we call 'I'?"

"Shame on you--you worthless wretch!" the Master scolded and suddenly struck Wu-ching a blow on the head. He reeled from the blow (sic), but took up his position again. After some moments, he guardedly repeated his former question. This time the stick did not come down. Without moving his face or body in the slightest, Master Tsuo Wang opened his thick lips and replied as if in a dream, 'The thing who feels pangs of hunger when it hasn't eaten for a long time is 'you'. The thing who feels cold in winter is 'you'." Closing his thick lips he looked at Wu-ching for a while and then shut his eyes. And for fifty days he did not open them.

Wu-ching waits for the Master to open his eyes again and is rewarded for his patience with another koan-like bit of instruction, after which the Master closes his eyes again. Unhappy because the teachings of this Zen
master do not answer his questions, Wu-ching takes his leave. He then meets a youth who is shouting at the passing fish:

> Fear the wrath of the Lord and believe in him! Know ye that our brief lives are immersed in an infinite eternity! Know ye that the confined space in which we live has been cast into the midst of an infinite expanse of space of which we are not aware and which knows us not! Who can remain without fear and trembling at the insignificance of his own being? We are all criminals condemned to death and bound by iron chains. Every other moment some of us are killed before the very eyes of the rest of us. We just wait our turn without hope. The hour of our Doom is approaching!...All we can do is to love God and despise ourselves. We must not deceive ourselves that a part is independent of the whole....Those who become one with God will lead more meaningful lives.54

Wu-ching wonders at the intensity in the youth's eyes, "How could such fanaticism be contained within that noble, gentle figure?" He decides that he cannot find relief in this doctrine, so he continues his search. These two caricatures of religious philosophers demonstrate that Nakajima could portray subjects which he took seriously with a light touch. As Ochner points out, the words of the Christian zealot are an allusion to Pascal's *Pensees,*55 an author and thinker whom Nakajima admired. Throughout Wu-ching's spiritual quest, there are a number of other allusions to both Western and Asian ideas and literature with which Nakajima was familiar, such as the extolling of Nature from Novalis' *The Novices of Sais,* and the Taoist teachings contained in *Chuang-tzu* and *Lieh-tzu.*56 All receive the same humorous treatment as is manifest in
the above citations. As with "Gojō tanni" the blending of cultural elements from West and Asia in this story suggests that there were diverse influences in the development of Nakajima's philosophy and his art.

The examples of Nakajima's literature considered thus far suggest that his fiction, rather than illustrating his approval of his government's actions to safeguard Asian culture in China and the South Pacific against Western imperialism, reflects his search for the meaning of existence and his own worth. His use of Chinese settings for some of his historical fiction bespeaks his regard for Chinese classics of literature and history instilled in him by the Confucian training provided by his father and uncles and also reflects his taste for exotic locations. The short stories considered from Nakajima's high school magazine also indicate his fondness for historical events and exotic settings as frames for his fiction. The two short stories from Nakajima's later years, "Gojō tanni" and "Gojō shusse," though based on a classical Chinese source, also exhibit the influence of the Western ideas and philosophies with which Nakajima was acquainting himself in his search for answers to his metaphysical doubts. In the next chapter, I shall consider Nakajima's late fiction and suggest that, rather than revealing his support of Japanese expansionism, his wartime fiction, like his earlier short stories, manifests his spiritual search for meaning.
NOTES

1Biographical information comes from two sources: Nakamura Mitsuo, "Nenpu" (Chronological History), NAZ 3, 763-71; and Nobuko Miyama Ochner, "Nakajima Atsushi: His Life and Work" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1985), 1-45. This dissertation will hereafter be referred to as "Life and Works."


4Maruyama, 107.


6Ochner, "Life and Works," 5-6, citing Nakajima Tan, "Kinshiganteki Shina kan" (Myopic View of China), Nihon oyobi Nihonjin No. 592 (Oct. 1912).


8NAZ, 1, 9-10.


10Hamakawa Katsuhiko, Nakajima Atsushi no sakuhin kenkyū (Research on Nakajima Atsushi's Works) (Tokyo, 1976), 5.

11Kojima Takanori was a warrior who served the Southern Imperial Court during the early part of the Nanbokuchō period (14th century). He was made famous by a story in the medieval martial tale Taiheiki in which he conveys a message to the imprisoned Emperor Go-Daigo by writing a Chinese poem on the trunk of a cherry tree. This episode was promulgated among Japanese by means of a national textbook.
probably the same one which Nakajima refers. The poem "Kojima Takanori" is included in Jīnō shōgaku shōka (Primary School Anthems) and is still widely enjoyed by school children. Yokoi Kiyoshi, "Kojima Takanori," Heibonsha daihyakka jiten (The Heibonsha Encyclopedia), 5, (Tokyo, 1975), 886.

12 NAZ, 1, 40-41.
14 NAZ, 1, 108.
15 Usui Yoshimi, "Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku" (Nakajima Atsushi's Literature), Tenbō (View) (Dec. 1948) cited in Sagi Tadao, Nakajima Atsushi ron: "rōshitsu" no ōdō (A Discussion of Nakajima Atsushi: the Methods of "Panic and Confusion") (Tokyo, 1990), 197.
16 Fukunaga Takehiko, "Nakajima Atsushi--sono sekai no mitorizu" (Nakajima Atsushi--A Rough Sketch of His World), Kūdai bungaku kanbō kōza (Lectures on the Appreciation of Modern Literature), 18, (Tokyo, 1959) cited in Sagi, 197.
19 Ochner, "Life and Works," 18. See also Hikami Hidehiro, "Kaisetsu: hito to bungaku" (Commentary: the Man and His Literature), Rī Ryō, Desh, Sangetsu ki, hōka Meijin den, Kökyō (Li Ling, Disciple, Tiger-Poet, also the Expert, and the Possessed) (Tokyo, 1967), 153.
20 NAZ, 2, 55.
21 NAZ, 2, 51.
23 NAZ, 2, 52.
24 NAZ, 2, 52-3.
25 NAZ, 2, 54.
26 NAZ, 2, 64.

27 NAZ, 2, 61. For information about the massacre of Koreans following the 1923 earthquake refer to "Chôsenjin gyakusatsu jiken" (The Massacre of Koreans), Heibonsha daihyakka jiten, 9, 1004.

28 NAZ, 2, 61-2.

29 Sasaki Mitsuru, Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku (The Literature of Nakajima Atsushi) (Tokyo, 1973), 53.

30 Sasaki, 52 and 58. For historical highlights, refer to the following entries in Nihon Rekishi Daiziten: "Tanaka naikaku" (The Tanaka Cabinet), vol. 6, pages 505-06, "Cho saku rin bakushi jiken" (The Incident of Chang Tso Lin's Assassination by Bombing), vol. 6, pages 611-612, and "Yamamoto Jôtarô," vol. 9, page 409.


33 NAZ, 3, 104.

34 NAZ, 3, 106.

35 "Nenpu," NAZ, 3, 767.

36 The information about Nakajima's activities between 1933 and 1941 comes from "Nenpu," NAZ, 3, 767-70.


38 NAZ, 2, 250. Nakajima quotes the "teaching" of Dr. Faust: "行為によらぬは求れぬ" or "Without taking action, you won't be relieved of your suffering."


40 NAZ, 1, 84.

41 NAZ, 1, 89.

43 Nobuko Miyama Ochner, "Wu-jing's Admiration: Nakajima Atsushi's *Gojō Tan'ī*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 41(2):229. Hereafter this article will be referred to as "WA." For original text, refer to NAZ, 1, 323.


45 Ochner, "WA." 233. Original text, *NAZ* 1, 328-29.


50 For discussion of Nakajima's research into Pascal's personality vis à vis the characterization of Tripitaka in "Gojō tanni," refer to Hamamatsu, pages 73-75 and also Ochner, "WA," 224.


55 Ochner, "Life and Works," 486.

56 Ochner, "Life and Works," 488-89, 490 and 494.
CHAPTER II
LATE FICTION

In the chapter from his book *Dawn to the West* devoted to a critical analysis of Japanese literature written during the Pacific War, Donald Keene discusses some of the fiction which Nakajima wrote in 1941 and 1942. Keene suggests that Nakajima's wartime fiction reflects the anti-Western ideology of the military government which ruled Japan during the war, and argues that works like *Hikari to kaze to yume*, set in Samoa, and "Deshi," as well as other works set in ancient China, demonstrate Nakajima's at least tacit support for the government's policy of colonization in the name of safeguarding Asian culture. In his analysis of *Hikari to kaze to yume*, Nakajima's biographical account of Robert Louis Stevenson's experiences while living on Samoa, Keene discerns Nakajima's "antiwhite sentiment." He further suggests that Nakajima's choice of Chinese classics as source material for several of his stories from this period demonstrates his repudiation of Western culture. Keene writes:

Again and again in Nakajima's account of Stevenson one finds a specifically antiwhite bias, though it is not always immediately apparent, if only because the protagonist is a white man. Nakajima is indignant that the whites have imposed Western civilization on the rest of the world and consider that it is universal. He insists that the East, including Samoa and other islands not usually associated with Asia, has a civilization of its own that is of equal or perhaps even greater value; this civilization is described in Nakajima's stories of ancient China, the counterpart to his rejection of the modern West."
Two stories already discussed, "Gojō tanni" and "Gojō shusse" cast doubt on the assertion that "Nakajima's stories of ancient China" represent "his rejection of the modern West." Based on the sixteenth-century Chinese novel *Hsi-yu chi*, these short stories contain allusions to philosophical ideas from both Asian and Western traditions which reflect Nakajima's own search for answers to his metaphysical questions and existential doubts. There are allusions in these two short stories to the ideas of such Western thinkers and writers as Pascal, Spinoza, Novalis, Goethe, Nietzsche, Huxley and Plato. In fact, Nakajima stated that he wanted to make these stories his *Faust*, a fact which has led several scholars to regard them as Nakajima's contribution to the genre of *bildungsroman*, or the novel which portrays the mental development of the hero coming of age.

