

INTRODUCTION

Accounts of Taiwan and its history have been profoundly influenced by cultural and political ideologies, which have fluctuated radically over the past four centuries on the island. Small parts of Taiwan were ruled by the Dutch (1624-1662), Spanish (1626-1642), Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga)¹ and his heirs (1662-1683), and a large part by Qing Dynasty China (1683-1895). Thereafter, the whole of the island was under Japanese control for half a century (1895-1945), and after World War II, it was taken over by the Republic of China (ROC), being governed for more than four decades by the authoritarian government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party,² before democratization began in earnest in the late 1980s.

Taiwan's convoluted history and current troubled relations with the People's Republic of China (PRC), which claims Taiwan is "a renegade province" of the PRC, has complicated the world's understanding of Taiwan. Many Western studies of Taiwan, primarily concerning its politics and economic development, have been conducted as an

¹ *Pinyin* is employed in this dissertation as its Mandarin romanization system, though there are exceptions for names of places which have been officially transliterated differently, and for names of people who have been known to Western scholarship in different forms of romanization. In these cases, the more popular forms are used. All Chinese names are presented in the same order as they would appear in Chinese, surname first, given name last, unless the work is published in English, in which case the surname appears last.

² The KMT was founded in China in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen and others after the Wuchang Uprising of 1911 set in motion the collapse of the Qing Dynasty and establishment of the Republic of China. Later led by Chiang Kai-shek, the KMT-controlled ROC government ruled much of China from 1928 until its retreat to Taiwan in 1949 after defeat by Chinese Communist Party revolutionaries under Mao Zedong.

adjunct of Chinese studies. Before the 1990s, local scholarly research and writing on the history of the island was also circumscribed within the framework of Chinese history due to the Sino-centric cultural politics of the former KMT party-state regime, which was intent on asserting its claim—in competition with the Chinese Communist Party regime in Beijing—to being the sole legitimate government of the entire territory once ruled by the Qing Dynasty, including Taiwan.

Under this Sino-centric framework, the historical significance and cultural legacies of the Japanese colonial era of Taiwan's history, from 1895 to 1945, were not fully explored in scholarly discourses. This is highly regrettable because it was under the Japanese rule that Taiwan underwent a radical transformation toward modernization that has had fundamental significance for the shaping of modern Taiwan's complex identity.

In contrast to other Asian countries such as China or Japan, whose initial phase of modernization signified Westernization, Taiwan's modernization has been of greater complexity because it was intertwined with the realities of Japanese colonial rule, and it evolved as a secondhand, Japanized modernity. In their endeavor to negotiate a Taiwanese identity, Japanese-educated Taiwanese intelligentsia oscillated between Japan and China, between the colonial "mother country" and their ancestral "motherland." This dissertation is a study of modern Taiwanese painting as a cultural document that conveys historical realities, aesthetic strategies and cultural discourses of the Japanese colonial period. It represents an attempt to place Taiwanese artists' pictorial representations of Taiwan, of the Taiwanese people, and of the artists' personal visions and sensibilities within their proper historical, social, and literary contexts, with the aim of exploring what factors contributed to the particular forms of those images, and how, in turn, the images played a role in addressing Taiwan's identity issue and developing new cultural representations in the colonial society.

While the development of early modern Taiwanese art was generally viewed as an outcome of colonial enlightenment and modernization, during the first four decades of

post-war KMT rule, commentators on Taiwanese art and culture of the period were prone to foreground indications of ethnic resistance and anti-Japanese sentiment. From an ethnocentric perspective, the first-generation Taiwanese artists were often characterized by local critics and biographers as cultural, and national, heroes for their artistic achievement at the official salons in colonial Taiwan and Japan.

Examination of Taiwan's literary and artistic works of the period, however, discloses ambiguity, multivalency and contradiction in attitudes toward, and representations of, Taiwanese cultural identity, which was constantly shaped and reshaped by complex layers of historical constructs. Taiwanese art and culture is not monotonal but highly variegated in philosophical or ideological content, rooted as it is in the complicated political history and cultural encounters in Taiwan's past. In exploring the artworks of the Japanese colonial era, therefore, it is necessary to go beyond the narrow perspective of anti-Japanese antagonism, and to avoid reading those works as homogeneous expressions of a single political or cultural mindset.

This dissertation argues that the diversity and hybridity marked in the Taiwanese art produced during the Japanese colonial period manifest a pluralism of responses and approaches to colonial modernity. Rather than addressing the harshness of Japanese rule or expressing anti-colonial ideas, a great number of the Taiwanese paintings reveal ideas about and attitudes of the artists themselves as aspiring Taiwan-born modern artists. This study focuses both on analyses of their artworks and the ideologies that inform them. While abundant monographic studies of first-generation modern Taiwanese artists provide guidance for this investigation, contemporary sources and various aspects of recent scholarship in post-colonial studies, Japanese imperialism, and modern Taiwanese literature provide ideas and perspectives for examining questions of cultural ideology.

Historical writing on Taiwanese art of the Japanese colonial period appeared first in the 1950s. Wang Baiyuan's essay "Taiwan meishu yundong shi" (History of Taiwan's Art Movements) was the first publication to provide a survey of the "new art" pioneered

by Japanese-educated Taiwanese.³ Published in 1955, a decade after Japanese rule ended and Taiwan came under control of the Republic of China, it outlines the development of Taiwanese modern art by means of chronological accounts of major art associations and biographies of artists who belonged to these associations and participated in their exhibitions. Wang's essay is a useful documentation of Taiwan's art groups from the 1920s up to the 1950s, listing their activities, membership, and titles of the award-winning works exhibited. His writing, however, is guided by a nationalist perspective that addresses Taiwan's modern art movements as adjuncts to Chinese and Taiwanese nationalist movements. It overemphasizes anti-Japanese sentiment within the local art world and simplistically characterizes cultural developments in Taiwan under Japanese rule in terms of ethnic antagonism. The first book on Taiwanese art, Xie Lifa's *Rijushidai Taiwan meishu yundong shi* (History of Taiwanese Art Movements of the Japanese Occupation Period) was published in 1978.⁴ It consists primarily of discussions of Taiwan's early modern art societies and art exhibitions, including two official colonial art salons that were deliberately omitted in Wang Baiyuan's survey.⁵ In his exploration

³ Wang Baiyuan, "Taiwan meishu yundong shi," (History of Taiwan's Art Movements) Taipei *wenwu*, 3/4 (Mar. 1955): 16-65.

⁴ Xie's book is actually a compilation of essays serialized in *Yishujia* (*Artist*) magazine in 29 installments from June 1975 to December 1977.

⁵ Yen Chuan-ying notes that, due to ideological pressure, Wang Baiyuan intentionally characterized the colonial-era non-governmental art associations and exhibitions as the mainstay of modern Taiwanese art, omitting discussion of the influential official salons that were founded earlier and were imitated by the non-governmental salons. Yen Chuan-ying, "Rijushiqi Taiwan meishushi de yanjiu," (Research on Taiwanese art under Japanese rule) *Proceeding of the Conference Minguo yilai guoshi yanjiu de huigu yu zhanwang* (A Review and Prospect of Research on National History since the *Minguo* [R.O.C] Period) Department of History, National Taiwan University (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1992) vol.2, 1513-14. For the same issue of *Taipei wenwu* (see note 3) Wang wrote an essay on the official art salons of the Japanese colonial period, published under the pen name Wang Yigang. See Wang Yigang [Wang Baiyuan], "Taizhan, fuzhan," (*Taitens, Futens*) *Taipei wenwu* 3/4 (Mar. 1955): 65-69.

of the formative years of Taiwanese modern art, Xie highlights twenty-six Taiwanese artists and four Japanese colonial salon jurors as the leading art figures in Taiwan of the period. Like Wang, however, his accentuation of anti-Japanese nationalism narrows the perspectives and circumscribes the criteria he employs to examine and evaluate his subjects. Within the context of Japanese rule, Japanese-educated Taiwanese artists are appraised in terms of their contributions not only to the advancement of Taiwan's modern art, but also to the cause of ethnic resistance.

Xie Lifa's book was warmly received in Taiwan's art world in the late 1970s. It became a starting point for many who set out to explore the origin of Taiwan's modern art. As observed by one local scholar, all of the Taiwanese artists included in Xie's *Rijushidai Taiwan meishu yundong shi* came to be regarded as masters or pioneers in later discourses on Taiwanese art history.⁶

Both Wang Baiyuan's and Xie Lifa's nationalist perspectives and anti-Japanese orientations in their assessments of Taiwanese art reflect the contemporary political agenda imposed by the party-state machine of the Kuomintang (KMT). At the time Wang wrote on Taiwanese art in the 1950s, Taiwan had entered a period of "white terror" during which the KMT regime enforced high-handed re-Sinicization and de-Japanization policies.⁷ Xie's book, according to the author himself, was written in response to the "Senkaku Islands Incident" of 1972, which ignited a wave of patriotic movements and

⁶ Ni Zaiqin, *Yishujia, Taiwan Meishu* (Artist Magazines and Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: Yishujia, 1995) 39.

⁷ After losing the Chinese Civil War to the communists in 1949, an estimated two million Chinese, mostly belonging to the Nationalist government, military, and business community, fled to Taiwan. The KMT government imposed martial law on the island, which came under the autocratic rule of Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo until the latter lifted martial law in 1987.

anti-Japanese sentiment among people in China and Taiwan.⁸ As an expatriate Taiwanese artist then living in New York, he delved into the history of Taiwan's "shameful" past in order to locate its roots in modern art history. After Taiwan's so-called "retrocession" to China in 1945, cultural legacies from the Japanese colonial period were officially interpreted by the KMT regime as an utter disgrace, the result of Taiwanese people's humiliating subjugation. All forms of local cultural expression, including literature and the fine arts, had to be framed as having derived from, and carrying on, the Chinese culture heritage, while conceptions of Taiwan apart from China, or anything distinctively "Taiwanese" in character, were taboo in discourses on culture and identity.

It was not until the late 1970s that "Taiwanese consciousness" became a leitmotif in the form of the Nativist Literature Movement,⁹ which kindled interest in tracing

⁸ The Senkaku Islands, or Diaoyutai Islands, are a group of uninhabited islands situated between Taiwan and Okinawa, closer to the former. The islands were part of Chinese territory since the late 16th century but were seized by Japan from Qing China in 1895. They came under the rule of the United States when it occupied Okinawa during World War II. In 1972, sovereignty over Okinawa, and arguably adjacent islands, was handed back to Japan in keeping with the Treaty of San Francisco. The debate on sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands became a major issue in foreign relations between China and Japan as well as Taiwan, whose KMT-led government claimed to be the legitimate representative of China.

⁹ The 1970s saw the rise of a *huigui xiangtu* (return to native roots) trend in Taiwan, as progressive intellectuals became increasingly conscious of their endangered cultural identity and criticized blind admiration and imitation of Western cultural models. Many liberal scholars, especially those who had just returned from the United States, played important roles in igniting this new trend, which at first centered on a few universities and intellectual magazines. Shortly after the Modern Poetry Debate of 1972, a group of critics began to publicly renounce foreign-influenced modernist works and to advocate a nativist, "socially responsible" literature. This trend reached its apex with the outburst of two Nativist Literature Debates in 1977 and 1978. The tradition of nativist literature as a creative genre—whose main features included the use of *Holo* (*Hoklo*) Chinese expressions (southern Fujian or *Minnan* dialect, commonly known in Taiwan as "Taiwanese" because it is the mother tongue of the majority), depictions of the economic plight of country folk or small-town dwellers, and resistance to the imperialist presence in

Taiwan's roots even to the "disgraceful" Japanese occupation period. Under the dominant Sino-centric ideology of the KMT government's repressive censorship, even native Taiwanese commentators usually took an anti-Japanese line and made nationalistic resistance a major theme in their publications on Taiwanese literature and art of the Japanese period. It was only after the four-decade-long martial law—imposed by the transplanted KMT regime in 1949—was abolished in 1987 that Taiwan's history, culture and social evolution could be studied from a broader perspective. And it is only in the past two decades that these aspects of Taiwanese history were gradually recognized as independent fields of knowledge worthy of state-supported academic research.

The earliest academic research on Taiwanese art was conducted by Yen Chuan-ying (Yan Juanying), who directed extensive field investigations and data collection under a grant provided by Taiwan's National Science Council for "Research Regarding the Development of Taiwanese Art during the Japanese Occupation."¹⁰ This project produced several important essays that contributed greatly to the formation of academic knowledge of Taiwanese art of the period.

"Taiwan zaoqi xiyang meishu de fazhan" (Development of Taiwan's Early Western Art)¹¹ surveys the origin of Taiwan's Western art in the historical context of

Taiwan—actually has its roots in a number of literary works from the Japanese colonial period.

¹⁰ The project was funded by the National Science Council from November 1987 to October 1989. Yen Chuan-ying, "Riju shiqi Taiwan meishu dashi nianbiao, 1895-1944," (Chronological Table of Taiwanese Art History during the Period of Japanese Occupation) *Yishu xue* 8 (1992): 57-98. Meanwhile, as part of the same research project, Lin Boting conducted a study on Eastern painting, whose findings are discussed in the essay "Taiwan dongyanghua de xingqi yu taifu zhan," (The Rise of Eastern Painting in Taiwan, 1895-1945). See Lin Boting, "Taiwan dongyanghua de xingqi yu taifu zhan, 1895-1945," *Yishu xue* 3 (1989): 91-115.

¹¹ Yen Chuan-ying, "Taiwan zaoqi xiyang meishu de fazhan," (Development of Taiwan's Early Western Art) *Yishujia*, 168 (1989): 142-65, 169 (1989): 140-61, 170 (1990): 178-91.

colonial education and official art salons and the difficulties that first-generation Taiwanese artists faced due to inadequate patronage and art markets. “Diantang zhong de meishu: Taiwan zaoqi xiandai meishu yu wenhua qimeng” (The Glamour of Modern Art: Early Modern Painting and Cultural Enlightenment in Taiwan)¹² investigates the relations between Taiwan’s early modern art and its modern cultural movements, colonial art education, and the pursuit of overseas study of art by first-generation Taiwanese artists. “Riju shiqi Taiwan meishu dashi nianbiao, 1895-1944” (Chronological Table of Taiwanese Art History during the Period of Japanese Occupation) is a compilation of data concerning Taiwanese art collected from various newspapers and journals from the Japanese colonial period.¹³ Revised and expanded, this last essay was transformed into a reference book, *Taiwan jindai meishu dashi nianbiao 1895-1945*, which is based solely on primary sources from the Japanese colonial era.¹⁴ As the first wide-ranging chronicle of Taiwanese art of that time, it represents a valuable source book for tracking art-historical news, events, artists and art associations of the period.

As academic and public interest in modern Taiwanese art grew in the 1990s, large-scale retrospective exhibitions of Taiwanese art proliferated. In addition to functioning as venues for Taiwanese art exhibitions and forums, museums such as the

¹² Yen Chuan-ying, “Diantang zhong de meishu: Taiwan zaoqi xiandai meishu yu wenhua qimeng,” (The Glamour of Modern Art: Early Modern Painting and Cultural Enlightenment in Taiwan) *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 64/2 (1993): 469-610.

¹³ Yen Chuan-ying “Riju shiqi Taiwan meishu dashi nianbiao, 1895-1944,” *Yishu xue* 8 (1992): 57-98. Funded by the state, the table has involved years of collecting, categorizing, reading and translating data from various newspapers and journals of the Japanese colonial period, particularly *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō*, the Japanese-language newspaper which was the mouthpiece of the colonial government. A monumental piece of time-consuming research, it signifies the growing attention of both the government and academia to Taiwanese art of the colonial period.

¹⁴ Yen Chuan-ying, *Taiwan jindai meishu dashi nianbiao 1895-1945* (Chronological Table of Modern Taiwanese Art 1895-1945) (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1998).

Taipei Fine Arts Museum, Taiwan Museum of Art (the predecessor of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts) and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts have published a substantial number of catalogues of Taiwanese art exhibitions.

Many conferences have produced significant papers on modern Taiwanese art and have generated extensive discussions and debates among local artists, critics and scholars.¹⁵ To name only a few, such gatherings include:

Zhongguo, xiandai, meishu (China, Modernity, Fine Arts) Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990

Zhonghua minguo meishu shichao (Art Trends of the Republic of China) Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1991

Tantao woguo jindai meishu yanbian ji fazhan (On the Evolution and Development of Modern Art in Our Country) Penghu County Culture Center, 1991

Chen Chengpo bainian danchen xueshu yantao hui (Symposium in Memory of Chen Chengpo's Centenary Birthday) Jiayi Culture Center, 1994

¹⁵ Wang Xiuxiong's essay "The Influences of Conservative and Authoritarian Practices of the First-generation Western-style Painters in Post-War Taiwan," for instance, was one of the conference papers that gave rise to much controversy in 1990. Wang Xiuxiong, "Taiwan diyidai xihujia de baoshou yu weiquanzhuyi ji qi dui zhanhou Taiwan xihua de yingxiang," (The Influences of Conservative and Authoritarian Practices of the First-generation Western-style Painters in Post-War Taiwan) in *Zhongguo, xiandai, meishu* (China, Modernity, Fine Arts) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1990) 135-74. Wang examines the "conservative" styles and academic influences of seven Western-style painters who embodied the legacy of Japanese influences on the development of Taiwanese modern art. Although Taiwanese painters were in a disadvantageous position in competition with Japanese colleagues in the colonial salons, they became, according to Wang, embodiments of Japanese authority in the academy after the Japanese left, and their relatively conservative style became a constraining tradition for the development of modern Taiwanese art. See "Wang Xiuxiong tan lunwen shijian yupo," (Wang Xiuxiong Comments on the Aftermath of the Conference Paper Affair) *Xiongshi meishu* 237 (1990): 58-59.

Jiaocaihua zhi yuanyuan chuancheng ji qi yingxiang (The Origin, Legacy and Influences of the Glue-colored Painting) Taiwan Museum of Fine Art, 1995
Hwei Taiwan Jindai Taiwan meishu yu wenhua rentong (Searching for Cultural Identity: Symposium on Modern Taiwanese Art) National Central Library Convention Hall, 1997.¹⁶

In addition to conference proceedings, papers and exhibition catalogues, the 1990s saw the publication of books by Taiwanese scholars and writers such as Wang Xiuxiong, Lin Boting, Li Qinxian, Lin Xingyue, Xiao Qiongrui, Guo Jisheng [Jason C. Kou] and Ni Zaiqin that provide comprehensive surveys, reviews or critiques of Taiwan's modern and contemporary art. In addition, *Modernity in Asian Art*, an anthology of papers presented at the 1991 Canberra conference "Modernism and Post-Modernism in Asian Art," includes Yen Chuan-ying's "The Art Movement in the 1930's in Taiwan."¹⁷

Wang Xinggong's *Taiten, Futen, Taiwan huajia xiyang/dongyang hua tulu* (Catalogues of Taiwan's Western and Eastern Paintings at the *Taiten* and *Futen* Colonial Art Salons), published in 1992, is a catalogue that lists and illustrates nearly all of the pieces exhibited by Taiwanese painters at the 16 colonial art salons from 1927 to 1943. Consisting of two volumes, one containing Western-style paintings, the other Eastern-style paintings, it provides valuable black-and-white images of many early modern Taiwanese paintings which are missing or have been destroyed. The major shortcoming of the book is that it excludes all works by Japanese participants, who made up the majority of exhibitors at the official colonial art salons. Excluded also are few

¹⁶ The symposium was organized by *Xiongshi meishu* magazine under the supervision of, and with funding by, the Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan. It was held at National Central Library Convention Hall.

¹⁷ Yen Chuan-ying, "The Art Movement in the 1930's in Taiwan," *Modernity in Asian Art* ed. John Clark (Sydney, Australia: Wild Peony, 1993) 45-58.

works by Taiwanese painters who displayed works at the art salons using Japanese names.¹⁸

Later, Yen Chuan-ying and her students set up an Internet database that has been instrumental in compiling a complete record of the 2,144 paintings featured at the sixteen official salons, and that provides a useful introduction to the salons and basic data concerning their juries and participants.¹⁹

The 1990s also saw the inauguration of publication of the important *Taiwan meishu quanji* (Corpus of Taiwanese Art) series of catalogues of Taiwanese artists of the Japanese colonial period. Each volume in the series—a total of twenty-six as of 2008, with further volumes in the works—is dedicated to a single Taiwanese artist, mostly painters, whose life and career is summarized with an essay; a selection of artworks in color plates and accompanying descriptions; a collection of photographs, sketches and documents; supplementary images; a timeline; and an index. Despite variations in style and unevenness of academic depth of the essays in the series, the project is an admirable collective endeavor by Taiwanese scholars and writers to build a complete picture of modern Taiwanese art in print.

The copious publications of catalogues, chronologies, biographies and essays have been followed by anthologies, translations and re-examinations of art criticism and relevant written materials of the Japanese colonial period. Published in 2001, *Fengjing xinjing – Taiwan jindai meishu wenxian daodu* (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art) is a remarkable source book containing 137 essays and reviews written by more than one hundred Japanese and Taiwanese artists, critics and literary

¹⁸ During World War II, many Taiwanese were pressured to adopt Japanese names under the *Kōminka* movement. See Chapter Four.

¹⁹ <<http://ndweb.iis.sinica.edu.tw/twart/System/about.htm>> (6 Feb. 2006)

figures of the Japanese colonial period.²⁰ Edited by Yen Chuan-ying, the book comprises a wide variety of primary documents, translated into Mandarin from the Japanese, that convey the concepts, thought and criticism in Taiwan's modern art world of the Japanese colonial era. In addition, the anthology includes seven essays written by the editor, which are illuminating introductions to seven thematic topics under which the period documents are organized: landscapes, youthful ideals, reviews of the official art salons, critiques of non-official exhibitions, criticisms of individual artists, reviews on calligraphy, sculpture and handicrafts, and local color of the Japanese-style Eastern paintings.

When early scholars and critics in Taiwan examined the history of modern Taiwanese art, they were prone to interpret its origins and development as “a cultural movement” and to consider the attainments of Taiwanese artists in terms of their presence in the official art salons and independent exhibitions. First-generation modern artists were commonly set on a pedestal and revered by Taiwan's art world during those decades as “old masters” and heroic pioneers of modern Taiwanese art. Their careers and senses of cultural identity in the Japanese colonial period, however, were often gauged in terms of their expressions of nationalistic resistance, ethnic consciousness and anti-colonialism or, to the contrary, in terms of their “collaboration” and servility. Consequently, the complexity of historical content and cultural interaction, as well as the multiplicity of modes of identity positionings and artistic expression, failed to be fully examined.

This study differs from those earlier approaches, which seem narrowly preoccupied with attempting to define a common line of thinking, a fixed identity, or a consistent cultural identification of Taiwan's first-generation artists under Japanese

²⁰ Yen Chuan-ying ed. *Fengjing xinjing: Taiwan jindai meishu wenxian daodu* (Landscape Moods: Selected Readings in Modern Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2001)

colonial rule. Rather, it explores the intriguingly varied and ambiguous attitudes expressed by them on the issues of cultural identity and colonial modernity.

The question of Taiwanese identity was of great historical significance to all Taiwanese after Taiwan was given to Japan by the Qing government in 1895 as a trophy of the First Sino-Japanese War. It was a poignant, challenging subject for Taiwanese artists, as it was for all colonial intelligentsia, for they were the elites who were “enlightened” by a Japanized Western-style education. The Japanese-educated artists were the trailblazers of modern Taiwanese art, working in Western media with a shared sense of groping to create a modern art which manifested a distinctively Taiwanese character. When these vanguard artists struggled to articulate for themselves the modernity embedded in Japanese colonialism, they were confronted with issues more complicated than mere cultural contrasts between East and West, tradition and future, self and other. The Japanese colonizers of Taiwan were not from the West, but were westernized Asians whose imperial gaze on the island sought exoticism and reflected back their self-concept as enlighteners and modernizers. The great diversity of pictorial representations created by Taiwanese artists reveals the coexistence—or collision—in their consciousnesses of multiple identities—as an aspiring modern artist, as an educated “modern man,” as a Taiwanese, as a Han Chinese or, in some instances, as a Japanese subject. In this study, I shall examine their works critically with regard to the colonial cultural hybridity and ambivalence that actually characterized Taiwanese cultural expression of the period.

The study combines art-historical and theoretical considerations inspired by post-colonial studies²¹ in the investigation of modern paintings that embody Taiwan’s

²¹ For critical analysis of the colonial discourses and identity contestation of Taiwan under Japanese rule, I am indebted to Franz Fanon’s analysis of colonial psychology and identities, Edward Said’s critique of Orientalism, Homi Bhabha’s concepts of ambivalence and hybridity in colonial discourses and relationship, Gayatri Chakravorty

multifaceted cultural legacy from the era of Japanese colonial rule. The selection of artworks discussed herein is not guided by aesthetic preference or by judgment from our present-day perspective, but rather by the usefulness of the works as historical records that shed light on the complicated cultural legacies and identity constructs of the Taiwanese people.²²

To flesh out the actual art scene of the period, this study examines works not only of well-known artists but of obscure ones as well. While the focus of my research is paintings by first-generation Taiwanese painters who worked in Western media and styles, I examine a few works by painters in the Eastern style (*Tōyōga*) tradition for reference and comparison. In the process, the historical contexts, the prevailing aesthetics of official salons and Japanese artistic paradigms, the purposes the works served, and the evidence of other works of art, including tourism and propaganda images, are considered.

Whenever pertinent, artworks by contemporary Japanese artists, particularly those who were connected to Taiwan's art circles, are investigated. Putting them side by side with Taiwanese artists provides not only a wider spectrum of pictorial subjects and modes of expression, but also a broader variety of cultural attitudes and imaginings that were adopted and shaped by both the colonizers and the colonized in their negotiation of complex cultural identities.²³

Spivak's elaboration of the process of "othering" in imperial discourse, and Mary Louise Pratt's reading of travel writing.

²² The near-nonexistence or poor condition of the majority of artworks of this period also limits the scope and quality of the selection. Many went missing or were destroyed after War World II and the change of regime and exist only in the form of black-and-white photographs or black-and-white exhibition catalogues.

²³ It is worth noting that whereas most of the Taiwanese painters who exhibited at the official colonial salons had become respected masters in the Taiwanese art world, their Japanese counterparts became quite obscure in both Taiwan and Japan after the colonial period.

Relevant contemporary written accounts are examined to throw light upon the convoluted trajectories traveled by Taiwan's new intelligentsia, who matured in the social context of Japanese colonization and "cultural enlightenment." Selected contemporary literary works are cited when pertinent, not as a critical antithesis to Taiwanese painters' silence in the articulation of resistance or protestation, but as illuminations of the contradictions and ambivalence that Taiwanese intellectuals in general encountered and the frustrations they felt regarding their cultural aspirations and identities.

Chronologically, nearly all of the artworks discussed herein range from 1895 to 1945, the half-century of Japanese colonization. I nevertheless give some attention to artworks from the period of Qing rule and the transitional years from 1945 to 1947, when Taiwan had just been taken over by the Republic of China after World War II, in order to elucidate historical and cultural trends just before and after the Japanese period.

Chapter One outlines Taiwan's vicissitudinous history before the Japanese colonial period, from the pre-historical era through the Dutch and Spanish attempts at colonization, to the Zheng regime and Qing rule. The cultural development and the art scene of the island under the Qing government are surveyed to contextualize the Western-style education and art practices and institutions introduced by the Japanese, examined in the following chapter.

Chapter Two explores the rise of new aspirations among Japanese-educated Taiwanese youth with respect to modernity in general and the craft of painting in particular. As Japan's colonial rule and educational institutions transformed the cultural ideologies and priorities of the Taiwanese, artistic activities in new media, new subject matter and new forms of expression began to flourish. Such popular new themes as the artist's studio, self-portraits and family portraits are examined to address the dynamic, fluid, cross-cultural construction of Taiwanese cultural identities by the first-generation modern artists.

Chapter Three focuses on the discursive construction of, and artistic response to, Taiwan as a “primitive” and exotic outland from the dominant perspective of the “metropolitan self” of Japan. Writings and paintings by leading expatriate Japanese artists in Taiwan such as Ishikawa Kinichirō and Shiotsuki Tōho are examined to illustrate the ambiguity and contradiction that infused the colonial imagination and portrayal of Taiwan. While official encouragement for expressing Taiwan’s “local color” influenced the choices of theme for artistic creations aimed at winning official salon recognition, contending outlooks in colonial Taiwan challenged the Taiwanese artists to negotiate new ways of seeing and representing their homeland in the light of Japanese modernity and colonialism.

Chapter Four addresses how Taiwan’s encounters with both Chinese cultural chauvinism and the powerful effect of Japanese colonialism—both before and after World War II—contributed to the emergence of a modern Taiwanese consciousness. The Chinese encounters of two Taiwanese painters, Liu Jintang and Chen Chengpo, are discussed as examples of the pursuit of alternative cultural as well as national identification among Japanese-educated intellectuals. Selected works by other Taiwanese painters are also inspected to elucidate the dynamics of cultural positioning engendered by continuous interactions among the dominant cultures of Japan, China and the West.

I contend that Taiwanese art of the Japanese colonial era was diverse in form and cosmopolitan in spirit, as the pioneering artists attempted to integrate new content and media with old traditions and cultural forms. Understanding of their relatively fluid, cosmopolitan cultural identity constructions was, however, distorted by the wartime Japanese government’s *kōminka*, or Japanization, campaign and disrupted by the repressive “re-Sinicization” policies under the KMT’s rule. Alienation from both Japan and China was consequential to the rise of a distinctive Taiwanese consciousness, although the assertion of a unique Taiwanese identity and of Taiwan’s colonial and

post-colonial cultural legacy were not allowed to surface until much later, in the late 1980s, after Taiwan was democratized.

CHAPTER I

TAIWAN'S HISTORICAL VICISSITUDES AND LEGACIES

Clinical history:

When he was young (that is, during the Zheng Chenggong regime), his body was robust and healthy, his mind clear, his will strong, his behavior dignified and his movements nimble. After coming under the rule of the Qing Dynasty, his body gradually deteriorated, his will weakened, his behavior became despicable and his deportment disgraceful, owing to toxication by government policies. Since being ceded to the Japanese Empire and receiving incomplete treatment, he has been recovering, but cannot be cured instantly, having been chronically poisoned for two hundred years.

Jiang Weishui, “Clinical Diagnosis for a Patient Named Taiwan,” 1921²⁴

On April 17, 1895, the Qing Empire of China ceded its island province of Taiwan and the associated Pescadore Islands, to the Japanese Empire by the Treaty of Shimonoseki.²⁵ Thereafter, Japan strove to turn Taiwan, its first colony, into a showcase

²⁴ Jiang Weishui, “Linchuang jiangyi: wei minjiao Taiwan de bingren er xie,” (Clinical Diagnosis for a Patient Named Taiwan) 1921, in *Jiang Weishui liuzhenji* ed. Jiang Chaogen (Taipei: Taipei wenxianhui, 2006) 47. Unless noted differently, in this dissertation, all English translations of texts cited from Chinese-language source books and anthologies of writings of Taiwan’s Japanese colonial period—mostly translations from the Japanese—are translated from the Chinese by the author. To make the notes read easier, the author transliterates the Chinese titles using *pinyin* romanization, followed by their English translations in parentheses.

²⁵ By the treaty, which marked the end of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the Qing government acknowledged the independence of Korea and ceded the Liaodong Peninsula, Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands to Japan permanently. It also paid Japan an indemnity of 200 million taels of silver, accorded Japan most favored nation status, and opened new treaty ports where Japanese nationals were granted trading, manufacturing and residency rights. Under the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France, Japan was forced to renounce claims to the Liaodong Peninsula and Port Arthur in

for its ambitious empire-building enterprise, and to demonstrate its parity with the Western imperial powers. The new rulers conceived of their roles in Taiwan as both colonizers and modernizers, establishing not only a new political and economic order, but new cultural discourses and practices as well.

The inhabitants of Taiwan, of course, could not be as sanguine as their new masters. The original Taiwanese—the island’s indigenous Austronesian peoples—who, until the arrival of the Japanese, had been able to maintain a high degree of autonomy in the central mountainous and eastern coastal regions of the island, were now confronted by a powerful, modern army with the mission of unifying the island’s diverse ethnic groups under a single, centralized administration. Meanwhile, the Han Chinese, concentrated on Taiwan’s western and northern coastal plains, had been under Qing rule for 212 years, administered by the officials dispatched to the island by the Manchu rulers in Beijing. Despite widespread displeasure with their former Qing overlords, they nevertheless identified strongly with their China motherland.

Over the ensuing half century of Japanese rule, until the end of World War II, Taiwan underwent fundamental changes in every respect, as its people were compelled to come to terms with new political and societal realities—some liberating, others oppressive—that engendered new cultural paradigms and identity narratives. This fast-paced, wrenching transformation was halted by an abrupt turn of events in 1945, when once again the Taiwanese were subjected to the agony of being forced to jettison their accustomed way of life in obedience to a new occupying force. This time, it was the Republic of China, whose authoritarian government was controlled by the Kuomintang

November 1895, in exchange for an additional indemnity from the Qing government of 30 million taels of silver. For the complete Chinese-language version of the treaty, see Huang Xiuzheng, *Taiwan gerang yu yiwei kangriyundong* (The Cession of Taiwan and Anti-Japanese Movements in 1895) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1992) 343-49.

(KMT), or Chinese Nationalist Party. The KMT launched an intensive campaign of de-Japanization and re-Sinicization.

To gain an understanding of the development of Taiwanese cultural consciousness during the Japanese colonial period, it is necessary to first survey the historical roots and legacies that undergirded Taiwanese cultural identities at the turn of the 20th century.

Physical Setting and Sequence of Arrivals

The island of Taiwan is situated between the Philippines and Japan, about 100 miles off the coast of China's Fujian Province. It has an area of about 13,900 square miles (36,000 square kilometers), about the size of the Netherlands or the state of Maryland in the United States. It stretches approximately 245 miles from north to south and about 90 miles from east to west at its widest point.

Despite Taiwan's proximity to China and its strategic importance, the presence of Chinese on the island was not reliably documented until late in the 16th century.²⁶ The earliest-known use of the word "Taiwan" to name the island appears in the account of a "Liuqiu Kingdom" (probably present-day Okinawa) in the chapter on foreign countries in Wang Hongxu's *Mingshigao* (Ming History Manuscript), compiled by edict of the Kangxi Emperor in 1679. It records that in the forty-fourth year of the Wanli Reign Period of the Ming Dynasty (1616), Japan indicated its intention to seize a place called *Jilong shan* in a land called *Taiwan* off the coast of Fujian Province.²⁷ Up until the

²⁶ Laurence G. Thompson "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* 23 (1964): 172-78.

²⁷ *Liuqui yu Jilong shan* (Ryukyus and Mount Jilong), *Taiwan wenxian congkan* (Literary Collectanea on Taiwan), vol. 196, ed. Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1964) 67. Based on scattered Chinese historical records that mention certain offshore islands named *Greater Liuqiu* or *Lesser Liuqiu*, hypotheses have been

second half of the 17th century, Taiwan was never included in the tributary system of China—whether ruled by the Han Chinese, Mongols or Manchus, whose government had shown complete indifference to, if not ignorance of, the island.²⁸

As discussed below, when the Chinese began to arrive in substantial numbers in the early 17th century, mainly from southern Fujian and Guangdong provinces, it was as plantation workers hired by the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC). For many millennia before that, Taiwan had been home to peoples of Malayo-Polynesian stock belonging to the Austronesian ethno-linguistic family.

Over the past four centuries, with the exception of the most recent two decades, part or all of Taiwan has been ruled by external power groups:

- 1624-1662 Dutch East India Company
- 1626-1642 Spanish adventurers
- 1662-1683 Chinese warlord Zheng Chenggong & heirs
- 1683-1895 Qing (Manchu) Empire
- 1895-1945 Japanese Empire
- 1945-1949 Nanjing-based, KMT-controlled Republic of China
- 1949-1996 Taiwan-based, KMT-controlled R.O.C. “government-in-exile”²⁹

advanced suggesting that Chinese might have known of the existence of Taiwan as early as the Three Kingdoms epoch or the Sui Dynasty. It has proven impossible, however, to definitively match the places mentioned in documents of these periods with the island of Taiwan. Some scholars argue that the island or islands thus named may refer to the Ryukyu Islands. Ino Yoshinori, *Taiwan bunka shi* (A Cultural History of Taiwan) vol. 1 (1928; Nantou: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1985) 25-56; Hsu Wen-Hsiung, “From Aboriginal Island to Chinese Frontier: the Development of Taiwan before 1683,” in *China’s Island Frontier: Studies in the Historical Geography of Taiwan*, ed. Ronald G. Knapp (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Research Corp. of the University of Hawaii, 1980) 5-11.

²⁸ Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography, Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004) 41-42.

In 1996, following a decade of fast-paced democratization, the KMT's exercise of political power on the island finally gained some legitimacy when its first Taiwan-born leader, Lee Teng-hui, became the first popularly elected president of the Republic of China on Taiwan. With the election of the Democratic Progressive Party's Chen Shui-bian as R.O.C. president in 2000, the KMT became an opposition party in a multiparty democracy for the first time in its nearly century-long history. It has recently returned to power with the election of President Ma Ying-jeou.