In a note to his friend, Fukada Hisaya, to whom he entrusted his manuscripts before leaving for Palau, Nakajima wrote that he found it difficult to complete his adaptation of *Hsi-yu chi* when faced with "such excellent models as Faust and Zarathustra." Fukada later wrote that he did not initially understand Nakajima's reference to Goethe's *Faust* and Nietzsche's philosophical work, *Also sprach Zarathustra* (Thus Spake Zarathustra), but after reading "Gojō tanni" and "Gojō shusse" together he realized that the importance of the two works lay not in their derivation from *Hsi-yu chi* as much as in their manifestation of a tone of self-examination typical of *Faust* and *Zarathustra*. If Nakajima's intention when writing these stories was to depict the journey toward
enlightenment of an introspective protagonist, an odyssey patterned as much on classics of Western literature as on those of Asian literature and crowded with allusions to Western as well as Asian philosophies, then it does not seem accurate to describe these representatives of Nakajima's late fiction as "rejection(s) of the West," even though they are set in ancient China.

While the works set in ancient China owe their characters and settings to Asian culture, the themes which Nakajima addresses, such as the relentlessness of fate and an individual's sense of self-doubt, are universal. Moreover I suggest that the way that Nakajima deals with these themes displays the influence of Western existentialist thought, as exemplified by "Gojō tanni" and "Gojō shusse." And while *Hikari to kaze to yume* does in fact contain some "anti-white" statements, its overall tone is more anti-imperialist or anti-colonialist, which is true to Stevenson's sentiments regarding European and American empire building in the South Pacific, and also resonates with the tone of his earlier work, "Junsa no iru fūkei," and is rather daring in view of Japan's colonialism during the Pacific War. In this chapter, I consider two of Nakajima's late works of fiction which are set in ancient China, "Sangetsu ki" and "Ri Ryō," from the perspective of Nakajima's questions about fate and the meaning of existence. I also examine Nakajima's comments about the use of literature to support state policy contained in his essay "Tako no ki no shitde." As Nakajima states in that essay, he valued literature too highly to put it to any jingoistic use: that would be like using literature to create
Nakajima’s fiction set in ancient China is based on classical Chinese literary and historical sources. The source for his short story "Sangetsu ki" is the T’ang period story "Jen-hu chuan" (The Legend of the Tiger-Man), which is attributed to Li Ching-liang (fl. ca. 794). The original story involves a young man of imperial lineage, Li Cheng, who by means of his proficiency in composition and scholarly matters is awarded the prestigious position of chief constable in Chiangnan. However, Li Cheng has a very proud and arrogant disposition and soon comes to despise those he works with as incompetent and so he resigns. Secluded at home with his family for almost a year, he is eventually forced by circumstance to take a more humble position in the southeastern provinces to support his struggling family. On his return a year or so later, Li Cheng falls ill at an inn. After battling a fever for ten days, he becomes insane and disappears into the woods and is not seen for many months. When Li’s old friend and former colleague, Yuan Ts’an, a supervising censor traveling to the southern provinces with an imperial commission, encounters a talking tiger on his southward journey, Li’s fate is finally revealed: he has turned into a ferocious tiger. In relating his story to Yuan, Li attributes his transformation to karmic retribution for his inhuman behavior during his life: he had a clandestine affair with a propaganda posters. In short, the way Nakajima invests his protagonists with some of his own characteristics suggests that his fiction was more a medium for self-examination than a vehicle for supporting state policy.
widow in the provinces, but when the widow's family found them out, to avoid public embarassment and blackmail, Li set fire to her home killing them all. Thus Li acknowledges his metamorphosis as repayment for his misdeeds. Li requests his old friend Yuan to look after his family and at the end of the story he entrusts Yuan with a number of poems to pass along his descendants, poems which "tell of the things I tried to do, the man I tried to be." 8

As he did with his "Gojō" stories, Nakajima adapted the original story freely. In "Sangetsu ki," he adds elements of psychological characterization more suited to his themes of self-examination and self-doubt. Nakajima portrays Li Cheng as an aspiring poet who, when he leaves his position as chief constable, devotes himself to achieving fame through his poetry. However, unable to support his family through his literary endeavors, Li accepts a civil service position lower than his former post. The necessity of submitting to the commands of "those men who had formerly been his equals and were now of significantly higher rank, men whom he had regarded as blockheads, of whom he had taken little notice in the old days" galled the proud and conceited Li Cheng. In such a state of despondency and gloom, it was not difficult for insanity to seize him. 9 As in the original tale, while staying at an inn in a southeastern province, Li goes mad and disappears into the forest screaming wildly. However, when Li eventually meets Yuan Ts'an in Nakajima's adaptation and relates his tragic story, he reveals an attitude of critical self-examination completely foreign to the character in the
original tale. It is through his self-analysis that Li begins to understand the reasons for his fate. This passage is from his conversation with Yuan.

Earlier I told you that I ignored the cause of my transformation. And so at first I did. In the past year I have, I think, come to perceive at least a glimmering of the truth. In my human days, I retired to my home town, as you know, and shunned the company of men. People thought my behavior arrogant and haughty, not realizing that in large part it sprang from diffidence. I shall not pretend to you that I, the reputed genius of the town, was entirely devoid of pride. But mine was a timid pride—the pride of a coward. Though I had resolved to be a poet, I declined to study under a master or to mix with my fellow writers, and this because of cowardly diffidence—because I unconsciously feared that, if I were to associate with other poets, the jewel of genius within me might be revealed as paste. At the same time, I hoped and half believed that the jewel was real, and I disdained to mingle with vulgar people whose lives were not spent in literary pursuits. Thus, I cut myself off from the outside world and lived in isolation with my family. More and more I looked down on the common run of men, and financial difficulties only served to increase my scorn for money-makers. But the whole time my fear grew that I was, in truth, far from being a poetic genius. Pride and diffidence—the two battened within me until they became almost my entire being....My diffident pride was that of a wild beast and, despite all my intelligence and culture, I was in the end unable to keep it under control. This pride it was that prevented me from becoming a great poet. Well I know that many men with far less talent than mine have achieved poetic fame by humble study of the works of others and by devoted application. Yes, my pride it was that made life for my family a misery and for myself a torment! That raging pride finally turned me into a wild beast in form as well as spirit.
In Nakajima's adaptation, there is no mention of Li's affair with a provincial widow; the reasons for his metamorphosis are more psychological than karmic. After considerable self-examination, Li relates that it was his own haughty diffidence (sondai na shūchishin) and timid conceit (okubyō na jisonshin) which caused his transformation. While this development differs substantially from the original tale, it gives the story a psychological tone similar to several of Nakajima's other works of fiction. Li's self-analysis is reminiscent of that in "Kamereon nikki" in which the protagonist (Nakajima's alter-ego) recognizes his fear of failure as the hinderance to his spontaneous action. It also recalls Wu-ching's recognition that his fear of failure prevents him from emulating Wu-k'ung. In "Sangetsu ki," Li Cheng realizes too late that it was his proud fear of failure which prevented him from seeking help from the masters in the pursuit of his dream of becoming a famous poet and the resulting internal struggle finally turned him into a tiger "in form as well as spirit."

This kind of self-doubt was certainly something that Nakajima struggled with himself, for it is a recurring theme in his literature. Even in "Rōshitsu ki," considered one of Nakajima's most autobiographical works, when the protagonist Sanzō is faced with a choice between dedicating himself to pursuing fame in academia or simply existing from day to day on a substitute teacher's pay, he chooses the latter lifestyle because of his "timid conceit." "His unwillingness to fall behind his peers might expose his lack of ability both to others and to himself; thus, with his habit of being extremely self-conscious in social situations, his
achieving some recognition for himself (in academics) was out of the
question, and it was only natural that he should reject the first
lifestyle.\footnote{11} This "timid conceit" (okubyô na jisonshin) is the same trait Li
Cheng discerns in himself as the cause of his transformation.\footnote{12} That
Nakajima projected his perceived personal flaws on to Li Cheng is further
suggested by the appearance of the terms "timid conceit" and "haughty
diffidence" in a retrospective essay by Fukada Hisaya. Fukada writes that
Nakajima may have consulted with him regarding his manuscripts rather
than one of his more qualified colleagues because "I seemed to be the
most suitable cushion against his so-called 'timid conceit and haughty
diffidence."\footnote{13}

Nakajima accentuates the impression of alienation and disappointment
in "Sangetsu ki" by making some structural changes in his reworking of
the legend. For example, in the original, Li Cheng reluctantly takes a
lower civil service position in the provinces, but is hospitably treated by
the local administrators and receives respect appropriate for one with his
talents and learning.\footnote{14} By contrast, in Nakajima's adaptation, Li Cheng
suffers the humiliation of taking orders from bureaucrats for whom he
has no respect, bureaucrats who have been advancing steadily in their
careers while he made vain attempts to establish himself as a poet. The
disappointment of his literary endeavors, together with the humiliation of
taking orders from his former equals make Li increasingly bitter and
create an effective mood of alienation. Nakajima develops this mood by
changing the order of Li Cheng's requests to Yuan Ts'an at the end of the
story. In the original, Li asks Yuan to look after his family and then entrusts him with a dozen or so of his poems to pass along to his descendants. In Nakajima's reworking of the tale, Li, the frustrated poet, first asks Yuan to record his poems for posterity and then, almost as an afterthought, he asks his friend to take care of his family. "Truly I should have made this request first of all," Li says. "Yet while I was human, I was the sort of fellow more concerned with his own feeble poetry than with his starving wife and children. Thus I have lapsed into this beastial form."15 By reversing the order of Li's requests, Nakajima portrays Li's need for acceptance as a poet as an obsession which continues to grip him even after his transfiguration, thereby developing more fully the mood of alienation and disappointment.16

One final adaptation which Nakajima makes to the story is the addition of dramatic irony. In the original, Li entrusts his poems to Yuan. The poems are described as manifesting great style and profound truth, and Yuan reads them over admiringly again and again.17 However, in Nakajima's reworking of the story, Yuan silently admires Li's technical skill and poetic sensibility, while at the same time realizing that the poems lack that germ of inspiration from which great poems grow.18 Nakajima deftly adds this element of irony to the story, by revealing to his reader that although Li is obsessed with becoming a famous poet, his lack of poetic genius makes his ambition unattainable. Moreover, this addition of irony makes Li's fate all the more tragic, in view of his realization at the end of the story that it was the conflict between his
desire to become a poet and his fear of failure which finally turned him into a tiger. So at the end of "Sangetsu ki," the impression that Nakajima leaves the reader with is that of the relentlessness and inevitability of fate. While retribution and fate are also themes in the original story, Nakajima shifts the emphasis from external events to psychological characteristics as the cause for Li’s transformation. Only after his resentful struggle against his fate has turned him into a tiger does Li realize that "to meekly accept the circumstances with which we are presented without knowing the reasons behind them, and to carry on living ignorant of those reasons, this is our fate as living beings."19

"Sangetsu ki" is clearly a psychological reworking of a didactic Chinese tale about karmic retribution by means of which Nakajima explores the issues of man’s struggles with his own nature, and the inevitability of man’s fate. To consider it a "rejection of the West" because Nakajima chose Chinese source material for his setting and characters overlooks the fact that the issues Nakajima addresses in this story were as important to writers and philosophers in the West as they were to those in Asia. For example, alienation and the irresistibility of fate also concerned Franz Kafka, an author Nakajima had read and even translated. In fact, some scholars have made comparisons between "Sangetsu ki" and Kafka’s 1915 short story "The Metamorphosis," in which the protagonist is transformed into a giant beetle.20 While this story deals with the protagonist’s alienation from his family and his eventual acceptance of his fate, Kafka does not employ the same tone of self-analysis which Nakajima so
effectively uses in "Sangetsu ki." Whether or not Kafka’s story directly inspired Nakajima’s reworking of the classic Chinese tale, his use of the existential themes of alienation, self-doubt and the inevitability of fate in "Sangetsu ki" suggest the influence of his reading of Western literature and philosophy. His choice of the T’ang dynasty legend as a backdrop for these themes would certainly make his story more accessible to Japanese readers more familiar with Chinese literature than with the existentialist fiction of a writer like Kafka.

The relentlessness of fate is also a theme in Nakajima’s novella "Ri Ryö," which is based on the ancient Chinese historical records, *Shih chi* by Ssu-ma Chi’en (145-907 B.C.) and *Han shu*. The story, divided into three parts, revolves around the Han dynasty general, Li Ling, but also incorporates two other characters whose lives are bound up with Li Ling’s, Ssu-ma Chi’en and Su Wu. The first part describes Li Ling’s march in 99 B.C. with five thousand infantrymen deep into the territory of the northern nomadic tribe, the Hsiung-nu. Li Ling has asked Emperor Wu for this dangerous assignment (preferring it to serving as a supply officer as the Emperor had originally intended), confident that the strength and allegiance of his troops would help him prevail over the barbarians. Li Ling’s army encounters a force of eighty thousand mounted Hsiung-nu warriors and the two armies do battle for several days. Despite the fewness of their numbers, Li’s soldiers fight so valiantly that the Hsiung-nu are convinced Li’s army is being secretly resupplied, and thus the
barbarians begin to plan their retreat. But just at that moment, a traitor defects to the barbarian camp and informs them that Li's army is not being resupplied and is in fact nearly out of munitions. Thus, cruel fate intervenes and does not allow Li to escape; his remaining troops are killed or scattered by the Hsiung-nu and he is captured.

The second part of the story is set in the capital where the Emperor becomes enraged upon learning that Li Ling has been captured instead of being killed leading his men in battle. The Emperor consults his court officials as to an appropriate punishment for Li Ling and his family, and they—being little more than sycophants—roundly condemn Li Ling's actions. Only Ssu-ma Chi'en speaks in Li's defense, praising his courage and loyalty to his country and suggesting that Li may have surrendered to the Hsiung-nu so that he might reconnoiter their position and report it back to the capital. Ssu-ma Chi'en also denounces the hypocrisy of the court officials who now criticize Li when only a few months before they drank a toast to his success. Sneering at the ministers, Ssu-ma Chi'en labels them "officials who think only to save themselves and protect their own wives and children." Emperor Wu is not impressed by Chi'en's defense of Li Ling, much less his attitude, and orders him to be castrated for his insolence. Although Ssu-ma Chi'en has honestly stated the facts of the matter and has defended a noble and loyal general, merciless fate has interceded and brought the shame of castration on the righteous historian.
At this point, Nakajima gives the character Ssu-ma Chi'en a somewhat existential outlook, employing the self-examination which he has so effectively used in several of his other stories. As he sits in his prison cell full of rage and resentment, Chi'en begins to try to think through the situation and fix the blame for his fate. He thinks first of blaming Emperor Wu, but then recognizes that Wu is in fact one of the greatest sovereigns in China's history. He next thinks of blaming the hypocritical court officials, but realizes that theirs is "a secondary evil,"24 since they are only interested in self-preservation. Chi'en then considers the "evil" that he himself has done in defending Li Ling. But he cannot consider having stated the truth to be the cause of his disgrace. As he struggles to see the reason for this shameful mutilation of his body, he finally concludes that his only crime is that he exists. "Whatever the motive may be, if it yields this result (castration), then it must after all be called 'evil.' Yet, what is my offense? What is it? There is none. I have only done justly. If I am forced name something, then I say that the mere fact that 'I exist' is my offense."25

Nakajima continues to develop Ssu-ma Chi'en into a kind of existential hero who, despite the shameful fate which has befallen him, determines to continue living in order to write his history. In fact, Ssu-ma Chi'en had promised his dying father, Ssu-ma T'an who served as Grand Historian until his death, that he would complete the historical record that T'an had started. Burton Watson suggests that when Chi'en was arrested for his defense of Li Ling, it was expected that he would commit suicide rather
than submit to investigation, as any man of honor would do. However, his resolve to keep his promise to his father prevented him from killing himself and, unable to buy a commutation of his sentence, in the end Chi'en was castrated for his offense, a shameful punishment worse than death. Nakajima has rearranged the facts slightly for dramatic effect, depicting Ssu-ma Chi'en sitting in his prison cell after receiving his disgraceful punishment and gradually remembering his promise to his father and, in the end, resolving to continue living to write his history despite his ignoble physical condition.

Quite forgetting himself, Ssu-ma Chi'en pounded his head repeatedly against the wall of his cell and when he stopped, blood flowing from his forehead, he determined that he would try to kill himself. He wanted to die. How wonderful it would be if he could die. Then the frightful shame he had heaped up would simply flee away. He had no fear of death. Yet why couldn't he die? For one thing, there was nothing within his prison cell with which to commit suicide. However, beside that, there was something inside of him which prevented him from killing himself. At first he could not identify it. In spite of the temptation to kill himself which continued to nag at him in the midst of his bitter resentment, a vague feeling diverted his thoughts from suicide. He wasn't sure whether he had forgotten to do something, yet that was exactly the sensation he felt.