The success of the Taiwanese people—including indigenous Austronesians, descendants of early Chinese immigrants, and post-war Chinese immigrants—in creating a highly progressive, pluralistic society against all odds can be gauged, for example, by the fact that in the U.S.-based Freedom House organization's annual *Freedom in the World* survey, Taiwan has for several years been ranked as one of the world's freest countries and has either occupied the top spot in Asia (2006 report) or shared it with Japan and the Republic of Korea (South Korea).³⁰

Indigenous Taiwanese

²⁹ Defeated by communist revolutionaries under Mao Zedong, the KMT regime under Chiang Kai-shek fled the continent in 1949. It vowed to return to “the mainland” and eradicate the *gongfei* (communist bandits) and regarded Taiwan only as a base for staging its triumphal return.

³⁰ See “Freedom in the World Country Ratings 1972-2006,” <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fiw/FIWAllScores.xls>> (May 10, 2008). The same organization's yearly *Freedom of the Press* survey has for several years rated Taiwan's media environment as one of the world's freest and, in its 2007 and 2008 reports, as Asia's freest. “Freedom of the Press 2007 Table of Global Press Freedom Rankings” <<http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/Chart110File156.pdf>> (May 10, 2008)

Little is known of Taiwan's earliest inhabitants. Based on archaeological evidence, it is estimated that human settlements have existed in Taiwan for at least 10,000 and perhaps as long as 50,000 years.³¹ A number of theories about the origins of today's indigenous Taiwanese have been put forward.³² Up until the beginning of the Japanese colonial period, the various indigenous groups appear to have functioned as politically independent units. This, together with their diversity of dialects, customs and types of dwellings, suggests that their earliest ancestors in Taiwan migrated to the island from different places at different times. The Austronesian ethno-linguistic family to which they belong is distributed over a vast area stretching half-way around the planet, from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan and Hawaii in the north. It includes a diversity of peoples in the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and archipelagos scattered across Oceania.³³ It is

³¹ Liu Yichang, *Taiwan yuangzhumin, shiqianpian* (History of Formosan Aborigines, Prehistory) (Nantou: Taiwan Historica, 2002) 2.

³² Raleigh Ferrell, *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and linguistic Classification, Monograph No.17* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Ethnology, 1969); Zhang Guangzhi, "Neolithic Cultures in the Coastal Areas of Southeast China," *Early Chinese Art and Its Possible Influence in the Pacific Basin*, vol. 2, ed. Noel Barnard (New York: Intercultural Arts Press, 1972) 431-57; Richard B. Stamps, "New Light on Taiwan's Prehistory," *Asian Perspectives* 20/2 (1980): 183-90; Peter Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago* (New York: Academic Press, 1985); Liu Yichang, "Shiqian shidai Taiwan yu haunan guanxi chutan," (A Preliminary Inquiry into the Relations between Prehistoric Taiwan and South China) in *Zhongguo haiyang fazhan shi lunwenji* (Collected Essays on the History of China's Maritime Development) ed. Zhang Yanxian, vol. 3 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Three Peoples Principles, 1988) 1-27.

³³ Truman Simanjuntak, Ingrid H.E. Pojoh, Muhamad Hisyam ed. *Austronesian Diaspora and the Ethnogeneses of People in Indonesian Archipelago: proceedings of the international symposium* (Jakarta, Indonesia: LIPI Press, 2006); Catherine Hill, Pedro Soares, Mormina Maru, et al. "A Mitochondrial Stratigraphy for Island Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 291(2007):1735-37; Jean A. Trejaut, T. Kivisild, J.H. Loo, C.L. Lee, C.L. He, et al. "Traces of Archaic Mitochondrial Lineages Persist in Austronesian-Speaking Formosan Population," *PLoS Biology* 3(8):

generally believed that ancestors of Taiwan's Austronesians began arriving on the island about 6,500 years ago.³⁴ Currently, fourteen different indigenous groups are officially recognized by Taiwan's government.³⁵

The late Ming Dynasty traveler Chen Di (1540-1617) referred to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan as *dongfan* (eastern savages) in his *Record of the Eastern Savages* (1603).³⁶ The Dutch referred to them as "Indians" or "blacks," and during the era of Qing rule, they were differentiated as either "raw savages" or "cooked savages," according to their degree of Sinicization.³⁷ It was not until the Japanese colonial era that systematic anthropological studies of the island's indigenous peoples were undertaken.³⁸

e247 (5 July, 2005)

<<http://biology.plosjournals.org/perlserv/?request=get-document&doi=10.1371/journal.pbio.0030247>> (8 Oct. 2007)

³⁴ Based on archaeological excavations, the Da Benken culture (4500-2600 BC) is believed to mark the earliest presence of Austronesians in Taiwan. Liu Yichang, *Taiwan yuangzhumin, shiqianpian*, 29-33.

³⁵ Nine indigenous peoples living mostly in mountainous regions were recognized prior to 1945 by the Japanese government: the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Pinuyumayan, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tsou and Yami. In addition, indigenous peoples belonging to various lowland groups were lumped together and called the Pingpu. Over the past half-century five more indigenous groups have been recognized: the Kavalan, Sakizaya, Sediq, Thao and Truku.

³⁶ Chen Di, "Dongfan ji," (Record of the Eastern Savages) *Minhai zengyan* (Words of Praise from the Fukien Sea) ed. Shen Yourong, *Taiwan wenxian congkan*, vol. 56 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1959) 24-27. For an English translation, see Laurence G. Thompson, "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan Aborigines," *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies*, 23 (1964): 170-83.

³⁷ See Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography*, 60-68; Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 281-95; Frank Dikotter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992) 8-9.

³⁸ For a summary of the history of such efforts, see Michio Suenari, "A Century of Japanese Anthropological Studies on Taiwan Aborigines," in *Lishi wenhua yu zuqun: Taiwan yuangzhumin guoji xueshu yantaohui* (History, Culture and Ethnicity: Selected

European Colonizers (1624-1662)

Taiwan made its earliest known appearance on an European world map in 1554, when it was included on one made by the Portuguese cartographer Lopo Homem (d.1565) with the designation “I. Fremosa”—an apparent misspelling of the intended name “Ilha Formosa” (Beautiful Isle).³⁹ From then until the mid-20th century, the Western world knew the island as “Formosa,” and it was only in the second half of the 20th century that the name “Taiwan” became widely known. Although it is generally believed that 16th-century Portuguese seafarers were the earliest Westerners to catch a glimpse of the island, there is no indication that any of them ever set foot on it.⁴⁰

The first external power to establish a foothold on Taiwan was the Netherlands. In 1622, the Dutch East India Company occupied the Pescadore (Penghu) Islands off Taiwan’s southwest coast, only to be driven away by Ming Dynasty Chinese forces. In 1624, the company set up a base at a location on Taiwan’s southwest coast, corresponding to Tainan City’s Anping Harbor district. Two years later, Spanish adventurers based in Manila occupied areas on the island’s northern coast corresponding to today’s Keelung City and Danshui Township. The Dutch drove them out and took over their bases in about 1642.⁴¹

Papers from the International Conference on the Formosan Indigenous Peoples) ed. Ye Chunrong (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2006) 1-54.

³⁹ Tsao Yungho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu* (Research on Taiwan’s Early History) (Taipei: Lianjing, 1979) 300-01.

⁴⁰ James W. Davison, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present: history, people, resources, and commercial prospects* (Macmillan & Company, 1903; reprinted by SMC Publishing Inc., 1992) 9-10; Tsao Yungho, *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu*, 295-301.

⁴¹ Jose Eugenio Borao Mateo. *Spaniards in Taiwan vol.II:1642-1682*. (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2001-2002) ; Leonard Blussé, Natalie Everts & Evelien Frech ed., *The*

Over the thirty eight years of the Dutch East India Company's operations in Taiwan, it was transformed from a relatively unknown island into a major entrepot connecting Japan and China with the company's bases in what is present day Indonesia and points beyond.⁴² Eventually, profits earned from its operations in Taiwan were second only to those generated by its trade with Japan.⁴³

A major portion of the company's profits derived from exports of rice and sugar, produced by plantations along the southwest coast worked by Han laborers.⁴⁴ Prior to the arrival of the Dutch, the island had been visited only sporadically, or inhabited only temporarily, by Han fishermen, pirates and traders. The Dutch discovered that Hans had been trading with the indigenous peoples for deerskins for some time.⁴⁵ By 1638, 10,000 to 11,000 Hans were working in Taiwan under the Dutch.⁴⁶ Toward the end of Dutch

Formosan Encounter: Notes on Formosa's Aboriginal Society : A Selection of Documents from Dutch Archival Sources Vol. I & Vol. II. (Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 1999) 300-09; Tsao Yungho, "Helan yu xibanya zhanju shiqi de Taiwan," (Taiwan under Dutch and Spanish Occupation) *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu*, 32.

⁴² Tsao Yungho, "Shiqi shiji zuowei dongya zhuanyunzhan de Taiwan," (Taiwan as an Entrepot in East Asia of the 17th Century) *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu xuji* (Research on Taiwan's Early History, the Sequel) (Taipei: Lianjing, 2000) 113-48.

⁴³ Tsao Yungho, "Helan yu xibanya zhanju shiqi de Taiwan," *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu*, 36-37.

⁴⁴ Tsao Yungho, "Helan shiqi Taiwan kaifa shilue," (The Development of Taiwan during the Dutch Period) *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu*, 61-65. For a discussion of Taiwan's agricultural development under Dutch rule, see also Nakamura Takashi, "He ling shiqi zhi Taiwan nongye ji qi jiangli," (Agriculture and Its Encouragement in Taiwan under the Dutch) in *Taiwan yanjiu congkan* (Collectanea of Researches on Taiwan) vol.25 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi, 1954) 54-69.

⁴⁵ Tsao Yungho, "Helan yu xipanya zhanju shiqi de Taiwan," 39-40.

⁴⁶ Tsao Yungho, "Ming Zheng shiqi yiqian de Taiwan," (Taiwan before the Zheng Regime), *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu xuji*, 85.

rule, the figure of able-bodied Hans had risen to over 25,000.⁴⁷ Arguably, the most significant legacy of the Dutch colonial period is that it marked the beginning of large-scale migration of Han Chinese to the island.

Resentment among hired Chinese laborers led to an uprising against their Dutch bosses in 1652. Swiftly suppressed, it resulted in the death of thousands of Chinese. Hence, when Zheng Chenggong's forces overthrew the Dutch, they were welcomed by local Han workers as liberators.⁴⁸

The Zheng Regime (1662-1663)

In 1662, the Dutch were defeated by a military force under the command of the Chinese warlord Zheng Chenggong (1624-1662), known in the West as Koxinga (Coxinga), who had inherited from his father, Zheng Zhilong, East Asia's largest merchant-cum-pirate fleet.⁴⁹ In place of the Dutch colonial dispensation, Zheng established what he declared to be a vassal state of crumbling Ming China, which had

⁴⁷ Chen Shaoxing ed. "Renkou pian," (Population) in *Taiwansheng tongzhi gao, juan er renminzhi* (Draft Taiwan Province Gazetteer, vol.2, People) (Taichung: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuan hui, 1964) 105-11.

⁴⁸ William Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch* (London, 1903) 63-64; Ernst Van Veen, "How the Dutch Ran a Seventeenth-Century Colony: The Occupation and Loss of Formosa, 1624-1662," in *Around and About Formosa*, ed. Leonard Blussé (Taipei: Tsao Yungho Foundation for Culture and Education, 2003) 141-60.

⁴⁹ For an account of Zheng Chenggong's background, see Jonathan Clements, *Pirate King: Coxinga and the Fall of the Ming Dynasty* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 2004). For Zheng Zhilong's relations with the Dutch, see Kato Eiichi, "Cheng Chih-lung, alias Iquan, and the VOC in the East and South China Seas in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," in *Around and About Formosa*, 83-94.

been invaded by the Manchus in 1644.⁵⁰ The former Dutch colonial capital in Tainan, Zeelandia, was transformed by Zheng into his seat of government and renamed *Dongdu*, or Eastern Capital.

After Zheng Chenggong's premature death in the same year his mini-state was established, he was succeeded by his son Zheng Jing. The latter's death in 1681 occasioned infighting over succession to the throne, which exacerbated social discontent over oppressive taxation, military conscription and straitened living conditions caused, in part, by a Qing naval blockade.⁵¹ In 1683, the third ruler of the Zheng dynasty, Zheng Chenggong's grandson Zheng Keshuang, capitulated to Qing troops led by Admiral Shi Lang (1621-1696), who had been one of Zheng Chenggong's generals. Soldiers and courtiers attached to the House of Zheng were removed to southern China, while Zheng Keshuang and his household were relocated to Beijing.

Despite its brevity and geographical restriction—exercising effective control over only Taiwan's southwestern and northern coastal areas—the Zheng regime was significant for being the first “state” on Taiwan with a Chinese-style governmental system. It founded Confucian academies and held civil service examinations on a regular basis. Taiwan's first Confucius Temple was built in Tainan in 1666.⁵²

⁵⁰ After the downfall of the Ming Dynasty, scattered Ming remnants still existed after 1644, including those of Koxinga. Nanjing, Fujian, Guangdong, Shanxi, and Yunnan were all strongholds of Ming resistance. There were several pretenders for the Ming throne, but their forces were divided. Each bastion of resistance was individually defeated by the Qing until 1662, when the last real hopes of a Ming revival died with the Yongli emperor.

⁵¹ Tsao Yungho, “Yingguo dong ying du gongsi yu Taiwan Zhengshi Zhengquan,” (The British East India Company and Taiwan's Zheng Regime) *Taiwan zaoqi lishi yanjiu xueji*, 255-58.

⁵² Jiang Risheng, *Taiwan Waiji* (Unofficial Record of Taiwan), 1704, in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*, vol. 60 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1960) 235-36; Lian Heng, *Taiwan Tongshi* (A Comprehensive History of Taiwan) vol. 1 (1945; Taipei: Liming, 2001) 348-49.

Over the two-decade reign of the Zhengs, the island's Chinese population ballooned due to the arrival of Zheng's army and an influx of refugees from chaos in China under the onslaught of the Manchu armies. Whereas during the Dutch colonial period, most Chinese in Taiwan were seasonal laborers who journeyed back and forth between China and Taiwan, many Chinese settled down permanently under the Zheng regime owing to its *tuntien* policy and encouragement of migration from China.⁵³

Although it is arguable whether Zheng Chenggong's primary motive for coming to Taiwan was to establish a stronghold for restoring the Ming Empire or securing headquarters for his trading and buccaneering operations, he has long been regarded among Chinese as a paragon of Han nationalism and, even by the Manchus and Japanese, as a model of loyalty to one's nation or national leader.⁵⁴

Qing Imperial Rule (1683-1895)

The Manchus occupied Taiwan's western and northern coastal areas not for imperial aggrandizement but for the pragmatic purpose of eradicating Ming royalist forces that threatened to undo their annexation of China. Once anti-Qing forces in Taiwan had been pacified, therefore, many at the Qing court argued in favor of withdrawing from

⁵³ In the *tuntien* system, which originated in the Han Dynasty, soldiers were put to work farming in order to provision the army. Jiang Risheng, *Taiwan Waiji*, 205-08. See also Zhuang Jinde, "Taiwan tun zhang zhi xingfei," (Vicissitude of the Colonial Troops in Taiwan) *Taiwan wenxian*, 11/4 (1960): 61; Chen Sanjing, *Zheng Chenggong quanzhuan* (Biography of Zheng Chenggong) (Taipei: Taiwan shiji yanjiu zhongxin, 1979) 178-87.

⁵⁴ Despite Zheng Chenggong's resistance to the Manchus, the Qing government lionized him as a paragon of loyalty to one's emperor and erected a temple, "Prince of Yanping Prefecture," in his memory in Tainan, Taiwan. Later, the Japanese authorities deified him and renamed the temple "Lord Pioneer Shrine." Ino Yoshinori, *Taiwan bunka shi*, vol. 2 (1928; Nantou: Taiwan sheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1991) 225-33. Regarding heroization of Zheng Chenggong by the Chinese, see also Raph Croizier, *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth and the Hero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).

the island and repatriating its Chinese population. In their view, Taiwan was a savage-filled wilderness unworthy of attention, and the cost of maintaining a substantial military and administrative presence there would far outweigh any benefit.

Shi Lang nevertheless succeeded in persuading the Kangxi Emperor to maintain control of the captured territory. If Taiwan were left unattended, he argued, it would become a haven for pirates, deserters and other riffraff who, perhaps in league with the island's savages, would gang up against the Qing. Without a presence on the island, the Dutch might try to retake it, or other powers might try to seize it and use it as a springboard to threaten the empire. Besides, he noted, it had fertile soil and natural resources that could be exploited.⁵⁵

As an indication of why the Qing court ultimately agreed with Shi Lang about the importance of maintaining at least a token occupation force on Taiwan, it should be kept in mind that immediately after Zheng Chenggong succeeded in establishing a base on the island in 1662, the court ordered the evacuation of a wide swath of the entire coast of China so as to deny the Zheng regime on Taiwan infusions of manpower and supplies. At the same time, however, it should also be kept in mind that the Kangxi Emperor himself is recorded as having described the triumph of the Taiwan expedition in 1683 as an insignificant event because the island was no bigger than a “mudball,” and it did not matter whether the Qing annexed it or not.⁵⁶

As subsequent developments indicated, the decision to maintain Qing outposts on the island did not constitute outright annexation of it or any part of it. Rather, it seems to

⁵⁵ Shi Lang, “Gongchen Taiwan qu liu shu,” (A Memorial Submitted to the Emperor on the Debate of Annexing or Abandoning Taiwan) *Jinghai jishi* (Record of Pacifying the Seas) in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*, vol. 13 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1958) 59-62.

⁵⁶ *Qing Shengzu shilu xuanji* (Selections from Veritable Records of the Kangxi Reign) in *Taiwan wenxian congkan*, vol. 165 ed. Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1963) 129.

have been a pragmatic policy of forestalling potential threats to the Chinese continent. Up until the mid-1800s, the western and northern coastal areas of Taiwan controlled by the Qing government were administered with a passive attitude, which took as its primary objective preventing the island from becoming a base of operations against the empire's interests. Except for a short period between 1732 and 1740, laws prohibiting travel to Taiwan remained in place until 1875, only twenty years before the island was ceded to Japan.⁵⁷ For a long time, Qing officials and military personnel stationed in Taiwan were forbidden to take their wives and families with them, and troops from the continent were rotated every three years in order to prevent mutiny and cultivation of alliances with locals. Communities in Taiwan were at first built without walls because the Qing court feared that walled towns could be used as rebel strongholds.⁵⁸ Moreover, the island's Chinese residents were prohibited from traveling in mountainous regions and consorting with indigenous Austronesian communities.

In short, for most of the two-plus centuries between the fall of the Zheng regime in 1683 and the arrival of the Japanese in 1895, Qing authorities implemented policies designed primarily to maintain the status quo.⁵⁹ The typically brief tenures of Qing officials posted in Taiwan prevented them from initiating long-term programs to improve

⁵⁷ Despite the fluctuation of official immigration policies, overpopulation in China's coastal provinces still drove many illegal immigrants to cross the Taiwan Strait, leading to a rapid increase of the Chinese population in Taiwan. John R. Shepherd "The Island Frontier of the Ch'ing, 1684-1780," *Taiwan, A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) 124.

⁵⁸ It was not until the Lin Shuangwen Revolt in 1786 that the construction of sturdy walls was legalized in order to protect law-abiding townspeople. Zhuang Jifa, "Jing cheng tang chi – Taiwan zhucheng shiliao juyu," (Historical Materials on the History of the Construction of Taiwan City Walls) in *Gugong Taiwan shiliao gaishu* (Summary of Historical Materials on Taiwan in the Palace Museum) ed. Zhuang Jifa (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1995) 79-102.

⁵⁹ John R. Shepherd, "The Island Frontier of the Ch'ing, 1684-1780," *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. by Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) 109-15.

the living standards of the islanders, let alone develop a sense of dedication to the land and its people. Indeed, many of them regarded it a hardship post which they were eager to leave. Chronic bureaucratic corruption and heavy taxation evoked frequent episodes of social disorder, giving rise to a popular saying—repeated by Xu Zonggan, the top Qing administrator in Taiwan from 1848 to 1853—that Taiwan was a land plagued by “an attempted uprising every three years and a revolt every five.”⁶⁰

Despite the ban on travel from China to Taiwan, poverty and violence in China’s southern coastal provinces⁶¹ drove many families to become “secret crossers” and brave the dangerous passage across the Taiwan Strait.⁶² It is estimated that some one hundred thousand Hans resided in Taiwan at the outset of Qing rule (Kangxi Reign Period) and

⁶⁰ Xu Zonggan, “*Qing chou yi bei chu shu*,” in *Zhi Tai bigaolu*, (Records on Taiwan governance) ed. Ding Yuejian, *Taiwan wenxian congkan*, vol. 17 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1959) 285. There were indeed many uprisings in Taiwan during the Qing era, including three major revolts—the Zhu Yigui Revolt in 1721, the Ling Shuangwen Revolt in 1786 and the Dai Chaochun Revolt in 1862. In addition to uprisings caused by unfair taxation and corruption, there occurred numerous conflicts between Hans belonging to two major different ethno-linguistic groups, the Hakka and the Hoklo; strife arose between people of the same linguistic group but of different ancestral provenance, such as Zhangzhou prefecture and Quanzhou prefecture in Fujian Province; conflicts occurred between different clans, villages or even professional guilds. For an analysis of armed conflicts in Qing Taiwan, see Huang Xiuzheng, “Qingdai Taiwan de fenlei xiedou shijian,” (Communal Strife in Qing Taiwan), *Taiwanshi yanjiu* (Research of Taiwan’s History) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1995) 29-80. See also Ino Yoshinori, *Taiwan bunka shi*, vol. 1, 517-30.

⁶¹ According to a survey conducted in 1926 by the *Taiwan Sōtokufu* (Taiwan Governor-General’s Office) during the Japanese colonial period, among the approximate 3,751,600 inhabitants of Taiwan then classified as Han, the place of origin of their earliest Han male immigrant ancestor was Fujian in 3,116,400 cases, Guangdong in 586,300 cases, and various other provinces in China in 48,900 cases. Shi Tianfu, *Qingdai zaitai hanren de zuji fenbu he yuanxian shenghuo fangshi* (Modes of Livelihood in Localities of Ancestral Registration and the Distribution by Provenance of the Hans in Qing Taiwan) (Taipei: National Normal University, Department of Geography, 1987) 13.

⁶² John R. Shepherd, “The Island Frontier of the Ch’ing, 1684-1780,” 124-5.

that, less than one century later, during the Qianlong Reign Period, their numbers had risen to over one million.⁶³

As the Chinese population increased, the island's coastal plain-dwelling indigenous peoples were inexorably pushed out of the lowlands and into mountainous areas or were forced to assimilate with the Chinese settlers as best they could. Inter-marriage was common under Qing rule, especially in the earlier period, when the great majority of Chinese who found their way to Taiwan were unattached males who welcomed Austronesian wives.⁶⁴ This reality gave rise to a popular saying that Taiwanese "have a *Tangshan* grandpa, but no *Tangshan* grandma."⁶⁵ According to government census figures, ninety eight percent of today's twenty three million Taiwanese are of Chinese descent, while only two percent are of indigenous, Austronesian descent.

For the first century and a half under Qing rule, Taiwan was cut off from the outside world even more thoroughly than were the other coastal districts of Qing China. People in southern China, at least, began to get an inkling of the world beyond thanks to

⁶³ Kao Mingshi ed. *Taiwan Shi* (History of Taiwan) (Taipei: Wunan, 2006) 81. For an account of Taiwan's population growth and social change under Qing rule, see Chen Shaoxing ed. "Renkou pian," (Population) in *Taiwansheng tongzhi gao, juan er renminzhi*, 120-278.

⁶⁴ John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier, 1600-1800* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1993) 362-94.

⁶⁵ *Tangshan* is an expression referring to China; *grandpa* is a metaphor for one's earliest Han immigrant ancestor; *grandma* refers to the immigrant patriarch's Austronesian wife. Indeed, serological studies indicate that some eighty-five percent of Taiwanese have at least one indigenous Austronesian ancestor. See Lin Mali, "Fei yuanzhumin Taiwanren de jiyin jiegou," (The Genetic Makeup of Non-indigenous Taiwanese) *Liberty Times*, Aug. 11, 2007. Lin, a physician at Mackay Memorial Hospital in Taipei, drew her conclusion from tests performed on blood samples from 100 randomly selected Taiwanese classified as non-indigenous.
<<http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2007/new/aug/11/today-o1.htm#>> (Aug. 15, 2007)

the barely tolerated presence of foreign trading companies. In the latter half of the 19th century, however, the Qing government was compelled to reconsider its passive, minimalist approach to administering the island. The impetus came in the form of aggressive actions by imperialist powers—including the Americans, the British, the French and the Japanese—who vied to establish a presence on the island in one form or another with an eye to exerting regional hegemonic influence. These included the following events:

- ◆ In 1841 and 1842, during the First Opium War (1839-1842), British troops attempted to occupy the seaports of Keelung (near Taipei) and Da'an (near Taichung) but were beaten off.
- ◆ In 1854, U.S. Commodore Matthew C. Perry's fleet anchored off Keelung for ten days (on its way to forcing Japan to open its doors to American ships) and sent a scouting party ashore to investigate the area's coal mining operations. Based on that visit, he recommended that the United States occupy and claim sovereignty over Taiwan, to utilize it as a base for projection of American power in the Far East.
- ◆ In 1858, by the Treaties of Tianjin, which concluded the Second Opium War (1856-1860), the Qing government was forced to open up four Taiwanese seaports to Western powers.
- ◆ In 1874, Japan dispatched an expeditionary force of 3,600 to Taiwan on the pretext of being forced to do what the Qing government should have done: to pacify the island's indigenous *Paiwan* people for having slaughtered crew members of a wrecked trading vessel from the Ryukyus (Okinawa) in 1871—an event known as the Mudan Village Incident (even though the Ryukyus were not widely recognized as Japanese sovereign territory, and the islands had long been

in the Chinese sphere of influence).⁶⁶ The Qing government paid compensation of 500,000 gold taels in exchange for Japan's withdrawal.

- ◆ During the Sino-French War (Franco-Chinese War, 1884-1885), French fleets blockaded Taiwanese ports, landed troops in northern Taiwan, and occupied the Pescadores. The French forces were withdrawn only after the Qing government signed a treaty in Tianjin recognizing French claims of sovereignty over Vietnam.

This series of imperialist incursions into Taiwan (as well as into Japan, Vietnam and the continental Qing Empire itself) compelled the Qing government to gradually recognize the strategic value of Taiwan, the wisdom of bolstering its presence there, and the need to actively develop the island's social and natural resources.

The opening of treaty ports in Taiwan in 1858 helped push things in that direction. Thereafter, Taiwan's economy swiftly shifted from a purely China-centric agricultural economy of rice and sugar production, into a more globalized agricultural economy geared to meet international demand for such products as tea and camphor. Coal mining, to supply visiting ships, became more efficient by adoption of Western techniques.

A number of other reforms were undertaken by chief administrators Shen Baozhen (1820-1879) and Ting Richang (1823-1882) whose tours of duty in Taiwan, respectively, were between 1874-1875 and 1876-1877. Under their watch, a telegraphic cable was laid between Amoy and Taiwan and telegraph operators were trained. Steps were taken to assimilate highland indigenous peoples, including the founding of Chinese-style schools in their communities, with the aim of mitigating tensions between

⁶⁶ For an account of the Mudan Village Incident and Japan's punitive Taiwan Expedition, see Robert Eskildsen ed. *Foreign Adventurers and the Aborigines of Southern Taiwan, 1867-1874: Western Sources Related to Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan* (Nankang: Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica, 2005).

them and the Chinese and developing the mountain areas' natural resources. The island's defenses were also beefed up. After Ting left Taiwan, however, the period 1877-1884 saw a rapid turnover of administrators who failed to achieve any notable further advances or reforms.⁶⁷

The next surge of reform-minded action came with the Sino-French War. In the same year it was concluded, 1885, and with Japan's military adventure of 1874 still fresh in its memory, the Qing government moved to unambiguously assert its sovereignty over the entire island of Taiwan by proclaiming it a province of the empire.⁶⁸ It appointed Liu Mingchuan (1836-1896) as its first governor, with a strong mandate to carry forward the mission of self-strengthening.⁶⁹

During his six-year tenure, Liu Mingchuan advanced a wide variety of Westernizing programs. Taiwan's administrative districts were re-organized, new official institutions established, and many new programs initiated. A School of Western Learning was founded in Taipei in 1887.⁷⁰ A telegraph network stretching the length of the island

⁶⁷ For an overview of initial moves toward modernization in Taiwan, see Robert Gardella, "From Treaty Ports to Provincial Status," in *Taiwan, A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1999).

⁶⁸ In response to Japanese requests for compensation soon after the 1871 Mudan Village Incident—as well as to U.S. government requests for compensation for the deaths of shipwrecked American seamen at the hands of Taiwanese indigenes in the 1867 Rover Incident—the Qing court had dismissed the requests, explaining that the perpetrators were not Qing subjects.

⁶⁹ The late 19th century saw the Qing Court reassessing the predicament of the old empire after a series of military failures of Western powers. The guiding philosophy for its "Self-Strengthening Movement" was to adopt Western technology and weaponry while preserving the traditional Chinese social system, culture and mores.

⁷⁰ The school employed both Western and Chinese instructors. Its curricula included English, French, geography, history, mathematics, physics, chemistry, measuring and drawing, and Chinese classics. Lian Heng, *Taiwan tongshi*, vol. 1, 357; Huang Xiuzheng ed. *Taiwan Shi*, 167.

was built, and an efficient island-wide postal system was established. The construction of Taiwan's first railroad connecting Keelung (at the island's northernmost tip) and Hsinchu (on the northwest coast) was launched in 1887. A commercial steamship line operating between Taiwan, China, India and ports in the South Pacific was established.⁷¹ Modern military training was instituted, and military weaponry and facilities were upgraded.⁷²

By the time Liu Mingchuan handed the baton to his successor in 1891, Taiwan had been transformed into one of Qing China's most modernized provinces. Nevertheless, the tax burden which the high cost of financing so many programs placed on the local residents, and Liu's aggressive policy implementation and heavy-handed fiscal and administrative reforms, drew arrows from many directions.

Governor Liu was forced to retire because of the provincial government's maladministration of coal mining operations in the Keelung area.⁷³ He was replaced by Shao Youlian, whose administration was more conservative. Under Shao, such institutions as the School of Western Learning, the School for Aborigines, and the Bureau for Aborigine Assimilation and Mountain Development were dismantled. Despite having dramatically changed its attitude toward Taiwan—from dismissing it as a mere mudball inhabited by savages, to embracing it and its people as a pillar of the empire's security and a shining example of what determined self-strengthening can achieve—China threw away the entire investment in the island only four years after reformer Liu's departure. The Japanese parvenus picked up where Liu had left off, greatly accelerating outward modernization to glorify the blossoming Japanese Empire.

⁷¹ See Lian Heng, *Taiwan tongshi*, vol. 2, 636-39, 648-49.

⁷² Samuel C Chu, "Liu Ming-chuan and Modernization of Taiwan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 23/1 (Nov. 1963): 37-53; Ye Zhenhui, *Liu Mingchuan zhuan* (Biography of Liu Mingchuan) (Nantou: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1998) 54-55.

⁷³ Ye Zhenhui, *Liu Mingchuan zhuan*, 211-13.

Taiwan's Qing-era Cultural Development

Taiwan's culture during the two hundred fifty years under Qing rule was, in a word, surprisingly poor and weak. To put it in extreme terms, Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty had almost no culture.

Ozaki Hozuma, 1931⁷⁴

“Taiwan's Culture during the Qing Period,” a frequently cited review written by Ozaki Hozuma,⁷⁵ a famed Sinologist who lived in Taiwan more than forty years, portrays a desolate cultural landscape during the Qing era in Taiwan. In contrast to its cultural advancement under the Japanese, said Ozaki, Taiwan's cultural development during the more than two centuries under the Qing was “surprisingly poor and weak,” even to the point of having “almost no culture.” He referred to ten Taiwanese during the entire period who had achieved a relatively high level of cultural attainment.⁷⁶ Along with a number of poets and scholars as well as a *koji* pottery⁷⁷ artisan, only two painters

⁷⁴ Ozaki Hozuma, “Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka,” (Taiwan's Culture during the Qing Period) *Zoku Taiwan bunka shisetsu* (On Taiwan's Cultural History), ed. Taiwan bunka sanbyaku nen kinenkai (Taipei, 1931) 94.

⁷⁵ Ozaki Hozuma (1874-1949) was born in Gifu, Japan. He came to Taiwan in 1901 to be a journalist and managing editor of the Chinese Page of *Nichi Nichi Shimpo*. After retiring from the *Nichi Nichi Shimpo* in 1922, he was appointed to a committee for the Historical Materials Compilation of Taiwan Governor-General. In 1932, he was appointed a member of the Surveying Committee of Taiwan's Historical Relics, Noted Sights and Natural Monuments. He published *Taiwan bunka shi setsu* in 1935. Ozaki stayed in Taiwan for over forty years and was very active in literary and artistic circles. “Wei qi xiuzhen,” (Ozaki Hozuma) *Taiwan lishi cidian* (Dictionary of Taiwan History) ed. Xu Xueji (Taipei: Yuanliu, 2005) 367-68.

⁷⁶ Ozaki Hozuma, “Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka,” 105-06.

⁷⁷ *Koji* pottery (*koji* is the Japanese pronunciation of two Chinese characters; the Mandarin pronunciation is *jiaozhi*) is a kind of decorative ceramic sculpture—typically in the form of statuettes, plaques or plates—produced with a low-temperature firing and

were deemed worthy of inclusion in his discussion of Taiwan's culture in the Qing period (figs. 1-3). He described Lin Jue as the only true painter born in Taiwan in the last three centuries."⁷⁸ Lin Zhaoying, according to Ozaki, was the only Tainan artist of the past two hundred and fifty years.⁷⁹ By contrast, thirty-six years after Taiwan became a Japanese colony, Ozaki could point to three Western-style Taiwanese painters—Chen Chengpo, Lan Yinding and Chen Zhiqi—along with sculptor Huang Tushui, as exemplifying the cultural achievement of Japanese colonization.

Ozaki, editor of the Chinese page of *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* and a major collector of antique Chinese and Japanese paintings, calligraphy, seals and documents, as well as the arts and crafts of Taiwan's aborigines, manifested an ambivalent attitude toward the cultural traditions he found in Taiwan. On the one hand, he appreciated Chinese traditional literati art.⁸⁰ On the other hand, he expressed a low opinion of Qing China, which he viewed as the antithesis of advanced, modern Japan. His essay reflected

glazing process that preserves the vividness of colors. In earlier times, *koji* ceramics were produced mainly as temple ornamentations. Originating in southern China, there is no reliable documentation of the approximate date when the technique was introduced to Taiwan. It is known, however, that Chiayi was the cradle of Taiwanese *koji* pottery, especially after Ye Wang (1826-1887) developed a particular style that was highly acclaimed by both his contemporary and later commentators, including Japanese critics such as Ozaki Hozuma. For a survey of the development of Taiwan's *Koji* art, see Jian Rongcong and Zheng Zhaoyi ed. *Caisu fenghua-Taiwan koji taoyi zhuanji* (Taiwan's *Koji* Ceramic Art) (Nantou: Taiwan sheng wenxian hui, 2001).

⁷⁸ Ozaki Hozuma, "Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka," 104.

⁷⁹ Ozaki Hozuma, "Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka," 97.

⁸⁰ Ozaki himself was well versed in Chinese literature, poetry and calligraphy and was an enthusiastic connoisseur of literati painting and calligraphy. He participated in organizing an exhibition of antique Chinese calligraphy and painting in 1925. In 1926, he co-organized with Lin Xiongguang and Wei Qingde the exhibition of "Calligraphy of Lu Shiyi and Xie Guanqiao" at the Governor-General's Museum. In honor of Taiwan's 5th Governor Sakuma Samata, in 1931 he organized an art exhibition showing calligraphy and painting by both Japanese and Taiwanese artists, including his own works. Liao Jinyuan, *Beili de shixian: Taiwan meishushi de zhanwang* (Deviating Gaze: Prospect of Taiwanese Art History) (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2005) 262-67.

a Japanese-centric perspective in which Taiwan was regarded as a malnourished extension of the culturally degenerative Qing Empire. In his view, even prehistoric Formosan aboriginal art was more appealing than that of Qing-era Taiwan.

The four young Taiwanese artists that Ozaki Hozuma referred to epitomize Japan's superior cultural influence and enlightenment in Taiwan within only thirty six years, and form a vivid contrast to the smaller number of the local artists that he regarded as worth mentioning from the more than two centuries of the Qing regime. The Japanese colonial period was indeed fruitful in terms of development of Western-style modern art. The numerous artworks by modern Taiwanese artists displayed at Japan's official salons were testimony to this reality. Ozaki's assertion that Qing Taiwan produced only one or two outstanding painters, however, not only oversimplified the actuality of Taiwan's pre-colonial art scene but also overlooked the contributions of sojourning literati artists from China who were active in Taiwan and played a significant role in its artistic activities during the Qing period.

After Taiwan became a part of the Japanese Empire in 1895, the Japanese were determined to build Taiwan into a model colony different from those of the preceding mercantilist Europeans who sought only to exploit the island's natural and human economic resources. In order to cultivate local identification with and loyalty to the Japanese Empire and co-opt the island's Qing-era elites, they utilized Japanized Western-style institutions and educational curricula to impose their language and culture upon Taiwan's multiple ethnic groups.