The third part of the story deals with Li Ling's experiences among the Hsiung-nu. Li is well treated by the barbarians who respect his courage and prowess as a warrior, however, his loyalties remain with the Han, and he looks for a means of exacting his revenge for his capture and thus vindicating his name. But the longer he remains among the Hsiung-nu,
the more he comes to appreciate their way of life, even though his allegiance remains with the Han. About a year later, after a certain battle which ends in a stunning victory for the Hsiung-nu, Emperor Wu gets a report that "General Li" is advising the barbarian forces. Thinking that it must be Li Ling, (in fact, it was another captured Han general, Li Hsu) the enraged Emperor executes Li Ling's entire family. When he learns that his entire family has been executed, Li Ling's loyalty to the Han is severely shaken and at length he accepts his fated life among the barbarians, even marrying the daughter of the Shan-yu (the Hsiung-nu chieftan), becoming a barbarian general and advising the Hsiung-nu on Han battle strategy. Yet Li Ling cannot completely abandon his former loyalties. Riding south with a barbarian army to engage Han forces, Li happens upon the very battlefield where his own army of five thousand Han infantrymen was destroyed by the Hsiung-nu. Thinking about their faithful allegiance to him and their bones rotting beneath the once blood-soaked soil, Li turns his mount around and returns to the north. Nakajima here portrays Li Ling as a man increasingly troubled by self-doubt, vacillating between two divergent loyalties, between two opposite ways of living. Somewhat like Li Cheng, whose internal struggles eventually turned him into a tiger, Li Ling is the pawn of a relentless fate, helplessly carried along in directions he would not choose for himself.

After living among the barbarians for some time, Li Ling is asked by the Hsiung-nu to try to convince Su Wu, a Han envoy who has been exiled to the desolate northern area known as Lake Baikal, to join their ranks.
However, Su Wu is constant in his loyalty to the Han despite the loneliness and hardship he suffers. Like Ssu-ma Chi’en, he goes on living in spite of his difficult circumstance. Yet unlike Chi’en, Su Wu is described only through Li Ling’s eyes, so the reader does not see the internal struggles and doubts which this hero goes through. Su Wu’s main purpose in the story seems to be to offer an example of unswerving loyalty which makes Li Ling wonder about his own worth as a Han Chinese. Consider the following passage wherein Li Ling journeys to Lake Baikal to inform Su Wu that Emperor Wu has died.

When Li Ling went to Lake Baikal and told Su Wu (that the Emperor had died), the latter faced south and began to weep bitterly. He wailed for many days, to the point where he finally vomitted blood. As he observed this situation, Li Ling gradually came to feel a sullen depression. He certainly did not doubt the sincerity of Su Wu’s grief. Such genuinely intense sorrow could not but move him. Yet Li himself did not shed so much as a single tear for the Emperor. Su Wu had not suffered the execution of his entire family as Li Ling had. Nevertheless, Su Wu’s elder brother was executed for causing a traffic accident during one of the Emperor’s processions, and his younger brother, too, had been killed for his inability to bring a certain criminal to justice. What was Su Wu thinking when he praised the Han Dynasty for having treated him kindly?

As he thought about these things and beheld Su Wu’s genuine sorrow, Li Ling realized for the first time that there was another quality behind Su Wu’s iron will, which previously had been the only characteristic Li was able to perceive. His friend was in fact brimming over with the incomparably pure and genuine affection of a Han patriot for his homeland, and this was not something forced upon him in the name of Virture or Honor but an earnest and
unfeigned love which unconsciously, irresistibly and continually sprang from his heart.

Li Ling thus collided with the fundamental factor which distinguished him from his friend, and the odious and dismal self-doubt which filled him as a result could not be driven away. 31

Li Ling's self-doubt and alienation thus become all the more intense. Even when some Han army officers offer to smuggle him back to the capital under an assumed identity, Li Ling cannot return, his shame being too great. And when Su Wu finally returns to the capital, Li Ling is filled with horror at the realization that "heaven has been watching" and has rewarded Su Wu for his loyalty. How would heaven respond to him for the unjustifiable actions of his past? 32 In the end the alienated Li Ling dies among the Hsiung-nu.

Certainly the irresistability of fate plays an important role in this story. Fate presents each of these three characters with difficult circumstances, which arise despite his efforts to do what he considers just and right. In fact, Fukunaga suggests that fate plays a more important role in "Ri Ryô" than any of the three central characters. First noting that both Li Ling and Ssu-ma Chi'en find themselves placed against their will in circumstances beyond their control, Fukunaga goes on to suggest that Nakajima's objective was to depict the impossibility of escaping fate.

These men, each living in a reality which he has not chosen for himself, are gradually being crushed by the blind will of external forces, while yet trying to remain true to his own trifling will. However, each man's will is not what the author takes pains to depict. Ssu-ma Chi'en, who stakes his spirit in his Shih chi, is of a constitution far tougher than Li Ling. However, Ssu-ma Chi'en is not the focus of this story.
And Su Wu's strength seems to be the epitome of willpower, but he is nothing more than a minor figure. As for Li Ling who, acting contrary to his own will, becomes a sacrifice to fate, it is doubtful whether even he is the central character of this work. The main character in this story is cruel, blind, illogical fate; and what the author puts to the test here is the possibility whether these men can escape the power of fate which their external circumstance exerts on them. 33

Given that this novella was written in 1942, with the Pacific War having already begun and after Nakajima had been to Palau and seen the conditions for the South Pacific islanders under Japanese colonialism, it seems likely that the author may have been putting to the test the possibility of all mankind escaping the power of fate. 34 There are other elements in "Ri Ryo" beyond the irresistibility of fate which suggests that Nakajima had in mind the current wartime milieu. One can surely see parallels between the "incomparably pure and genuine" patriotic affection of Su Wu and any number of individuals involved in the war. However, while Nakajima suggests that an unfeigned and spontaneous love of country such as Su Wu's is an admirable thing, he hints that national pride forced upon a country's citizens "in the name of Virtue or Honor" is far from desirable. This is certainly evidence that Nakajima did not support nationalistic propaganda, and suggests that he would be adverse to writing fiction to promote state policy. His portrayal of Li Ling's ambivalent feelings toward the Han Dynasty, his love for his homeland and his comrades but his hatred for Emperor Wu may be interpreted as a metaphor for those Japanese (or indeed the citizens of any country) who love their country but do not agree with its government's policies.
Speaking to the isolation felt by such Japanese citizens may have been part of Nakajima's goal in depicting Li Ling's bitter alienation. Would not such citizens experience a self-doubt akin to that of Li Ling whenever they observed the patriotism of their fellows which they did not share? The existential difficulties each of the three central characters faced and the bleakness of their deaths (Ssu-ma Chi'en dies upon completing his history, the only thing that kept him living; Su Wu dies shortly after returning to the capital; and Li Ling dies isolated from his homeland) suggest Nakajima's pessimistic attitude and illustrate his philosophy that human existence is fraught with sudden and unexpected disappointment. Such an attitude would hardly be desirable for someone writing stories to support state policy.

In his essay "Tako no ki no shita de," Nakajima states his opinion that literature should not be used for the purpose of supporting the policies of the military government. Yet the subtlety with which he does it may explain why this essay was not censored. By ironically suggesting that his tenure in the South seas, "under the pandanus trees" has left him too dullwitted to understand the present problems facing literary people and the nation, he is able to state his viewpoint that literature should not be used to nationalistic ends, that war and literature should remain distinct.35

The reader receives the first clue of the essay's ironical tone in Nakajima's statements at the beginning that while on Palau, "I did not
once lay eyes on either a newspaper or magazine from back home in Japan. It was as though I forgot about such things as literature. 

In fact, Nakajima had his wife and his father send him newspapers and magazines from Japan while he was on Palau, and while on Saipan, he read the latest literary magazines voraciously. And he was very still interested in the thoughts of the literary circles. The scholar Hamakawa Katsuhiko suggests that Nakajima's intent here is to ridicule the writers who have free access to the latest newspapers and magazines and yet "lament the fact that our literature is not relevant to our times and therefore attach to it the colors of state policy." Hamakawa suggests that Nakajima is lodging his protest against the literary circles whose writers do not distinguish between the propaganda and the facts.

Consider the irony in the following passage.

"While a loyal citizen goes about making a living," I reasoned, "if he is a man of letters, he may naturally produce some literary works. However, even if he does not, that should not matter in the least. Whether or not an individual decides to become a writer is not a question of grave concern at this time." At this level of dimwittedness I returned to Tokyo, whereupon the innudation of various subtle and complex problems totally overwhelmed me. It was at that moment that I first realized that, of course, literature can also be useful in war. What an awful fool I had been! However, are we to find the usefulness of literature in the movement toward cultural edification, cultivated by the scholarship and knowledge of the man of letters? Or again, is the utility of literature to be found in the literary man's commentaries on the classics or in his insights concerning a literature of topical events? Is such a literature beneficial? I wonder.
If we consider how literature demonstrates its utility, it seems to me that we could regard it as one kind of antidote to our "outer strength and inner softness" (外剛内柔), a disposition which we tend to overlook during such times as these. Or again, we might consider it as one kind of remedy to the tendency to avoid thinking that lurks beneath our fervent exterior, so ready to take up the fight. However, as yet I do not have the courage to assert these things clearly. To expect that the inspiration our nation is now experiencing will soon manifest itself clearly in our literature seems to me somewhat hasty. And to lament the fact that our literature is not relevant to our times and therefore to attach to it the colors of state policy, this too seems odd. Even if there is such inspiration, it is not yet matured sufficiently for literary works, nor does it suit traditional themes. For these and various other reasons, it is clear that the present is a difficult time to be writing. Perhaps it is best then, if one cannot write that one does not. Would it not be better to refrain from writing rather than produce something unreasonable? (At this point, I have returned again to my former "South seas" way of thinking!)

Nakajima goes on to state that "at this time when workers are lacking," the writer who "voluntarily casts aside his pen and takes up some kind of real work may be doing a favor both for his country and for literature." As in "Ri Ryō" where he describes genuine love of country as admirable, here Nakajima expresses his feeling that true patriotism and concern for Japan's future are valuable in wartime. But just as clearly he states that literature is not meant to be the means for whipping the public into a patriotic fervor. He writes that he does not mean to belittle literature's significance to society by making such comments. "On the contrary, because I hold literature in such high esteem, I simply do not want to allow the existence in our world of any substitute for it. Unlike food
substitutes or synthetic clothing. a substitute for literature is unnecessary. I feel that to the extent possible, we must wait until nothing other than the real thing can be created (Nakajima's emphasis)." He ends his essay by declaring that his "desire to truly serve (his) country in some way" and his "resistance to submitting literature to merely jingoistic utility" remain as irreconcilable as when he was on the island of the pandanus trees, and thus he continues to distinguish war and literature quite sharply. He remarks that although he has returned to Tokyo, and has thus regained access to the currents of literary thought, his attitude will not easily be changed. He concludes ironically, "perhaps I have not yet awakened from my South seas stupor."

The examples of Nakajima's late fiction considered above suggest an author concerned with philosophical questions about fate and the meaning of man's existence. And while Nakajima's earlier fiction deals with similar themes, these issues were especially pertinent at a time when Japan was becoming involved in a world war. Yet Nakajima's essay "Tako no ki no shita de" makes clear the author's resistance to using literature to promote the activities of the militarist government. If one considers Nakajima's short story "Deshi" and his novel Hikari to kaze to yume in light of these same themes, one finds that rather than manifesting Nakajima's anti-West bias, they display his concern with the fate of mankind, and his dislike, not just for Western imperialism, but for colonialism in general.
NOTES

1 Keene, 942.

2 The allusions to Pascal and Novalis, as suggested by such scholars as Sasaki Mitsuru and Nobuko Miyama Ochner, were discussed in chapter two. Allusions to Goethe, Nietzsche, Huxley and Plato are also discussed by Sasaki and Ochner, as well as Hamakawa Katsuhiko. Refer to Sasaki, "Gojō shusse--sono kōzō" (The Structure of "Wu-ching's Quest"), Nakajima Atsushi no bungaku, 182-227; Hamakawa Katsuhiko, "Gojō tanni," Nakajima Atsushi no sakuhin kenkyū (Research of Nakajima Atsushi's Works), (Tokyo, 1976), 58-87, hereafter referred to as Kenkyū; and Ochner, "Life and Works," 477-524.

3 This statement was made in correspondence by Nakajima to Tanaka Seijirō in May 1941. Refer to NAZ 3, 597 and 770; Hamakawa, "Gojō shusse," Kenkyū, 233; and Ochner, "Life and Works," 477. For references to "Waga saiyū ki" as a bildungsroman, see Fukunaga Takehiko, Nakajima Atsushi: sono sekai no mitorizu (Nakajima Atsushi: a Rough Sketch of His World), Kindai bungaku kanshō koza (Lectures on the Appreciation of Modern Literature) v. 18, (Tokyo, 1959), 12; Ochner, "Life and Works," 477.

4 NAZ 3, 599; see also Ochner, "Life and Works," 478.

5 Sagī, 30.

6 Refer to "Tako no ki no shita de," NAZ 1, 551.

7 Ochner, "Life and Works," 450; see also Fukunaga, Kindai bungaku kanshō koza, 31.

8 Moss Roberts, tr. and ed., with C.N. Tay, Chinese Fairy Tales and Fantasies. (New York, 1979), 183-87. The portion regarding Li Chong's illicit affair does not appear in this translation, but does appear in the Japanese translation found in Fukunaga, Kindai bungaku kanshō koza, pages 32-36, refer specifically to page 36. This part of the story is also discussed by Ochner in "Life and Works," page 455. Ochner's source for the original story is listed as "jinko den" (The Legend of the Tiger-Man), Shin Tō shosetsu (Fiction in the T'ang and Chin Dynasties), Kokuyaku kambun taisei: bungaku-bu, Vol. 12, (Tokyo, 1939), 495-502.

9 NAZ 1, 153.

11 NAZ 1, 118.

12 NAZ 1, 158.

13 Fukuda Hisaya, "Nakajima Atsushi no sakuhin" (Nakajima Atsushi's Works), Kindai bungaku kansho koza, 139-40.

14 Roberts, 183.

15 NAZ 1, 159-60.


17 Fukunaga, Kindai bungaku kansho koza, 35.

18 NAZ 1, 157.

19 NAZ 1, 155.

20 Ochner, "Life and Works," 460-462. Ochner also refers to Ivan Morris' comments at the beginning of his translation of "Sangetsu ki" that the story resembles Kafka's work, see "Tiger-Poet," 452; she also cites an essay by Narita Takaaki in which he suggests that Nakajima had an interest in stories of transfiguration and had read Kafka's "The Metamorphosis," see "Nakajima Atsushi: Sangetsu ki," Kansho to kenkyu gendai Nihon bungaku koza: shosetsu (Appreciation and Research, On Modern Japanese Literature: the Novel), vol. 7 (Tokyo, 1962), 157.

21 Ochner argues that there is insufficient evidence to claim that Nakajima had read "The Metamorphosis," let alone that he was inspired by it. See Ochner, "Life and Works," 460-62.

22 In Nakajima's version, Ssu-ma Chi'en denounces the officials who had toasted Li Ling months earlier (史女町賦 ) as he left the capital for the northern territory and now that the mission has failed, roundly condemn him. NAZ 1, 515. In Ssu-ma Chi'en's letter to his friend, Jen Shao-ch'ing, in which he relates the events in court following news of Li Ling's surrender, the officials are denounced for criticizing Li Ling's surrender only days after they had toasted his victory on the battlefield. See Burton Watson, Ssu-ma Chi'en, Grand Historian of China (New York, 1958), 62.

23 Watson, 61. This is Watson's translation of the compound 鐘女町賦; see NAZ 1, 516.
24 NAZ 1, 522.
25 NAZ 1, 523-24.
26 Watson, 62; see also note 123 on page 218.
28 NAZ 1, 524.
29 NAZ 1, 532.
30 A similar observation is made by Ochner. See “Life and Works,” pages 585-86.
31 NAZ 1, 540.
32 NAZ 1, 543.
33 Fukunaga, Kindai bungaku kanshō kōza, 16-17.
34 Ochner describes “Ri Ryō” as evidence that Nakajima’s questions about the meaning of existence had expanded to include all mankind, a shift which she attributes to his response to the Pacific War, “a situation in which individual lives were inexorably involved and over which they had no control.” See Ochner, “Life and Works,” 592.
35 NAZ 1, 549.
36 NAZ 1, 549.
37 Hamakawa, 197; see also Ochner, “Life and Works,” 646.
38 Hamakawa, 197.
39 NAZ 1, 550.
40 NAZ 1, 551.
41 NAZ 1, 551.
42 NAZ 1, 551.
CHAPTER III
"WAR IS WAR AND LITERATURE IS LITERATURE"

Given Nakajima’s disposition to resist “submitting literature to merely jingoistic utility,” it seems unlikely that he would write fiction which even tacitly supported the militarist’s activities in China and the South Pacific. Yet in his analysis of Nakajima’s short story “Deshi,” Keene suggests that Nakajima used the character of Confucius’ impetuous disciple, Tzu Lu, to symbolize “the role of Japan within an East Asia pervaded by Confucian teachings.” Like Tzu Lu, the Japanese acted impetuously but were sincere in their efforts to defend the teachings of Confucius. This defense extended to the expulsion of “alien, imperialistic Western influences,” Keene argues. He suggests that by means of the metaphorical character Tzu Lu, Nakajima promoted the notion that the Japanese were the champions of Asia and “the true heirs to the ancient glories of China.”¹

While Keene observes that Nakajima’s portrait of Tzu Lu includes elements of the samurai ethic, he does not mention that by the end of the story Tzu Lu’s character has changed somewhat. Keene states, “the impetuous Tzu Lu, who meets his end fighting against enemy forces, is closer to the samurai ideals than to those of the Confucian scholar.”² But Keene fails to point out that Tzu Lu, although killed while defending his lord’s honor, has achieved the Confucian scholar’s concern for form. This is demonstrated in the fact that his only concern at the moment of his death is for others to recognize that he is dying like a “true gentleman” (a
kunshi 君子 or Confucian gentleman) with his hat set properly on his head. Nakajima's characterization of Tzu Lu and Confucius are quite different, but both master and disciple always conduct themselves according to their ideals. This suggests that Nakajima's objective may not have been to promote Japan as the guardian of Chinese civilization as much as it was to encourage the Japanese reader to live true to his ideals in the face of adversity.