Ozaki Hozuma's essay is only one of numerous examples of Japan's devalorization of the Chinese cultural legacy in Taiwan in the endeavor to rationalize and legitimate its cultural imperialism. Before discussing the effect and impact of Japan's establishment of modernizing colonial education and art salons in Taiwan in the following chapter, it is necessary to first ask: Was Qing Taiwan a cultural wasteland, as Ozaki and other Japanese commentators claimed?

Despite the negative, minimalist attitude of the Qing government toward Taiwan, it established and maintained thirteen educational institutions known as *ruxue* (Confucian schools), comprising three *fixue* (prefectural schools) and ten *xienxue* (county schools).⁸¹ These schools focused on preparing students for the imperial civil service examination (*keju*), which, as a centralized bureaucrat recruitment institution, was a major means employed by Chinese governments for many centuries to manipulate social prestige and cultivate the loyalty of local-level elites, even in peripheral regions such as Taiwan.⁸²

In 1823, the Qing court decreed that at least one quota of the *jinshi* (presented scholar) degree would be reserved for examination candidates from Taiwan. This heartened aspiring Taiwanese literati, who were at a disadvantage in competition with residents of Fujian Province, from which Taiwan was administered. They were spurred to study the Confucian Four Books and Five Classics as well as Chinese literature and calligraphy.⁸³ Although few Taiwanese imperial examination candidates made it to the *huishi* (the top-level imperial examination administered in the Imperial capital every

⁸¹ The earliest *ruxue* that the Qing government founded in Taiwan was the Taiwan prefectural school that was established in 1685 at the Confucius Temple in Tainan. In 1687, the first imperial examination was held in Taiwan. For a detail account of the educational institution under the Qing rule, see Ino Yoshinori, *Taiwan bunka shi* vol. 2, 1-34.

⁸² The examination system was an attempt to recruit men on the basis of merit rather than social position or political connections. Every educated man, even a poor one, could participate in the imperial examinations, and, if he did well, would be appointed to an official position. For a historical account of Chinese *keju* evaluation system, see Li Xinda, *Zhongguo keju zhidu shi* (History of the Institution of Chinese Civil Service Examination) (Taipei: Wenjin, 1995).

⁸³ The Four Books are *The Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Analects of Confucius* and *Mencius*. Five Classics is a corpus of five ancient Chinese books used by Confucianism as the basis of studies. It includes the *Classic of Changes*, *Classic of Poetry*, *Classic of Rites*, *Classic of History* and *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

three years) and passed it to become *jinshi* degree holders,⁸⁴ the existence of the Imperial Examination System, the aspiration of local elites to succeed in the exams and become government officials, and their concentration on studies of official Confucianism in preparation for the exams, reinforced their Han-centric cultural identification.⁸⁵

In addition to the government-run Confucian schools, or *ruxue*, there arose in Taiwan a profusion of *shuyuan* (private academies),⁸⁶ *shexue* (community schools), *yixue* (charity schools) and *shufang* (tutorials; *shobō* in Japanese). While most of the *shexue*, *yixue* and *shufang* provided courses in elementary-level Chinese learning for students in remote or economically disadvantaged areas, *shuyuan* assumed the role of institutions of higher education on the same level as the official Confucian schools. During the Qing Dynasty, there were more than sixty *shuyuan* of record in Taiwan, where scholars and students engaged in study of Confucianism, poetry, composition and cultivation in ethics, and prepared for the imperial examinations. Receiving financial support in the form of state grants and private contributions, the *shuyuan* were overseen

⁸⁴ Under Qing rule, only twenty-nine Taiwanese attained the rank of civil *jinshi* and ten the rank of military *jinshi*. *Taiwansheng tongzhi, jung wu jiaoyuzhi kaoxuanpian* (Taiwan Province Gazetteer, vol.5: education: examination) part1, ed. Zhuang Jinde (Taichung: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1973) 83-85.

⁸⁵ For an account of the content and preparation of the imperial examination that led to gentry status and entry into officialdom in 19th century China, see Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955) 165-82.

⁸⁶ *Shuyuan*, usually known in English as Academy of Classical Learning, were a type of school in ancient China. Since its first foundation in China in the eighth century in Tang Dynasty, *shuyuan* functioned as another kind of institution of learning, which filled the space between the government schools and the community schools. *Shuyuan* were originally operated with an emphasis on discipline, daily lectures and liberal study of classical learning. They were generally privately owned, and some were partly aided by governments. For a survey of the development of *shuyuan* in Chinese history, see Deng Hongpo, *Zhongguo shuyuan shi* (History of Chinese *shuyuan*) (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2005).

by local officials, who regularly granted scholarships to students that distinguished themselves in the monthly examinations.⁸⁷

In this environment, literary and artistic circles gradually formed among intellectual elites, consisting of imperial examination degree holders, Confucian school faculty and students, imperial examination candidates, Qing officials and Chinese scholars sojourning in Taiwan. Parallel to Taiwan's economic and cultural development, which started in the south and gradually extended northward, the emergence of Taiwan's degree-holding gentry class appeared first in southern Taiwan in the late 18th century, in central Taiwan during the first half of the 19th century, and in northern Taiwan during the second half of the 19th century.⁸⁸

Whether failing or succeeding to become officials, the intellectual elites appreciated the literati way of life as an emblem of elevated socio-cultural standing. Chinese literati values and traditions, therefore, penetrated the upper strata of Taiwanese society, which placed importance on the practice and appreciation of poetry, calligraphy, and painting as a means of self-cultivation as well as sophisticated pastimes.

Art Practices and Tradition during the Qing Era

⁸⁷ For an account of the institution, organization and function of Taiwan's *shuyuan*, see Huang Xiuzheng, "Taiwan Qingdai de shuyuan," (Taiwan's *Shuyuans* of the Qing Dynasty) *Taiwanshi yanjiu* (Research of Taiwanese History) (Taipei: Taiwan Xuesheng, 1995) 105-43; see also Lin Wenlong, *Taiwan de shuyuan yu keju* (Taiwan's *Shuyuans* and the Imperial Examinations) (Taipei: Changmin wenhua, 1999); Wang Qizong, *Taiwan de shuyuan* (Taiwan's *Suyuans*) (Taipei: Wenjianhui, 1999).

⁸⁸ Cai Yuanqie, "Qingdai Taiwan shehui lingdao jieceng xingzhi zhi zhuanbian," (The Transformation of the Nature of Taiwan's Local Elite in the Qing Dynasty) *Shilian Zazhi* 3 (1983): 56-62; Ramon H Meyers, "Taiwan under Ch'ing Imperial Rule, 1684-1895: The Traditional Order," *Journal of the Institution of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong* 4/2 (1971): 495-520.

As an island frontier and with a settlers' society, Taiwan relied on China as the source of imported calligraphic and painting implements, manuals and reference materials. Owing to the considerable difficulty and expense of obtaining certain types of painting materials, the art of calligraphy appeared on the island earlier than painting, and ink painting in fluid, simple *xieyi* style⁸⁹ predominated in the development of painting.⁹⁰ In the Chinese literati tradition, calligraphy was more than a form of writing; it was regarded as indicative of a person's refinement and character, and was practiced as an art in its own right. Since the practice of calligraphy is akin to the art of ink-and-wash painting, involving the use of similar tools and techniques, it was an inextricable element in literati artworks, whose perceived value was understood to lie in the harmonious combination of poetry, calligraphy and painting.

The earliest calligraphic works done in Taiwan were produced primarily by officials of the Zheng regime, after which came those created by Qing bureaucrats. In the commemorative exposition "*Taiwan bunka sanbyaku nen*" (Taiwan's Three Hundred Years of Culture) held by the Tainan prefectural government in 1930,⁹¹ for instance,

⁸⁹ *Xieyi*, usually referred to in contrast to *gongbi* in Chinese painting, is a style employing economical brushwork that aims at capturing the spirit of the object rather than its physical likeness. By contrast, *gongbi* style employs meticulous, fine brushwork with the intent of creating a realistic portrayal.

⁹⁰ Lin Boting "Zhongyuan huihua yu Taiwan de guanxi," (The Relationship between Chinese and Taiwanese Painting) in *Ming Qing shidai Taiwan shuhua zuopin* (Taiwan's Calligraphy and Painting during the Ming and Qing Periods) ed. Huang Chailang (Taipei: Xingzhengyuan wenhuajianshe weiyuanhui, 1984) 428.

⁹¹ Nominally, the exposition was held to commemorate the three hundred years of Tainan City's history since the Dutch built Casteel Zeelandia there in the 1630s. In addition to documents, artifacts and artworks of the previous three hundred years, however, it featured a variety of exhibits that showcased Japan's colonial achievements in education, public health, industry, agriculture and the arts. See the exhibition catalogue *Taiwan shiryō shūsei* (Collection of Historical Materials on Taiwan) (Tainan: Tainan Shiyakusyo, 1931) and related press coverage in the October 5, 1930 issue of *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*. Ozaki Hozuma's "Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka," was originally a

calligraphic pieces produced in Taiwan by prominent political personages such as Zheng Chenggong, Zhu Shugui, Huang Daozhou, Chen Yonghua, Lin Zexu, Cao Jin and Shen Baozhen were exhibited as works of historical significance.

After Chinese educational institutions had become established in Taiwan, the practice of calligraphy as an art was gradually popularized among the local educated elite. The increased depth of Chinese culture and economic development of Taiwanese society gave greater impetus to artistic activities, sponsored by growing numbers of merchants, landlords and gentry. Consequently, the island started to attract not only Chinese farmers and traders, but Chinese scholars and literati as well.

In the mid-18th century, a small list of local painters and calligraphers appeared for the first time in Wang Bichang's *Chongxiu Taiwanxian zhi* (Gazetteer of Taiwan county, revised). Among the group of people skilled in medicine, geomancy and fortune telling, or various techniques and crafts, Wang counted eight who were adept in painting and/or calligraphy. Four of them had studied at Confucian schools, while two were monks.⁹² Such a citation in an official gazetteer of Taiwan indicated that demand for literary and artistic works had grown in step with the island's burgeoning economic prosperity.

Because Taiwan was a frontier society in constant turmoil, the Qing government was obliged to rely on local landlords or strongmen to donate money or recruit militia to maintain order in their own communities. As rewards for their assistance, they were granted official titles and scholarly honors. Throughout the Qing Dynasty, many Taiwanese merchants and landlords obtained the titles of *gongsheng* or *jiansheng*

lecture given at the 1930 exposition. It was published together with lectures of other exposition committee members in 1931 and 1935. Ozaki Hozuma, "Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka," 108-14.

⁹² Wang Bichang ed. *Chongxiu Taiwanxian zhi* (Gazetteer of Taiwan county, revised) 1752, in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* vol.113 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang, 1961) 391-92.

(scholars of the imperial academy) by dint of such donations without going through the imperial examination process.⁹³ The rising gentry and nouveaux riches built Chinese-style residences, villas, pavilions and gardens, and they employed literati scholars from China to educate their children as well as to produce paintings and calligraphy emblematic of their economic status and cultural sophistication.

Owing to its remoteness from the metropolitan center of northern China, Taiwan's popular and fine arts of the period reflected the strong influence of southeastern China, particularly that of Fujian Province, the origin of most Chinese immigrants as well as of traveling merchants, Qing officials and visiting literati in Taiwan. Local elites prized and collected the artworks of Chinese literati who were commissioned to work in Taiwan for varying lengths of time.

Sojourning literati assumed the position of tutor and/or art consultant and played leading roles in Taiwan's literary and artistic circles. The styles and subject matters of their artworks became objects of emulation for local artists in need of a canon and reference in their artistic undertakings. In general, traditional Chinese painting styles of the Qing Dynasty were learned and practiced through imitation, and deliberate borrowings were made from illustrious masters or artistic traditions as a way of expressing erudition and mastery of technique. From Fujian-based artists, Taiwanese artists picked up their artistic styles, which adhered closely to the forms and techniques of the Yangzhou School⁹⁴—particularly of Huang Shen (1687-?) and Hua Yan

⁹³ Cai Yuanqie, "Qingdai Taiwan shehui lingdao jieceng xingzhi zhi zhuanbian," 43.

⁹⁴ The school was often referred to as the "Eight Eccentric Artists of Yangzhou" in the reigns of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors in the Qing Dynasty. It included artists such as Jin Nong, Huang Shen, Zheng Xie, Li Shan, Li Fangying, Wang Shishen, Gao Xiang and Luo Pin. These painters were called "eccentrics" for their unconventional brushwork and lifestyles. Their art was emulated by many painters of later generations, such as Zhao Zhiqian, Qi Baishi and Wu Changshuo.

(1682-1756)— as well as the art styles of Huang Daozhou (1585-1646), Zhang Ruitu (1570-1641), Shangguan Zhou (1665-?) and Yi Binshou (1754-1851).⁹⁵ Occasionally, the influence of ink painting styles prevalent in Zhejiang and Guangdong provinces were also evident in works produced in Taiwan.

Among the visiting Chinese artists who came to Taiwan at the invitation of local landlords and gentry, the most prominent were Lu Shiyi (1784-1855) and Xie Quanqiao (1811-1864), who, along with Yao Huacheng (1812-?), were known as the “Three Lin Clan Masters,” referring to the most affluent extended family of the time in northern Taiwan.⁹⁶ In the second half of the 19th century, numerous Fujian-based literati artists were invited to stay with the Lin clan, who employed them as tutors and advisers who could help them both to create and collect works of art.⁹⁷ Owing to its contributions to Taiwan’s artistic development through art patronage and art collecting, the Lin clan was

⁹⁵ Li Chu-Tsing and Wan Qingli: *Zhongguo xiandai huihua shi, wan Qing zhi bu* (History of Modern Chinese Painting: the Late Qing Dynasty) (Taipei: Shitou, 1998) 89.

⁹⁶ The earliest Lin clan ancestor in Taiwan was a scholar from Longxi in Fukien Province named Lin Yingyin, who settled in the Taipei suburb of Xinzhuang in 1778. The Lin clan began its rise to fame and fortune from his son, Lin Pinghou, whose entrepreneurial vision and talent rapidly expanded the family wealth. Lin Pinghou divided his family business for his children into five sectors. The most successful of the five companies were Lin Guohua’s *Ben* Company and Lin Guofang’s *Yuan* Company. The two brothers then moved to the nearby town of Banqiao, where, over the period 1888 to 1893, they built the famous Lin Clan Mansion, referred to by locals as “Lin Benyuan.” Lian Heng, *Taiwan Tongshi* vol.2, 1088-91. Huang Fushan, “Shilun Taiwan liang da jiazhu shi xing ge yu zuyun,” (On Character and Fortune of Two Taiwanese Clans) *Taiwan Fengwu* 45/4 (1995): 160-62.

⁹⁷ From the second half of the 19th century to the early years of the Japanese colonial periods, the Fujian-based artists who sojourned with the Lin clan included Xie Quanqiao (1811-1864), Lu Shiyi (1784-1876), Chen Zantu (*Jinshi* of the year 1876), Chen Xiuyin (1851-1889), Xu Yun (died circa 1908) and Wu Lu (1845-1912). Yen Chuan-ying, “Zhiminde guanfang pinwei de bianqian: shichuan qinyilang yu yijiu yiling niandai Taiwan de meishu huodong,” (The Change of the Official Taste in Colonial Taiwan : Ishikawa Kinichirō and Taiwan’s Art Activities in the 1910s) <<http://www.aerc.nhcue.edu.tw/paper/lee/01.pdf>> (7 Nov. 2007)

referred to by Ozaki Hozuma as the most significant “culture builder” in northern Taiwan.⁹⁸

The aforementioned three masters were all from Fujian Province. Though their artistry was not of exceptional quality, they nevertheless achieved high distinction and exerted significant influence in Taiwan, as they represented Chinese cultural paradigms for local art circles.

Lu Shiyi was a talented calligrapher and erudite collector of inscriptions from ancient bronzes and steles. He received a *juren* degree in 1822 and lectured at several private academies before he was employed by brothers Lin Guohua and Lin Guofang, who entrusted him not only with the duty of tutoring the clan’s junior members, but also of collecting art, antiques, books and stele inscriptions and rubbings. Lu worked for the Lin brothers for nearly twenty years, assisting them in designing their new mansion in the Taipei suburb of Banqiao, where a number of its columns, lintels and inscription tablets bore Lu’s calligraphic renderings. His research on and collection of ancient stele inscriptions and rubbings, in addition to his calligraphic works combining archaic seal characters and Han clerical script, exerted considerable influence on Taiwan’s calligraphers of the late Qing and early Japanese period.⁹⁹

Xie Quanqiao, an accomplished Fujianese poet, painter and calligrapher, as well as a *juren* of 1835, came to Taiwan in 1857. He resided first at the home of Wu

⁹⁸ Ozaki Hozuma, “Shinchō jidai no Taiwan bunka,” 104.

⁹⁹ Lian Heng, *Taiwan tongshi* vol.2, 1120; Zhuang Bohe, “Taiwan jinshixue daoshi-Lu Shiyi,” (Master of Taiwan’s Epigraphy: Lu Shiyi) *Ming Qing shidai Taiwan shuhua zuopin* (Taiwan’s painting and calligraphy of the Ming and Qing periods) 441-43. For an analysis of Lu Shiyi’s calligraphy and its impact on the development of Taiwan’s calligraphic art, see Guo Chengquan, “Lu Shiyi shufa yanjiu: jianlun yu Taiwan shutan fazhan zhi guanxi,” (Research on Lu Shiyi’s Calligraphy and its Relationship with the Development of Taiwan’s Calligraphic Art) MA thesis, National Normal University, 2000.

Shanzhan, a *juren* living in Tainan, and lectured at the Donghai Academy there before going to work for the Lin clan in Banqiao. During his four years in Taiwan, he socialized with a number of local literati and artists, including Wu Shanzhan, Li Xueqiao and Li Yiqiao, who were profoundly inspired by his prolific output of calligraphy and paintings. Xie's calligraphic style derived from the tradition of Yan Zhenqin (709-785) and Mi Fu (1051-1107), while his paintings—particularly his popular bird-and-flower ink paintings (figs. 4-6)—reflected the influence of the Yangzhou School.¹⁰⁰

Yao Huacheng, a Fujian literatus who received a *juren* degree in 1835, was engaged as a tutor to the Lin clan at the recommendation of Zhou Kai (1779-1837), the highest-ranking Qing official in Taiwan from 1833 to 1837. Yao was accomplished in both calligraphy and painting, particularly landscape painting. While he enjoyed equal fame with Lu Shiyi and Xie Quanqiao as one of the three most prominent literati residing with the Lin clan, it is difficult to discuss his style and influence because few of his artworks have survived.¹⁰¹

Although visiting literati painters from China predominated in the art circles of Qing Taiwan, a small number of Taiwan-born painters came to the fore. Lin Chaoying (1739-1816), the most renowned among native painters of the Qing period, was considered by Ozaki Hozuma as “the only painter of Tainan” during the Qing era. Born into an affluent merchant family in Tainan, he attended the county Confucian school and was granted a *gongsheng* (tribute student) degree in 1789. After failing to pass the provincial imperial examinations for the fourth time, Lin devoted himself to business while continuing his literary and artistic cultivation and became well-versed in literature,

¹⁰⁰ Lin Boting, “Sanwei jiechu de huajia,”(Three Outstanding Painters) *Ming Qing shidai Taiwan shuhua zuopin*, 438-40.

¹⁰¹ Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts ed. *Taiwan shufa sa bainian* (Calligraphy in Taiwan 1645-1945) (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, 1998) 122.

music, calligraphy, painting and bamboo carving. He was awarded an official title and commemorative tablet by the Qing government in 1813 for his philanthropic deeds, including refurbishing of the Confucius temple attached to the Tainan county Confucian school.¹⁰²

Where and how Lin Chaoying learned painting is unclear, but his frequent business trips to China for trade as well as for taking the imperial examinations probably contributed to his familiarity with southeastern Chinese art. Stylistically, his bird-and-flower ink paintings, executed in bold and expressive brushstrokes (figs. 7-8), bear an affinity to Yangzhou School artists such as Huang Shen and Zheng Xie. His distinctive running script was described as “bamboo leaf calligraphy,” as his brushstrokes evoke the feeling of wind-blown bamboo leaves (fig. 9).

Lin is a prominent example of ascending social elites in Qing Taiwan’s settlers’ society, who typically came from the ranks of merchants or landlords and sought to enhance their social standing and cultural prestige through the civil service examination system. Though their quest for entry into officialdom might not have met with success, most of them assumed the traditional role of gentry, acting as patrons of schools and charitable causes and promoters of local communities’ literary and artistic development. A self-portrait painted by Lin offers a revealing image of the artist at the age of sixty four (fig. 10). In a realistic style, he renders himself as a traditional literatus in a rarely seen fur-trimmed coat, attended by a servant who is carrying a *qin*, an ancient instrument played by Chinese literati who considered it a symbol of subtlety and refinement.¹⁰³ In

¹⁰² Lian Heng, *Taiwan tongshi* vol.2, 1144; Lin Boting “Taiwan huajia Lin Chaoying,” (Lin Chaoying: a Taiwanese Painter) *Xiongshi meishu* 96(1979): 84-89.

¹⁰³ The *qin* is a horizontal, plucked string instrument played in China since ancient times. It was regarded as a noble instrument by the literati who cherished it as one of the four cultural forms—*qin*, *qi* (go chess), calligraphy and painting—practiced by the literati for personal cultivation as well as for entertainment. Yi Guocun, *Zhongguo gu qin yishu* (Art of *guqin* in China) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 2003) 4-10.

the calligraphy inscription on the upper-right corner of the self-portrait, the artist expresses his self-expectations and contentment with respect to his tastes and pleasure in pursuing the arts of literature, music and calligraphy as well as in playing chess. Both visually and verbally, Lin Chaoying's self-portrait pictures a refined literatus.

Besides the native painters who came from the privileged classes of gentry, landlords and merchants, Taiwan had artisan-painters who made a living by decorating walls and doors on temples and public buildings, in addition to selling small paintings of auspicious motifs. Lin Jue, for instance, was a professional painter active in the early-to-mid-19th century who was renowned for his paintings in temples, government buildings and private villas in southwestern Taiwan's Jiayi and Tainan areas.¹⁰⁴ While sojourning in northwestern Taiwan's Hsinchu, he also produced works at the mansions of Zheng Yongxi and Lin Zhanmei—called *Peiquo yuan* and *Qian yuau*, respectively—whose families were the two most prominent in the Hsinchu area.

Lin's subject matter went beyond the common bird-and-flower genre. He painted landscapes, the least popular genre among local painters, produced religious images as temple decorations, and depicted figures from popular folklore, such as, Taoist deities, villagers, cowherds, woodcutters and fishermen. His style of ink painting, his simple, quick brushstrokes and cursive, winding lines, indicates the strong influence of Huang Shen (figs. 11-13).¹⁰⁵

Generally, painters in Qing Taiwan fell into four categories: Qing officials, visiting literati, rising local elites and artisan-painters. During the Qing period, painting

¹⁰⁴ The years of Lin Jue's birth and death are unknown, even the records of his birthplace vary from Jiayi, Tainan, to Quanzhou, Fujing. Lin Boting, "Senwei jiechu de huajia," 438.

¹⁰⁵ *Zai shui yi fang—1945 yiqian Taiwan shuimo hua* (Beyond the water: ink painting in Taiwan before 1945) ed. Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts (Taichung: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, 2004) 186.

was associated with various aspects of society and culture. The political and intellectual elites practiced art as a pastime and as an emblem of cultural sophistication and social standing. As Taiwanese society became increasingly developed and culturally refined, paintings were produced as a commodity, adorning public and private spaces such as temples, government buildings, pavilions, residences and villas. The most popular genre was bird-and-flower painting, followed by figure painting, with landscape painting in last place. This bespeaks not only the popular taste of the time but also the socio-cultural context of Taiwanese society. Owing to the insufficient availability of painters' paraphernalia and materials as well as the lack of intensive training, birds and flowers—including “the four gentlemen”¹⁰⁶—were the most dominant genres, with orchids and bamboo being the most popular motifs, as they could be easily executed in a calligraphic style. Paintings of auspicious motifs and figures from popular religious belief, folklore and history were in greater demand than landscape painting, which was more difficult for the artists to master. Figure painting of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian personages was therefore the second-most popular genre, whereas landscape painting was rare in Qing Taiwan, with only a few good works created primarily by visiting painters from China.¹⁰⁷

From Chinese Outpost to Japanese Colony

¹⁰⁶ In Chinese art and literature, “the four gentlemen” (also called the “four noble ones” or the “four friends”) refers to orchids, chrysanthemums, plum blossoms and bamboo, the four noble plants and flowers which, in traditional Chinese culture, symbolized the literati spirit. They also represent the four seasons.

¹⁰⁷ Lin Boting, *Jiayi diqu de huihua yanjiu* (Study of Painting in the Jiayi Area) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1995) 37-39.

After Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, its intimate artistic connection with China was severed abruptly, as all economic, social and cultural institutions and practices in Taiwan were restructured or replaced in response to the new demands and the political goals of the Japanese Empire. The Japanese colonists represented themselves as modernizers, enlighteners and benefactors who would elevate the cultural level of a Taiwan which, after two centuries of Qing rule, was in pressing need of reformation and cultivation.

As surviving artworks and documents indicate, Qing Taiwan's burgeoning artistic activities, while limited primarily to a small sphere of local elites and Qing officials and literati, signified a deep-rooted, thriving Han-centric cultural tradition on the island. Though Taiwan's intellectual elites were few in number as compared to the agricultural population, they were the principal tone setters of Taiwan's cultural landscape under Qing rule. The degree-holding gentry were the key preservers of the Chinese cultural legacy in Taiwan. In 1895, they took the lead, pleading with the Qing government not to abandon Taiwan, albeit to no avail.¹⁰⁸ Many of them fled to China as Qing officials were recalled and the Qing army withdrew.¹⁰⁹

Led by the gentry who chose to stay, Taiwan was proclaimed an independent nation, and a Democratic Republic of Taiwan was established. Despite this, the founders of the republic showed their continued attachment to the Qing Court by referring to the

¹⁰⁸ In several telegraphs sent to the Qing court, Tang Jingsong, the Qing governor of Taiwan, analyzed the mistake of ceding Taiwan and reported the Taiwanese people's rage, grief and fear of being abandoned. After the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed, Taipei's gentry approached Tang and persuaded him to stay with the Taiwanese people. In despair, Tang also sought international support for the new republic to no avail. Huang Xiuzheng, *Taiwan gerang yu yiwei kangri yundong*, 92-96.

¹⁰⁹ By October 1895, approximately ten percent of the degree-holding Taiwanese gentry had left Taiwan for China. Wu Wenxin, *Riju shiqi Taiwan shehui lingdao jieceng zhi yanjiu* (Research on Local Elite of Taiwanese Society under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: Zhengzhong, 1992) 24.

new dispensation as the *Yong Qing* (literally, Forever Qing) era and electing the former Qing-appointed governor, Tang Jingsong, as its first president.¹¹⁰ The short-lived republic collapsed, however, only a few months after Japanese troops arrived. In November 1895, seven months after the Shimonoseki Treaty was signed, Governor-General Kabayama Sukenori declared the whole island pacified,¹¹¹ although sporadic uprisings and armed resistance continued until 1902.¹¹²

At the same time it ruthlessly suppressed resistance, the colonial government sought to conciliate the Taiwanese elite, endeavoring in particular to absorb, co-opt, or assimilate the gentry. The fourth Governor-General, Kodama Gentarō (1852–1906), for instance, staged the grand *Yō Bun Kai* literary gathering in 1900 in Taipei, inviting

¹¹⁰ Huang Xiuzheng, *Taiwan gerang yu yiwei kangri yundong*, 129-32; Wu Micha, “1895 nian ‘Taiwan minzhuguo de changli jingguo,’” (The Founding of Democratic Republic of Taiwan in 1895) in *Taiwan shi lunwen jinxuan* (Selected Essays on Taiwanese History) ed. Zhang Yanxian, Li Xiaofeng and Dai Baocun, vol.2 (Taipei: Yushanshe, 1996) 11-54.

¹¹¹ Soon after the Japanese troops landed in northern Taiwan and crushed all resistance, Tang Jingsong fled to China. The routed Taiwanese army began to plunder the anarchic Taipei city, and Taipei’s gentry and foreign merchants agreed to end the state of anarchy by sending representatives to greet the Japanese troops, who eventually entered Taipei without any bloodshed. On June 17, Governor-General Kabayama Sukenori held an inauguration ceremony to mark the beginning of Japanese colonial rule over Taiwan. The Japanese however continued to encounter resistance from Taiwanese militia supported by local gentry and landlords in central and southern Taiwan. The Tainan gentry appointed the former Qing general Liu Yongfu to succeed Tang as president of Republic of Taiwan. Japanese troops with modern weaponry swept from north to south within 5 months and took control of Tainan without encountering resistance in October 1895. Kao Mingshi, *Taiwanshi*, 170-71; Huang Xiuzheng, *Taiwan gerang yu yiwei kangri yundong*, 143-74, 191-246.

¹¹² See Weng Jiayin’s research on the Han settlers’ armed resistance against the Japanese rule from 1895 to 1902. Weng Jiayin, *Taiwan Hanren wuzhuang kangrishi yanjiu (1895-1902)* (Research on Taiwan’s Han Settlers’ Armed Resistance against the Japanese, 1895-1902) (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1986). After 1902, only minor rebellions occurred in subsequent years, including the Ta-pa-ni incident of 1915 in today’s Tainan County. See also Paul Katz, *When The Valleys Turned Blood Red: The Ta-pa-ni Incident in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005)

degree-holding gentry across Taiwan to compose poetry or essays on subjects such as preserving temples, honoring the virtuous and rendering relief to the poor.¹¹³ In addition, as many Japanese officials of the early colonial period were conversant with classic Chinese literature, they often hosted Chinese poetry gatherings as a medium for socializing with local gentry.¹¹⁴ In addition to its conciliation strategy, the early colonial government attempted to impress the local elites with Japan's modernization achievements. Gentry invited to literary gatherings sponsored by the governor general were taken on tours of colonial bureaus, institutions, modern schools and facilities in Taipei. Special trips were even arranged for elites to visit Japan and experience in person its modern character and achievements.

In the early years of Japanese rule, the colonial government allowed the continued existence of Qing-style private schools and tutorials, grouped together under the Japanese

¹¹³ Wu Degong, a *ju ren* from central Taiwan, who attended the 1900 *Yō Bun Kai* and tours in Taipei arranged by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office for the local literati, kept in his journal a detail account of the content of the gatherings and eye-opening sights of the modern facilities, technologies and institutes he witnessed. Wu Degong, "Guanguang riji," (Journal of Sightseeing) *Wu Degong xiansheng qiongji*, (Complete Collection of Writing by Wu Degong) ed. Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui vol. 4 (Nantou: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1992) 167-88. For an account of the conciliation policies during early Japanese rule, see Wang Shilang, *San nian xiao pan wu nian da luan—Taiwan shehui bianqian* (Small Revolts Every Three Years and Large Uprisings Every Five Years: the Transformation of Taiwanese Society) (Taipei: Haixia xueshu, 2003) 59-86.

¹¹⁴ Huang Meie, *Chongceng xiandaixing jingxiang: rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua guan* (Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Vision and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: Maitian, 2004) 71-72. For an account of the literary socializing between Taiwan's gentry and Japanese colonists, and a list of the Japanese colonial officials and scholars versed in Chinese poetry, during the period of 1895 to April 1898, see Yang Yongbin, "Ribei lingtai chuqi ri tai guanshen shiwen changhe," (The Exchanges and Correspondence of Poetry between Japanese Officials and Taiwanese Gentry in the Early Years of the Japanese Occupation Period) *Taiwan chongceng jindaihua lunwenji* (Taiwan's Multiple Modernities) eds. Wakabayashi Masahiro and Wu Micha, (Taipei: Bozhongzhe, 2000) 105-81.

term *shobō*. Local literati were employed to teach at the newly established common schools, and classical Chinese and the *Analects of Confucius* were staples in their curricula during the initial stage of Japanese colonization.¹¹⁵

Gradually, however, traditional Chinese-style schooling and its curricula were made to look deficient and outmoded within the new colonial context. *Shobō* were required to include in their curricula new subjects such as the Japanese language and arithmetic, and the sites of most *shobō* were relocated to outlying districts of cities and towns.¹¹⁶

To validate their cultural supremacy, the Japanese colonizers not only introduced to Taiwan benefits of modern civilization in the form of Western-style infrastructure, such as hospitals, telecommunications and educational systems, but also reconstructed Taiwan's cultural values and societal frameworks through the establishment of new cultural institutions and apparatuses such as official Japanese newspapers and magazines, commemorative colonial expositions and Western-style art salons. New cultural forms, ideologies, categories and orders were developed, represented and promoted.

Under Japanese colonization, Taiwan saw changes not only in its geopolitical status, but also in its cultural outlook, with new perspectives and relations through which its people viewed their past realities and their future possibilities. Consequently, there arose a need to constantly redefine their cultural identities within a colonial context that

¹¹⁵ As Patricia Tsurumi notes, Confucian ethics was taught in both Chinese and Japanese language classes, “presented as Japanese ideals or as universal principles shared by but not unique to the Chinese people.” E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1977) 18-21; E. Patricia Tsurumi, “Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan,” ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1984) 283-85.

¹¹⁶ Chen Zhaoying, *Taiwan ruxue: qiyuan, fazhan yu zhuanhua* (Taiwanese Confucianism: origin, development and transformation) (Taipei: Zhangzhong, 2000) 37.

positioned Taiwan between the competing influences of China and Japan, between their ethno-cultural legacy from the past and their path to modernity in the present. The Japanese colonial education system was an influential institution, cultivating new intellectual elites whose articulation of cultural identities differed significantly from that of the older generation of Qing-era gentry. Even critics of Japanese rule, often conveyed views that reflected a devaluation of Taiwan's culture in the mirror of Japanese colonialism.

Jiang Weishui (1891-1931), one of the most famous first-generation Taiwanese physicians educated at a colonial medical school, is a case in point.¹¹⁷ After graduating from the *Taiwan Sōtokufu Igaku Senmon Gakkō* (Taiwan Governor-General's Medical School) in Taipei, he practiced medicine at his private clinic, helping the poor and dedicating himself to the cause of enhancing the political status and socio-cultural conditions of the Taiwanese people. In the first issue of *Bulletin of the Taiwan Cultural Association*, November 28, 1921—twenty six years after Taiwan became a Japanese colony—Jiang Weishui published his oft-cited critique of Taiwan's cultural condition, “Clinical Diagnosis – For a Patient Named Taiwan” (see epigraph for this chapter). Written in the form of a patient's medical record, he diagnosed Taiwan as “a cultural retardate” who urgently needed to be treated with a maximum dosage of formal

¹¹⁷ Dr. Jiang Weishui was nicknamed “the Savior of the Taiwanese,” and was referred to in Taiwan as on a par with Dr. Sun Yat-sen in China or Mohandas K. Gandhi in India, for his dedication to Taiwan's social and political reform within the institution of Japanese colonialism. “The Savior of Taiwan, Mr. Jiang Weishui Passed Away,” *Nitaka Shimpao* no.284, 13, Aug. 1931; Lin Hengzhe, “Taiwan xiandai zhengzhishi shang de Don Quixote – Jiang Weishui,” *Jiang Weishui jinian wenji* (Collected Essays in Memory of Jiang Weishui) ed. Taiwan yanjiu jijinhui (Taipei: Chaituanfaren Taiwan yanjiu jijinhui, 2006) 212-35.

education, supplementary extracurricular studies, preschooling, libraries and newspaper reading societies.¹¹⁸

Son of a fortune-teller in Yilan, Jiang belonged to the first generation of new intellectual elites who moved up the social ladder thanks to the modernizing force of colonial education. Indeed, the most influential members of the Taiwan Cultural Association consisted primarily of Japanese-educated elites, who joined forces to “elevate Taiwan’s cultural level.”

Under Jiang’ leadership, the association was founded in October 1921 with the approval of the colonial government. It recruited 1,033 members in its first year. Its leading members included gentry, medical doctors, common school graduates and graduates from colleges and universities in Japan. The student members included 49 medical school students, 136 Taipei Normal School students, 61 Taichung Commercial Vocational School students, 30 students of the Higher School of Agriculture and 3 students of Taipei Industry School.¹¹⁹

Before the association split up in 1927 due to a left vs. right ideological schism, the Taiwan Cultural Association was the most prominent group that promoted nonviolent resistance. It launched Taiwanese home rule campaigns and organized a number of

¹¹⁸ Jiang Weishui, *Jiang Weishui quanji* ed. Wang Xiaopo, vol.1 (Taipei: Haixia xueshu, 2005) 1-5.

¹¹⁹ For a list of association members and their educational and professional backgrounds, see Zhang Yanxian, “Taiwan wenhua xiehui de chengli yufenlie,” (The Founding and Splitting of Taiwan Cultural Association) *Taiwan shi lunwen jingxuan*, vol. 2, ed. Zhang Yanxian, Li Xiaofeng and Dai Baocun, 136-37. For a Japanese official account of the founding, goals, activities, transformation and dissolution of the Taiwan Cultural Association, see Wang Shilang trans., *Taiwan shehui yundong shi – wenhua yundong* (The History of Taiwanese Social Movements: Cultural Movements) (Taipei: Daoxiang, 1988) 249-504.

cultural activities to enlighten the Taiwanese populace, including reading groups, lecture tours, summer schools, movies, concerts and modern drama.¹²⁰

As exemplified by Jiang's diagnosis, the new colonial elites reflected the prevailing Japanese colonial discourse that Taiwan had been in a culturally impoverished state under Qing rule; that the Qing legacy was poisonous and detrimental to Taiwan's development; and that conditions had improved since Taiwan became part of the Japanese Empire, but still lagged behind modern global civilization and needed much improvement and reformation.