"Deshi," like Nakajima's other "Chinese works," is also based on classical Chinese sources. It chronicles the relationship between the two and charts the development of Tzu Lu's character. At the beginning of the story he is described as a rough, impetuous youth who "likes swords." But Confucius senses beneath his coarse exterior a "loveable honesty." Tzu Lu is immediately impressed with Confucius' worldly wisdom and strength and decides to become his disciple. There are episodes through the course of the story by means of which we learn about Tzu Lu's impetuosity, but also of his integrity and sense of justice. Tzu Lu's sense of right will not allow him to accept anything, even his master's teaching, until he understands it. As a result, Tzu Lu argues frequently with Confucius, who predicts that Tzu Lu's uncompromising morality will lead him to an unnatural death. We also learn about Confucius' character. The righteous sage understands that his ethical teachings will not be accepted by everyone. But he also understands their importance, so he wanders from state to state, enduring the harsh treatment of some officials and finding a receptive audience among others. Tzu Lu is unable
to discern the wisdom in this way of life. He cannot understand how self-preservation might be more important than fighting and even sacrificing one's life for the sake of truth.

The philosophical differences between Confucius and Tzu Lu are illustrated in the following passage. Confucius and his disciples are listening to the story of a battle between the feudal states Ch'u and Wu.

At the time when the Ch'u attacked the Wu, there was a man named Kung-yin Shang-yang who gave chase to the Wu King. The Ch'u Prince Ch'i chi, who was riding in the same chariot, said to Kung-yin, "It is for the glory of the Ch'u King that we ride into battle. You should have your bow in hand!" Whereupon, Kung-yin drew out his bow. The Prince commanded him, "Fire on that fellow there!" Kung-yin sent an arrow flying, killing one of the enemy. However, he immediately set his bow down again. Once more he was ordered to take it up and use it and two more enemy soldiers died as his arrows found their mark. Kung-yin hid his eyes after letting each arrow fly. When he had felled three enemy soldiers, he said "For someone of my humble rank, this number of trophies is sufficient. I must report back." So saying he turned his chariot around.

Upon hearing this story, Confucius marvelled, "Even when killing, this fellow acted with decorum." Yet to Tzu Lu, this was an absurd story. Within such words as "three trophies is enough for someone like me" Tzu Lu saw distinctly a way of thinking which places one's individual actions over the welfare of the state, a way of thinking which he found despicable. Boiling with rage, he challenged Confucius defiantly. "When confronted with the crisis of his lord, a filial retainer exhausts all his energies on his lord's behalf and finally dies, and only with death does his integrity fail. Master, how can you praise this Kung-yin?" Confucius characteristically uttered not a word. Finally he smiled and replied, "You are right. It is as you have said. I only took him
to be one whose soul simply cannot bear to kill." (Original emphasis included.)

Clearly Tzu Lu's attitude that self-sacrifice in the service of one's lord is the height of morality reflects the feudal Bushido code, the ethical system based on Neo-Confucian teachings which was resurrected by the Japanese militarists during the Pacific War and pervaded Japanese society. Tzu Lu denounces behavior which places one's own self-interests above the welfare of the state, and defends his position using Confucian (or at least Neo-Confucian) rhetoric. Yet Confucius seems to be praising Kung-yin for his poise while committing what he felt was an unconscionable act. In fact, it was Kung-yin's observance of etiquette, that someone of his rank should not take more than three trophies, which enabled him to quit his bow. Seeing that his disciple does not recognize that Kung-yin stopped killing according to his own sense of right, deftly using etiquette as a pretext, Confucius concedes Tzu Lu's point regarding the appropriate behavior of a faithful retainer.

However, the presence of Bushido rhetoric does not necessarily suggest that Nakajima intended "Deshi" as a contribution to the propaganda of wartime Japan. Rather it illustrates the difference in the philosophies of Confucius and Tzu Lu. To the former, to continue living and acting according to one's ideals is vital. To the latter, being ready to defend one's ideals with one's life is most important. However, in the paragraphs immediately following this passage, Tzu Lu finally realizes for the first time the value of his master's point of view. He recognizes that Confucius is destined to roam throughout China, enduring the contempt of
many officials as he spreads his teaching, and that his master recognizes and accepts this fate. Nakajima seems to suggest that although Confucius chooses not to fight for truth in the way that Tzu Lu does, his sense of justice and truth is no less fervent, for he is willing to endure cruel treatment and the hardships of continual wandering for the sake of his teachings. Indeed, Confucius is depicted as a kind of existential hero. Once he achieves this understanding and appreciation of his master's lifestyle, Tzu Lu finally accepts Confucius' mandate to his disciples, "Never despair under any circumstance, never disdain reality and always do your best within given limitations." In the end, having accepted Confucius' teachings and become a civil official, Tzu Lu is killed while defending his lord against attackers from a neighboring state. He sacrifices his life according to his "samurai" ideals, but Confucius' training has had a deep impact on Tzu Lu, for his last action exhibits his new sense of the importance of form. Lying bathed in blood, he reties his fallen cap on his head and shouts "Look here! A gentleman dies wearing his cap properly!" Tzu Lu is also a kind of existential hero, having sacrificed his own life for his "samurai" ideals and changed his coarse attitude in accord with Confucian ideals.

Ching-mao Cheng and Nobuko Ochner have observed that this depiction of Tzu Lu and Confucius as existential heroes resonates with Nakajima's portrait of Wu-k'ung and Tripitaka from "Gojô tanni." Tzu Lu and Wu-k'ung are men of direct action, while Confucius and Tripitaka are wise sages who know and accept the inevitability of their fate and
dedicate their lives to truth, enduring whatever difficult circumstance they face. One possible reading of “Deshi” is that it is a call for existential heroes in a time of grave concern for Japan. As the war progressed, the nation would need citizens who lived and worked according to their ideals, not those who showed a tendency to act without conviction, like the Japanese mentioned in “Tako no ki no shita de” who are “hard on the outside but soft on the inside,” who are ready to fight but do not really think about what they are fighting for. Whether Japan’s existential heroes be patriots ready to fight on the battlefields like Tzu Lu, or on the intellectual front lines like Confucius, they all must follow the same mandate, “never despair under any circumstances, never disdain reality and do your best within given limitations.”

Certainly Nakajima knew the limitations of his own frail health. Yet he produced several new short stories, including “Deshi,” and revised and completed several other manuscripts in the nine months between his return from Palau in March and his death in December 1942. In “Tako no ki no shita de,” Nakajima comments on the suggestion that the literary man’s battlefront should be his own study. He declares, “at present, one might be more sufficiently qualified to make such an assertion if one is a person with a flourishing creative fervor, or if one is a writer who believes he can best serve the public by means of his literature.” Given his desire to “truly serve (his) country in some way” as stated in the same essay, it seems that Nakajima may have felt that writing was the best way to satisfy that desire. But his aversion to “submitting literature to
merely jingoistic utility" suggests that the objective of "Deshi" was not to justify the colonization of China and Southeast Asia or to depict Japan as the champion and "true heir to the glories of ancient China." It seems Nakajima's intent was rather to call Japanese citizens to intellectual action in the face of a global war. By acting in accord with their convictions the Japanese might truly serve their nation.

Finally there is the question of whether *Hikari to kaze to yume* may be considered to reflect Nakajima's "antiwhite sentiments" as Keene suggests. This biographical story deals with Robert Louis Stevenson's life on Samoa from 1890 until his death in 1894, and does contain some negative remarks about European colonization. In the following passage, Keene cites a specific example of this negative sentiment. He claims that Nakajima's adaptation of Stevenson's own words seems to manifest the former's antagonistic feelings toward white imperialists, an antagonism not present in Stevenson's original remarks.