Like many other first-generation Japanese-educated intellectuals, Jiang studied traditional Chinese and Confucian classics before attending colonial common schools.¹²¹ While he strongly disparaged Taiwan's cultural and moral decline, he evidently took pride in Taiwan's cultural lineage, tracing its ancestry to ancient Chinese sages such as the mythic Yellow Emperor, the Duke of Zhou, Confucius and Mencius. In his diagnosis, "the patient named Taiwan" was born with a strong constitution and superior natural endowments. Though now physically run down, mentally degenerate and morally corrupted owing to chronic cultural malnutrition during the two centuries of Qing rule, Taiwan could still be saved in twenty years if the maximum dosage of formal schooling and social education was immediately dispensed.

Jiang's essay conveys the sense of trying to enumerate and make sense of the complicated historical factors that underlay the unsettled identities of Taiwan's majority

¹²⁰ Lin Bower, *Taiwan wenhua xiehui cangsang* (Vicissitude of Taiwan Cultural Association) (Taipei: Taiyuan, 1993) 101-48.

¹²¹ Under the 50 years of Japanese colonization, Taiwan saw the division between roughly three generations of intellectual elites. The oldest were literati who held Qing imperial examination degrees; the youngest generation were born after the Japanese takeover and received a completely colonial education in Japanese. In-between were those born in the last years of the Qing reign who received both basic Chinese education and formal colonial education.

Han population, whose ancestors had migrated from China's Fujian Province, but whose current domicile, as listed in the diagnosis, was "Taiwan *Sōtokufu* of the Japanese Empire." Taiwan's merits were inherited from the ancient Chinese Confucian sages, but its defects were also ascribed to China, though it was the most recent, Qing Dynasty that was held responsible for all the cultural backsliding and moral decadence of Taiwan. Though Jiang considered Taiwan to be suffering from extremely backward socio-cultural conditions, he nevertheless tried to counter the common popular Japanese belief that the Taiwanese were racially inferior. To the contrary, he stressed Taiwan's superior pedigree by linking it to ancient sages in China.

The remedy that Jiang prescribed for the patient, however—maximum formal education and modern Western knowledge, which, according to him, had been provided only incompletely by the Japanese government—did not mesh neatly with this discourse. Did the final goal lie in recovering Taiwan's strong constitution endowed by its Chinese pedigree, calling for revalorization and reinvigoration of its ancient Chinese traditions? Or was the goal to catch up with modern Western civilization, purging Taiwan of the poisonous legacy of Qing China and advancing full speed to become a cultivated, modern subject of the Japanese Empire? Or could it be both—replenishing Taiwan's strength and vitality by reviving its Chinese cultural legacy on the one hand while modernizing its education and knowledge on the other?

Interestingly, the first printing of the inaugural issue of the *Bulletin of the Taiwan Cultural Association* was banned for publishing Jiang's "Clinical Diagnosis,"¹²² as the colonial authorities evidently did not feel flattered by Jiang's portrayal of Taiwan. Publication of the essay was permitted in the second printing of the same issue only by

¹²² Wang Shilang trans. *Taiwan shehui yundong shi – wenhua yundong*, 265-66.

leaving blank the ancestral locale column in the medical report, which, in the first printing, had been filled out “Taiwan *Dao*, Fujian Province, China.”¹²³

In any event, Jiang Weishui’s analysis of Taiwan’s cultural condition became one of the island’s most frequently cited literary and historical documents. It represents not only a colonial reformist’s aspiration, but also a complex identity narrative. In addition to being an account of Taiwan’s historical and cultural conditions, it highlights the ambiguity and difficulty of the cultural identity narratives and constructions made by the Taiwanese not only of Jiang’s generation under Japanese rule, but of generations to follow.

Conclusion

Three hundred years of incessant migration of Hans to Taiwan under the Dutch, Zheng family and Qing regimes resulted in the development of a Sino-centric culturalism that eventually prevailed over the aboriginal cultures and Western influences that played their part in Taiwan’s turbulent history.¹²⁴ Over that period, the island had been transformed in the eyes of the outside world from an inconsequential land of savages to one of considerable strategic and economic significance, which prompted the Qing Empire to formally annex it as a province, and the Japanese Empire to snatch it away as its colony.

Shared identification with Chinese culture among Taiwan’s inhabitants did not, however, translate into social cohesion even on a regional scale, let alone island-wide.

¹²³ Jiang Chaogen ed., *Jiang Weishui liuzhenji*, 47.

¹²⁴ On the eve of the First Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan had a population of about two and a half million, including the Han settlers and the lowland aborigines. John R. Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier*, 161-62.

During the Qing era, Chinese settlers typically lived in segregated linguistic groups that shunned each other. There was constant feuding and armed conflict between communities and clans. Recurrent clashes occurred between lowland settlers and highland aboriginal groups. And there were numerous uprisings against official corruption and oppressive taxation. Society was splintered along lines of ancestry, class, dialect and locality. In short, a united Taiwanese identity founded on a sense of common destiny stemming from universally shared life experience seemed, to borrow Benedict Anderson's term, as yet unimaginable.¹²⁵

After the arrival of the Japanese, who were determined to transform Taiwan into a model colony of the Japanese Empire, all the islanders—the two major Han groups (Hoklo and Hakka) and the numerous aboriginal groups—came to share a new collective identity as the colonized relative to the Japanese colonizers. They became more closely connected than ever by a modern island-wide transportation network and public education system. Both contributed to the emergence of an awareness of the island of Taiwan as a unity. For the first time in the “Beautiful Isle's” history, the imagination and construction of a particular community known as the Taiwanese was emerging, although this identity-building enterprise remained problematic throughout the Japanese colonial period.

The modernizing imperative introduced into Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule engendered new perspectives, concepts and possibilities that gave rise to new aspirations and cultural identities. Against this background of psychic ferment, “Japanese Taiwan” gave birth to a burst of artistic activity that employed brand-new media and novel forms of expression. More than marking the beginning of Western-style Taiwanese modern art,

¹²⁵ Benedict Anderson defines a nation as “an imagined political community” that is constructed in the mind of those who perceive themselves as part of that group. Benedict Anderson, *Imagine Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso Books, 1991) 5-7.

this youthful artistic effervescence mirrored the collective consciousness of Taiwanese intellectuals, groping to articulate and represent new cultural identities in terms of Taiwan's colonial present, its historical legacy, and its brave new future.

CHAPTER II

NEW ASPIRATIONS AND IDENTITIES

Western nations have long believed that on their shoulders alone rested the responsibilities of colonizing the yet unopened portions of the globe and extending to the inhabitants the benefits of civilization; but now we Japanese, rising from the ocean in the extreme Orient, wish as a nation to take part in this great and glorious work.

Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 1907¹²⁶

With a mass of clay, a block of wood or stone, molding a form according to one's own idea, the pleasure of creation is beyond others' comprehension. Homeland youth! Let us step onto the path of art together! Here flowers blossom perennially, birds sing constantly. Oh, come to the land of blissful delight!

Huang Tushui, "Born in Taiwan," 1922¹²⁷

Modernization and Colonial Education

Unlike the Dutch, who in the 17th century colonized Taiwan more for immediate commercial gain than for establishing political sovereignty, the Japanese at the start of the 20th century were determined to transform their first colony into a showcase of Japan's colonizing mission to the world. As Takekoshi Yosaburō stated in 1907 in *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, a book that gives an account of "our successes in Formosa,"

¹²⁶ Takekoshi Yosaburō, "A Word to My Readers." Forward. *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, trans. George Braithwaite (1907, London: Longmans, Green and Co.; rpt. Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1996) vii.

¹²⁷ Huang Tushui, "Chusheng yu Taiwan," (Born in Taiwan) *Tōyō* 25 Mar. 1922 in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjin*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 130.

Japan's accession of Taiwan was regarded as a symbol of Japan's ascent to the position of colonial power. It was the first time that Japan found herself "taken into consideration in Weltpolitik."¹²⁸

Japan seized Taiwan in 1895 as a trophy of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). At that time, Japan was in the midst of its Meiji Restoration and infatuated with all things Western. Its centuries-old admiration for Chinese culture became overshadowed by that for the West. In short, a Western-centric world view supplanted the China-centered world view, and the new use of the term "Orient" or "Asia" signified an attentive gaze toward the "West."¹²⁹ Victory in the First Sino-Japanese War was widely credited to Meiji westernization policies. Therefore, Japan followed the same policy in colonizing Taiwan, improving local infrastructure and human resources, which was the prerequisite for attracting further investment and opening up new territories. During the fifty years of Japanese rule, Taiwan underwent significant material and cultural transformation that exerted profound influences on its social, economic, political and cultural development.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Takekoshi refers to Germany's purchase of the Caroline Islands, the Ladrone (Mariana) Islands and the Pelew Islands (an archipelago formerly regarded as part of the Carolines, now constituting the Republic of Palau), America's annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the cession of the Philippines as a strategic response of the Western powers to Japan's occupation of Taiwan. Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, 14.

¹²⁹ Miyazaki Noriko, "The Study of Chinese Painting during Japan's Modern Era," *The Present, and the Discipline of Art History in Japan* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, 1999) 26.

¹³⁰ Zhang Guoxing, "Ribei zhimin tongzhi shidai Taiwan shehui de bianhua," (Social Changes of Taiwan under Japanese Colonial Rule) *Taiwanshi lunwen jinxuan* (Selected Essays on Taiwan History) ed. Zhang Yanxian, Li Xiaofeng and Dai Baocun (Taipei: Yushanshe, 1996) Vol.II, 55-76.

After the initial stage of pacification,¹³¹ progressive modernization reforms were implemented. Rapid progress was made in the development of railways, highways, postal service, telecommunications, power generation and water supply. Institutional reforms such as modern banking, land ownership registration and census-taking were also established. Modern factories and agricultural infrastructure focusing especially on sugar and rice production gradually transformed traditional modes of production. In 1905 the colonial government of Taiwan achieved financial independence and no longer required subsidies from Japan. Along with improved economic standards of living, under Japanese rule, the islanders witnessed advances in quality of life owing to improvements in medical services and public hygiene. Various Western pastimes and urban attractions were introduced, especially in the cities, where the Western practice of a seven-day week with regular days off created new concepts of leisure and new demands for weekend diversions.

Among the various economic and social reforms, education played the most instrumental role in Japan's undertaking to transform Taiwan from "a part of traditional

¹³¹ The Japanese rule in Taiwan is commonly described by scholars as comprising three or four stages. The early stages involved military suppression of local resistance and establishment of administrative mechanisms that included strict police controls, land survey, standardized measurements and currencies, and monopoly of cash crops. Thereafter, the military governor-general of Taiwan was replaced by a civilian with a policy of assimilation that claimed Taiwan as an "extension of the Japanese homeland." Compulsory Japanese education and cultural assimilation were the focus of this stage, while economic development on the island was accelerated to build it into a stepping stone from which Japan could launch its imperialist expansion. The final stage, coinciding with the Second Sino-Japanese War, entailed the *kōminka* movement, wherein Taiwanese were pressured to adopt Japanese names and cultural forms. Also during this stage, the Japanese developed Taiwan's heavy industry and foreign trade. Harry J. Lamley, "Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism," *Taiwan: A New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) 202-60.

China into an integral part of modern Japan.”¹³² Although under Qing rule Taiwan had government-run Confucian schools and private tutorials that taught the Chinese classics, they were established primarily for the young males of the propertied and gentry classes. Traditional Chinese learning was a way of self-cultivation by which members of the privileged classes strove to become Confucian sages or wise statesmen. During the Japanese colonial period, primary education became mandatory for the entire native population, irrespective of class and gender, with completely different agendas and Western-style curricula. Education became an instrument of colonial rule both for turning the islanders into loyal subjects of the empire and for equipping them with the disciplines, skills and attitudes required to create an efficient workforce that could advance Japan’s national goals of modernization.

The educational system that the Japanese established in Taiwan comprised primary, secondary, vocational schools, normal schools and, on a limited scale, institutes of higher learning. Since the aim of colonial education was to improve productivity and secure the allegiance and cooperation of the islanders, there was conspicuous ethnic segregation¹³³ and inequality of educational opportunities, and an emphasis on providing

¹³² E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977) 2.

¹³³ The children of Japanese nationals went to “primary schools” (*shogakkō*) while native Taiwanese children went to “common schools” (*kogakkō*), which likewise were elementary-level schools. The “primary schools” provided a more diverse curriculum and better facilities. For instance, the first primary school in Taiwan—*Sōtokufu kokugo gakkō no fuzoku daishi gakkō* (The Fourth Primary School of Governor-General’s National Language School) established in 1897—had a curriculum designed exclusively for Japanese children and included subjects as reading, composition, calligraphy, arithmetic, natural sciences, singing, gymnastics, ethics, Japanese geography, Japanese history, drawing and sewing (for girls). Taiwanese students of the “common schools” spent more time learning Japanese language and culture. Lin Manli, “Rizhi shiqi de shehui wenhua jizhi yu Taiwan meishu jiaoyu jindaihua guocheng zhi yangjiu,” (Socio-Cultural Institutions and the Modernization of Taiwanese Art Education under Japanese Rule) *Hewei Taiwan? Jindai Taiwan meishu yu wenhua rentong lunwenji* (Searching for

widespread access to primary and vocational education at the expense of secondary or higher education. Schooling for native Taiwanese was generally limited to “common” (elementary), vocational and normal education, with secondary and tertiary educational institutions catering mainly to expatriate Japanese students. Contrary to the espoused colonial ideal of assimilation articulated in policies such as the integration edict of 1922, modernization of the education system was designed so as to maintain Japanese ascendancy, with emphasis on fostering loyalty to Japan through moral education and Japanese language training.¹³⁴

Despite the inequality of opportunity that limited the islander’s educational advancement to the acquisition of vocational and practical skills, the majority of Taiwanese youths, particularly those from the middle and lower social ranks, benefited from the government-supported educational system, which served as “a vehicle of soaring upward mobility.”¹³⁵ With an increasing number of islanders entering the public educational system,¹³⁶ a growing portion of the native population became exposed to new ideas and values. By means of modern curricula, students learned about Western cultures and technology. The average Taiwanese at the end of the Japanese colonial period was quite different from her or his parents at its beginning in terms of specialized

Cultural Identity-symposium on Modern Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, 1997) 166-67.

¹³⁴ Harry J. Lamley, “Taiwan under Japanese Rule, 1895-1945: The Vicissitudes of Colonialism,” 220-22; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 79-106.

¹³⁵ Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 227.

¹³⁶ Throughout the fifty years of Japanese rule, elementary school education developed rapidly, with the number of schools increasing tenfold by 1944, and enrollment rising ninety-fold within half a century. By 1944, Taiwan’s elementary school enrollment rates had reached 71.31 percent of Taiwanese children overall, making Taiwan’s enrollment rate second only to Japan’s among all Asian nations. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 148. See also Wang Zhitin, *Taiwan jiaoyu zhiliao xinbian* (New Edition of Historical Materials on Taiwanese Education) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu, 1978) 46

skills and knowledge. The new Western-style modern education was a new window on the outside world. New visions, values and ideas kindled new aspirations among Taiwanese youth, in whose perceptions Japan and the West became equivalents to civilization and progress and replaced or competed with old Chinese traditions in the cultural discourses of colonial Taiwan. The few Taiwanese who were able to attend normal schools or medical schools became the new intellectual elites of the colonial society.

Art Education

Prior to Japanese rule, Taiwan's artistic world had been dominated by Qing scholars and officials whose conventional bird-and-flower paintings and landscapes imitated traditional Chinese literati art. After Taiwan became a Japanese colony, no art schools were founded because art training was never a major concern in Japan's colonial education. Nevertheless, modern art was introduced through school curricula and public exhibitions, and the appreciation and practice of it grew rapidly on the meager ground of colonial Taiwan's cultural landscape. The establishment in 1912 of "handicraft and drawing" courses at the common schools marked the inception of arts and crafts training in the educational system for Taiwanese students.¹³⁷ The course was inaugurated, however, to teach children how to employ modern drawing principles and tools such as rulers and compasses for utilitarian purposes. Handicrafts were emphasized over drawing,

¹³⁷ The art course for students at Japanese primary schools in Taiwan had been included as early as 1897 when a drawing course was introduced in the curriculum of the Fourth School. According to Lin Manli, the combination of drawing and handicrafts in the common school curriculum was especially designed for the native children to promote utilitarian aims. In the curriculum for Japanese students, these were two separate courses, with drawing compulsory and handicrafts elective. Lin Manli, "Rizhi shiqi de shehui wenhua jizhi yu Taiwan meishu jiaoyu jindaihua guocheng zhi yangjiu," 167-68, 176.

with the goal of developing basic skills for modernizing manufacturing processes and utilizing local materials.¹³⁸ Its mission was not to produce artists or foster appreciation of the fine arts

With the end of military rule in Taiwan and the impact of liberal ideas after World War I, the utilitarian handicraft and drawing lessons in common schools were replaced by a drawing course similar to that in Japanese primary schools. In response to the liberal reform of art education in Japan, the emphasis of art education in Taiwan's elementary schools likewise moved from copying pictures to sketching actual objects.

In Taiwan's normal schools, where most native elites received their secondary education, drawing was included in the curriculum as early as 1902, but usually was combined with calligraphy or handicrafts. Not until 1910 did drawing become an independent course, though it was allotted only one hour per week.¹³⁹ As stipulated in precepts promulgated by Taiwan Governor-General in 1919 concerning normal school education, the aim of drawing courses was "to foster the capacity of precise observation and accurate depiction, to master teaching methods for common school drawing courses, and to cultivate aesthetic sentiments and designing ability." Primarily, the course focused on drawing from life, while also including skills in copying, blackboard drawing, geometric drawing, and pedagogy as well.¹⁴⁰ Within the limits of these prescribed curricula and stated purposes, the quality of art teaching at first depended mostly upon the personal enthusiasm and talents of teachers, as few of them had previous art teaching experience or mastery of art pedagogy.

¹³⁸ Lin Manli, 188.

¹³⁹ Lin Manli, 168-69.

¹⁴⁰ Lin Manli, 179.

Among colonial Taiwan's art educators and advocates, the most influential and esteemed was Ishikawa Kinichirō (1871-1945), who is generally regarded as the great “sower” of Western Art in colonial Taiwan.¹⁴¹ Ishikawa stayed in Taiwan during two separate periods for a total of over eighteen years.¹⁴² As the first Western-style painter to appear on the island, Ishikawa introduced to it the art of watercolor and promoted the practice of sketching *en plein air*. He expanded the artistic and cultural horizons of his pupils and followers, many of whom became founding members of Taiwan's earliest art movements.

Another important teacher was Shiotsuki Tōho (1886-1954), who taught art from 1921 to 1945 at Taipei First Middle School (the predecessor of Jianguo High School) and Taiwan Governor-General's High School.¹⁴³ His oil painting in post-impressionist and Fauvist style inspired Taiwanese art lovers and students.

Together, these two Japanese teachers played the roles of art education advocates and jurors for the Western Painting Division of the yearly official colonial salon founded in 1927. Ishikawa sat as a juror from the first to the fifth salon until, in 1932, he left Taiwan. Shiotsuki served on the jury of all sixteen official salons. It was due to his participation as a juror in the colonial art exhibitions that he became the most influential

¹⁴¹ Yen Chuan-ying, “Diantang zhong de meishu,” 494.

¹⁴² From 1907 to 1916, Ishikawa served as a translation officer at the colonial Army and taught part-time at Taipei High School and Taiwan Sōtokufū Kokugo Gakkō (Taiwan Governor-General's National Language School). He escorted Governor-General Sakuma Samata on expeditions to the rural and mountain districts of Taiwan and produced numerous sketches of Taiwanese landscapes. After returning to Japan and traveling to Europe, he came back to Taiwan at the invitation of the principal of Taipei Normal School, Shihota Syōkichi, to serve as the school's art teacher. He became the art mentor for many Taiwanese students during the period 1923-1932. Yen Chuan-ying, *Shuicai • zilan • Ishikawa Kinichirō* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2005) 36-38, 66-89.

¹⁴³ Shiotsuki also taught at the Taipei Imperial University from 1942 to 1945. Wang Shujin, *Nanguo hongni: Shiotsuki Tōho yanjiu* (Rainbow of South Country: Research on Shiotsuki Tōho) MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1997, 21.

Western-style painter in Taiwan after Ishikawa returned to Japan. Nevertheless, Ishikawa is much better remembered in Taiwan because his teaching at Taipei Normal School brought many Taiwanese students under his influence, whereas Shiotsuki's students were primarily Japanese. The majority of first-generation Taiwanese masters of Western-style painting were pupils of Ishikawa and had a lasting reverence for their mentor even after he left Taiwan.¹⁴⁴

Official Art Salons

The absence of art schools resulted in a peculiar phenomenon in colonial Taiwan, where the majority of its first-generation modern artists were normal school or high school graduates. Over one-third of the 130 Western-style Taiwanese painters listed in the colonial official salons were graduates of colonial normal schools. To compensate for the scant hours in the drawing course, dedicated art teachers such as Ishikawa Kinichirō and Shiotsuki Tōho encouraged and participated as instructors in a variety of extracurricular painting activities and art societies. The idea of group exhibitions was introduced to the island by Ishikawa, the first appearing in 1909 as a joint exhibition of watercolors by Taipei's high school faculty and students.¹⁴⁵ The same year also saw the

¹⁴⁴ In memory of Ishikawa Kinichirō, Li Zefan, for example, gave his first and third son one *kanchi* (Chinese character) taken from the Japanese mentor's name, respectively *kawa* (chuan) and *kin* (qin). Chen Huiyu, *Xiangyuan • caibi • Li Zefan* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1994) 32. Ni Jianghuai sent his paintings to Japan to ask Ishikawa's opinions after he left Taiwan permanently in 1932. He continuously wired money to his Japanese master in exchange for Ishikawa's works. At the time of Ni's death, he had accumulated more than 200 paintings by Ishikawa in his collection. Bai Xuelan, *Guangcheng • lidao • Ni Jianghuai* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2003) 113.

¹⁴⁵ Yen Chuan-ying, "Yingzao nanguo meishu diantang: Taiwanzhan chuanqi," (Constructing the Temple of Art of the South Country: Legends of Taiwan's Art Exhibitions) in *Fengjing xinjin: Taiwan jindai meishu wenxian daodu* ed. Yen Chuan-ying (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2001) 179-80.

first group exhibition of *Shilankai*, a Western-style painting society to which Ishikawa was an advisor.¹⁴⁶

Group exhibitions remained small-scale and confined to the social circles of Japanese residents in Taiwan, however, until Ishikawa, Shiotsuki and other Japanese art enthusiasts proposed that the colonial government found a regular large-scale exhibition of Taiwanese art along the lines of Japan's *Bunten* or *Teiten* (its Imperial Art Salon, under different names used by different organizing institutions)¹⁴⁷ and Korea's *Senten* (formally called *Chōsen Bijutsu Tenrankai*, or Korean Art Exhibition, held annually from 1922 to 1944). Inaugurated by the Taiwan Governor-General on October 28, 1927, Taiwan's first island-wide art exhibition, became a major cultural event that took place every autumn for the following sixteen years.

Except for the year 1937, when the colonial official salon was suspended due to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, a total of sixteen official salons were held annually from 1927 to 1943 in Taiwan. The first ten (1927-36), called *Taiten*, or Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition, were organized by *Taiwan Kyōikukai* (Taiwan Education Society). From 1938 to 1943, the task of organizing the official salon was transferred to the

¹⁴⁶ In the mid-1920s, Ishikawa served as an instructor not only for Japanese students, but also for the Seven Stars Society and Taiwan's Watercolor Painting Society, two artists' associations founded by Taiwanese painters. *Shichuan qinyilang shisheng zuopin zhan* (Early Twenty Century Watercolors of Ishikawa Kinichirō and His Students) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1986) 9.

¹⁴⁷ Modeled on the French official salons, Japan launched its first national art salon called the "*Bunten*" (*Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai*, or Ministry of Education Art Exhibition) in 1907, consisting of three sections: *nihonga* (Japanese Painting), *yōga* (Western Painting) and sculpture. It was renamed "*Teiten*" (*Teikoku Bijutsuin Tenrankai*, or Imperial Art Academy Exhibition), in 1919, when the organizational task was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Imperial Academy of Art. From 1937 to 1944, its name was changed again to "*Shin-Bunten*" (New Ministry of Education Art Exhibition). "*Kan ten*," (Official Exhibitions) *Kindai Nihon Bijutsu Jiten* (Dictionary of Modern Japanese Fine Arts) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1989) 396.

Education Bureau of the colonial government, which renamed the art salon as *Futen*—the Taiwan Governor-General Arts Exhibition. Both Taiwanese and Japanese artists could display their works at the exhibitions, which consisted of two sections: Western-style painting (*Yōga*) and Eastern-style painting (*Tōyōga*).¹⁴⁸ Among the exhibited pieces, a few were awarded prizes by the jury, which consisted of Japanese art teachers in Taiwan as well as few visiting artists from Japan. Most of the artworks that were exhibited at the official salons, especially those by Japanese nationals who were forced to leave Taiwan after Japan's defeat in World War II, no longer exist. The black-and-white exhibition catalogues of all sixteen salons still exist, however, and have become a primary document that bears witness to the admixture of colonialism and modernism in the formative years of Taiwanese modern art.

In retrospect, Tateishi Tetsuomi (1905-1980), a Japanese painter born in Taiwan, noted that the fine arts enjoyed more generous official patronage than other artistic activities in colonial Taiwan.

The official concern for Taiwanese fine art goes far beyond that for other native plastic arts and literature, music, drama and so on. It could be described as an extraordinary kindness. From *Taitens* that were organized by the Taiwan Education Bureau to the more consolidated *Futens*, the exhibitions have grown in size. In retrospect, other art forms did not share the official attention

¹⁴⁸ Unlike Japan's *Bunten* or Korea's *Senten*, Taiwan's official salon consisted only of these two painting divisions. Sculpture, calligraphy and ink painting were excluded. The Western Painting (*Yōga*) Division exhibited watercolors and oil paintings. The Eastern Painting (*Tōyōga*) Division, which misleadingly implies paintings of Asian tradition in general, was dominated by *nihonga* (Japanese painting) style. Both Ozaki Hozuma, the editor of the Chinese page of the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō*, and Ozawa Sadayoshi, the main reviewer of the *Taiten* in that newspaper, were critical of the situation. Ozaki was concerned by the narrow direction of Taiwan's Eastern painting, which seemed to deviate from the art tradition of "integration of calligraphy and painting," while Ozawa pointed out that the Eastern Painting Division was actually a *nihonga* division that excluded a wider range of oriental paintings, such as "four gentlemen paintings" and paintings of the Northern and Southern schools. Yen Chuan-ying, "*Taiten* shiqi dongyanghua de difang seci," (The Local Color of Eastern Painting at the *Taitens*), *Taiwan dongyanghua tanyuan* (The Origins of *Tōyōga* in Taiwan) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 2000) 7.

since Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibition was founded in early Showa years. It is fair to say that Taiwanese painting has received too much attention.

However, ... in order to elevate Taiwanese culture with fine arts, and to educate the pure spirit of the Imperial subjects, or to cultivate outstanding native artists, there is some work that should have been given priority over the organization of large-scale, festival-like art exhibitions. First of all, founding an art museum for displaying classical Japanese arts should have been considered.... Rather than vaguely popularizing fine art and inspiring painters with casual attitudes to seek after fame and profit, isn't it more appropriate to profoundly cultivate the Taiwanese with the nobility of fine art?

In addition, for the development of Taiwan's Art Exhibition, the establishment of a research institute for cultivating artists should also have been considered.¹⁴⁹

Despite the lack of specialized institutes of art education, encouragement of the fine arts in the colony was accorded a civilizing, acculturating mission, which might account for the official support of large-scale art salons. The official art exhibitions might be characterized as a window dressing for Japan's cultural hegemony in Taiwan, representing the benefits of westernized "civilization" beyond the confines of the metropolitan areas of the Japanese empire.

Among cultural pursuits, the fine arts must have seemed safer and less provocative than literature and drama. However, as Tateishi Tetsuomi observed, the Taiwanese art salon should have been built upon a more solid foundation, such as institutions of advanced art education and fine arts museums. At no time during the colonial period, however, did the art-sponsoring colonial government ever plan to set up such institutions.

On the other hand, establishment of the colonial art salon may be counted as a well-timed stratagem, adopted not so much for art's sake as to reinforce Japanese cultural hegemony. It provided the colony with a proper occasion for cultural representation, satisfying both the demand for entertainment and the need for acculturation and the

¹⁴⁹ Tateishi Tetsuomi, "Taiwan meishu lun," (On Taiwanese Art) *Taiwan Jihō* Sept.1942, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjin*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 543.

creation of a positive image of colonial rule, while distracting disgruntled Taiwanese from subversive political activities or cultural movements. Moreover, the exhibition was open to all strata of Taiwanese society while remaining well regulated within the system.

Although Taiwanese were granted the same opportunity to participate in the salons as the Japanese, it was not a fair game, as the majority of Taiwanese did not have access to the same opportunities for training in art. The colonial education system was devised, after all, to assimilate the Taiwanese only into the bottom rung of the Japanese social ladder. The cultivation of professional artists was never an objective of the colonial government's educational and cultural policies. From the start, the lack of solid training and advanced art education impeded the development of Taiwanese modern art, which had neither a tradition nor an academy to refer to. The official exhibition became the sole institutional art authority, which held sway over the Taiwanese art scene throughout the colonial period. Most aspiring Taiwanese artists were too taken up with technical issues to go beyond stylistic exploration or to ponder the metaphysical dimension of their work. The annual official salons attracted them as an arena for obtaining official recognition and instant fame. It offered a yearly opportunity to be exposed to prevailing artistic trends. For those who could not afford to go to Japan to pursue formal art training, it became "a temple of art" for worshipping the finest works of local elites, Japanese art teachers and jurors.

In order to enhance the academic credibility of the colonial salon, from the Second *Taiten* onward, one or two Japanese painters, most importantly including a faculty member of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, were invited to sit on the jury along with expatriate Japanese art teachers in Taiwan.¹⁵⁰ The presence of jurors from Tokyo not

¹⁵⁰ In response to the repeated requests of the organizers of colonial salons, faculty members of the Tokyo Fine Arts School were dispatched to Taiwan to serve on the salons' juries. The archives of the Tokyo Fine Arts School contain a wealth of official documents and correspondence between the president of the school and officials of the

only signified official endorsement by the leading art institution of the mother country, but also ensured that the dominant styles of the colonial salon would mirror that of the salon of the Imperial metropolis.

In any case, the establishment of an annual official art salon provided a regular channel for aspiring Taiwanese artists to distinguish themselves. Though many of the participants in the first colonial salons were amateurs or students, they attracted much attention from both official and private circles, cutting across the colonial divide between Japanese and Taiwanese. It became a cultural spectacle and a place to watch and be watched, to represent and be represented, and to compare and be compared. The framing Imperial gaze and the imagined Western canons, the discourse of colonial dominance and indigenous subjugation, the representation of ethnic differentiation and assimilation—all were factors that intersected, intertwined, or contended with each other at the art salons, which functioned as a showcase for Japan’s cultural hegemony. Among the pieces selected, some would be awarded special prizes and favorably noticed by the press. In addition, the enthusiastic reportage, critiques and interviews appearing in the official newspaper, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*, could make previously unknown painters celebrities overnight. Because the official art salon was established in Taiwan as a significant social and cultural event, its organizers collaborated with educational institutions in promoting a modern art filtered through a Japanese prism. The practice of *nihonga*, which was deliberately elevated at the expense of traditional Chinese ink painting and calligraphy in the colonial salons, completely lost its precedence, however, after Taiwan was ceded to China.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, Western painting introduced during

colonial government concerning the matter of choosing and dispatching art authorities from Japan. Yoshida Chizuko, “Tokyo bijutsu gakkō no gaikokujin seito, kōhen,” (Foreign Students at Tokyo *Bijutsu Gakkō*, Part 2) *Bulletin of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music* 34 (1999): 118-24.

¹⁵¹ As a Sino-centric cultural politics was established after the KMT government took over Taiwan, the practice of Eastern painting was considered as non-Chinese and

the colonial period would take root and continue to flourish even after Japanese rule ended.

The period of Japanese Rule thus became the most significant nascent stage of Taiwanese modern art, all of whose initial concepts, aesthetics, institutions and values originated from Japan during this period. The technical knowledge of sketching, composition and the use of watercolor and oil pigments was completely new, and was available to Taiwanese novices only through Japanese teachers and art books and magazines imported from Japan.

With the rise of Western-style painting and annual art salons, modern conceptions about the profession and the artist were popularized as first-generation Taiwanese modern painters absorbed the ideas and aesthetic sensibilities of their Japanese teachers. Although hegemonic Japanese cultural ideology and aesthetics played a major role in modifying or formulating new genres, styles and categories of Taiwanese art, the new paradigm of artist-as-creator endowed with modernized means of artistic expression transported aspiring Taiwanese artists from a state of passive subordination to one of relative liberty and personal autonomy. Even though they appeared well behind contemporary Western-style Japanese artists in terms of technique, knowledge, and direct access to Western sources, the Western-style Taiwanese artists were given a chance to emerge as their fellow artists in a shared venture.

indicative of Taiwan's cultural contamination under Japanese Rule. There were heated debates, among native painters and those who just arrived from China with the KMT government, regarding the definition and nature of the orthodox "national painting" (*guohua*). Although Eastern painting style was not exclusively a Japanese invention and was referred by some as deriving from the heavy-color painting of Chinese Northern School Painting, the Chinese traditional ink painting prevailed in the end. For a detailed discussion of Taiwan's "national painting" controversies among the juries and participants of the new "Taiwan Provincial Art Salons," see Xiao Qiongrui, *Wuyue yu dongfang: Zhongguo meishu xiandaihua yundong zai zhanhuo Taiwan zhi fazhan 1945-1970* (May and Orient: Chinese Modern Art Movements in the Post-War Taiwan, 1945-1970) (Taipei: Dongda, 1991) 133-86.

Portraying the *Atelier*

As Western-style art education and exhibition systems were established in Japan, new subjects and themes and a taste for the modern were introduced as well. One of the new pictorial themes that manifested the emerging new artistic identity was the representation of the painter's paraphernalia and his studio. Instead of painting primarily for private patrons, the modern artists worked for the general public, represented by the salon visitors, who were invited to view the artists' private life and domestic space.

In the lead-up to the First *Taiten*, in 1927, the official newspaper *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* launched a special series of interviews with local painters in their studios as propaganda for the salon. From September 6 to October 5, a total of 24 reports on 30 artists were presented, with photos of them, in the series titled "Survey of Ateliers for the Taiwan Exhibition."¹⁵² It is noteworthy that in the title of the series, a phonetic *katakana* script transliteration—*a-to-li-e*—of the French word atelier was used rather than Japanese-language equivalent rendered in *kanji* (Chinese characters) or *hiragana* script, thereby enhancing the French flavor and modern taste of the column. Among the 30 interviewees, some were professional, some amateurs, but only four were Taiwanese. Japanese or Taiwanese, the majority of these artists did not have a Western-style workshop or studio, although the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* tried to construct a collective imagery of working painters in their studios in preparation for the forthcoming

¹⁵² In August 1926, a year before this special series appeared, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* had started a series of "Survey of Ateliers for Japan's Exhibitions," presenting to Taiwanese readers a selection of Japanese sculptors and painters active in major Japanese art exhibitions such as *Teiten*, *Nikakai* or *Inten* (Exhibition of the Japanese Art Institute). The 1926 series was discontinued after two months but resumed in August 1927, publishing a wealth of reports on Japanese artists during the three months before the first *Taiten* was opened.

official exhibition. As the interviews reveal, except for a few painters such as Shiotsuki Tōho who had a studio, most of the Japanese painters that the reporter visited did not have a dedicated workroom in their homes and usually worked in their living room or study.¹⁵³ As for the four Taiwanese interviewees, the professional Chinese-style painter Li Xueqiao worked in his living room-cum-study, Tsai Xuexi worked inside a small traditional framing shop, and the common school art teacher Lan Yinding did watercolors and oil paintings at home within a space of only “four and half *tatami*.”¹⁵⁴ Only Huang Xin—a member of the local gentry class and advisor to the colonial Governor-General, had an impressive studio, described as being “like a studio in photos,” for his amateur practice of Western-style painting.¹⁵⁵

In spite of the humble equipment and part-time, amateurish ambiance of most painters’ working spaces in colonial Taiwan, new pictorial subjects referring to modern artistic identity and practice appeared in the official art salons. Of the paintings entered in Taiwan’s sixteen official colonial salons, more than a dozen depicted indoor settings in which the artists’ Western-tradition painting paraphernalia, canvases, art books, models, and other explicitly art-related subject matter were juxtaposed with sundry household objects.¹⁵⁶ The titles of a few of these paintings—such as *Atelier* or *Still Life in*

¹⁵³ A particular challenge for figural painters was that in traditional Japanese-style houses, there was no Western-style bed and thus no place to allow the model to pose in a reclining position, and it would look very odd if the model reclined on *tatami* flooring.

¹⁵⁴ Made of tightly woven grass and straw, standard *tatami* sections are rectangular mats about 1.82 meters long × 92 centimeters wide × 5.25 centimeters thick.

¹⁵⁵ *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*, 29 Sept. 1927. For a study of media coverage about the first *Taiten*, including the reviews in the two “Atelier” columns, see Qiu Linting, “1927 nian taizhan zhi yanjian—yi *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* qianhou ziliao weizhu,” (Research on the 1927 *Taiten*: Focusing on Materials in *the Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* of the Year) MA thesis, National Institute of the Arts, 1997.

¹⁵⁶ Such examples are, to name only a few, Kamata Takeo’s *Atelier* at the Second *Taiten*, Tomita Ippu’s *Atelier* and Matsumoto Tadashi’s *Still Life* at the Sixth *Taiten*, and Wang

Atelier—directly named the pictured space, whereas most were simply titled *Still Life*.¹⁵⁷ To the modern eye, in a world where Western material culture has been universalized, these pictures appear mundane and uninspired. Within the context of the time and space in which they appeared, however, they signify a fresh outlook of the painting profession, expressive of the colonial modernity which was superseding or transforming many old cultural forms, including modes of artistic practice.

Liao Jichun's 1928 still-life painting *Vase with a Dragon Motif* (fig. 14) depicts a variety of objects on a Chinese-style round table, including fruits, a bowl, a Taiwanese-style bamboo basket, a pot, a table cloth and a plaster-cast copy of a sculpture of a Westerner's head. Behind the seemingly haphazard arrangement and naturalistic representation of mundane objects in Liao's piece lie hidden layers of symbolic connotation. For instance, apples were an imported luxury rarely seen in Taiwanese households. They were incorporated not to display an exotic object on a Taiwanese dining table, but to evoke a commonly seen motif in Western still-life painting. Among the other objects displayed on the table, the most unexpected is the plaster cast. A prop used in Western-style drawing classes (fig. 15), it denies the possibility of reading Liao Jichun's picture as an ordinary Taiwanese household scene. Together with the painting hung on the wall in the background and the apples, its presence loudly proclaims that this is a Taiwanese modern painter's domestic space.

Study (fig. 16), a watercolor painting by Lan Yinding (1903-1979), was exhibited at the Third *Taiten* in 1929. It depicts an area of a room which, to all appearances, seems no different from an ordinary study. Its only obvious connection to artistic activity is the

Kunnan's *Desk at Night* at the Seven *Taiten* and Otabe Sanpei's *Atelier* at the Tenth *Taiten*.

¹⁵⁷ In addition, some pieces in the colonial art salons that did not directly deal with artists' working space nevertheless tackled the topic of nude painting, including such motifs as images of naked or clothed models, or pictures of nude in the depicted studio.

Western paint brushes stored in an urn on the back left corner of a desk. There is more here than immediately meets the eye, however.

First, the study is the most important space for mental activity in the domestic life of an intellectual. In Chinese artistic tradition, the literati painters created works of poetry, calligraphy and painting in the same study because these three primary art forms shared common tools and media. Before the Japanese colonial period, the Chinese literati tradition was the only guide for the Taiwanese intelligentsia's cultural pursuits. Japanese rule created new social and cultural categories and strata, and colonial modernity supplanted the Chinese literati tradition; it soon came to provide the colonial elite with a new intellectual framework for cultural representation. In the field of fine arts, as the categories and aesthetic conceptions of Western-style painting were introduced, new types of painting gear and modes of practice transformed the appearance of the painter's working space. Though Lan Yinding's *Study* does not render a space radically different in appearance from that of the Chinese literati tradition, it nevertheless reveals in this case a radical departure from that tradition: The study is no longer the primary site for artistic activity.

This watercolor depicts a wooden writing desk on which are found the usual writing materials, desk clock and a shelf of books. While the clutch of paint brushes announces an active interest in Western painting, it does not indicate that this space is an artist's work space. The situation becomes clear with the examination of other objects. In the foreground to the left, there are a hat and an umbrella leaning against a kit bag of the painter's easel and other art paraphernalia. Together with hat and umbrella, the bag and its contents are the essential gear for outdoor sketching and painting activity. Another essential item of equipment for such activity is a decent pair of hiking boots. There they are, under the desk. In a traditional Chinese literati's abode, such boots would certainly have been left at the entrance. Though Lan Yinding no doubt also left his boots just inside the doorway of his house, he intentionally included them in *Study* to give a fuller

symbolic picture of his new vocation as an artist who works outdoors, a student of nature rather than copier of traditional representations of nature.

As promoted by Ishikawa Kinichirō and other Japanese art teachers in Taiwan, rather than staying indoors, in the study, and painting on a desk, as traditional Chinese painters did, sketching and painting in the open air became the primary task of artists who wished to capture something of the spirit of nature. Taken together, the hat, umbrella, tote bag and pair of shoes accentuate the painter's determination to work in nature regardless of conditions of weather or terrain.

Lan Yinding's father had a *xiucai* degree from the Qing Dynasty but squandered his wealth after becoming addicted to opium. Son of the second wife of his father, he grew up in straitened circumstances in the small village of Luodong in northeastern Taiwan and started to earn his living as a substitute teacher at Luodong Common School in 1917 when he was only fifteen. The turning point in his life came in 1924 when Ishikawa came to Luodong during an inspection tour of schools. Impressed with Lan's watercolor paintings, Ishikawa took him under his wing. Lan became his favorite Taiwanese pupil and protégé, and over the following four years, he took the train to Taipei every weekend to study painting with the Japanese master.¹⁵⁸

Study was painted in 1929, a year after Lan Yinding had moved to Taipei. The year 1929 was a memorable one for him. In that year, his watercolor *On the Street* was exhibited at the Tenth *Teiten* in Tokyo, and he received appointments as an art teacher at Taipei First Girls' High School and Taipei Second Girls' High School. These teaching appointments were quite unprecedented because the two schools were established primarily for privileged Japanese female students, they rarely employed non-Japanese faculty, and Lan had only a common school diploma. It was probably thanks to

¹⁵⁸ Wu Shiquan, *Lan Yinding zhuan* (Biography of Lan Yinding) (Nantou: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui, 1998) 11.

Ishikawa's recommendation that he received such exceptional appointments, while many Taiwanese Normal School graduates failed to get a teaching post at even a common school. His legendary rise was described as "Cinderella-like."¹⁵⁹

Lan Yinding emulated not only his Japanese mentor's painting style, but his Western-style attire and gentlemanly demeanor as well. Unlike other expatriate Japanese teachers who wore Japanese civil servant's uniforms in public, Ishikawa, who had studied in England for several years, was always in a Western suit and behaved like a refined Western gentleman.¹⁶⁰ As if to imitate Ishikawa's genteel look, Lan, always meticulously attired in a suit and carrying an umbrella, was nicknamed "the British gentleman" by his Taiwanese associates.¹⁶¹ He even adopted Ishikawa's last name while teaching at the two girls' high schools. The umbrella in *Study*, therefore, represents not only gear necessary for the artist's plein-air sketching activities, it also embodies the modernity and Western lifestyle which Lan embraced.

At the Third *Taiten* in 1929, another young Taiwanese painter, Yang Shanlang (1907-1995), exhibited a canvas with similar subject matter titled *Still Life* (fig. 17). In this piece, which won the *Taiten* Special Award, Yang depicts a studio in which painting brushes, a palette, blank picture frames, fruits, urns, pitchers, a pipe resting on an open art book, and other objects form an ensemble of an oil painter's working environment. In contrast to Lan's *Study* which portrays a relatively orderly interior with no trace of work in process, Yang's *Still Life* shows a room in which the painter seems to be present,

¹⁵⁹ Yen Chuan-ying, *Shuicai • zilan • Ishikawa Kinichirō* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2005) 146.

¹⁶⁰ Bai Xuelan, "Chunfenghuayu shi shien: Ishikawa dizi xushu ersanshi," Taipei Fine Arts Museum, *Ishikawa Kinichirō shisheng zuopinzhān* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1986) 15-18.

¹⁶¹ See the reminiscence of Li Zefan—another Ishikawa's famous Taiwanese disciples. Li Zefan, "'Yingguo shenshi': wo suo zhidao de Lan Yongdin," (A British Gentleman: Lan Yinding as I knew) *Yishujia* 46 (1979): 34.

pondering the still-life composition with his brushes near at hand in the jug, lower right, and his easel positioned just outside the painted space.

The paintings of studio scenes indicate both the inauguration of Westernized art practice and aesthetics as well as the artists' identification with them. Occasionally, they also disclose the predicaments and lack of resources that confronted Taiwanese in their artistic pursuits. Chen Yingsheng's *Studio* (fig. 18), for example, addresses a problem that many Taiwanese painters encountered: the lack of professional models. Exhibited at the Fourth *Taiten* in 1930, this work depicts a studio in which a woman in Chinese-style robe sits alone, gazing away from the viewer. Quite possibly, the interior was the studio where the members of Ni Jianghuai's Taiwan Painting Research Institute gathered for painting activities,¹⁶² and the woman was most likely a hostess engaged from a food-and-entertainment establishment to pose for their nude studies. Taiwan was still a conservative agricultural society then and it was very difficult to find models, professional or amateur, particularly for posing in the nude. Hence most models for paintings of women during the colonial period were members of the artists' families.

¹⁶² Ni Jianghuai, Ishikawa's first Taiwanese pupil, was persuaded by Ishikawa to give up his plan of studying art in Japan and to stay in Taiwan to promote painting. Ni's father-in-law was a member of the Yan clan, who owned the coal mining industry in Keelung and was one of the five wealthiest Taiwanese families during the Japanese colonial period. Following his Japanese mentor's advice, Ni spared no pain or expense in sponsoring local painting activities. In view of the deficiency of art educational resources in Taiwan, he founded a private Taiwan Painting Research Institute for the study of Western painting in 1929, under the instruction of Ishikawa Kinichirō. Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng, Lan Yinding, Chen Zhiqi, Yang Shanlang were founding members, while Chen Dewang, Huang Ruilin and Chang Wanchuan were the most prominent among the recruited students. Although the institute was prematurely closed in 1931, as the first art-teaching institute founded by Taiwanese it drew attention to the unfulfilled needs of Taiwan's first-generation modern painters for advanced training. For a survey of Ni's life and artistic pursuit, see Bai Xuelan, *Guangcheng • lidao • Ni Jianghuai* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2003)

Otherwise, they were women of the demimonde, who were seen as outside the moral confines of the respectable society.

This predicament of Taiwanese figure painters is reflected in the short story “Girl in Blue” by Lu Heruo (1914-1951), the most versatile Taiwanese writer of the period, who wrote the piece while studying vocal music in Tokyo.¹⁶³ In a satirical tone, Lu portrayed the anger and frustration of an aspiring Taiwanese painter who scandalized his fellow villagers and the faculty of the common school in which he taught because he had one of his former female students sit for his painting *Girl in Blue*, a canvas that he intended to submit to the colonial art salon.

Although it is a bit foolish, I want to dream. I want to have dreams. The villagers could not even have dreams, could they? Nor did they understand art.¹⁶⁴

This impassioned utterance of the girl who volunteered to model for the painting *Girl in Blue* echoes the thinking of her former teacher, who longs for something different from quotidian reality. His cultural aspirations have alienated him from the villagers, whom he regards as “far from culture” and unable to appreciate his artist’s dreams. Despite this, he cynically sneers at the remarks of the girl who, like himself, is a product of modern education. “How pitiful am I, who have borne much hardship for art’s sake!” he moans

¹⁶³ Lu has been praised as the most talented writer during the Japanese colonial period. After graduating from Taichung Normal School, he assumed a teaching post at a common school in Hsinzhu. His first novella, “Oxcart,” won much acclaim in 1936, marking the beginning of his career as novelist, reporter and magazine editor. From 1939 to 1941 he studied vocal music in Tokyo. He wrote and acted in plays and earned a reputation as Taipei’s top tenor vocalist. After Taiwan was handed over to the Republic of China, his disillusionment with the KMT government led to active participation in leftist underground activities. He died at the age of 37 in the Luku Incident, when a secret base of Taiwanese communists was wiped out by KMT forces. For a survey of Lu’s career, see Lin Zhijie “Qidai fuhuo: zaixian Lu Heruo de wenxue shengming,” (Expecting Revival: Re-presentation of Lu Heruo’s Literary Life) in *Lu Heruo Xiaoshuo quanji*, trans. Lin Zhijie, (Taipei: Lianjing, 1995) 11-25.

¹⁶⁴ Lu Heruo, “Lanyi shaonu,” (Girl in Blue) in *Lu Heruo xiaoshuo quanji*, trans. Lin Zhijie (Taipei: Lianjing, 1995) 190.

when, in order to keep his teaching job, he swallows his pride and apologizes to the protesting villagers.

Ni Jianghuai and his associates in the Taiwan Painting Research Institute were more fortunate than the protagonist in “Girl in Blue,” for they shared a common vision and enjoyed each other’s spiritual support as well as the guidance of their mentor, Ishikawa. Acting upon Ishikawa’s advice, Ni devoted all his spare time to promoting art. In his diary of 1929, most of the entries concerned frequent sketching activities, interaction with fellow painters, and his search for a location and equipment for the Taiwan Painting Research Institute, founded in July of that year. A number of his diary entries relate the difficulties of finding art models. To solve this problem, he went to Taipei’s Wanhua and Dadaocheng districts. The May 11 entry, for instance, records that he, Lan Yinding and Chen Yingsheng went to Jiangshanlou, the most famous Chinese-style restaurant in Dadaocheng district, to look for help from Taiwanese *yidan*.¹⁶⁵ Though they persuaded some *yidan* to pose for them, the lack of professional models continued to be a problem. His entry of September 7 recounts his first attempt to do a nude of a model named Awang at the Taiwan Painting Research Institute.¹⁶⁶ Chen Yingsheng’s *Studio*, painted around the same time, renders vividly a similar occasion. The painting suggests a strained relationship between the clothed model and the nude depicted in the canvas on the easel, a painting for which she probably posed. Chen’s picture underlines the awkwardness of her position by including a man’s hat and coat on a stand at the left. Thus, his painting of a studio interior reveals a compromised situation for both the aspiring painter and his amateur model.

¹⁶⁵ *Yidan* was the local equivalent of *geisha* in Japanese.

¹⁶⁶ *Yishu xingjiao: Ni Jianghuai zuo pin zhan* (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1996) 118-21.

Even contemporary Japanese artists, who were way ahead of their Taiwanese counterparts in terms of skill and knowledge, encountered a similar challenge in integrating Western art practice into their lives and culture. Yasui Sōtarō (1888-1955) was one of the most admired Japanese portrait painters of the century.¹⁶⁷ His *Atelier* (fig. 19) is an intriguing example of a painting that directly addressed the peculiar situation of nude painting; it epitomized both the technical and cultural obstacles that had to be surmounted by the Western-style Japanese artist. Created in 1926, this unusual picture shows Yasui and his family in casual domestic attire, sitting on Western chairs in his studio, where a naked model reclines in an unnatural pose on a bed behind the family. Beside the bed, there is a heating stove to keep the naked model warm and an empty easel that provides no immediate explanation for the model's naked presence. Yasui sits behind his wife, appearing quite at ease, with hands nonchalantly clasping his left knee, in seeming contentment with his life. His two-fold identity—as master of the family and Western-style painter—intersect and merge here, however unexpectedly, in a public and perhaps defiant declaration of that complex identity.

Among the paintings exhibited at the *Taiten*, there were indeed a small number of nudes, almost all of them were submitted by painters who had studied or were studying art in Japan. For instance, Yen Shuilong's *Female Nude* (exhibited at the First *Taiten*) and *Nude Reclining against a Chair* (Third *Taiten*), and Chang Qiuhai's *Female Nude*

¹⁶⁷ Yasui first studied under Asai Chū at the *Shōgoin Yōga Kenkyūjo* and Kansai Fine Art Academy. At 19 he moved to Paris to study at the Académie Julian under Jean-Paul Laurens, from 1907 to 1914. At this time he painted in a style adapted first from the work of Camille Pissarro, and later from the work of Cézanne. In works such as *Peacock and Woman* (1914; Kyoto, private collection), however, affinities with classical Italian painting, combined with a move towards realism, are apparent. He exhibited 44 of the works he had produced in Europe at the second exhibition of the *Nikakai* in 1915. These works drew much attention and he was invited to become a *Nikakai* member. Toyama Hideo, "Yasui Sōtarō no shōgai to geijutsu," (Yasui Sōtarō's Career and Art) *Yasui Sōtarō / Koide Narashige* (Tokyo: Shōeisha, 1972) 74-80.

(exhibited at the Second *Taiten*) and *Study* (Third *Taiten*), were painted during the period when they were studying Western-style painting in the undergraduate and graduate programs of Tokyo Fine Arts School from 1922 to 1929. As for Taiwan-based Japanese painters such as Furukawa Yoshimitsu,¹⁶⁸ who exhibited *Female Nude in the Atelier* at the Third *Taiten*, or Takenaka Masayoshi,¹⁶⁹ whose work *Resting*, exhibited at the Fifth *Taiten*, presents a model resting in a studio with a nude portrait, their pictures demonstrate a rough mastery of the techniques of nude painting acquired through academic training in Japan (figs. 20-21).

While the colonial art salons proved useful in introducing new categories of Western-style and Japanese-style painting, as well as in enthroning Imperial taste and aesthetics, they also made clear the reality that amateur, extracurricular study of painting was by no means satisfactory for those who aspired to pursue a painting career. For Taiwan's first generation of Western-style painters, it was extremely difficult to do so without benefit of formal art schools or adequate resources and information for an artists' self-education. In order to attain a solid grounding and mastery in the new craft of Western painting, many aspirants opted to go to Japan, the most convenient way to seek the knowledge and formal education in modern art denied them by the colonial government. Under the sway of imperialist discourses that favored the "mother country" over the "colony," the "metropolitan" over the "indigenous," Tokyo became the Mt. Helicon for aspiring Taiwanese youth, whose sojourns in Japan became deep immersions into the ideas, values, customs and tastes of the metropolitan educational and cultural

¹⁶⁸ Furukawa Yoshimitsu was a student of Ishikawa Kinichirō; he also studied art with Fujishima Takeji for five years.

¹⁶⁹ Takenaka Masayoshi graduated from Taipei Normal School in 1928 and studied in the division of painting and handicrafts at Tokyo Koto Shihan Gakkō (the predecessor of University of Tsukuba). He taught at the primary school Taipei Normal School and held the chair of handicraft division at the Taichung Normal School.

institutions.

Among Ishikawa's Taiwanese pupils, for instance, Chen Chengpo, Chen Zhiqi, Liao Jichun, Li Meishu and Hong Ruilin went to Japan to receive formal art education. Unlike Lan Yinding, who focused on watercolor painting throughout his career and faded from the stage of colonial art salons after his mentor Ishikawa left Taiwan, those who went to Japan for systematic training in the techniques of Western art worked primarily in the medium of oil pigments, which they mastered in Japan. Under the influence of the Taiwanese and expatriate Japanese artists who acquired academic training in Japan, oil painting became the dominant medium for pictorial representation in the Western Painting Division of the colonial art salons.

The Japanese Experience

Colonial education was not designed to encourage the native population to rise above their stations in colonial society vis-à-vis the Japanese. However, as rigid military rule gave way to more enlightened civil governance, and as Japanese-language education became more effectively implemented, more students in the colony left home to study in Japan. Despite a greatly increased number of native students enrolled in middle schools, the colonial policy of discouraging higher education for Taiwanese in Taiwan, ironically, drove ambitious Taiwanese youths to Japan.¹⁷⁰ As in other colonial societies, allowing

¹⁷⁰ The only institute of higher education in Taiwan, *Taihoku* Imperial University (the predecessor of National Taiwan University) established in Taipei in 1928 almost exclusively admitted only Japanese students and accepted only a very few Taiwanese. In reality, it was easier for Taiwanese to enter Japan's first-rate colleges and universities than to gain admission to the ethnically segregated institutions of the colony. By the year 1922, there were at least 2,400 Taiwanese who were pursuing education in Japan. In 1942, the number approximated 7,000. By 1945, approximately 20,000 to 30,000 people of Taiwanese origin were residing in Japan. Lamley, 230-31; Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan*, 126-28.

Taiwanese to pursue higher education in the colonial mother country was a double-edged sword: At the same time that it reinforced the Taiwanese intelligentsia's identification with Japan, the westernized Japanese metropolis exposed their impressionable minds to a variety of progressive ideas and rebellion-inspiring influences from which the colonizers would surely have wanted to insulate their colonial subjects.

Even as Japanese-educated Taiwanese spurred the island's cultural enlightenment and modernization, their role as producers of culture was profoundly ambiguous and complex. In the eyes of their Taiwanese compatriots, they represented the privileged new intellectual class whose identities were gilded with Japanese credentials and sophisticated metropolitan refinement. On the other hand, their encounter with Japanese society forced them to come to terms with identity issues as their self-consciousness heightened in the "mother country," where the general knowledge and impression of Taiwan was misrepresented to serve the interests of the Japanese regime.

The more timid tried to conceal the stigma of being a colonial subject by pretending to be from outlying regions of Japan, as the protagonist in the novel *Orphan of Asia* is advised to do by a Taiwanese friend: "You'd better not admit that you're a Taiwanese. The Japanese spoken by the Taiwanese sounds like a Kyushu accent. You can say that you are from Fukuoka or Kumamoto."¹⁷¹ In Wang Changxiong's novella "A Torrent," the protagonist recalls that when he studied medicine in Tokyo, he often replied to questions about his origins by giving a false Japanese name and lying to people that he was from Shikoku or Kyushu.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Wu Zhuoliu, *Yaxiya de guer (Orphan of Asia)* ed. Chang Liangze (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1993) 69.

¹⁷² Wang Changxiong, "A Torrent," *Yanji* (Capon), ed. Zhong Zhaozheng and Ye Shitao (Taipei: Yuanjin, 1979) 279.

It appears, however, that most Taiwanese who studied in Japan consciously faced up to the identity problem, although their self-positioning was constantly in a state of oscillation and contradiction. They were challenged to bridge the gap between themselves and their Japanese peers, a task exacerbated by the latter's stereotyping of Taiwanese as the antithesis of Japan's westernized, modernized self. For as long as they were unable to bridge the two worlds, these expatriates vacillated between disparate cultures and competing identities.

In general, the cultural aspirations of those who endeavored to change the Taiwanese status quo were confined within the limits of Japanese colonialism and ethnocentric Chinese Han culturalism. Since for most Taiwanese the only other overseas study option was China, whose level of modernity lagged far behind that of Japan, the Taiwanese desire for modernity led to a conflation of modernization with Japanization, of Japanese-ness with modernity.¹⁷³

For Taiwanese who studied in Japan, there seemed to exist, in the words of Ye Shengji (*Ye Seikichi*), two homelands. "One homeland arises from life, the other from blood and tradition."¹⁷⁴ In his journal, Ye reflects upon these dual identities, which emerged at different moments in his life—"taking to my bosom, alternately, the two homelands of disparate lifestyles, choosing naturally and appropriately between them,

¹⁷³ Since Taiwan was cut off from Western powers, for the majority of colonized Taiwanese, including most intellectuals as well, Japan represented the most modernized nation in the world, in comparison to other knowable cultures in Asia. In other words, it had a virtual monopoly on the "light of modernity" that shone upon and enlightened the people of Taiwan. Lu Zhenghui, *Zhimindi de shanghen-Taiwan wenxue wenti* (Scars of a Colony: Problems of Taiwanese Literature) (Taipei: Renjian, 2002) 36

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Yang Weili (You Iri), *Shuangxiangji: Ye Shengji zhuan: yi Taiwan zhishifenzi zhi qingchun panghuang tansuo shijian yu beiju* (Two Homelands: The Tragedy of a Taiwanese Intellectual) (Taipei: Renjian, 1995) 17.

and feeling spontaneously a nostalgia on different occasions.”¹⁷⁵ It seems, however, that the equilibrium could be sustained only in Ye’s poeticized imagination, as his journal conveys the agony of living a dual existence.¹⁷⁶

In the asymmetrical colonial relationship, under the dominant discursive construction of a contrast between an enlightened mother country and its primitive colony, many Taiwanese youths wanted to stay in Japan and missed life there after returning to Taiwan. Wu Yongfu’s 1933 short story “Head and Body,” for instance, portrays the internal conflict of two young Taiwanese in Tokyo. Using a sphinx metaphor, Wu alludes to split personalities torn between attachment to Japan and the call of their native land, and dramatizes the excruciating sense of self-contradiction felt by Taiwanese intellectuals.¹⁷⁷ Feelings of shame and inferiority weighed on their minds when they realized that they felt stronger attraction to the modern world epitomized by Tokyo.

“[I] used to be loyal to one and lost due respect for the other,” reflects Ye Shengji in his journal. And posing a question that many Japanese-educated Taiwanese were forced to ponder, Ye Shengji wonders “Why didn’t I manage to live a life that let me have it both ways? I feel profoundly ashamed.”¹⁷⁸

There is a profusion of literary works of the colonial period which portray the anxiety and ambivalence of Taiwanese intelligentsia, whose concern for an “underdeveloped” Taiwan in contrast with an “advanced” Japan, took the form of social

¹⁷⁵ Yang Weili, 18.

¹⁷⁶ Yang Weili, 57-60.

¹⁷⁷ Wu Yongfu, “Shou yu ti,” (Head and Body) 1933, *Weng Nao, Wu Yongfu and Wang Changxiong heji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991) 173-84.

¹⁷⁸ Yang Weili, 58.

criticism of Taiwan in their writings, as their longing for metropolitan Japan aggravated their irritation with colonial Taiwan after their return from Japan.

Clear winter days in Japan imprinted their striking beauty on my mind. As if coming out of a dream, I suddenly realized that I had forgotten the desirability of the perennial summer of the native land. Therefore, I feel I have not loved my homeland hard enough....From now on, I must tread this land more realistically.¹⁷⁹

However, I have to be a dignified Taiwanese if I am to be a dignified Japanese. There is no need to despise oneself for being born in the South [Taiwan]. Absorption into life here [Japan] does not necessarily signify a contempt for the stink of the soil in the countryside [of my native land]. Regardless of how disrespectful and primitive my mother is, to me she still has endless attachment....¹⁸⁰

Studying Art in Japan

Since, for Taiwanese students of Western art, there was no local tradition to turn to for knowledge, most of them envisioned their stay in Japan as a period of training and approached their work as a craft, a series of lessons to be learned from their Japanese mentors, and Western paradigms filtered through Japanese channels. Hence, unlike Taiwanese men of letters, Taiwanese artists in Japan seem, for the most part, to have contented themselves with laboring to perfect their craft.

The majority of Taiwanese who pursued art studies abroad went to Tokyo and tried to enter Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō (Tokyo School of Fine Arts),¹⁸¹ Japan's sole national

¹⁷⁹ Wang Changxiong, "A Torrent," 297.

¹⁸⁰ Wang Changxiong, "A Torrent," 295.

¹⁸¹ Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō was founded in 1887 and was amalgamated with Tokyo Ongaku Gakkō (Tokyo Music School) in 1949 to produce the present-day Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku (Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.) <<http://www.geidai.ac.jp/english/about/history.html>> (10.Feb. 2008)

academy for the fine arts at the time, whose entrance requirements were less rigorous for foreign students.¹⁸² Many of Japan's leading painters attended this school, which provided a systematic curriculum of Western-style academicism, taught by a faculty consisting primarily of Japanese artists who had studied in Europe and were eager to pass on their knowledge and skills to the next generation.¹⁸³ Professors in its Western Painting Division faculty—such as Okada Saburōsuke (1869-1939), Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), Tanabe Itaru (1886-1968), and Kobayashi Mango (1870-1947)—made significant contributions to modern Taiwanese painting through the influence they exerted on young Taiwanese who became the pioneers of modern Taiwanese painting.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Unlike Japanese students, foreign students were required to pass only the drawing test during the highly competitive entrance examination, but they would not be granted certification to be a teacher upon graduation. The special treatment for foreign students was cancelled in 1929, leading to a marked drop in the number of Taiwanese students thereafter. During its history as an independent institution, the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō graduated 5,799 students, including some 103 from China, 30 from Taiwan, 89 from Korea and 17 from various other countries in Asia and the West. Yoshida Chizuko, 143.

¹⁸³ Kuroda Seiki (1866-1924) was appointed the first director of the Western Painting Division when it was newly established in 1896. In addition, there were three other Divisions focusing on *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting), sculpture and crafts. As the first truly talented Japanese painter to return to Japan from Europe, he introduced the methods of the European art academies to Japan. The students learned to sketch from plaster models in the first year and sketch living models with charcoal in the second year. They were instructed in the techniques of oil painting in the third year, when they started to make copies of earlier paintings. It was not until their fourth year that they were allowed to undertake personal projects. J. Thomas Rimer, "Tokyo in Paris/Paris in Tokyo," *Paris in Japan: the Japanese encounter with European painting*, ed. Shuji Takashina, J. Thomas Rimer, and Gerald D. Bolas. (St. Louis, Mo.: Washington University, 1987) 53.

¹⁸⁴ During the colonial period, a total of 30 Taiwanese students studied at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Eight students studied in the Sculpture Division, one in the Architecture Division, along with 21 students of painting, including 15 in the Western Painting Division and 6 in the "*Zuga Shihan*" Division (Art Teaching Division). Yoshida Chizuko, 143. For a survey of major Japanese art teachers in whose classrooms or studios the Taiwanese students studied during the period, see Li Qinxian, *Taiwan Meishu Licheng*, (Tracks of Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: Zili Wanbao, 1992) 61-75.

In retrospect, Wang Baiyuan, who studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts from 1923 to 1926, described the physical setting of his studies as follows:

The [Tokyo] School of Fine Arts was located in Ueno Park, next to the Tokyo School of Music. These two temples of art were both on Tokyo Takadai, in the verdurous park. To my delight, [in the spring] I went to school everyday along a path paved with flake-like flower petals. The Ueno Park was not only a famous plum-blossom area, but also a center of culture and art. The National Library, Museum of Fine Arts and Imperial Museum were all there. Lanes and alleys of the Yanaka district were full of art students and artists and had a special ambience like the Quartier Latin in France....¹⁸⁵

This poetic description, with its deliberate analogy to Paris, describes a world-class art campus that provided abundant natural and cultural resources for a complete immersion in art.

According to the curricular requirements promulgated in 1923 by the Tokyo Fine Arts School, in addition to eighteen hours of painting classes per week during each school year, students in the Western Painting Division were required to study perspective during their first year and anatomy in their first and second years. In addition, they were required to study history of Western arts, history of Oriental arts, history of painting, aesthetics, French or English, gymnastics and ethics.¹⁸⁶

Because Taiwanese students at the Tokyo Fine Arts School had no previous academic training in art—or, indeed, in any of the associated subjects in the curriculum—they worked very hard in order to catch up with their Japanese classmates. Huang Tushui (1895-1930), the first Taiwanese artist to venture to Japan and enter the school to study sculpture and the first Taiwanese artist to have a work exhibited at the

¹⁸⁵ Wang Baiyuan, “Wo de huiyilu,” (My Reminiscences) in *Wang Baiyuan: Jiangji de dao lu*, ed. and trans. Chen Caikun (Zhanghua: Zhangxian wenhua, 1995) vol. II, 262.

¹⁸⁶Yen Chuan-ying, “Diangtang zhong de meishu: Taiwan zaoqi xiandai meishu yu wenhua qimeng,” (The Glamour of Modern Art: Early Modern Painting and Cultural Enlightenment in Taiwan) *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philosophy, Academia Sinica*, 64 (June 1993): 509.

Imperial Art Salon, spent all his time honing his artistic skills and rarely socialized with other expatriate Taiwanese students at the dormitory *Takasago-ryō*.¹⁸⁷ He was said to be seen always chiseling at his sculptures in the yard of the dormitory, and to live on only yam porridge.¹⁸⁸ Huang died in 1930, in the prime of his career at the age of thirty-five.

Chen Chengpo, the first Taiwanese painter whose work was accepted by the Japanese Imperial Art Salon, devoted all his spare time to outdoor sketching and taking drawing lessons at the private Hongo Art Institute. In reminiscences written by his Taiwanese associates, Chen was so absorbed in learning the technical knowledge of painting that he paid little attention to the scornful glances of Japanese peers at his shabby clothes or their misidentification of him as a Taiwanese highland aborigine.¹⁸⁹

Both Huang Tushui and Chen Chengpo were thrifty and determined to make the most of their time in Tokyo to enhance their professional skills as modern artists. As a rule, expatriate Taiwanese artists, even the more affluent ones, concentrated on their academic pursuits and steered clear of Taiwanese student associations of a political nature. If they attempted to make individual statements or cultural assertions, they did so through their artistic creations, within the institutions of the Japanese art academy and exhibitions. In contrast with their Taiwanese literary counterparts who expressed themselves with a broader thematic spectrum and more explicitly addressed the

¹⁸⁷ The word *takasago* is said to be derived from an expression that the early Japanese traders used to refer to an aboriginal tribe (*Takoasa*) in southern Taiwan. Yanaihara Tadao, *Riben diguozhuyi xia zhi Taiwan* (Taiwan under Japanese Imperialism) trans. Lin Mingde, (1929; Taipei: Wu Sanlian Taiwan Shiliao Jijinhui, 2004) 18, 26-27. *Takasago* became a term associated with Taiwanese aborigines (*takasago zoku*) in general, while Taiwan was sometimes referred to as “the country of *takasago*.” The Taiwanese students’ dormitory in Tokyo, which was built in 1912 with funding appropriated by Taiwanese Governor-General, was named *Takasago-ryō*.

¹⁸⁸ Xie Lifa, *Rijushidai Taiwan meishu yundong shi* (1978, Taipei: Yishujia, 1992) 39.

¹⁸⁹ Yen Chuan-ying, “Yongzhe de huaxiang,” (Portrait of a Brave Man) *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Chengpo*, vol.1 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1992) 32-33.

contradictions and dark side of the colonial reality, Taiwanese painters represented a relatively rarefied imagery endorsed by the government-supported institutions which underpinned their professional credentials as modern artists.

The Taiwanese Artist and Japanese Ethnocentrism

Huang Tushui remarked that he had been constantly confronted with predicaments stemming from the ignorance and ethnocentrism of the Japanese toward their colonial subjects. He criticized the Japanese misconception of Taiwan as a blistering hot inferno replete with deadly diseases and aborigines more menacing than fierce beasts. He was once asked, “Were your ancestors headhunters?”¹⁹⁰ It was a stereotype that many expatriate Taiwanese students, particularly the earlier ones, encountered in Japan, whether in the form of blunt utterance or silent glare. Such experiences forced them to reflect on the question of cultural identity, strike a balance between the need for accommodation and desire for recognition, and cope with their feelings of isolation and alienation, of being discriminated against and stigmatized as Taiwanese. Between the poles of assimilation and dissimulation, most Taiwanese artists felt the need to defend or enhance the images of their native land and peoples and looked to the Imperial salons as the most important stage for such effort.

In resonance with the Japanese imagination about “barbarous” Taiwanese highland aborigines, Huang Tushui submitted two pieces of sculpture *Ferocious Head-hunting Aborigines* and *Aboriginal Boy* (fig. 22) to the Imperial Salon.¹⁹¹ In that

¹⁹⁰ Huang Tushui, “Chusheng yu Taiwan,” (Born in Taiwan) in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjin*, 127-28.

¹⁹¹ Both works are missing and only a black-and-white photograph of the *Aboriginal Boy* is preserved.

year, he had just graduated from the Sculpture Division of the Tokyo Fine Arts School and entered its graduate program. It was quite exceptional even among senior Japanese art students to have their work selected for exhibition in the Imperial Art Salon. When *Aboriginal Boy* was exhibited at the Second *Teiten* in 1920, Huang Tushui became a legend and a Taiwanese culture hero for being the first to be so honored. Huang's first work to be displayed at the Imperial Salon catered to a Japanized "Orientalism" wherein Japan regarded itself as the equivalent of a Western imperialist power, and its colonies as the epistemic Other in relation to its own progressive, westernized Self. Depicting a naked boy playing a nose flute,¹⁹² with the title *Aboriginal Boy*, Huang's statue demonstrates a combination of Western technique and local subject matter, of academic idealization and realistic observation, synthesized in an approachable style for the consumption of the curious Japanese eye.¹⁹³ The Imperial Salon's acceptance of Huang's *Aboriginal Boy* was a great morale booster for many aspiring Taiwanese artists who shared a common conviction that making their way into Japan's supreme art exhibition institution was their best chance to elevate Taiwan's cultural image and honor its name while proving themselves capable of first-class performance in the arena of official

¹⁹² The *bidi* (nose flute) was a significant music instrument of Taiwan's aborigines. It was played on such occasions as hunting, festivals, courtship and so on. *Pihai jiyou* (Small Sea Travel Diaries) and *Fanshe caifeng tukao* (The Genre Paintings of Taiwan's Aboriginal Peoples) of the Qing period document the practice of the nose flute among Taiwan's plains aborigines. The Japanese scholar Ino Yoshinori also observed in 1907 the popularity of the nose flute among Paiwan, Rukai and Tsou tribes. Hu Taili et al. *Paiwan zu de bidi yu koudi* (The Nose Flute and Mouth Flute of Paiwan People) (Taipei: National Center for Traditional Arts, 2005) 8-10, 288-90. See also Joseph Lenherr, "The Musical Instruments of the Taiwan Aborigines," *Bulletin of the Institute of Ecology, Academia Sinica* 23 (1967): 109-28.