Sometimes Nakajima, quoting from Stevenson, adds remarks to make his antiwhite sentiments more explicit. For example, in Nakajima's account of the address delivered by Stevenson after a "road of gratitude" had been constructed for him by the Samoans, he is made to say, "In a word, you must develop with your own hands the riches of your own country. If you do not, others with a different color of skin will do it." Stevenson's message on that occasion has been preserved, but it makes no mention of "others with a different color of skin" who were menacing the Samoans; instead he urged them to "make roads, and gardens, and care for your trees, and sell their produce wisely, and, in one word, to occupy and use your country. If you do not, others
will." He does not mean by "others" people of a different race, as we can tell from the examples he gives of peoples who failed to make optimum use of their land and thereby suffered, the Irish and the Scots.\textsuperscript{13}

However, as Ochner points out,\textsuperscript{14} Keene neglects to cite one additional example of "peoples who have failed to make optimum use of their land" which is mentioned both in Nakajima's adaptation and in Stevenson's original speech as it survives today: the Hawaiians. In Stevenson's speech to the Samoan chiefs, he first mentions the "judgements of God" which he has witnessed in Ireland and Scotland. These people did not use the "talents" which were given them (Stevenson here refers to the parable of the talents from Matthew 25:14-30); they did not develop the fertile country they were given. Stevenson continues with his biblical imagery by saying that the Irish and the Scots would not listen to "the messenger" who told them to use and occupy their country, and so their land is eventually taken from them. Then, Stevenson illustrates his point with an example closer to the experience of the Samoan chiefs.

[And I have seen this judgement in Oahu also. I have ridden there the whole day along the coast of an island. Hour after hour went by and I saw the face of no living man except the guide who rode with me. All along that desolate coast, in one bay after another, we saw, still standing, the churches that have been built by the Hawaiians of old. There must have been many hundreds, many thousands, dwelling there in old times, and worshipping God in these now empty churches. For today they were empty; the doors were closed, the villages had disappeared, the people were dead and gone; only the church stood on like a tombstone over a grave, in the midst of the white men's sugar fields. The other people had come and used that country, and the Hawaiians...]

who occupied it for nothing had been swept away, "where is weeping and gnashing of teeth."\textsuperscript{15}

While Nakajima's adaptation of this speech makes only a passing reference to Stevenson's comments about the Irish, the Scots and the Hawaiians, and edits the details, Nakajima is certainly true to the spirit of Stevenson's warning: if the Samoans do not develop their land, the white settlers will. As Ochner suggests, the "antiwhite sentiment" expressed in Nakajima's version of Stevenson's speech is simply Nakajima's making explicit what Stevenson had implied in his warning that "others" would appropriate the Samoan's land.\textsuperscript{16} Ochner goes on to cite another example of "antiwhite sentiment" in Nakajima's adaptation of the speech, an example which seems to stem as much from Nakajima's misunderstanding to Stevenson's biblical allusions as from his own antiwhite bias. In the original speech, Stevenson warns the Samoans, "Now is the time when the messenger is come into your villages to summon you; the man is come with measuring rod; the fire is lighted in which you shall be tried, whether you are gold or dross."\textsuperscript{17} In Nakajima's treatment of the speech, the man with the measuring rod, an allusion to the prophet Ezekiel's visions, becomes "a wicked white man." Nakajima's version states, "This is the time when the wicked white man will stretch out his hands toward your land. He will surely come to your villages with his surveying instruments in hand. Your trial by fire has begun--will you be gold as expected, or will you be lead?"\textsuperscript{18}

The fact that Nakajima may have had difficulty with the allusions to the Bible is supported by his treatment of Stevenson's allusion to the
image of the swine trampling the pearl of great price (Matthew 7:6).

Stevenson says to the Samoans, "What are you doing with your talent Samoa?...Have you buried it under a napkin?...You have rather given it out to be trodden under feet of swine: and the swine cut down food trees and burn houses, according to the nature of swine...." Where Stevenson implicitly equates the invaders with swine, Nakajima's adaptation is a bit more explicit. "What are you doing with that which you have?...Are you not letting these pigs overrun your land? Are not these pigs burning homes, cutting down fruit trees and doing just as they bloody well please?" These passages indicate that, while Nakajima's adaptation of Stevenson's speech manifests his misinterpretation of some of Stevenson's biblical allusions, Nakajima clearly understood the implicit criticism of the activities of the colonial powers on Samoa. This being the case, the "antiwhite sentiment" which Keene detects in *Hikari to kaze to yume* should instead be recognized as anti-imperialist sentiment: Stevenson's oblique criticism of imperialism on Samoa which Nakajima simply makes more direct. Thus, rather than infusing his account of Stevenson's life on Samoa with his own antiwhite bias, Nakajima illuminates Stevenson's distaste for the exploitation and pillage of colonization, a distaste Nakajima shared, as evidenced by his earlier works "Junsu no iru fûkei" and "D-shi shichigatsu no jokei."

Nakajima would have learned of Stevenson's feelings regarding imperialism from the sources he used. These included Stevenson's own writings, *Vailima Letters, In the South Seas, Vailima Papers and A*
Footnote in History, Virginibus Puerisque and Memories and Portraits, as well as a 1937 biography by Janet Adam Smith. In the latter there are references to Stevenson's sympathies with the native Samoans and his desire to see that the "elementary principles of justice and humanity" be maintained on Samoa as in Europe. One passage in particular from this biography clearly defines Stevenson's sympathetic attitude toward the Samoans and suggests that Nakajima was justified in making explicit Stevenson's implicit anti-imperialism. The assessment of Stevenson's character it provides supports the argument that Hikari to kaze to yume is not as much a vehicle by means of which Nakajima voices his own antiwhite bias as it is an accurate depiction of Stevenson's interest in people of a different culture (i.e. his exoticism) and his dislike of exploitation and colonialism.

(Stevenson) had always been very sensitive to his environment--one of his earliest published essays was an acute analysis of the difference between English and Scots--and he never made the mistake of applying the standards of one society to another where they would be irrelevant. He never had any feeling that he was among niggers or barbarians, who were either to be bullied or slopped over; here was an old civilization which must be understood sympathetically and not expected, or forced, to conform to the pattern of a newer, commercial civilization which fell below it in beauty and natural dignity.

Regarding the theme of alienation in Hikari to kaze to yume, it is discernable in Stevenson's largely solitary efforts on behalf of the native Samoans. In fact, Stevenson wrote frequent letters to the editor of the London Times in an effort to alert his fellow countrymen to the poor
treatment of the Samoans by the three colonial powers, Germany, Britain and the United States. He also tried through personal diplomacy to ameliorate the detriorating relations between the Samoan King propped up by the colonial powers and another Samoan leader, considered by many the legitimate ruler. Stevenson sometimes worked in league with some of the island's white missionaries, but Nakajima creates a mood of isolation by depicting Stevenson as working alone for the most part. This mood is heightened by the format of Nakajima's novel. While Stevenson's copious correspondence is always addressed to one of his friends in Europe (chiefly Sidney Colvin), *Hikari to kaze to yume* is more like a diary with occasional editorial comments by Nakajima. As Ochner points out, the tone of Nakajima's novel is more subdued and reflective than Stevenson's "chatty" letters upon which the story is based. Thus Nakajima isolates Stevenson not only from the other whites on Samoa, but also from his friends in Europe. Alienation thus becomes a significant theme in this work.

Isolation is a current which runs through much of Nakajima's literature, from his earliest short stories like "Junsan o iru fūkei" to his later fiction such as *Hikari to kaze to yume*. We see the theme of alienation in Nakajima's depiction of Stevenson as the sole defender of the native's right to self-determination among the whites on Samoa. We see it again in his portrayal of Li Ling's life among the Hsiung-nu. While Li Ling admired the barbarian's ways of living, he also felt keenly the
pain of being separated from his country and his family. Another
can[. . .] "Ri Ryō," Ssu-ma Chi'en, also endured isolation. Abandoned
by his colleagues in the court, he was left to bear the humiliation of
castration alone. Yet Ssu-ma Chi'en was able to endure his harsh fate and
continued writing history. There is also a theme of alienation in "Deshi;"
as Confucius wanders from state to state driven by the contempt and
persecution of local officials as he spreads his teachings. Li Cheng from
"Sangetsu ki" experienced bitter isolation not just from family and
friends, but also from the literary world in which he longed to participate.
And Wu-ching from the "Gojō" stories endured the contempt of the river
dwellers and utter alienation as he search for the meaning of his
existence.

These characters are existential heroes who endure difficult
conditions, ultimately realizing the impossibility of resisting their fate.
As has been demonstrated above, Nakajima generally remains faithful to
his original sources when writing his stories. Yet his structural
adaptations and modifications in characterization seem intended to
highlight the alienation experienced by his characters and to illustrate
their self-examination and internal struggles in trying to come to terms
with their own fate. Critical self-reflection and a sense of alienation were
two of Nakajima's personality traits. That they should figure prominently
in his literature leads Ochner to suggest that Nakajima "lived vicariously,
through writing, the lives of people from the past for whom he felt a
strong affinity. He projected his own thoughts and emotions on his
characters to make the reader feel how those people lived and felt as real human beings, and what life meant for them.”

The existential hero then is a recurring character in Nakajima's late fiction, from the sage Tripitaka in "Gojō tanni" who pursues truth and beauty despite his recognition of the imminent possibility of his own death to the consumptive Stevenson who resigns himself to work alone for the benefit of the native Samoans. Rather than manifesting his tacit support of Japanese imperialism, Nakajima's wartime writings share an existential theme of accepting the inevitability of fate and carrying on with life and work according to one's ideals. This theme may reflect Nakajima's own realization that his frail health would not allow him to work for very long and his determination to put aside his "timid conceit" that his fiction would not be accepted and, enduring whatever rejection he might experience, to produce literature as long as he was able. As suggested above, perhaps upon his return from Palau, Nakajima decided that writing short stories was the best way in which he could satisfy his desire to "truly serve" his country.