¹⁹³ According to Huang Tushui, the model for the work was actually the 15-year-old son of the Japanese cook of the Taiwanese Students Dormitory in Tokyo. "Yi diaoke 'fantong' ruxuan dizhan de Haung Tushui jun," (Huang Tushui: the Artist who Entered *Teiten* with a Sculpture *Aboriginal Boy*) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 17 Oct.1920: 7, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, in *Fengjing xinjin*, 124.

salons. At the time, however, the ambition to seek recognition within the institutional framework of official salons in Japan and Taiwan conditioned their mindset, guiding their choice of subject matter and modes of creation to reflect a compromise with, or an internalization of, the values and cultural premises of their colonizers.

Actually, like most descendants of Han settlers from China, Huang had little interest in or contact with Taiwan's aborigines.¹⁹⁴ It was the Japanese, with their "scientific colonialism" and field studies, who made Taiwan's aboriginal people a subject of serious academic research and artistic creation for the first time. Without the anthropological data and samples collected by the Japanese anthropologist Mori Ushinosuke (1877-1926), Huang, as a sculptor working with a realistic Western approach, would have been unable to proceed with such subject matter, of which he had no firsthand knowledge.

In an interview with *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō* upon his debut at the *Teiten*, Huang confessed that he opted for the subject of the "raw" aborigine because, as a Taiwanese, he wanted to express a Taiwanese distinctiveness.¹⁹⁵ Although his ambitious multi-figure *Head-hunting Aborigines* was not accepted by the jury and appears to no

¹⁹⁴ During the Qing rule, the Taiwanese aborigines who lived on the western plains and had more frequent communications with non-native cultures (including the Dutch and the Han) were called "cooked (civilized) savages," while those who lived in the mountainous areas in central Taiwan and those in eastern Taiwan, the land mostly unknown to the Han settlers, were called "raw (wild) savages." The Japanese colonial government endeavored to "cultivate" and contain the "raw" aborigines in order to secure the mountain regions for their exploitation of Taiwan's natural resources such as camphor and red cypress.

¹⁹⁵ In order to collect material necessary for the theme of aboriginal headhunters, he depended on the research of Mori Ushinosuke at the Taipei Museum (the predecessor of the National Taiwan Museum) and aboriginal weapons borrowed from a friend. "Yi diaoke 'fantong' ruxuan dizhan de Haung Tushui jun," 124. For Mori Ushinosuke's field study of Taiwan's highland aborigines, see Mori Ushinosuke, *Shengfan xingjiao: Mori Ushinosuke de Taiwan tanxian*, (Journeys into Tribes of Raw Savages: Mori Ushinosuke's Adventures in Taiwan) trans. Yang Nanjun, (Taipei: Yuanliu, 2000).

longer exist, it reveals the artist's conflicted mindset. Though he was vexed at the Japanese misconception of Taiwan as an ominous place full of ferocious aborigines, he nevertheless decided to employ such imagery for the purpose of exhibition. Despite Huang's criticism of the Japanese for misidentifying him with barbarous aborigines, he deliberately contrived two aboriginal sculptures for his first attempt to take part in the Imperial Salon. Instead of debunking the colonial cultural construct of Taiwanese degradation and bestiality, he reinforced it with an exotic image to cater to the Japanese imagination. To demonstrate, at the same time, his own power of transforming and representing Taiwanese subjects through Western artistic means, he singled out the most exotic object of the Imperial gaze, domesticating and containing it in the "civilized" form of the modern sculpture he had mastered at Japan's most prestigious art school. While representing the Taiwanese aborigines as the uncivilized Other to Japanese spectators and, more importantly, to himself, Huang embraced the dominant imperialist cultural discourse and achieved a personal cross-over to the modernized, Westernized, Japanese world.

Son of a Taiwanese carpenter, Huang rose above the original social station of his family through his gift for sculpture and made his mark on the world of art under the influence of Western art concepts filtered through Japanese academic canons. In "Born in Taiwan," an article he wrote in Tokyo at the invitation of the Japanese magazine *Toyo* (The Orient), he expressed apprehension for the future of art in his homeland.

Is it fortunate or unfortunate for us that Taiwan is abundant in natural resources but, with the increasing progress of material civilization, its spiritual civilization is not progressing in step? Therefore we need to call loudly to awaken [the Taiwanese people's] souls....The future is dark for those who do not know art or the spiritual force of life. Our campaign knows no end. We

have to struggle long and hard. Why? It is because of the absence of the Child of Art in our homeland....¹⁹⁶

Huang Tushui extolled the natural beauty of Taiwan as an “earthly paradise” but reproached the lack of taste among Taiwanese and the “childishness” of Taiwanese art in general. Well grounded in Japanese academic training, he criticized the stock folkloric images and “formulaic” interior decor in ordinary Taiwanese households, the “hackneyed” decorations and murals in local temples, as well as “gaudy” bird-and-flower paintings and “imitative” ink paintings. He was particularly harsh in his criticism of figural sculptures and religious icons, rebuking them for being anatomically disproportionate and stylistically childish and grotesque.¹⁹⁷ His criticism revealed that his ways of seeing and thinking were no longer in line with the old practices and tastes of the general public in Taiwanese society. Grieving that there was no art in Taiwan, Huang called for a collective artistic endeavor to create “a Formosan [Taiwanese] epoch in art.”¹⁹⁸

The first Western-style Taiwanese painting to be accepted by the Imperial Salon was Chen Chengpo’s *Street of Jiayi* (fig. 23), exhibited at the Seventh *Teiten* in 1926 and hailed by art circles in Taiwan as another victory, after Huang Tushui’s, for their homeland. Painted in his third year of study in Japan, it depicts a scene in the neighborhood of the painter’s home in southern Taiwan. There remains only a black-and-white photographic reproduction of the painting as well as later variations on the same subject matter. From what can be observed in the monochrome reproduction, Chen Chengpo represents a view consisting of two rows of houses and trees and

¹⁹⁶ Huang Tushui, “Chusheng yu Taiwan,” (Born in Taiwan), in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjin*, 130.

¹⁹⁷ Huang Tushui, “Chusheng yu Taiwan,” 128-29.

¹⁹⁸ Huang Tushui, “Chusheng yu Taiwan,” 130.

electricity poles which recede to a distant vanishing point on the tip of a visual triangle formed by a ditch and adjacent streets. In the middle ground, behind trees and houses to the left, the upturned eaves of Jiayi's Mazu Temple¹⁹⁹ are silhouetted against a bright sky. The popular religious and ethical beliefs of the Taiwanese people were, and still are, a mixture of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian teachings. The goddess Mazu has for centuries been an especially important deity among Taiwanese, symbolizing the seafaring spirit of Chinese settlers from Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Chen Chengpo's house is located behind the Mazu temple which he again depicted in 1927 in a close-up view that looks like the left half of the original 1926 picture (fig. 24). Most probably, these pictures were derived from plein-air studies done during his vacation back home.

Like Huang Tushui, Chen Chengpo longed to prove himself and win honor for Taiwan. He had failed in his first attempt to enter the *Teiten* in 1925, but with the success of his 1926 *Street of Jiayi*, even his Japanese classmates changed their disdainful attitude toward him and henceforth respectfully addressed him as "*Sensei*."²⁰⁰

Having the appearance of a slice-of-life, matter-of-fact rendition of a prosaic Taiwanese townscape, *Street of Jiayi* deliberately orchestrates in its simple composition a variety of elements expressing the coexistence, in his hometown, of old and new,

¹⁹⁹ Mazu (literally "Mother Ancestor") is the Taoist goddess of the Sea, protector of fishermen and sailors. She is extremely popular among the people of China's Fujian and Guangdong provinces. Maritime trade helped to proliferate the worship of Mazu beyond China's shores. Taiwan was one of the areas where Chinese immigrants brought their religious beliefs with them, of which faith in Mazu is most representative. Generally speaking, the time at which each Mazu temple was established is approximately the time when the associated seaport was established. The Jiayi Mazu temple was built in the southern sector of old Jiayi City in 1676 during the early Qing Dynasty.

²⁰⁰ Xie Lifa, *Rijushidai Taiwan meishu yundong shi*, 46. "*Sensei*" is a respectful address in Japanese which is used when speaking of or to members of certain professions (lawyers, teachers and doctors) or others whom the addresser holds in high regard.

traditional and modern, ordinary and exotic, for a Japanese audience whose impression of Taiwan needed reconstruction.

In Japan's initial economic policies, Taiwan was regarded as one of its main sources of raw materials and major destination for export of capital and technology. With a view to promoting Japan's national interests and its domestic industrial development, a strategic slogan was coined: "Industrial Japan and Agricultural Taiwan." The island was generally relegated to the status of an uncultured rural society—the antithesis of sophisticated, modernized, industrial Japan. While Chen Chengpo's *Street of Jiayi* does not dissociate Taiwan from an image of rusticity, it incorporates emblematic motifs of colonial modernity. The most conspicuous topos is the rows of electricity poles that flank the street, accentuating both the illusionistic depth of the pictorial space and the economic advancement of the depicted town. On the left side of the ditch in the foreground is a figure in local peasant attire walking toward the viewer and carrying a load with a traditional carrying pole on his shoulders. The presence of traditional labor is counterpoised, however, by a woman with child walking on the other side of the ditch, whose relaxed pace and open parasol, a fancy item of paraphernalia for urban outings, representing the new leisured class under Japanese rule.²⁰¹

Chen Chengpo's *Street of Jiayi* is only the earliest prominently recognized work among the wealth of paintings created by the Japanese-educated Taiwanese painters

²⁰¹ The parasol was a fashionable accessory during the colonial period. While the business of manufacturing oil paper umbrellas arose in Meinong after the 1910s, the expensive parasols imported from Japan were more popular among young ladies. Chen Chunde recalled an anecdote that Chen Chengpo tried to buy a blue parasol for his eldest daughter as part of a dowry, but failed to get one that his daughter would like, even after shopping at many stores in Taipei. Learning from friends that Chen Chunde had recently brought back a blue parasol from Kobe at a female friend's request, Chengpo asked Chunde, for his daughter's sake, to sell him the Japanese parasol. Chen Chunde, "Wo de tuya," (My Scrawls) *Taiwan geijutsu* Jun. 1940, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjin*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 425.

with the aim of portraying their homeland employing their newly acquired artistic idioms and representational repertoire. In the year 1928, two other young Taiwanese painters, Chen Zhiqi (1906-1931) and Liao Jichun (1902-1976) made their debuts at the Ninth *Taiten*, in each case with a view of their hometowns or abodes in Taiwan.

Liao Jichun was a classmate of Chen Chengpo from 1924 to 1927 in the *Zuga Shihan Ka*,²⁰² a program for training art teachers at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. After graduation, he returned to Taiwan and assumed a teaching post at the Presbyterian Middle School in Tainan. At Taiwan's first colonial salon in 1927, he exhibited two pictures—*Nude* and *Still Life*. *Nude* is a canvas executed during Liao Jichun's third year at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Apparently proud of this work, completed to satisfy academic requirements, he selected it and another colorful still-life painting in a bid to distinguish himself at the First *Taiten*. As discussed earlier, nude painting was a challenging new genre that most local painters shunned due to lack of models and technical knowledge. With a nude and a still life executed in impressionistic style, Liao demonstrated his academic background and professional identity as a modern painter. *Still Life* won a "special selection" award at the First *Taiten* in 1927.

Aiming to distinguish himself in the Imperial Salon in Tokyo, however, Liao Jichun opted for a subject matter expressive of Taiwan's distinctiveness. A work that took the artist nearly one year to complete, *Courtyard with Banana Trees* (fig. 25), a view of the front yard of Liao's residence in a rented house in Tainan, was accepted for

²⁰² Literally, the term means a division for training painting teachers. The *Zuga Shihan* Division was founded in 1907, with Shirahama Shirushi, who studied art pedagogy in the U.S., as its first chair. The curriculum, designed as a three-year training course for future art teachers of normal schools, middle schools and girls' high schools, included art classes for drawing, watercolor painting, oil painting and graphic design, anatomy, as well as art theory. Other subjects of training in the curriculum included pedagogy, aesthetics, handicrafts, educational psychology, calligraphy, art history, language, gymnastics, and ethics. Wang Shujin, "Nanguo hongni," 12-13.

exhibition at the *Teiten* of 1928. Japanese visitors to Taiwan had noted with amazed pleasure the luxuriant tropic verdancy of Taiwan's vegetation. Among its flora, banana and coconut trees were the two most popular motifs in Japanese representations of the colony. Ishikawa Kinichirō stressed the necessity to depict Taiwan's scenery.²⁰³ To accentuate the island's distinctiveness in contrast to Japan, its tropical character became a prevailing theme in official, commercial and tourism-oriented portrayals of the island (figs. 26-27).

In *Courtyard with Banana Trees*, Liao Jichun presented to the Imperial Salon visitors an everyday scene that embodied the allure and relaxing climate of southern Taiwan. In the picture, a reddish wall and sun-drenched earth stand in vivid contrast to the cool green foliage of the banana trees. Through a verdant arch formed by the large spreading leaves of two banana trees, the viewer is invited to peek into a restful domestic space in which faceless women in traditional local attire and hairdo sit, chat or walk leisurely in the shade of the trees. Liao achieved an artful balance between an illusionistic space and stylized patterns, between bold color contrasts and subtle gradations of lighting, between realistic details and generalized rendition that, as a whole, manifests a dream-like quality that provides an exotic sense of distance between the targeted Japanese spectators and the Taiwanese subject matter.

It is said that the woman sitting to the left of the larger banana tree is Liao Jichun's pregnant wife,²⁰⁴ who gave birth to their second son in March of the same

²⁰³ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang," (Appreciation of Landscape in Taiwan Area) *Taiwan Jihō*, Mar. 1926, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 32-35.

²⁰⁴ Gao Xiuzhu, *Secai de moshushi: Liao Jichun jiaoshou baisui jinian zhan* (The Magician of Color: Commemorative Exhibition of Professor Liao Jichun's Centenary Birthday) (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2001) 10.

year.²⁰⁵ Her image, however, does not stand out from the others. It is the banana trees, rather, that are given a conspicuous precedence in the representation of Taiwan's tropical climate and leisurely tranquility. Even the dazzling tropical sunshine appears friendly, transformed by the verdant foliage into a projector of picturesque shadows.

Together with Liao Jichun, Chen Zhiqi made his first debut at the same *Teiten* with *Taiwanese Landscape* (fig. 28), a painting of his hometown of Xizhi in today's Taipei County. While studying at Taipei Normal School in 1924, Chen was expelled because of his involvement in a student strike in protest against the school's discriminatory attitude toward Taiwanese students.²⁰⁶ A year later, he went to Japan to study Western art. At the suggestion of Ishikawa Kinichirō and Shiotsuki Tōho, both of whom greatly appreciated his artistic talent, he first entered the private Hongo Institute directed by Okada Saburōsuke and then became a student in the Western Painting Division of the Tokyo Fine Arts School.²⁰⁷ In his spare time, he also studied with Yoshimura Yoshimatsu (1886-1965) at his private studio, a favorite hangout among

²⁰⁵ *Taiwan meishu quanji*: Liao Jichun, vol.4 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1992) 245.

²⁰⁶ The "travel incident" resulted from the discrepant opinions between Taiwanese and Japanese students regarding the destination for a school's tour. The school supported the Japanese student's opinion and forced the Taiwanese students to follow their decision. When many dissident Taiwanese students went on strike in protest, the Japanese police intervened and came into conflict with them. The School was ordered to stop classes and the protesting Taiwanese students were punished, among them more than thirteen were forced to drop out. As one leader of the rebellious students, Chen Zhiqi was expelled only a few months before graduation. Lan Bozhou ed. *Riju shiqi Taiwan xuesheng yandong 1913-1945* (Taiwan's Students Movements under Japanese Rule, 1913-1945) (Taipei: Shibao, 1993) 29-39; Yen Chuan-ying, "Diangtang zhong de meishu," 515.

²⁰⁷ Ye Sifen, "Yingxiong chu shaonian: tiancai huajia Chen Zhiqi," *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Zhiqi*, vol.14 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1995) 22-23.

Taiwanese students who were attracted by Yoshimura's sinophilia and welcoming attitude toward Taiwanese students.²⁰⁸

Although Chen Zhiqi's painting career lasted less than seven years, until he died abruptly at the age of twenty-five, he was well-loved among the young generation of Taiwanese painters for his talent as well as his generous, charismatic character. After he and Chen Chengpo's plan of organizing an association for Taiwanese art students in the Tokyo Fine Arts School was abandoned in 1925,²⁰⁹ he and six other Taiwanese pupils of Ishikawa founded Seven Stars, the first Taiwanese native artists' association in Taipei in 1926 and the Red Island Society (1929-1933) in 1929.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Yoshimura Yoshimatsu graduated in the Western Painting Division from the Tokyo Fine Arts School. He traveled throughout China and took an interest in Chinese culture. Taiwanese art students such as Chen Zhiqi, Li Meishu, Li Shiqiao and Chen Dewang frequented his studio at *Taki no gawa* in Tokyo. Li Shiqiao, "Suan tian ku la," *Taipei wenwu* 3/4 (Mar. 1955): 86; Bai Xuelan, "Taiwan erling niandai liuri qiuyi fengchao yu sanling niandai de yishu gaikuang," (Taiwan's Pursuit of Art Training in Japan during the 1920s and the Survey of Taiwanese Art in the 1930s) *Yishujia* 209 (1992): 299. When Chen Zhiqi died in Taiwan in April, 1931, Yoshimura expressed his remembrance of Chen as "the number one of Taiwan in the sphere of painting" in "Zhuidao: huigu Chen Zhiqi xainsheng." (Condolences: Memory of Mr. Chen Zhiqi) *Bijutsu Shinron*, May 1931, trans. in Ye Sifen, 47-48.

²⁰⁹ The plan was not carried out due to Huang Tushui's opposition. Ye Sifen, 31; Yen Chuan-ying, *Taiwan jindai meishu dashi nianbiao 1895-1945*, 76.

²¹⁰ There are different versions regarding the founding year of the *Seven Stars*; I adopted Yen Chuan-ying's version of 1926, as her dating is directly based on the news from the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*. The seven members of the *Seven Stars* (1926-1929) were Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng, Lan Yinding, Chen Chengfan and Chen Yinyong. Except Lan Yinding, the other six were graduates of Taipei Normal School. *Seven Stars* was dissolved in 1929 after its merger with *Red Sun*, an art association in southern Taiwan, adopting the new name *Red Island*. Led by Chen Zhiqi, *Red Island* consisted of major Taiwanese painters of Western painting. Except Ni Jianghuai, Chen Yingsheng and Lan Yinding, 13 of them studied art in Japan, including 11 at the Tokyo Fine Arts School (Chen Zhiqi, Chen Chengpo, Liao Jichun, Yen Shuilong, Chen Chengfan, Guo Bochuan, Li Meishu, Chen Huikun, Chang Qiuhai, Fan Hongjia, Chang Shunqing). Almost all major members of *Red Island* received Japanese academic art training and worked under the distinct impact of Impressionism and

Taiwanese Landscape was created when Chen Zhiqi returned to Xizhi during the summer vacation of his fourth year at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. In the previous year, he had been accorded the honor of “special selection” at the First *Taiten* in Taipei, for his work *Seaside* (fig. 29), an expressionistic painting of Japanese coastal scenery. In contrast with the relatively realistic rendering of houses and boats in the distance, the bulk of the canvas, depicting the rocky shoreline, is charged with rhythmic dynamics, dramatic forms and flowing lines created by broad brushwork. In the fall of 1928, Chen exhibited three pictures in post-impressionistic style at the Second *Taiten*, including two figural paintings and one still life. For his first submission to the Imperial Salon in Tokyo, however, Chen Zhiqi followed in the footsteps of Chen Chengpo, submitting a canvas showing a scene of his hometown in Taiwan (fig. 28).

Xizhi is a hilly locale formerly known for its tea growing and transportation business. During the colonial era, coal mining and iron works replaced its traditional tea business and transformed the economic life and outlook of the town, many of whose tea-growing hills were taken over by the thriving coal mining industry. In this picture, Chen Zhiqi’s first “official” portrait of Taiwan created for Japanese consumption, traditional, tightly packed buildings with narrow alleyways are shown in an elevated position. The contours of terra cotta tile roofs and Chinese-style flying eaves create an undulating skyline echoing the wavy curves of distant mountains. The ensemble of sun-drenched soil, clear sky, lucid air, bright tonality, vivid contrast of light and shadow, and a parasol-toting woman conveys a sense of heat typical of Taiwan’s summer days.

In the lower half of the composition, crossing pathways, scattered bushes and sparse traces of human activity balance the architectonic bulkiness of the upper half of

Post-impressionism. The *Red Island* held annual exhibitions which not only displayed the members’ work, but also included paintings submitted by the public. The exhibitions lasted until the year 1933 when the group was dissolved for political reason. Xie Lifa, 63-5, 71-2; Yen Chuan-ying, *Taiwan jindai meishu dashi nianbiao*, 82, 87, 94, 101, 103.

the picture. To the right in the foreground is a *yanglou* (Western-style building) with a signboard on its storefront, indicating the commercial nature of the building. The incongruous architectural style of the building marks the foreign influence on even this small town. Across from the *yanglou*, two empty hand carts and earthenware urns are left unattended. The inclusion of such seemingly irrelevant elements in the foreground conveys a sense of visual contingency, thereby enhancing the credibility of the image. Like Chen Chengpo's *Street of Jiayi* created for the *Teiten*, Chen Zhiqi's *Taiwanese Landscape* is an impressionistic image of his hometown based on firsthand observation.

Comparing Taiwan and Japan

Every time I returned to Taiwan, I became profoundly aware of the difference between the island, Taiwan, and the "inland,"²¹¹ Japan. Taiwan's natural beauty is more passionate than that of Japan. Its colors richer, its trees, buildings, atmosphere, customs and so on, all present a strong contrast of primary colors and maintain a superb harmony, like a sensitive poem.

Chen Zhiqi, "To the Artists of the Island," 1928²¹²

In a newspaper article addressed to his Taiwanese associates on the eve of the Second *Taiten*, from which the foregoing excerpt is taken, Chen Zhiqi eulogized the natural beauty of Taiwan in a tone reminiscent of Huang Tushui's essay of 1922. Conspicuously, the article took Japan as its frame of reference and affirmed Taiwan's natural beauty by comparison with Japan.

²¹¹ Though Japan is a country of islands, in the dominant colonial discourses, the Japanese liked to refer to Japan as *naichi* (the inland) and to its overseas empire as the *gaichi* (the outland). The Japanese nationals in Taiwan described themselves as *naichi jin* (inlanders) and the Taiwanese as *hontō jin* (islanders).

²¹² Chen Zhiqi, "Zhi bendao meishujia," (To the Artists of the Island) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 12 Sept. 1928: 3, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Ye Sifen, 133.

As an art student just returned from Tokyo in 1922, Chen Zhiqi looked at his native land with a fresh perspective. Significantly, he extolled only its natural landscape, and was clearly critical of its cultural setting, which appeared outmoded and hackneyed to the Japanese-cultured eye. Like Huang Tushui, Chen Zhiqi criticized his fellow Taiwanese as leading an anachronistic life, disapproved of kitsch that catered to vulgar taste, and rebuked artworks concerned with mere depiction of superficial form. He felt distressed that, in comparison with Japan, Taiwan was lagging behind in the development of the fine arts and in other cultural spheres. He urged the creation of a Taiwanese art that would convey the spirit of the epoch. Whether this signified a desire to be incorporated into a Japanese-centric world order of modernity or an emerging consciousness of history and a unique place for Taiwanese identity, the painter did not elaborate, remaining silent on how to express “the sprit of the epoch” on canvas.

In the foregoing accounts of Chen Chengpo and Chen Zhiqi, they were in the preliminary stage of endeavoring to represent their native Taiwan. In their student days in Japan, they made sketches and plein-air paintings of Japanese scenes both as academic exercises and records of their journeys. Chen Chengpo’s paintings, such as *View of Asakusa, Nijūbashi (Double Bridge) at the Imperial Palace*, and *View of the Tokyo Fine Arts School* (figs. 30-32), recorded his impressions of Tokyo in a style evocative of Van Gogh’s Dutch or Parisian pictures. Chen Zhiqi employed post-impressionistic techniques in paintings such as *View of Taki No Gawa, Japanese Shrine*, and *Japanese Scenery* (figs. 33-35).

In representing Taiwan, however, the Taiwanese painters seem to have felt more constrained. Stylistically, they absorbed Western influences via Japanese channels.²¹³

²¹³ It was only after War World II that Japan saw extensive importation of Western art for general consumption. Japan had no large public art museum even as of 1930. Except for a few Japanese artists who traveled to Europe, most of them, and most Japanese art lovers, built their knowledge of Western art from reproductions. As for Taiwanese artists

The French impressionists Van Gogh, Gauguin and Cézanne were the Western models to whom they turned most frequently. In spite of their plein-air practice, their artistic vision and their perception of their own homeland appears to have been framed by colonial stereotypes and cultural assumptions. In particular, their early works for the Imperial salons tended to incorporate motifs such as Chinese-style temples, flying eaves, terra cotta roofs, or tropical flora, paralleling the stock motifs seen in popular tourism advertisements or commercial images produced or commissioned by the colonial government (figs. 36-37).

Taiwanese painters' assimilation of such stereotypical motifs manifested their lack of alternative traditions and pictorial schemata that might have enabled them to counteract the Imperial themes and topoi so common in Japanese cultural representations of Taiwan. This was one of the major factors that subordinated the Taiwanese art scene as a whole to Japanese visual hegemony. As Japan constructed an image of Taiwan as its culturally inferior Other, Japanese-educated Taiwanese elites felt distressed at the apparent gap between Japan and their own native experience.

All expatriate Taiwanese were confronted with the question of how to describe and characterize Taiwan and its people. Oftentimes, their first answer dwelled on depictions of natural characteristics such as climate, terrain and flora, particularly on aspects that were conspicuously different from Japan. This was a primary reason why the majority of the Taiwanese artworks exhibited at the Imperial salons seemed, to some degree or other, designed to appeal to the Japanese audience's expectation of exoticism or provincialism. Even with Chen Zhiqi's more sophisticated works, such as *Danshui Landscape* (fig. 38), with its attempt to adapt the landscape to an abstract pictorial

of the period, they relied upon Japan not only for formal art education, but also for art books, magazines, catalogues and art exhibits as their primary resources for gaining knowledge and learning techniques of modern art. Japanese taste and understanding of Western art, therefore, exerted a profound influence on Taiwanese artists' perception of Western art.

schema, adoption of a Taiwanese theme remains as his point of departure and talisman for enabling him to stand out at official salons. From a post-colonial perspective, early Taiwanese modern painters unknowingly aligned themselves with cultural ideologies embedded in Japanese colonialism. On the other hand, their paintings constitute a visual expression of the beginning of a collective endeavor to identify, define or construct “Taiwanese-ness,” albeit in the borrowed light of Japanese modernity.

All modern Taiwanese artists of the colonial period groped for answers to such questions. In the formative years of Chen Zhiqi’s life and career, for example, his self-appointed mission of pioneering modern art was intertwined with his pursuit of an art expressing Taiwanese distinctiveness. His emphasis on the latter led to reflection on the disparities between Taiwanese-ness and Japanese-ness, as imagined and represented in colonial discourses. Chen Zhiqi’s aspiration to modernize artistic practices in Taiwan while seeking to represent a native Taiwanese distinctiveness manifested an ambiguous, contentious dimension found in the cultural identity constructions of all colonial intelligentsias. It was vital to acquire the power of the new culture in order to revitalize the old and the native. Doing so, however, also furthered, oftentimes unwittingly, the colonizers’ intent to overwhelm the traditions of the colonized. This clash of demands lies at the root of the sense of ambivalence and contradiction which characterize the colonized intellectuals’ constructions of cultural identities. Japanese-educated Taiwanese elites were privileged to cross the divide between colonizers and colonized, but they also found themselves in the dilemma of the impossibility of completely persisting in either the old or new mold. The intersections of the two cultures at which they attempted to find a balance were both invigorating and disturbing in the process of Taiwanese identity construction.

Portraits of Family Members of the Expatriate Taiwanese Painters

While paintings exhibited at official exhibitions tended to embody what Taiwanese painters wanted to present to Japanese spectators as “official” portrayals of Taiwan or the Taiwanese, their portraits of family members disclose different dimensions of their cultural perspectives in their formative years.

There is a wealth of self-portraits painted by expatriate Taiwanese art students. In particular, all students of the Western Painting Division at the Tokyo Fine Arts School were required to execute a self-portrait prior to graduation.²¹⁴ For the most part, Taiwanese students focused simply on recording a visual likeness with the intent of rendering, usually in a straightforward head-and-shoulders format, a picture of a modern young man. Clad in Western-style suit, shirt, Japanese student uniform or casual wear, they portrayed themselves with hardly any hint of difference between themselves and their Japanese classmates (figs. 39-45). Their self-portraits represented an academic exercise as well as a self-imaging and –imagining. Such self-portraits can be regarded, for the most part, as expressions of how expatriate Taiwanese art students wished themselves to be regarded and appraised in the eye of the Japanese. Most of them represent a young, cultivated, modern cosmopolitan, while demonstrating, for their teachers’ sake, the techniques they had been taught.

In comparison with self-portraits, portraits of their wives and other family members demonstrate greater diversity and complexity, particularly with respect to the

²¹⁴ When the Western Painting Division was founded in 1896, its fourth-year students were required to produce graduation works at the school’s expense. After 1913, the school changed the policy of keeping all the graduation works due to insufficient storage capacity, purchasing only those of the top students while acquiring self-portraits of all students. Satsuma Masato, “The Origins, Characteristics, and Significance of the Collection of Graduation Works,” and Noguchi Reiichi, “Self-Portraits of Students Majoring in Western Painting: The Origin and Development of a Genre,” *Selections from the Graduation Works: The 110th Anniversary of Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music* (Tokyo: Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, 1997) 25-31, 32-35.

expression of cultural roots and identities. While drawing upon Western artistic ideas and vocabularies, these more private portraits sought to articulate signs of cultural distinctiveness.

Chen Zhiqi's portrait of his wife, *The Artist's Wife* (fig. 46), for instance, presents a fascinating antithesis to the artist's self-portrait, both of which were painted during his period of study in Japan. In his self-portrait (fig. 40), he represented himself, with cool tonality and fluent brush strokes, as a refined gentleman of the modern world. In contrast to his completely Westernized dandyish attire, his wife is shown in a Taiwanese dress, in a totally frontal pose and set in a symmetrical composition, evocative of an iconic figure with a solemn majestic countenance. A feather fan is held in front of her body, less as a fashionable accessory than as a device to conceal her protruding belly; she was pregnant with their first child at the time.

The Artist's Wife was created in the summer of 1927, half a year after they got married and started their conjugal life in Tokyo. The newlyweds did not have the chance to return to Taiwan until a year and a half later due to Mrs. Chen's pregnancy, her delicate condition rendering her unfit for travel.²¹⁵ Although the portrait was executed in Japan, Chen Zhiqi deliberately eschewed any depiction of Japanese-style furnishings or décor. He even covered the wall with his wife's Chinese/Taiwanese-style bridal gown, which provided a dramatic backdrop for this arresting image of a young Taiwanese bride. Despite a rough technique and somewhat strained composition, indicative of the experimental effort of a second-year art student, the portrait conveys the artist's affection for his bride as well as a strong expression of what her image was intended to evoke. Beyond its quasi-Fauvist style and theatricality lies an attempt to cast her as an embodiment of Taiwanese sentiment.

²¹⁵ Their first trip home was in July of 1928, when their newborn was seven months old. *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Zhiqi*, vol.14, 214.

Chen Zhiqi's wife was from a prominent family in the Shilin district of Taipei. With a high school diploma—a privileged educational credential among Taiwanese women of the time—she taught at a local common school before getting married.²¹⁶ She was one of the new-era Taiwanese women, whose social rank and role as a female were transformed fundamentally by the colonial schooling which introduced Western values and lifestyles into Taiwanese society.

Nevertheless, Chen seemed interested less in portraying his wife as a Japanese-educated “modern” woman than in representing her as an epitome of their Taiwanese roots. While his self-portrait portrays him as a sophisticated man of modern taste and cultivation, the portrait of his wife transforms her into a goddess on which he anchored his love and yearning for Taiwan in the midst of their expatriate life. It does not aim to accurately record either the outward appearance or the inner essence of his wife. It is a metaphor of the artist's attachment to his homeland, incarnated in the image of the mother of his unborn child. The awe-inspiring solemnity of her frontal image is enhanced by her serious demeanor and the red bridal gown, which dramatically occupies the larger part of the picture plane. Portrayed not as vesture worn by the woman, but as an overpowering red nimbus behind her, the bridal gown is a motif that visually and symbolically blocks out the presence of Japanese reality while amplifying Taiwanese-ness to an extent verging on theatricality.

In traditional Chinese color symbolism, red was the emblem of joy and featured prominently in clothing and decorations for festive occasions, such as lunar New Year celebrations and weddings. The Taiwanese bride wore a red wedding gown and a red

²¹⁶ Zhang Yanxian, “Yingnian zaoshi de haujie qicai Chen Zhiqi, 1906-1932,” (Chen Zhiqi: A Genius Painter who Died Young, 1906-1932) in *Taiwan jindai mingren zhi* (Celebrity of Modern Taiwan) (Taipei: Zili wanbao wenhuabu, 1987) vol.2. 225.

veil. She was transported to the wedding ceremony in a red palanquin and greeted with a red carpet. Neighbors brought red-dyed eggs to the couple after a child was born.

In Chen Zhiqi's portrait of his pregnant wife, the color red dominates the palette, connoting auspiciousness and happiness in his native land. Created in a foreign land, however, it conveys not so much a mood of festivity as an assertion of Taiwanese sensibility within a framework marked by modern pictorial idioms and techniques. To heighten the sense of an Oriental ambience, Chen Zhiqi signed his name in the lower left corner in the simulated form of a square seal and dated the work according to the lunar calendar with Chinese characters.

Noted by his Taiwanese peers for his talent and enterprising spirit, Chen Zhiqi was described by them as being able to instantly absorb new styles of Western art, even from poor reproductions.²¹⁷ Though the ensemble appears somewhat mannered and contrived, he showed, in the portrait of his wife, an ambition to embody home-grown taste and symbolism in Western pictorial language. It is partly because his artistic skills were yet to be polished, and partly because he was still searching for an effective way to reconcile a modernized visual vocabulary with traditional cultural elements. On the one hand, he was exploring and experimenting with stylistic possibilities derived from Western painting; on the other, he was still in the process of constructing his own cultural identity as a Taiwanese. The absence of Japanese motifs in *The Artist's Wife* conceals the reality of the dominance of Japanese culture, signs of which are deliberately replaced with a dramatized Taiwanese ambience rendered through a combination of expressionistic Western pictorial idioms and nostalgic pre-colonial aesthetics. The dominance of saturated red, in striking contrast to yellow and blue, is a double trope,

²¹⁷ Regarded as a "genius" by his Japanese teachers, Chen died prematurely in 1931, one year after his graduation from the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Though his artistic career was too short to develop a mature style, many works from his student days demonstrate his potential and ambition to create a unique Taiwanese-style modern painting.

suggesting both a stylistic kinship to post-impressionism and an emotional evocation of traditional Chinese/Taiwanese color symbolism.

The subject of *The Artist's Wife* is not just a Taiwanese woman in Japan. Above all, it is the feeling and the gaze of an expatriate Taiwanese painter, of what he desired to reveal and conceal, temporally and spatially, with regard to the complications of a bracketed Taiwanese identity. What his own image does not reveal is projected on to that of his wife. In the latter image, the expressive force of abstract pictorial elements conceals obscure feelings of alienation and uncertainty, while its contrived, staged quality conveys a sense of the displacement of the portrayed figure and Taiwanese cultural symbols from their original geographic context.

In sharp contrast with Chen Zhiqi's portrait of his wife, *Xiang Yuan*, a portrait by Liu Jintang (1894-1937) of his Chinese wife (fig. 47), manifests an effort to create a modernistic representation of Oriental grace and sensibility. As the first Taiwanese student of Western painting in the Tokyo Fine Arts School, Liu chose to settle in China after graduation. As a professor of Western art at various institutions in China, Liu was dedicated to a nationalistic pursuit of an "ethnicization" of Western-style painting. In the portrait of his pregnant wife, he used a post-impressionist vocabulary to depict Oriental reserve and tenderness. Dressed in a plain Chinese robe with geometric patterns, Mrs. Liu sits in an atmosphere of serenity, holding and surrounded by *xiang yuan*, a kind of citrus fruit harvested in autumn in southern regions of China. Its round shape resonates with the roundness and fullness of the figure of the pregnant woman, while it also symbolizes propitious outcomes and indicates the season and the geographic region in which it was painted. Despite Liu's agenda of ethnicization, the *xiang yuan* motif is reminiscent of Cézanne's apple still lifes, and his abstract analysis of space and form evokes the Cezannean tendency towards the geometric abstraction of pictorial elements. Apart from their stylistic differences, Liu Jintang and Chen Zhiqi shared a similar endeavor to synthesize disparate cultural constituents across spatial and cultural boundaries.

Chen Zhiqi's still-life painting *Guanyin* (fig. 48), painted in the same year as the portrait of his wife, addresses both old and new cultural traditions. In a simplified setting, he renders a statue of *Guanyin* (Bodhisattva), a bamboo *xielan* (gratitude basket),²¹⁸ fruits, a toy figurine and two Chinese-style stomachers. It represents a collection of objects that evoke the artist's affectionate feelings about his homeland, all assembled in front of a red backdrop, the favorite Chinese- and Taiwanese-traditional color for conveying the feeling of festive joy. Painted during the period when the artist and his wife were expecting their first child, *Guanyi* symbolizes best wishes for the forthcoming baby as well as remembrance of the couple's native place.

The stomachers were embroidery works made by Chen Zhiqi's mother, who excelled at needlework.²¹⁹ A *xielan* is a basket used to pack presents or offerings during religious or festive occasions. Some motifs depicted in the picture were not ordinary objects found on a Taiwanese dining table. The Guanyin statuette is a Buddhist icon worshiped at temples or family shrines, while the stomacher is a traditional lingerie item. Transplanted into a new pictorial context irrespective of their original functions or meanings in Taiwanese daily life—sacred or playful, public or intimate—these heterogeneous objects were assembled at the service of the painter's imagination and creativity.

The motifs in *Guanyin* are of Asian origin, yet the way in which they are represented is Western. The stomachers are arranged in a manner reminiscent of a table cloth or decorative drapery in a Western still life, and the bodhisattva statuette is depicted like a bric-a-brac, represented on an equal footing with lingerie and other objects. In spite

²¹⁸ In Mandarin Chinese *xie* means *thanks*, and *lan* means *basket*. The traditional Taiwanese *xielan* were made of bamboo in varied shapes and sizes to package either gifts or religious offerings, including paper money, incense, fruits and rice cakes.

²¹⁹ Ye Sifen, 16,198.

of its visual and thematic centrality in the composition, the statuette is shorn of its traditional iconographic sanctity and assumes a secularized significance. In conjunction with the other objects identifiable with Chen's native land, it represents, above all, a consolation and the prayed-for blessing of an artist far from home. On the other hand, the bodhisattva statuette becomes merely one still-life motif among others, subordinated to the enterprising artist's subjective arrangement and interpretation. As in the portrait of *The Artist's Wife*, post-impressionist idioms are appropriated to create a simplified, emblematic image in which heterogeneous Taiwanese motifs take on fresh appearances and values in the eye of a Taiwanese painter under a foreign sky.

If Chen Zhiqi's portrait of his wife aims to express a distinctively Taiwanese sensibility by employing an exaggerated Asian tonality, *Yellow Dress* (fig. 49) by Liu Qixiang (1910-1998) manifests not only a markedly different style, but also a different set of values and aesthetic sensibility. It projects another kind of modern imagery expressive of a sense of delicacy and melancholy divergent from works of contemporaneous Taiwanese painters whose primary goal was to convey the "local color" of Taiwan. The picture depicts Liu's new Japanese wife dressed in modern European-style apparel. Liu had just returned from a four-year sojourn in France (1932-1935) and settled in Tokyo rather than returning to Taiwan like most of his Taiwanese colleagues did. He had a strong bond with Japanese culture because he had lived in Japan ever since he was thirteen years old. He went to the middle school attached to Aoyama Gakuin University, a Catholic college,²²⁰ where he cultivated a lifelong interest in modern Western literature and classical music.

²²⁰ Founded in 1874 by missionaries from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, the school is known for its cosmopolitan ambience, many of its faculty having studied abroad. <<http://www.aoyama.ac.jp/en/outline/history.html>> (3 March, 2008)

Born into a prominent family of landed gentry in southern Taiwan, Liu Qixiang was freed from economic worries and was able to spend much time indulging his passion for the violin and Western painting. Unlike the majority of the expatriate Taiwanese painters who studied art at the Tokyo Fine Arts School, he opted to study Western painting at Bunka Gakuin, a private school of liberal arts in Tokyo. Its art faculty was made up of younger artists working in styles more lively and innovative than those of the art professors who taught at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Bunka Gakuin's Western painting faculty included Ishii Hakutei (1882-1958), Arishima Ikuma (1882-1974) and Yamashita Shintarō (1881-1955), who were the founding members of the *Nikakai* (Second Section Society), which was a leading anti-mainstream painters' association established in 1914.²²¹ In 1932, Liu traveled to Paris and spent the following three years in France studying oil painting. With a recommendation from his mentor Arishima Ikuma, he made the acquaintance of Ebihara Kinosuke (1904-1970), a veteran Paris-based Japanese painter. He lived in the Quartier du Montparnasse and spent much time copying works by Manet, Cézanne and Renoir at the Louvre.²²² His canvas *Red*

²²¹ The name *Nikakai* (Second Section) was a reference to the sections within divisions at Japanese government exhibitions. The First Section covered primarily traditional works, the Second Section, newer-style works. *Nikakai* was seen as a breakaway movement from the official selection process. When the conservative Jury Committee of the *Bunten* turned down their request to establish a "Second Section" for the new-style paintings in the Western Painting Division to distinguish their works from those of the older generation, progressive artists banded together in 1914 to set up the *Nikakai* as an anti-establishment artists exhibition group whose members were prohibited from exhibiting at *Bunten* and its successor *Teiten*. Wang Xiuxiong, *Riben Meishu shi* (The History of Japanese Art) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2000) vol.III 142-47.

²²² Among them were Manet's *Olympia* and *Le Fifre*, Cézanne's *The Card Players*, Renoir's *Baignenses*, and a landscape painting by Corot. Yen Chuan-ying, "Liu Qixiang: nanfang de qingyin," *Taiwan meishu quanji: Liu Qixiang*, vol.11 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1993) 22.

Dress (fig. 50) was exhibited at the Salon d'Automne in 1933, and he traveled extensively in southern Europe.

In 1936 Liu Qixiang returned to Tokyo and resumed participation in *Nikakai*'s yearly exhibitions. In the following year, he married Sasamoto Yuki. With a generous stipend from his family, the couple reveled in the cultured life of Tokyo's well-to-do. He did not return to Taiwan until 1946, after an absence of more than two decades, when the Japanese had been defeated in World War II and withdrawn from Taiwan.²²³

Yellow Dress is a visual expression of Liu Qixiang's French tastes, his identification with Western culture, and his personal nostalgia for a rarefied world of Western painting and music. Dressed in the fashionable apparel of a Western lady, the artist's 20-year-old wife looks pensive with a dreamy expression. The shadow of the bonnet shades her eyes and forehead, and her delicate head is cocked at an angle that complements the contours of her figure. The lyrical linearity and the melancholic overtones of the image are evocative of the languidness of women depicted in Modigliani's paintings. A parallel can also be drawn between Liu Qixiang and Tōgō Seiji (1897-1978), a former student of Arishima Ikuma and an active participant in the *Nikakai* exhibitions²²⁴ (fig. 51). Although Liu never ventured into futuro-cubist abstraction and surrealist fantasy as Tōgō did, he seems to have shared with Tōgō the same romantic

²²³ Many of Liu Qixiang's works were left behind in Japan when he and his wife returned to Taiwan in 1946 and their whereabouts remain unknown. For a summary of Liu's life and career, see Yen Chuan-ying, "Liu Qixiang," 17-37.

²²⁴ Tōgō Seiji was among the three Japanese painters who provided words of praise printed on the invitations to Liu's solo exhibition after he returned from Europe. The other two painters were Ishii Hakutei and Ebihara Kinosuke. Yen Chuan-ying, "Liu Qixiang," 23.

sentiments, and many of his works exhibited at the *Nikakai* exhibitions exude a similarly lyrical, ethereal atmosphere.²²⁵

Liu Qixiang portrayed his wife again in *Studio* (fig. 52), completed in 1939 and exhibited at the *Nikakai* salon that same year.²²⁶ Still dressed in European-style clothing, Liu's wife is seated beside a dog, while behind her there stand a naked model and four other people—an adult man and woman and two girls, all in Western attire. Seemingly out of place in the painter's studio, this gathering of people appears to have no clear interconnection. Instead of realistic depiction of the details of a painter's workplace, Liu here gives us an intriguing glimpse of his mental studio. Like a fantasia, Liu's *Studio* presents images distilled from the internal life of an artist who preferred to live in a secluded world of art, literature and music.

Neither the aforementioned two pictures by Liu Qixiang nor any of his other major works created during the colonial period demonstrate a deliberate assertion of either Taiwanese, Chinese or Japanese aesthetics or cultural characteristics. Liu Qixiang was one of the lucky few Taiwanese intellectuals whose considerable family wealth allowed him to live in the style of, and mix easily with, the Japanese. He led a carefree

²²⁵ Soon after its foundation, *Nikakai* abandoned its initial ideal of having unjuried exhibitions and began to award prizes and instituted a society membership system like that of the *Bunten*, with a stipulation that *Nikakai* members could not exhibit at *Bunten*. Liu's first picture exhibited at the *Nikakai* exhibition is *Tainan Landscape*, executed in 1930. He received a *Nikakai* award for his pictures *Fields* and *Harvest* and was declared a "friend of *Nikakai*" in 1943.

²²⁶ The simplified shapes, flattened background, and introspective mood of this picture are suggestive of Picasso's 1905 paintings such as *Family of Saltimbanques*. It is difficult, however, to delineate any single stylistic influence on Liu, who did not attend any workshop or art school during his sojourn in France, but spent much time in museums and traveled extensively around Europe. He made copies of modern French painters at the Louvre, but he was also deeply impressed by Italian painters such as Giotto, Da Vinci, Raphael and so on. Lin Yuchun, "Jinru shijie yitan de de xianqu," MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 1991. 43.

life in Tokyo with his Japanese wife. The shadows of colonial reality or wartime hardship were hardly detectable on his canvases. These were deliberately banished from the rarefied world of romanticized vision, attenuated forms and private symbolism that he sought to materialize in his paintings.

Liu Qixiang was not the only Taiwanese painter who studied at non-mainstream art institutions and associated with more liberal, progressive art groups. Hong Ruilin (1912-1996), for example, went to the private Teikoku Art School (the predecessor of Musashino Art University)²²⁷ in Musashino in 1931. At the new school, which had just been founded by a group of young faculty in 1929, Hong was inspired by the campus's lively atmosphere and free spirit. In his works *Tokyo Women's University*, *Spring of Musashino*, *Pedestrians in Snow*, and *Corner of a Classroom* (figs. 53-56), for example, he created impressionistic views of his Japanese experiences with vigorous brush strokes and a feeling of instantaneity and directness. He also recorded the gloomy side of life in *Slums of Japan* and the "primitive" agricultural sector of Japanese society in *Market at Yamagata*—images that challenge the Imperial topoi of Japanese modernity.

In general, Hong Ruilin's pictures from his Japanese period (1931-36, 1937-38)²²⁸ reveal a wide spectrum of thematic interests and a Bohemian spirit. In a small ink drawing titled *At the Bar*, done in his second year at school, Hong pictures himself and two Taiwanese friends on a drinking spree at a bar (fig. 57). Seated on the left behind a table, Hong Ruilin is toasting one of his friends who appears inebriated, while the other is dancing in intoxication. In this casual, sketch-like painting of student tomfoolery and

²²⁷ "History of Musashino Art University 1929-2006,"
<<http://musabi.ac.jp/e-home/about/history.html>> (March 1, 2008)

²²⁸ Hong studied at Teikoku Art School from 1931 to 1936. He returned to Japan in 1937 for a year-long sketching tour in Northeastern Japan, creating a particularly large number of sketches of Yamagata. Jiang Xun, "Laodong zhe de songge: kuanggong huajia Hong Ruilin," *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Zhiqi*, vol.12 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1995) 22-26.

extravagance, Hong recorded a memorable episode in his youthful days in Japan, when the admixture of freedom and alienation in a foreign land set the restless young men free, if only momentarily, from their usual discretion and temperance under colonial rule. It is an uncommon image of indulgence and abandon, in contrast to the typical self-representation of Taiwanese artists as reserved, gentlemanly and introverted.

During his summer vacations in Taiwan, Hong Ruilin produced landscapes and intimate portrayals of his family. *Artist's Father* is a close-up view of his father at work in his study (fig. 58). Compared with the frontal or three-quarters format commonly used for portraits of elders, Hong's portrait adopts an informal view, depicting the old man in profile.

Li Meishu's portraits of his father can be taken as examples for comparison. Li's 1924 picture (fig. 59) records an official image of his ailing father in a formal Chinese gown embroidered with a stylized Chinese character meaning "longevity." Created before Li went to Japan to study Western art at the Tokyo Fine Arts School, this canvas shows a sense of naiveté that is evocative not so much of any fine arts tradition, as of the popular portraiture which grew out of the Chinese-rooted tradition of ancestor worship. Displayed in virtually every Taiwanese household, the traditional ancestor portraits were dignified frontal images consisting of a likeness of the ancestor's face added on to a formulaic rendition of clothing and furnishings (figs. 60-61). Li's portrait shows a close stylistic relation to such images, and he signed this portrait with the self-effacing phrase "respectfully delineated by the disobedient son Meishu," revealing the traditional feeling of fear and respect toward an iconic image of one's elders.

Twenty-three years later, in 1947, Li Meishu painted another picture in memory of his deceased father (fig. 62). This second one recorded essentially the same facial features, but in the completely different format and style of an artist who is now well versed in Western art after having received academic training in Japan. His father is still formally attired, but this time in a Western suit. Its oval format and the inner frame of the

picture remind one of the common shapes of a photograph frame, reflecting the artist's interest in modern photography.²²⁹

Like Li Meishu, Hong Ruilin also depicted his father in Chinese-style attire, with a skull cap and long gown. Unlike Li, however, he discarded traditional format and presented a slice-of-life image of his father writing or perhaps working on an ink painting. A man who earned his living as a bookkeeper at a teashop in the wharf area of the Dadaocheng district of Taipei, Hong's father was nevertheless well versed in traditional Chinese literature, calligraphy and painting. He was particularly admired for his ink paintings of plum blossoms. As a child, Hong Ruilin regarded it a privilege to grind an ink block to make ink for his father while the latter was painting.²³⁰ Though a man of the merchant class, Hong Ruilin's father is depicted by the artists as an embodiment of the Chinese literati spirit, self-contentedly immersed in a private world of art. Although Chinese ink painting had yielded its place of prominence to the new genre of Japanese-style painting at the Eastern Painting Division at the colonial salons, it was still valued among the older literate generation.

Though Hong Ruilin worked primarily in the style of Western painting,²³¹ he paid homage to the Chinese art tradition out of respect for and attachment to his father and the earlier generation. Instead of showing the piece of painting that his father was

²²⁹ In the 1930s, Li started to employ camera to assist his painting of portraits of friends and families. Su Zhenghui ed. *Renqin tuqin: Li meishu bainian jinian tezhan zhuanji* (Portraits of the Land and People: a Centennial Exhibition in Commemoration of Li Meishu) (Taipei: National Palace of Museum, 2001) 22.

²³⁰ Jiang Xun, 17-18.

²³¹ For most of his career, Hong worked primarily with Western media. During the 1940s, however, he created more pictures with pencil, watercolors or ink on paper than with oil pigments on canvas owing to the colonial government's wartime rationing of various types of materials. After his father passed away in 1941, Hong started to make use of the traditional Chinese paper left by him and produced a wealth of ink paintings of minor subjects in the 1940s and 1950s.

working on, Hong created a close-up image of the act of painting itself, embodied not in the form of flamboyant gestures or pretentious self-display, but in a quiet, modest activity by means of which his father journeyed to a bygone poetic world and immersed himself in dialogue with the old masters of the Chinese literati tradition. This image of total concentration mirrored Hong Ruilin's own absorption in painting, albeit with a completely different medium and set of references. Setting up his easel close by his painting father in an attempt to capture on canvas a scene reminiscent of his own childhood and historical past, Hong, too, was also engaged in a dialogue. It was not, however, an imagined dialogue with the time-honored Chinese masters of antiquity, but an intimate one with his beloved father, who represented for the young painter a link to history, an anchor to home, as well as a root of his passion for art.

Conclusion

All Taiwanese artists who studied at art schools in Japan had to deal with the experience of discontinuity, in regard to both their artistic careers and lifestyles, when they returned to Taiwan.²³² Compared with the ample modern arts resources and the variety of modernist associations and exhibition groups in Japan, the arts environment in Taiwan was restrictive and impoverished.

²³² When Hong Ruilin returned to Taiwan in 1938, his career encountered a setback. Unable to depend on painting for his livelihood, he ended up working at Ni Jianghuai's coal mine in Ruifang and painted only in his spare time. Among his art associates, the economically more secure ones such as Liu Qixiang and He Delai stayed in Japan even after graduation, while some of them, such as Liu Jintang, Chang Qiu hai and Chen Chengpo, ventured to China in pursuit of more career opportunities. Others like Li Meishu and Li Shiqiao managed to travel back and forth between Taiwan and Japan, in order to take care of both family and work.

Under Japan's colonial rule and cultural hegemony, Taiwan's intellectual life was relegated, at best, to the status of a peripheral, subordinate extension of that of the Japanese metropolis. Chinese tradition, the ground for the cultural representations of Taiwanese intelligentsia, was superseded by colonial modernity. Through the act of painting in the new modes and styles promoted in Japan and through exhibiting their works at the official art salons, Taiwanese painters endowed with the education, skills, and leisure necessary to produce such works acquired temporary entry into a special, privileged class. When their artworks were selected for display at the official salons, they were momentarily transformed from a position of passive subordination to one of personal liberty and control.

Such moments of distinction did not last long, however, and could be renewed only in subsequent successes in the arena of art exhibitions. When the exhibition season was over, most of them had to lay aside their artist's identity, like taking off a lavish yet impractical coat. Except on the rare occasions of exhibitions such as *Teiten* and *Taiten*, when they were publicly addressed as "Artist" and put on a pedestal by the press, most of them led the unnoticed, ordinary life of a modest schoolteacher.²³³ Even so, they did not give up easily. Many continued to seek honor and glory at the yearly Imperial and colonial salons, which offered the most prominent stages for aspiring artists in need of recognition, patronage, fame and audiences.

To gauge the historio-cultural significance of their artistic creations during the period, it is essential to keep in mind that the cultural persona of the Japanese-educated Taiwanese artists encountered multiple sets of values and catered to two audiences, the

²³³ Yen Chuan-ying noted the predicament of the Taiwanese artists, who were accorded the social status of an artist only once a year during the annual salon, when they were elevated by public attention to a status like a movie star, only to be quickly forgotten by the society. Yen Chuan-ying, "Mengxiang bali," (Dreaming of Paris), *Fengjing xinjing*, 116.

more so when they tried to negotiate an uncertain identity between assimilation and differentiation, subordination and resistance. The humiliation attendant upon the devaluation and degradation of traditional Chinese culture entailed a pressing need in the hearts of all colonized intellectuals to elevate the cultural plane of their native land. But how? By renewing their cultural links to China or by invigorating local traditions with modern spirit?

Many Japanese-educated intellectuals experienced disruptive, ambivalent moments, abroad or at home, when they could not tell, amid the cultural triangulation of Japan, China and Taiwan, where they were most at home. Taiwanese cultural discourses henceforth were characterized by a dialectic between traditional Chinese and modern Japanese influences. In the interim, a new Taiwanese consciousness—if not yet an embryonic nationalism—was emerging, although it was from the outset tinged with a sense of indeterminacy, budding from the fissure between ethnocentric Han cultural identification and Japanese cultural imperialism.

In the realm of artistic creation, it was a difficult task to bridge the contending elements by virtue solely of the quality of talents and personalities. More often than not, the first-generation Taiwanese modern artists moved back and forth between cultures, smoothly or clumsily, registering in their works fluctuating trajectories and complex cultural interactions that characterized colonial Taiwan. The in-between-ness and co-existence of disparate cultural constituents was to become a significant attribute of a Taiwanese culture in constant flux, reflecting or refracting multiple influences, to which the pioneering Taiwanese modern artists endeavored to give concrete form.

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL ALTERITY AND AMBIGUITY

The Imperial Eye

I expected to find all the large towns in Formosa built like the ones in China, with narrow streets 10 or 15 feet wide, swarming with young pigs, the street overflowing with filthy water and laid irregularly with stones of all shapes and sizes, and all the drinking water mixed with sewage. But I found all were built after the European style and had wide streets, as clean as the best in Tokyo. Some are even better than any to be found in Tokyo because they are properly macadamized....

Takekoshi Yosaburō, *Japanese Rule in Formosa*²³⁴

More than ten years after Japan started its rule in Taiwan, there are still many Japanese who do not know about Taiwan. I wish at least to let those unlucky people know about the Taiwanese landscape, which ranks number one in Japan.

Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Watercolor Painting and Taiwanese Scenery”²³⁵

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan outstripped all other Asian countries in its push for modernization. It not only escaped a fate of colonial subjugation, but extricated itself from the unequal treaty system imposed in the mid-19th century by the Western powers. Transforming rapidly into a modern industrial nation, Japan had as its main national goal the aim of becoming a world power, equaling its Western models in imperialist and colonialist undertakings. As a latecomer in imperialist endeavors, Japan was eager to

²³⁴ Takekoshi Yosaburō, 284-85.

²³⁵ Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Shuicaihua yu Taiwan fengguang,” (Watercolor Painting and Taiwanese Scenery) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 23 Jan.1908: 4, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Wang Shujin, 30.

elevate its national image, which was ambiguously positioned between the West and the non-West. Its colonies, Taiwan and Korea, were neighboring lands of the same yellow race, and Japan shared with them a Sino-centric cultural heritage. Unlike its Western counterparts, Japan was unable to validate its colonial rule by means of shaping a simplistic “white and non-white” racial polarity. Japan needed to rationalize its hegemonic assertion with a self-imposed mission of civilizing Asia. By “civilization,” Japan no longer meant Sino-centric Confucianism; it now turned to Western modernity, whose scientific and technological advancement had become a global indicator of progress and development during the course of the 19th century.

Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901),²³⁶ one of the most renowned leaders of the Meiji Restoration, heralded his country’s national goal in his famous essay “Datsu-a ron” (On Leaving Asia) in 1885:

In my view, [China and Korea] cannot survive as independent nations with the onslaught of Western civilization... Natives of China and Korea are deep in their hocus pocus of nonscientific behavior... What must we do? We do not have time to wait for the enlightenment of our neighbors so that we can work together toward the development of Asia. It is better for us to leave the ranks of Asian nations and cast our lot with civilized nations of the West... We simply follow the manner of the Westerners in knowing how to treat them. Any person who

²³⁶ Fukuzawa Yukichi was the founder of Keio University and is generally regarded as one of the Meiji Restoration thinkers who played an important role in the modernization of late 19th-century Japan. One of his most widely read articles is “*Datsu-a ron*”—variously translated as “Argument for Leaving Asia,” “De-Asianization,” “Shedding Asia,” “Leaving Asia,” or “Disassociation from Asia”—an editorial first published in *Jiji Shimpo* on March 16, 1885. It argued that Japan should disassociate itself from its Asian neighbors so that the country could play an important role in the global politics dominated by the more “civilized” Western powers. See Tanaka Masatoshi, “Fukuzawa Yukichi to higashi ajia kindaishi e no shiten,” (Fukuzawa Yukichi and Perspectives for the History of Modern East Asia) in *Fukuzawa Yukichi: isshin ni shite nishō wo heta shōgai* (Fukuzawa Yukichi: a Man Lives through Two Lives) ed. Tsuchihashi Shunichi and Maruyama Shin (Tokyo: Kawade shobō shinsya, 1984) 140-51. See also Lin Zhengzhen, *Jindai riben de guozu xushi: Fuze yuji de wenming lun* (The Ethno-nation Narratives of Modern Japan: Fukuzawa Yokichi’s Enlightenment Ideas) (Taipei County: Guiguan, 2002) 20-22.

cherishes a bad friend cannot escape his friend's notoriety. We simply erase from our minds our bad friends in Asia.²³⁷

The assertion sounded pretentious to those who still remembered that, for over a millennium, in the centuries-old Sino-centric East Asian order, "civilization" in Northeast Asia had flowed largely from China through Korea to Japan. Now, these two countries were regarded by Japan as decaying, backward and, above all, inferior to itself. Fukuzawa Yukichi's theory reflects a new aspiration in fledgling modern Japan for de-Asianization and Europeanization. Through a lens borrowed from the West, Japan cast a belittling, condescending, "Orientalist" gaze on its Asian neighbors and saw itself standing alone as the only standard-bearer of modern civilization among Asian countries. Breaking with its neighbors was only a start. Ten years after Fukuzawa enunciated his *Datsu-a ron* theory, Japan would prove its "superiority" among Asian countries by defeating China and annexing Taiwan in 1895. It formally took possession of Korea in 1910.

Many Japanese statesmen and leaders of the Meiji and Taisho eras were believers in social Darwinism who justified Japan's imperialist and colonial pursuits in the name of its "cultural ascendancy." Gotō Shimpei (1857-1929), the colonial government's chief civil administrator in Taiwan from 1898 to 1906 under the fourth governor-general, Kodama Gentarō, for instance, employed a biological analogy to maintain his ground against a radical and comprehensive assimilation policy for ruling Taiwan. "You do not turn a flounder into a sea bream overnight" is a renowned phrase coined by him during Japan's domestic debates on the pace and degree of colonial assimilation policies.²³⁸ According to his management principles, a gradual assimilation

²³⁷ Yukichi Fukuzawa, "Datsu-a" (Good-bye Asia) in David J. Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 1997) 351-53.

²³⁸ Gotō was one of the most influential Japanese administrators in colonial Taiwan. During his eight-year tenure as chief of civilian affairs, together with Governor-General

of Taiwan was more appropriate because direct transplantation of Japanese systems and institutions to Taiwan would result in unnecessary misunderstandings and conflict in the colony, which was yet to be modernized and civilized.

Prior to his first trip to Taiwan in 1904, Takekoshi Yosaburō, the author of *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, and a sophisticated journalist who toured many of the West's colonies, articulated an ethnocentric view of what he expected to see. In his initial expectation, large Taiwanese towns would look like “the ones in China, with narrow streets ten or fifteen feet wide, swarming with young pigs, the street overflowing with filthy water and laid irregularly with stones of all shapes and sizes, and all the drinking water mixed with sewage.”²³⁹ This presumption typified the belief of many Japanese who visited Taiwan with a mindset akin to that of European travelers in their African or Asian colonies during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The stereotypical imagery of Taiwan in Japanese preconceptions and imagination fell under two categories: an overseas outpost of the degenerate Chinese Empire; or an outlandish tropical terrain populated by fierce barbarians. Japanese visitors expected to see a world completely different from that which they inhabited, a “pre-modern” world which they approached with ambivalent feelings of disdain, fear, pleasure, excitement and fantasy. Many took delight in observing the apparent disparities, if not stark contrasts, between the backward colony and their advanced homeland, between the uncivilized indigenes and themselves.

Kodama, he successfully modernized the Taiwanese economy and made it financially independent of Japan. With a medical training background, his “scientific colonialism” was based on “biological principles” which required the government to investigate and accommodate the indigenous customs and cultural traditions of the Taiwanese, and to administer the colony with a “gradual assimilation” policy. E. P. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education*, 40-42, 81. Tsurumi Yusuke ed. *Gotō Shimpei den* (Biography of Gotō Shimpei) (Tokyo: Gotō Shimpei denkai hensankai, 1937) Vol. II, 25-26.

²³⁹ Takekoshi Yosaburō, 284-85.

In short, Japan's view of Taiwan was mediated by an imagined gaze from the West, which loomed large in Japan's nation-building and colonial enterprise. As a nation that had narrowly escaped Western colonization and unequal treaties, Japan regarded the Western powers as the paradigms for and competitors with, its own imperial endeavors. Before becoming a global power, Japan had felt the constant menace of Western imperialism. Its old self-image as a "disadvantaged" nation and its new identity as a colonizing power shaped Japan's perception of its colonies. That perception ambiguously reflected its complacency, over-optimism and self-display. More often than not, Taiwan was represented as the Oriental Other to Japan's westernized Self.

Takehisa Yumeji (1884-1934), a famed Japanese illustrator and poet, made an intriguing confession in his essay "Taiwan Impression," written after he came to Taiwan for a solo exhibition of his works in 1933.

"There are raw aborigines and uniformed Japanese." This was my previous knowledge of Taiwan's human geography. What else there was I had no need to know, so I had never thought about it. In other words, I had never noticed the existence of *hontō jin* [islanders]. But this is nothing to be laughed at. Unawares, a lot of Japanese know only a Taiwan without *hontō jin*. I do not know if this is due to the influence of policy or emotional reasons.²⁴⁰

Takehisa's remarks are naive but revealing in their conceited honesty. They reflect a popular Japanese image of Taiwan as a primitive land that, after three decades of Japanese rule, was domesticated for imperial consumption and exploitation, thanks to the efforts of the "uniformed" Japanese colonizers. In Japanese tourist propaganda, Taiwan was a southern island abundant in exotic attractions. It was appealing, as it was represented as naturally more unspoiled and culturally more primitive than Japan. Throughout the colonial period, Taiwan was constructed by Japan as a primitive outland.

²⁴⁰ Takehisa Yumeji, "Tawain de yinxiang: nankan de nuxuesheng zhifu," (Taiwan Impression: Ugly Female Students' Uniforms) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 14 Nov. 1933: 6, in Yen Chuan-yin, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-yin, 96.

Tropical flora and fruit, exotic festivities, aborigines or native women in local costumes were all popular motifs that were rendered as emblems of Taiwan in postcards published for the purpose of official propaganda. The representation of Taiwan's rustic appeal or exotic festivals and customs not only served Japan's tourist industry but consolidated the hegemonic assertion of its cultural ascendancy. By relegating the colony to the margin of civilization in both visual and discursive representations, Japan constructed its dominance and embellished its colonial undertaking in the name of a civilizing mission. Rather than in the descendants of the Han settlers from China, who constitute the majority of the population of Taiwan, the Japanese Imperial perspective took a greater interest in Taiwan's aborigines, who were the favorite subjects for tourism advertisements and colonial imagination. Takehisa Yumeji's impression of Taiwan as "populated only by aborigines" mirrored the blindness and arrogance of the imperial gaze.

Besides tourists or visitors whose encounters with Taiwan were brief and superficial, there were Japanese who settled in the colony and cast long and attentive gazes upon the island. Among those who developed attachments of varying degrees to the colony were Japanese painters and writers who crafted intriguing images and narratives of Taiwan. Their renderings of Taiwan represent a collective endeavor in the portrayal and characterization of the new territory of the empire. While their artistic pursuits carried an imperial perspective, ethnic chauvinism and cultural arrogance to differing degrees, their views and ways of representing Taiwan had an impact on both the subjects and styles of the nascent modern Taiwanese art, and many of their works are instrumental for understanding the interlacing modernity and coloniality in Taiwan under Japanese rule.

Respected as the first disseminator of watercolor painting and plein-air practice in Taiwan, Ishikawa Kinichirō was the most influential Japanese artist and teacher of Western-style painting during the Japanese colonial period. The profusion of watercolor works by Ishikawa and his followers constitutes a significant visual record of perceptions

of Taiwan in the early 20th century. These watercolors bear witness to a diligent plein-air practice and extensive sketching tours all over the island, from the humble countryside to lofty mountainous areas. They offered a new direction for Taiwanese landscape painting based on Western approaches and aesthetics in place of the Chinese literati tradition. In addition, Ishikawa published scores of observations about and sketches of Taiwanese scenery in such official newspapers and magazines as *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* and *Taiwan Jihō*. From them, we find that Ishikawa, for all the novelty he brought, continued to operate from a mindset encapsulating preconceived ideas, aesthetics and values in viewing and representing Taiwan.

Like many of his Japanese contemporaries, Ishikawa had fears about the living environment of Taiwan before he came to the colony. His colleagues, such as Lieutenant General Fukushima Yasumasa and his painter friend, Koyama Shōtarō warned him about the vile vapors of Taiwan. Retrospectively, he was delighted to confess that they had created unmerited worries and misunderstandings: “After seeing Taiwan in person,” he wrote, “there was no need to worry; the life here was very easy. It was exactly like ‘a hell in legend turning out to be a heaven upon seeing.’ This was my first impression of Taiwan, an island of wonderful forms and colors, and it was very gratifying.”²⁴¹

In an essay, Ishikawa maintained nevertheless that “when appreciating scenery in Taiwan, at first one must consider it in contrast with, and from the perspective of, Japanese scenery.”²⁴² Despite his acclamation of Taiwan’s landscape as the best in Japan, it is noteworthy that Japan is the canon for his thematic choices, stylistic

²⁴¹ Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Taiwan fengguang de huixiang,” (Reminiscence of Taiwanese Scenery) *Taiwan Jihō* Jun. 1935, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Wang Shujin, 54.

²⁴² Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang,” (Appreciation of Landscape in Taiwan Area), *Taiwan Jihō*, Mar. 1926, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 32.

representation and aesthetic reference. As in an earlier article in which he compared Taipei to Kyoto and the Danshui River to the Kamo River (*Kamogawa*) and noted that Taipei had more beautiful colors than Kyoto,²⁴³ Ishikawa once again commended the vibrant, abundant colors, vivid contours and bright sunlight of Taiwan's scenery.²⁴⁴ "Unlike Japanese scenery," however, he observed that the mountains of Taiwan lacked a sense of mystery and poetic flavor. Despite this, in his eyes, Taiwanese landscapes proved monotonous when compared to Japanese landscapes, which contained more subtle variations and wider range of intermediate tones.²⁴⁵ For all his appreciation of the tropical colors, light and exotic geographic characteristics of Taiwan, Japan's landscapes signified what was more "complex," "exquisite" and "refined."²⁴⁶ In his verbal or visual descriptions of naturally striking or culturally exotic Taiwanese scenery, Japanese scenery and taste were frequently invoked as the counterpart or frame of reference.

During his first period of residence in Taiwan from 1907 to 1916, when he worked as a translator in the Army of the Taiwan governor-general, Ishikawa was commissioned to portray views of Taiwan's aboriginal tribal regions, and nine of his completed works were selected by Taiwan's fifth governor-general, Sakuma Samata, to be presented to the Japanese emperor as "pictures of lands of Taiwan's savages."²⁴⁷ To accomplish this mission, Ishikawa was escorted by a team of soldiers and police to

²⁴³ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Shuicaihua yu Taiwan fengguang," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 30.

²⁴⁴ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 34.

²⁴⁵ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 34-35.

²⁴⁶ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 34-35.

²⁴⁷ Yen Chuan-ying, *Shuicai • zilan • Ishikawa Kinichirō* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 2005) 38.

Taiwan's Central Mountain Range in 1909. He also accompanied the governor-general to fortified mountain passes in the Taipei, Taoyuan and Hsinchu areas in search of aboriginal subject matter.²⁴⁸

Beyond the official assignment to help survey the new territory, Ishikawa took delight in producing images of bucolic, rustic scenes and dilapidated buildings, producing copious pictures of scenes and objects that were already lost or rare in modern Japan. A diligent plein-air painter who undertook sketching tours all over Taiwan, he believed it important to make postcards with watercolor paintings of Taiwanese scenery and customs for friends and compatriots at home, hoping to introduce to his "inland" audience the splendid Taiwanese landscape. In such works, Ishikawa showed a preference for such motifs as historical edifices, architectural relics, old stone-walled ditches, local farmhouses with terra cotta tile roofs, Taiwan acacia trees (*Acacia confusa Merr*) and bamboo stands that enhanced the sense of the exotic, archaic or rustic, as in *Old City Gate of Taipei* (fig. 63), *Back Street* (fig. 64), *A View of Formosa* (fig. 65), and *Taiwan Street* (fig. 66).

Little Stream (fig. 67), for instance, presents a view of a Dadaocheng district back street in Taipei with a moss-encrusted arched bridge which, in his own words, looked "like an artwork of antiquity." Ishikawa took a particular liking to this locale and described his first sight of it as like stepping into a fascinating dream.²⁴⁹ This watercolor

²⁴⁸ During the Qing Dynasty, troops were stationed at mountain passes in Taiwan to prevent conflict between indigenous peoples and Han settlers. The Japanese extended the segregation practice and set up modernized guard posts. This was done not only for security reasons, but also to ensure that Japanese business interests would have a monopoly over Taiwan's mountain resources, such as timber and camphor. For a survey of Japan's aboriginal policies and administration, see Wen Ji ed. and trans., *Taiwan fanzheng zhi* (Records of Administration of Taiwanese Savages) (Taipei: Taiwansheng wenxianhui, 1957) Vol. II, 467-96, 695-747.

²⁴⁹ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Taiwan fengguang de huixiang," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 55.

was exhibited at the Second *Bunten* in Tokyo in 1908, becoming the first landscape painting of Taiwan shown at Japan's official salon.²⁵⁰ It was well-received in Tokyo art circles. The imagery of reddish terra cotta tile-roofed Taiwan houses in conspicuous contrast to the surrounding of green bamboo conveyed to the domestic audience an impression of exotic particularity. Ishikawa's lyrical rendering of Taiwanese scenery poeticized Taiwan while making it distant, like a place from a previous time, a tranquil countryside to which his personal yearning for pastoral beauty and antiquity could be anchored. Taiwan is thereby "Orientalized," or rather "southernized," into an ideal place for Japanese artists to look for novel subject matter and a new palette that their increasingly westernized homeland failed to provide.

Ishikawa retired from the Army and left Taiwan in 1916. When he returned to the colony again in 1924, he came as an art teacher employed by the Taipei Normal School. He was able to devote more time and energy to painting than during his first period of residency in Taiwan, and publication of his works in the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpō* proliferated. In addition to reproductions of a profusion of works resulting from assiduous observation and industrious sketching practice, articles under his name contained lampoons and comments on the new appearances of Taiwan that indicated ambivalent feelings. Upon witnessing the rapid vanishing of Taiwan's old exterior and its replacement by a modernity imposed by the imperial metropolis, Ishikawa ridiculed the effects of colonial modernity and revealed a nostalgia for the past.