There can be no question that the milieu within which he wrote influenced Nakajima. But it is unlikely that one of his objectives in producing short stories from 1941 to 1942 was to support the expansionist actions of the Japanese militarists. The fact that Nakajima chose ancient Chinese settings should not be interpreted as symptomatic of his Asian chauvinism, but should be regarded as characteristic of his
love of exoticism. After all, a number of his short stories from this period are set in the ancient Middle East.

There is clear evidence in his writings that he did not approve of colonialism, and that he would never condone using literature to benefit state policy. As a writer concerned with the inevitability of fate, Nakajima must have been concerned with the effects of war not only on his country, but also on the countries of the writers and philosophers, Western and Asian, whose ideas he admired. This concern is reflected in a letter to his son while he was serving on Palau in which he states his fondness for the natives of the island and suggests the reason for their unhappiness is that the Japanese colonists do not give them what they really need, adequate food and shelter, but instead are producing a Japanese language textbook for them.27 His late fiction advocates existential awareness—the recognition of one’s identity as the plaything of fate and the resolve to carry on living fully aware of this identity. Surely living and acting according to such an awareness would be the best way to serve one’s country during war.

In the introduction to this paper, I offered an example of art being misinterpreted to suit a particular agenda. In the instance cited, Bruce Springsteen at length had to publicly announce that his songs were not intended to praise the policies of the conservative administration which had misappropriated them. We have seen that there is significant evidence to argue that Nakajima’s art has been misinterpreted by those who would claim that it betrays his support of the Japanese military’s
expansionist activities during the Greater East Asia War. Perhaps the clearest statement that Nakajima did not intend his literature to be used as propaganda comes from "Tako no ki no shita de." He writes that while living in the South seas, he differentiated war and literature so clearly it seemed odd, and that his disposition did not change even after he returned to Tokyo. We see distinctly then that at the time he produced most of his late fiction, stories alleged to support the militarist’s imperialism, Nakajima Atsushi believed firmly that war and literature must remain separate.
NOTES

1 Keene, 943.

2 Keene, 943.

3 NAZ, 1, 499.

4 "Deshi" is based on material borrowed from The Analects, the Shih chi and Tsao-chuan. Refer to Ching-mao Cheng, "Chinese History in the Writings of Nakajima Atsushi," The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese 8:1 (November 1972): 53.

5 NAZ, 1, 465-68.

6 NAZ, 1, 491-92.

7 Prince Ping-wang Ch'i-chi (平王棄疾) was the twenty seventh king of the state of Ch'u. His reign lasted thirteen years from 528-516 B.C., during the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, (722-481 B.C.). See Morohashi Tetsuji, Dai kan-wa jiten (Comprehensive Chinese-Japanese Dictionary), vol. 6 (Tokyo, 1984), 388; see also Shimonaka Kunihiko, Ajia rekishi jiten (Encyclopedia of Asian History), vol. 5 (Tokyo, 1960), 309.

8 NAZ, 1, 492.

9 NAZ, 1, 493.

10 NAZ, 1, 499.

11 Cheng, 53; Ochner, "Life and Works," 548.

12 NAZ, 1, 550.

13 Keene, 942. For original Japanese of the citation from Hikari to kaze to yume, see NAZ, 1, 270, and for a translation see Miwa Akira, tr., Light, Wind and Dreams, An Interpretation of the Life and Mind of Robert Louis Stevenson (Tokyo: 1962), 130.

14 Ochner, "Life and Works," 315-16.


18. NAZ, 1, 271.


20. NAZ, 1, 270-71.


23. Smith, 107-08.


27. Hamamatsu, 192-93.
CHRONOLOGY OF NAKAJIMA ATSUSHI’S LIFE

1909 Born in the Yotsuya ward of Tokyo, the first child of Nakajima Tabito, a *kambun* teacher. Tabito and Atsushi’s uncles had been trained in the Confucian classics by Atsushi’s grandfather, Nakajima Busan, who operated a school in his home in Saitama Prefecture. Atsushi’s mother, Chiyoko, had also been taught by Busan before marrying Tabito.


1911 Atsushi’s parents divorce. His grandfather, Busan, dies.

1914 Tabito remarrys. Atsushi joins his father and stepmother in Kōriyama.

1916 Atsushi enters Kōriyama Primary and Higher School.

1918 Tabito takes a teaching position at Hamamatsu Middle School in Shizuoka Prefecture. Atsushi transfers to Hamamatsu Primary School.

1920 Tabito accepts a position at Ryūzan Middle School in Seoul, Korea. Atsushi transfers to Ryūzan Primary School.

1922 Atsushi graduates from Ryūzan Primary School and enters Seoul Middle School.

1923 Atsushi’s stepmother dies giving birth to his half-sister, Sumiko.

1924 Tabito marries for the third time.

1925 Tabito takes a position at Dairen Middle School in Manchuria. Atsushi continues studying at Seoul Middle School.
1926 Atsushi graduates from Seoul Middle School taking only four years instead of the customary five. He enters the literature department at First Higher School in Tokyo.

1927 Contracts pluerisy and spends the summer recuperating in Shimoda on the Izu Peninsula. In November, makes his first contribution to the school magazine, Kōyūkai zasshi (Alumni Magazine), his short story "Shimoda no onna" (Woman of Shimoda).

1929 Becomes a member of the editorial staff of the school magazine. Continues to contribute to the magazine, this year he contributes "Junsan no iru fūkei" (Scene with a Policeman). Forms a magazine with some of his schoolmates called Symposium, but his only contribution to this magazine is editorial.

1930 Graduates from First Higher School and enters the Japanese literature department of Tokyo Imperial University. Contributes his short story "D-shi shichgatsu joker (Sketch of D-City in July) to his higher school magazine in January. Reads the collected works of Nagai Kafū and Tanizaki Junichirō over summer vacation.

1931 Continues to read voraciously, completing the collected works of Ueda Bin, Mori Ōgai and Masaoka Shiki.

1932 Marries Hashimoto Taka.

1933 Graduates from Tokyo Imperial University in March. His graduation thesis is titled 'Tambi-ha no kenkyū' (A Study of the Japanese Aesthetic School) and focuses on the literature of Kafū and Tanizaki. Enters the graduate school of the same university in April, concentrating on Mori Ōgai's literature and accepts a teaching position at Yokohama Girl's Higher School. His wife gives birth to his first son, Takeshi in late April. Writes "Tonan sensei" (Master Tonan) in late August in memory of his uncle Nakajima Tan, who passed away in 1930.

1934 Quits graduate school in March. Writes "Toragari" (Tiger Hunt) in February and enters it in a contest sponsored by the literary
magazine *Chūō kōron* (Central Review). His story does not win, but is one of four printed in the July edition as a consolation.

1935-36 Continues to read widely. His favorites include *Chuang-tzu* and *Lieh-tzu*, as well as the works of Anatole France and *Pensees* (Thoughts) by Blaise Pascal. Takes up the study of Latin and Greek. Writes "Rōshitsu ki" (Diary of a Confused Man) and "Kamereon nikki" (Chameleon Diary). His second stepmother dies.

1937 Writes a collection of poems "Waka gohyaku-shu" (Five Hundred *Waka*). His wife bears a daughter, which dies within three days.

1938 Translates Aldous Huxley's essay "Pascal."

1939 Writes "Gojō tanni" (Wu-ching's Admiration). Translates Huxley's essay "Spinoza's Worm."

1940 Reads the literature of Robert Louis Stevenson. Begins the study of ancient Egypt and Assyria. His wife bears his second son, Noboru.

1941 Leaves Yokohama Girl's Higher School. Takes up a bureaucratic position on the island of Palau as a compiler of a Japanese language textbook for the native Palauans. Writes short stories "Sangetsu ki" (Tiger-Poet), "Mojika" (The Curse of Letters), "Kitsune tuski" (The Possessed) and "Miira" (The Mummy), as well as the novel *Tsushitara no shi* (The Death of Tsusitala).

1942 In February, "Sangetsu ki" and "Mojika" are published in the literary magazine *Bungakukai* (Literary World). Atsushi returns from Palau in March. *Tsushitara no shi* is published in May in *Bungakukai* with the new title *Hikari to kaze to yume* (Light, Wind and Dreams). "Gojō tanni," "Gojō shusse" (Wu-ching's Quest), "Meijin den" (The Expert), "Gyūjin" (Bullman), "Eikyo" (Waxing and Waning), "Kōfuku" (Happiness), "Fūfu" (Man and Wife) are published at this time. In December, he dies from the chronic asthma he has suffered for most of his life."Deshi" (The Disciple), "Ri Ryō" (Li Ling) and his essay "Tako no ki no shita de" (Under the Pandanus Trees) are published in 1943.
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