In his 1935 essay, "Reminiscence of Taiwanese Scenery," Ishikawa lamented the passing of the old Taiwanese landscape that he had seen during the late Meiji and early Taisho periods, which in his recollection had "not yet been modernized and retained an

²⁵⁰ Ishikawa exhibited three paintings of Taiwan subject matter at the *Bunten: Little Stream* in 1908, *Street* in 1910 and *Suburbs of Taipei* in 1913. Wang Shujin, "Nanguo hongni," 40.

unadulterated Taiwanese appearance and style.” In other reminiscences, he recalled an image of Tainan that particularly resembled ancient cities, such as Nara or Rome:

At that time, when looking around, it was all fascinating archaic views. It is a great pity that nowadays one finds no distinctiveness in Taiwan wherever one travels. However, this is the current of the times and one cannot help it....²⁵¹

Ishikawa did not expound on the driving force behind the rapid alteration of Taiwan’s physical appearance, but simply attributed it to the irreversible passage of time. The disappearance of the rustic beauty and bucolic idylls of the good old days was a disappointment. The blurring of the distinction between Taiwan and Japan, moreover, was by no means pleasant. Ishikawa felt a sense of discord upon seeing Taiwanese women in striped kimonos, which in his opinion did not match the Taiwanese landscape.²⁵² Similar sentiments would be echoed by Takehisa Yumeji during his trip to Taiwan, where he saw Taiwanese girls in Japanese-style school uniforms. He was so annoyed by the sight that he used the words “grotesque,” “vulgar,” and “ugly” to describe their uniforms.²⁵³ Tateishi Tetsuomi also criticized the disharmony and vulgarity that he found in local female fashion, which tried to follow blindly the Japanese vogue.²⁵⁴

While Taiwan was subjugated under the new imperial order, many Japanese painters and artists came to Taiwan searching for an era that had been superseded by a

²⁵¹ Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Taiwan fengguang de huixiang,” in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 55.

²⁵² Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Taiwan diqu de fengjing jianshang,” in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 35.

²⁵³ Takehisa Yumeji, “Tawain de yinxiang: nankan de nuxuesheng zhifu,” in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 96.

²⁵⁴ Tateishi Tetsuomi, “Huangliang de jingxiang: qidai fengtu de huaduo shengkai,” (Desolate Scene: Looking Forward to the Full Blossoming of Native Character) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 12 Apr. 1940: 6, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 102-03.

westernized Japan. Some tried to project their personal nostalgia onto a primitivized society which was itself ironically disappearing as a result of Japanese colonization. For those who longed to seek an arcadia in Taiwan in distinction to metropolitan Japan, it was certainly difficult to take delight in discovering the “Japanized” look of Taiwan’s landscape or people. They were confounded or disheartened at the sight of the new appearances or new fashions of Taiwan and its people, albeit those represented by the imperial discourse as cultural achievements of colonization. The appearance of semi-Japanized or partly modernized motifs in Taiwanese scenery struck them as a visual dissonance which offended not only their personal fantasies but also an ethnocentric aesthetic and Japanese taste. It suggested a disturbing “colonial mimicry,” to borrow Homi Bhabha’s phrase, which signified “at once resemblance and menace.”²⁵⁵

It is understandable that most Japanese painters of the period opted to represent the more “unadulterated” look of Taiwan and the Taiwanese people, as hybridity confounded the colonial imagination that fed on stereotypes and homogenization and threatened the purity of the Japanese Self and its distinctiveness from the colonial Other. In the dominant colonial discourse, cultural relations were frequently framed as Taiwanese (rustic, backward, Chinese) vs. Japanese (metropolitan, advanced, westernized). The relationship was construed as an either-or relationship. Most of the expatriate Japanese painters, regardless of their degree of attachment to the colony, believed in and highlighted the division between the two worlds.

From colonial encounters, Japanese painters derived inspiration and fresh subject matter. Taking more to the exotic and differential aspects of what they perceived to be “Taiwanese,” their thematic choices and ethnocentric perspective nevertheless reflected the discriminative gaze from the imperial metropolis, which surveyed, scrutinized and

²⁵⁵ Homi. K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994) 86.

represented the new territory according to Japanese canons and criteria. Despite their naturalist practice or romantic mindset, their artistic representations of the colony endorsed the narratives of colonizing power and dominant culture. At the inception of the introduction of Western art into the colony, Ishikawa Kinichirō's rustic, archaic Taiwanese scenery established a template for his colleagues' and pupils' representation of local landscapes with content characteristic of "Taiwanese-ness."

After three decades, however, Taiwan saw paintings such as *Minato machi, Spring* (fig. 68), and *Kaohsiung Spring* (fig. 69) by Ozawa Akishige (1886-1954), in which Japanese motifs were injected into Taiwan's cityscapes. These landscapes were the outcome of a commission from the Kaohsiung City Government, which asked Ozawa to portray views of the newly developed harbor city when he came to Taiwan to serve as a juror in the Western Painting Division of the Seventh *Taiten* in 1933.²⁵⁶ The Kaohsiung City Government later issued a ten-piece set of postcards of cityscapes by Ozawa, including the aforementioned two paintings, whose Japanese-style houses, plum blossoms and women in kimonos create a wishful illusion that the city had been thoroughly Japanized.²⁵⁷

The contrast between Ishikawa's scenes of Taiwan in the 1900s and Ozawa's views of Kaohsiung in 1933 signifies not only a difference in personal taste but also the passage of time, during which the whole island of Taiwan underwent a momentous transformation under Japanese rule. The contrast also signifies two contradictory stereotypical representations of the colony: on the one hand, indigenous scenery expressive of Taiwanese "local color"; on the other, modernized or Japanized images

²⁵⁶ Ozawa had previously come to Taiwan to serve as a juror in the Western Painting Division of the Fifth *Taiten* in 1931; in that year he stayed in the colony for nine months. In 1932 and 1933, he again sat on the juries of the Sixth and Seventh *Taitens*.

²⁵⁷ Li Qinxian, *Taiwan de fengjing huiye shu* (Taipei: Yuanzu, 2003) 107.

emblematic of Japanese acculturation. At the Fifth *Futen* in 1942, for instance, Taiwanese scenery in such works as Chen Chunde's²⁵⁸ *South Country Landscape* (fig. 70) seems to have been transfigured in response to exigencies of the *kōminka* (Japanization) movement during World War II. In Chen Chunde's *South Country Landscape*, Datun Mountain on Taipei's northern edge towers above the Taiwanese horizon in a deliberate reference to pictorial representations of prominent Japanese mountains like Mt. Fuji and Sakurajima. In terms of composition and stylistic expression, Umehara Ryūzaburō's famous series of paintings of Sakurajima, one of which was displayed at the Ninth *Taiten* in 1935 (fig. 71),²⁵⁹ quite likely is a source from which the young Taiwanese painter drew inspiration.²⁶⁰ In Chen Chunde's picture, the names and distinguishing physical characteristics of Taiwan's mountains—here rendered with broad brushstrokes—are no longer the point of interest. The expression of indigeniety is conceptualized in, and invoked primarily through, the abstract idea of "South" contained

²⁵⁸ Chen Chunde (1915-1947) studied art at the Teikoku School in Musashino in 1935, but dropped out and returned to Taiwan in 1938 due to poor health. During World War II, he was active in the fields of both the fine arts and literature in Taiwan. For a survey of his artworks and writings see Huang Qihui, *Taiwan meishu pinglun quanji: Wu Tianshang • Chen Chunde juan* (Taipei: Yishujia, 1999) 120-62.

²⁵⁹ Umehara Ryūzaburō (1888-1986) is one of the most prominent Western-style painters of 20th-century Japan. The ebullient colors, dynamic brushstrokes, and liberated spirit expressed in his paintings are highly regarded. He first studied painting under Asai Chu at the Kansai Art School in 1906, and from 1908 to 1913 he toured Europe and made the acquaintance of such Western artists as Renoir and Picasso. With Renoir, he studied painting and developed a lasting friendship. After returning to Japan, Umehara soon established himself as a successful artist and traveled widely in Japan. His paintings of the Kagoshima area, including his views of Sakurajima, reveal an attempt to draw a parallel with southern France. Shuji Takashina, J. Thomas Rimer, and Gerald D. Bolas, *Paris in Japan: The Japanese Encounter with European Painting* (Tokyo: The Japan Foundation, 1987) 112-13, 232-43.

²⁶⁰ According to his friend Liao Dezheng, Chen Chunde had a catalogue of Umehara's works. Huang Qihui, *Wu Tianshang • Chen Chunde juan*, 141.

in the title of the landscape.²⁶¹ “South” signifies not only the geographic position of Taiwan within the empire, but its symbolic position in the Japanese cultural order. From the perspective of the Imperial center, Taiwan was “southernized,” or peripheralized, with its imagery represented in an aesthetically and symbolically derivative relationship to the pictorial and symbolic order of Japan.

The Primitive Other

The “primitive” people of Taiwan represented an even more fascinating subject to the Japanese than did Taiwan’s “primitive” landscape. Many of the Japanese artists manifested an “Orientalist” fantasy in their narratives about their visits to Taiwan. Fujishima Takeji (1867-1943), for instance, expressed his pleasure at taking a painting trip to Taiwan, describing the island as “a virgin soil reserved for us painters.” “Compared to the demeanor of civilized people,” he was more touched by “the unique particularities of the poor [Taiwanese women]” with whom he associated at local brothels.²⁶² Painters such as Kawai Shinzō (1867-1936) and Kawashima Riichirō(1886-1971) showed their fascination with Taiwan’s aborigines, whose lifestyles

²⁶¹ As there remains only a black-and-white photograph reproduction of this landscape painting, it is difficult to analyze whether it successfully conveys an atmosphere or ambience of the South. In comparison to Umehara’s *Sakurajima* of 1935, Chen Chunde’s work represents a similar image of a towering mountain and a luxuriant expanse of trees, amid which a few houses are revealed. Umehara’s painting, however, renders a more imposing, frontal image of the Sakurajima volcano, while in Chen Chunde’s Taiwanese scene, trees and other vegetation are more conspicuous.

²⁶² Fujishima Takeji, “Yingru yishu yanzhong de Taiwan fengwushi: Tengdao Huabo tan huihua zhi lu,” (Taiwan’s Scenic Poetry that Shines into Artistic Eyes: Fujishima Takeji Discusses his Painting Tour) *Taiwan Shimbun* 3 Feb. 1935: 2, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 98-99.

seemed to them as interesting as those of people in antiquity or reminiscent of “the age of mythology,”²⁶³ which they imagined as “serene and beautiful and touching.”²⁶⁴

As a consequence, both the Eastern and Western Painting Divisions of the colonial salons included pictures of aboriginal subjects in a variety of styles. In works by such Japanese-style painters as Akiyama Shunsui and Miyata Yatarō, meticulous depiction of details of costumes, accessories and flora are put at the service of vivid representation of exotic customs, festivals or idealized scenes of the aboriginal people. As for Western-style painting, a post-impressionist approach was utilized to render a romanticized, poetic expression. Regardless of style or technique, Taiwanese aborigines provided a subject matter wherein “civilized men” could imagine and construct a primitivized or romanticized Other.

Among painters who drew much inspiration from Taiwan’s “primitive” aborigines, Shiotsuki Tōho, a teacher of Western painting to expatriate Japanese students, and the only person who sat on the jury of each of the sixteen colonial salons, was the most prominent and influential. He came to Taiwan in 1921, five years after Ishikawa Kinichirō retired from the army. He gave as his main reason for leaving Tokyo art circles and coming to stay in Taiwan for so long, “the [aboriginal] people who live in the mountains.”²⁶⁵ Describing Shiotsuki’s romantic spirit and obsession with aboriginal subjects, Arai Hideo, one of his Japanese students in Taiwan, drew a parallel between Shiotsuki and the French romantic master Eugène Delacroix, “who also devoted his

²⁶³ Kawai Shinzō, “Taiwan de fanjie,” (The Lands of Taiwan’s Savages) *Chuo Bijutsu* Aug. 1916, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 62-66.

²⁶⁴ Kawashima Riichirō, “Cong Wulai dao Danshui: Taiwan fengwu ji yi,” (From Wulai to Danshui: Taiwan’s Scenes and Objects, I) *Chuo Bijutsu* Jan. 1929, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 79.

²⁶⁵ Shiotsuki Tōho, “Taiwan seikatsu shōreki,” (Accounts of My Life in Taiwan) in *Kabe* (Japan: 1954) quoted from Wang Shujin, “Nanguo hongni,” 37.

passion to going afar to Morocco and Algeria, applying strong and dazzling, beautiful and harmonious color, to depict glittering nature under the strong tropical sun.”²⁶⁶ On the other hand, Shiotsuki Tōho was dubbed by colleagues the “Gauguin of Taiwan.” His *Tayal Girl* (fig. 72), for instance, makes explicit thematic and compositional reference to Gauguin’s *Manao Tupapau*, (*Spirit of the Dead Watching*). In an account of his trips to eastern Taiwan, Shiotsuki Tōho, in a vein reminiscent of both Gauguin and Delacroix, expresses a deep fascination with the aboriginal people, who in his eyes lived a life that seemed to descend from “the mythological times of antiquity.”²⁶⁷

Shiotsuki’s *Mountain Girl* (fig. 73), exhibited at the First *Taiten* in 1927, is the first oil painting of a Taiwanese aborigine shown at the colonial salon.²⁶⁸ It depicts a Tayal girl sitting on a wooden mortar, commonly used among Tayal people for hulling and mashing millet, which was a dietary staple of the tribe. Holding a mouth harp in her left hand, with eyes half closed, the girl appears deeply immersed in a melody inaudible to the viewer. Arai Hideo exalted this depiction of an aboriginal female as “delicate and appealing, like Raphael’s *Madonna*.”²⁶⁹ It portrays “a beautiful Tayal girl in her

²⁶⁶ Arai Hideo, “Lun Yanyue Taofu,” (On Shiotsuki Tōho) *Taiwan Jihō*, Sept. 1936, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 403.

²⁶⁷ Shiotsuki Tōho, “Nei Tailuge xing: dong Taiwan luxing de huaixiang,” (Trip to Inner Taroko: Reminiscence of Trips to Eastern Taiwan) *Taiwan Jihō* Oct. 1939, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Wang Shujin, 78.

²⁶⁸ Shiotsuki Tōho exhibited twenty-eight works at the sixteen colonial salons. Twelve of the paintings are of aboriginal subjects, among which eight depict Tayal females. For a discussion of Shiotsuki’s paintings of Taiwanese aborigines as a significant subject of “local color” in the colonial context, see Wang Shujin “Gaosha tuxiang: Yanyue Taofu de Taiwan yuanzhumin tica huazuo,” (Takasago Imagery: Shiotsuki Tōho’s Painting of Taiwanese Aborigines) in *Hwei Taiwan? Jindai Taiwan meishu yu wenhua rentong lunwenji* (Searching for Cultural Identity: Symposium on Modern Taiwanese Art) (Taipei; Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, 1997) 116-44.

²⁶⁹ Arai Hideo, 400.

rose-colored aboriginal costume, bare-footed and sitting on a high mountain, seemingly surrounded by the lucid music of the *koukin*.²⁷⁰

Tayal women playing this traditional musical instrument was one of Shiotsuki Tōho's favorite themes.²⁷¹ He was to repeat it on two further occasions in paintings displayed at the colonial salons—*Girls of the Masitoban Tribe* (fig. 74) at the Fourth *Taiten* in 1930, and *Rainbow* (fig. 75) at the Tenth *Taiten* in 1936. *Girls of the Masitoban Tribe* is a close-up image of ten Tayal women listening while another plays the mouth harp. In a review written by N. Sei on the Fourth *Taiten*, however, Shiotsuki Tōho's depiction of an aboriginal musical gathering was read as a reflection of personal aloofness and "ivory tower escapism." According to Shiotsuki himself, it embodied a longing for the freedom and innocence of antiquity, uncontaminated by the desires and ugliness of modern society. N. Sei also noted, in his review, the absence of "the spirit of the times" as a whole in the works exhibited at the Fourth *Taiten*. In both Shiotsuki's and Ishikawa's works, it seemed to N. Sei, there was no intention of expressing the spirit of the age. He criticized Ishikawa's landscapes as small pastorals with no expression of the dynamics of modernity, while characterizing Shiotsuki's works, such as *Girls of the*

²⁷⁰ *Koukin* is the Japanese word for mouth harp. Usually made of bamboo, the *lubuw* mouth harp of the Tayal tribe was the favorite musical instrument of Tayal youth for amusement and courtship. Tian Yizhuang, *Taiwan yuanzhumin geyao yu wudao* (Songs and Dances of Taiwan's Aborigines) (Taipei: Wuling, 2002) 55-56, 59-61, 224-25. Suzuki Makodo, *Taiwan fanren fengsu zhi* (Customs of Taiwan's Savages) (1932; rpt. Taipei: Wulin, 1991) 152-54.

²⁷¹ As early as 1922, Shiotsuki had painted *Picture of Dancing Savages*, a work depicting Tayal people dancing to their traditional mouth harp music. The work drew inspiration from the memory of his trip to Taroko in eastern Taiwan in 1922. It was praised by Prince Hirohito when he visited Taiwan in 1923, prompting Den Kenjiro, the eighth governor-general of Taiwan to present the work as a gift to the Prince. Wang Shujin, "Nanguo hongni," 47.

Masitoban Tribe, as inflations of a subjective personal fantasy about the beauty of antiquity, projected onto mouth harp-playing aboriginal girls.²⁷²

Displayed at the Tenth *Taiten* in 1936, *Rainbow* is Shiotsuki's romantic representation par excellence of Taiwan's "savages." Three Tayal girls dressed in traditional finery are playing the mouth harp in a flowering meadow under a rainbowed sky. The colors of their costumes blend with the hues of their surroundings, signifying harmony between "the savages" and nature. Although it is impossible to determine the melody and tune of the aboriginal music, the imagery of many butterflies flitting merrily about suggests an agreeable atmosphere. Seemingly, the girls' only audience, the butterflies serve to invigorate the otherwise stiff frontal composition while veiling the presence of the imperial gaze that projected the primitivized savage world. Veiled also are the workings of colonial power, which simultaneously domesticated and exoticized the aborigines for imperial consumption.

Shiotsuki Tōho's works depicting aboriginal subjects did not, however, always gain favorable recognition at the colonial salons. Some were disparaged as incomprehensible, as by N. Sei in his review of the Fourth *Taiten*, on the grounds of their conveying no "universal feelings." Instead, they seemed to express only the artist's subjectivity, his personal dream-like fantasy.²⁷³ Referring to *Rainbow*, the artist once reflected in a newspaper interview:

I certainly did not intend to paint only the "savages," but I still painted savages in Nan-ao this year. You mentioned that the colors I use are very strong. That must have something to do with my temperament. Although depicting the savages,

²⁷² N. Sei, "Di sihui taizhan guanhou ji," (Review for the Fourth *Taiten*) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 25 Oct.1930:8, 26 Oct.1930: 6, 30 Oct. 1930: 6, 31 Oct. 1930: 6, 2 Nov. 1930: 3, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 198-202.

²⁷³ N. Sei, "Di sihui taizhan guanhou ji," in Yen Chuan-ying *Fengjing xinjing*, 200.

since I was creating my own thing, it no longer represents just the savages of that region....²⁷⁴

Paintings of Taiwanese aborigines are not just descriptive images of them; they are romanticized projections of “the noble savage,” whose innocence, contentment and harmonious relationship with nature are not commonly found in the “civilized” world. In Shiotsuki’s vision, their lives embodied the opposite of the modernity which failed to inspire his personal poetic imagination. On canvas, the Taiwanese savage is transformed into an aesthetic object that carries both the artist’s creative ideas and a degree of intellectual escapism. With the aboriginal subject matter, the artist dodged representation of the modern world in favor of the seemingly harmonious world of the “savage” aborigine.

Despite differences in temperament, thematic interest and stylistic preference, expatriate Japanese painters such as Shiotsuki Tōho and Ishikawa Kinichirō shared a predilection for appreciating and representing the “primitive” appeal of colonial subjects. Just as Ishikawa expressed nostalgia for the former appearance of the Taiwanese landscape when he returned to the colony in the late 1920s, Shiotsuki rued the modernization of the aboriginal community in the 1940s. Ishikawa was displeased by the imagery of kimono-wearing Taiwanese women, while Shiotsuki showed no enthusiasm for the popularization of Japanese songs and costumes in aboriginal regions whose Japanization made him “feel not in a savage habitat but in some Japanese place.”²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ “Huajia fangwenji: Yanyu taofu zhi juan,” (Interviews with Painters: Shiotsuki Tōho) *Taiwan Shinminpao*, 3 Oct. 1936, trans. Wang Shujin, “Nanguo hongni,” Appendix II. 60.

²⁷⁵ Ozaki Hozuma et al., “Quwei Taiwan zuotanhui,” (Talking about Tastes and Taiwan) *Taiwan Jitsugyōkai* Aug. 1941, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 451. The Japanese endeavored to implant modern education and police forces in regions inhabited by indigenous peoples. “Unsavory” native traditions such as headhunting and tattooing were gradually abolished, and by the end of the Japanese rule, Japanese customs were replacing aboriginal customs, as more than 70 percent of aboriginal children attended Japanese schools.

Under the sway of the colonizing powers, no subject considered by the Japanese as “primitive” and “in need of civilization” could escape the fate of being “developed,” “acculturated” or, as the painters sadly saw it, “defeated” or “vanquished.”²⁷⁶

As indigenous cultures are transformed or encroached upon by dominant cultures, the imperial self-image, mirrored in imperial representations of colonial subjects, is destined to change as well. At the Fifth *Futen* in 1942, Shiotsuki Tōho exhibited *Sayun* (fig. 76), a portrait of a Tayal heroine who lost her life in 1938 while carrying across a stream the luggage of her Japanese teacher who had been drafted into the army to serve in the Second Sino-Japanese war. A memorial bell had been presented in 1941 by the governor-general to Sayun’s tribe in honor of her bravery and sacrifice for the “holy war.”²⁷⁷ Shiotsuki went to Sayun’s home among the people in Nan-ao and painted *Sayun’s Bell* (fig. 77) for display at the second Holy War Fine Arts Exhibition, held at Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1941. In the following year, he submitted *Sayun* to the Fifth *Futen*, picturing the aboriginal heroine like a holy icon, with a frontal view and solemn

²⁷⁶ For instance, 1930 saw the so-called Wushe Uprising (Musha Jiken) of the Sediq people (a branch of the Tayal) in Wushe, and the ruthless suppression of it by the Japanese colonial government. Japanese policies employed to control Taiwan’s aborigines—such as forced resettlement, abolition of certain traditional practices and forced labor and exploitation by Japanese police forces—provoked great hostility toward the Japanese among indigenous groups. The uprising resulted in the scandalous massacre of the aborigines with modern weapons such as poison gas and bombs dropped from aircraft. Dai Guohui ed., *Taiwan Wushe fengqi shijian: yanjiu yu ziliao* (The Aboriginal Uprising of Wushe, 1930: Studies and References) (Taipei County: Academia Historica, 2002)

²⁷⁷ For a discussion of the legend of Sayun and how the Japanese government appropriated it for wartime propaganda and popularized the legend through songs, movies and primary school textbooks, see Chou Wan-yao, “‘Sayong zhi zhong’ de gushi ji qi zhoubian polan,” (The Story of “Sayun’s Bell” and Related Incidents) *Haixingxi de niandai: riben zhimin tongzhi moqi Taiwanshi lunji* (Collected Essays on History of Taiwan in the Last Phase of Japanese Rule) (Taipei: Yunchen, 2003) 13-31.

expression.²⁷⁸ The sweetness and innocence characteristic of the artist's earlier lyrical images of Tayal women are replaced by a sense of emptiness and melancholy, revealed in the lost expression of her face and eyes sunk in deep shadows. It is neither a delightful reflection of subjective sentiment nor an embodiment of poetic fantasy. The shadows of war tainted both her and the artist's innocence, as the gloom of colonialist brutality eclipsed the romantic colonial imagination.

The Question of Taiwanese Distinctiveness

Particularly interesting things about traveling in the island [of Taiwan] were that the vegetation was verdant and thriving even in hard winter, and I saw Chinese-style edifices in a state of deterioration and ruin. Reddish flaking walls and broken eaves were all very interesting. In addition, I also made pictures of interesting living conditions of native Han people.

Ishikawa Toraji, 1917²⁷⁹

Grow out of the habit of looking at Taiwan with curiosity. Change the attitude of hunting for Taiwanese customs and habits in pursuit of literature.

Lu Heruo, 1941²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ In addition to these two more renowned paintings of Sayun, Shiotsuki seemed to have painted at least one more work of the subject. *Taiwanese Girl*, a Shiotsuki's watercolor work in the collection of Miyazaki Prefectural Art Museum, is likely a painting that was originally titled *Sayun's Bell*. Wang Shujin, "Yanyue taofu de Sayong huaxiang," (Shiotsuki Tōho's Sayun paintings) *Bulletin of National Museum of History, Taipei* 6 (Aug.1996): 67-69.

²⁷⁹ Ishikawa Toraji, "Yanguhuajia suojian de Taiwan," (Taiwan as Seen by a Western-Style Painter) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*, 15 Apr. 1917: 1, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 71.

²⁸⁰ Lu Heruo, "Wosi Woxian," (My Thoughts and Views) *Taiwan Bungaku Jun*. 1942, in Lu Heruo, *Lu Heruo Xiaoshuo quanji*, trans. Lin Zhijie, 565.

Under Japan's authoritarian colonial rule, the representation of Taiwan's natural and cultural scenes paralleled the colony's possession by and subjugation to the new imperial order. Throughout the colonial period, such terms as *chihō shikisai* (local color) or *nangoku shikisai* (color of the South country) prevailed in popular journalism and tourism, as well as in discourses about artistic portrayal of Taiwan. Both Taiwanese and Japanese artists sent works with Taiwanese subject matter to the imperial art salons in an attempt to stand out by utilizing exotic appeal. Their depiction of Taiwanese subjects also served the urgent need to present, to the Japanese as well as to the world, the newly acquired colony in an aestheticized vision that showcased the achievements of the colonial government.

At the inauguration ceremony of the first colonial salon in 1927, Ishiguro Hidehiko, director of the Cultural and Educational Bureau of the colonial government, declared that the mission of local artists was to create works "taking material from Taiwanese characteristics" rather than following or imitating the predominant styles of the metropolitan center.²⁸¹ The notion of representing "Taiwanese characteristics" was thenceforth promoted throughout the colonial period.

From the catalogues of the colonial salons, it is apparent that the representation of scenes, customs and objects with distinctive Taiwanese flavor prevailed in both the Eastern and Western painting divisions. In the Eastern Painting Division, in particular, a large proportion of the exhibited pieces were paintings of Taiwan's indigenous flowers, plants and fruits, which served as symbols of the geographic and climatic characteristics of the island. Gōhara Kotō (1892-1965), a leading teacher and founding juror of the Eastern Painting Division, exhibited exquisite paintings of Taiwan's vegetation and birds,

²⁸¹ Yen Chuan-ying, "Yingzao nanguo meishu diantang: Taiwanzhan chuanqi," in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 177.

as well as monumental screens of Taiwanese landscapes (figs. 78-80).²⁸² Many winning pieces in the Eastern Painting Division—such as Murakami Mura’s *The Ghost Festival in Keelung*; Guo Xuehu’s *Scenery near Yuanshan* (fig. 81), *Prosperous South Street* (fig. 82), *After the Rain* and *Junk*; Lin Yushan’s *Lotus Pond*, *Sugarcanes* (fig. 83) and *Evening Glow*; Lu Tiezhou’s *Backyard*, *South Country* and *Garapa*; Li Qiuhe’s *Pineapple Orchard*; Lin Dongling’s *Wax Apples*; Xue Wandong’s *Games*; Takanashi Shōjō’s *Farmhouses in Bamboo Grove*; Akiyama Shunsui’s *Head Hunting*; and Fuwa Chikako’s *Waterside*—integrate realistic observation with detailed renderings to create an aestheticized vision of Taiwanese indigeneity expressed in the form of local flora, fauna, fruit, exotic festivals or scenery.

It is noteworthy that most of these paintings in the Eastern Painting Division emulate a meticulous, decorative *nihonga* (Japanese painting) style to produce an exquisite representation of their Taiwanese subject matter. In their efforts to render artworks portraying local distinctiveness, the artists nevertheless subjugated local subject matter to aesthetic preconceptions and conventions imported from Japan. Their pictorial representations of local color reflects a sensibility for detail and a refinement more akin to the Japanese than the local artistic tradition, which adhered closely to Chinese literati styles. Many of the exhibited works were realistic portrayals in a manner so detailed that Kinoshita Seigai,²⁸³ another founding juror of the Eastern Painting Division, once noted:

We have advised the Taiwanese novices to sketch from life as much as possible. The first and foremost principle has been to sketch from life. The second has also been to sketch from life. As a consequence, there have appeared many elaborate

²⁸² Gōhara Kotō sat as a juror for the Eastern Painting Division of the *Taiten* continuously from 1927 to 1936. The most monumental and ambitious works that he exhibited at the colonial salons were his four pairs of six-panel folding screens depicting mountains and seascapes of Taiwan. Each pair (a total of twelve panels) is 172 centimeters high and 746 centimeters wide.

²⁸³ Kinoshita served on the jury of every colonial salon except those in 1932 and 1935.

works of painting from life. Some of the works in the Japanese [Eastern] Painting Division at the *Taiten* looked like catalogues of botanical gardens. Many have wondered if the guiding criteria have been wrong. However, it is also of great value to record the rare vegetation of this particular place. All the jurors from Tokyo commended that greatly.²⁸⁴

Kinoshita Seigai's remarks reveal the fact that the preeminence of the theme of local characteristics signified not only a geographical, ethnographical or anthropological interest, but also an extension of imperial values and aesthetics. The representation of Taiwanese scenic spots and tropical fruits, for instance, embodied not only "local colors," but also imperial commercial interests. Sugarcane, bananas and pineapples (figs. 83-85) were not only popular emblems of the tropical abundance of Taiwan, but also significant cash crops for the colonial government. The places pictured in *Niitakayama* (Mt. New Height) (fig. 86), *Tsugitakayama* (Mt. Second Height) (fig. 87) and *Garanbi* (figs. 88-89) were places of interest for both tourists and artists, for Niitakayama and Tsugitakayama were, respectively, the new highest and the second-highest peaks in the Japanese Empire,²⁸⁵ while Garanbi, the southernmost cape of the island of Taiwan, signified a new extremity on the map of the expanding empire. Overall, the Japanese visual and discursive hegemony shaped the manner and the light in which Taiwanese subject matter was seen. The importance and appeal of "local color" themes were constructed and appreciated with reference to the canons and values of the empire.

²⁸⁴ Kinoshita Seigai, "Taizhan ribenhua de yange," (The Development of *Nihonga* at the *Taiten*) *Tōhō Bijutsu* Oct. 1939, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 275.

²⁸⁵ Mount Fuji is the highest mountain in Japan. After Taiwan came into Japan's possession, its *Yushan* (Jade Mountain) was renamed *Niitakayama* (literally, Mt. New Height) by Imperial decree in 1897 because, as the highest peak in East Asia, its elevation (3,952 meters) surpassed Mount Fuji's. Taiwan's *Xueshan* (Snow Mountain), whose altitude is 3,884 meters, was renamed *Tsugitakayama* by Prince Hirohito during his visit to Taiwan in 1923.

For Western-style painters, the issue of local distinctiveness involved the task of representing local subject matter by means of newly imported Western media and techniques. Their thematic and stylistic spectrums, compared with those of Eastern-style painters, were less circumscribed by Japanese artistic conventions. In comparison to the botanical illustration-like pieces by Eastern-style painters, the easiest-to-paint and most popular form of local-color pictures in the Western media seemed to be landscape painting. Before the colonial salon was founded, Ishikawa Kinichirō and his followers produced scores of sketches and watercolors of Taiwanese scenery that were well-received as vivid expressions of the ambience of the South.²⁸⁶ Under the influence of Ishikawa Kinichirō, the aspiring Taiwanese artists lingered in the Taiwanese countryside and towns to record the climatic and geographic characteristics of the local scenery. Their undertaking promoted the practice of sketching tours and plein-air painting. At the colonial salons, there was a profusion of watercolors and oil paintings of Taiwanese landscapes, which outnumbered other genres like figural paintings, still lifes, interiors and so on. With modern Western artistic vocabularies and techniques filtered through Japanese channels, the first-generation modern Taiwanese painters tried to negotiate a way of looking at their homeland in the new light of Japanese modernity and colonialism. Besides the depictions of Taiwan's natural environment and indigenous vegetation, commonly used subject matter of Western-style painters who endeavored to

²⁸⁶ For instance, in a review of a watercolor exhibition hosted by Ishikawa in 1911, the paintings of Taiwanese scenes were praised as “expressive of the flavor of the South with strong color.” Si Yousheng, “Shuicaihua zhanlanhui suogan,” (Reflections on a Watercolor Exhibition) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 15 Nov. 1911, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 320.

express Taiwanese characteristics included townscapes with local temples, Chinese-/Taiwanese-style buildings and back streets.²⁸⁷

The effects produced and criteria of evaluation in the artistic pursuit of local color, however, were often called into question. The Eastern Painting Division of the colonial salons saw scores of tedious pieces executed with elaborate technique in a mannered style. In his review of the Seventh *Taiten*, Ozawa Sadayoshi noted a predominant feeling of emptiness embodied in most of the Japanese-style paintings, which seemed to “cover up the emptiness of life with wonderful technique”²⁸⁸ How to go beyond a mindless portrayal of Taiwan’s scenes and customs became a prominent issue. Some critics, like N. Sei in his review of the Fourth *Taiten*, argued that the expression of the spirit of the times should take precedence over that of local color. The universal outlook and characteristic of the age should be acknowledged before a vivid representation of local color was to be achieved, he argued.²⁸⁹ Shiotsuki Tōho considered it quite problematic to judge a work as having “Taiwanese color” solely on the grounds that its subject matter was scenery and objects of Taiwan. In particular, he noted that with

²⁸⁷ Examples of such paintings exhibited at the colonial salons are Ye Huocheng’s *A View of Fengyuan*, 1927; Chen Jingen’s *Back Street*, 1927; Chen Chengpo’s *Longshan Temple*, 1928; Chen Yingsheng’s *Back Street*, 1929; Chen Zhiqi’s *Zhenren Temple*, 1930; Lan Yinding’s *Commercial District*, 1932; Chen Chengpo’s *Mt. Bagua*, 1934; Hong Shuitu’s *Danshui Scenery*, 1935; Su Qiudong’s *Outlook*, 1936; Li Zefan’s *Afternoon*, 1938; Zhen Jiongnan’s *Confucius Temple, Tainan* 1939; and Lan Jinkun’s *Alley*, 1942.

²⁸⁸ Ou Dingsheng [Ozawa Sadayoshi] “Jinnian diqihui de Taizhan,” (The Seventh *Taiten*) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 29 Oct. 1933, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Lin Jiaopi, 226.

²⁸⁹ N. Sei, “Di sihui taizhan guanhou ji,” in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, 198.

the dwindling of distance between Taiwan and the outside world, it seemed impractical to delimit the local artists' thematic scope to Taiwanese subjects only.²⁹⁰

Although the colonial government's promotion of "local color" painting was not aimed at nurturing local consciousness or any particular notion of Taiwanese-ness, most artists, in their endeavor to portray "Taiwan's local color," were constantly challenged by the abstractness and ambiguity of the term, which demanded delineation of a distinction between Taiwan and the rest of the world within the framework of Japanese colonialism. Sometimes, this seemed to be a simple task of representing the physical appearance of the land. At other times, however, it seemed to signify a challenge to explore and make choices amid the contending outlooks of the traditional and the modern in the light of an imperial Other that tried both to alienate and assimilate Taiwan at one and the same time.

Competing Visions

Walking along Taipei's proudest three-lane boulevard, you wonder where you are. Is it Japan? The West? [It looks] so grand, yet occasionally you come in sight of a cowherd driving his water buffalo, and there are sedan chairs passing by on a small country road in the distance. At this point, you realize you are in Taiwan. It is indeed indispensable to see it in contrast.²⁹¹

Ishikawa Kinichirō, 1925

Regarded in olden times as an alien nation in the ocean of the distant South, Taiwan is now spoken of as an extension of *naichi* ["the Inland," or Japan]. Modern civilization has tremendously shortened the gap [between Taiwan and Japan] and has resulted in close, frequent contacts. The impact of modern culture,

²⁹⁰ Shiotsuki Tōho, "Dibahui taizhan qian," (On the Eve of the Eighth *Taiten*) *Taiwan Kyōiku* Nov. 1934, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 234.

²⁹¹ Ishikawa Kinichirō, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 25 Jul. 1925, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Ishikawa Kinichirō*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 103.

therefore, has been felt here with great speed. Sweeping cultural trends have turned up incessantly.²⁹²

The History of Taipei City: the Sixth Year of Showa, 1931

As the portrayal of local color was promoted in tandem with Japanese “Orientalism” and colonialization, Taiwanese artists felt driven to define the cultural and historical coordinates of their homeland. This task engaged them not only in delineation of the geographic, physical and climatic conditions, but also in reflection on the cultural, social and historical characteristics of their local subjects. Japan’s colonial Manicheism constructed and represented Taiwan as an oppositional Other, whose inferiority and backwardness legitimated the former’s aspiration for imperialist expansion and economic exploitation in the name of a civilizing mission—the Asian counterpart of the West’s “white man’s burden.” The colonial rulers drastically transformed both the appearance and outlook of Taiwanese society. The island underwent so much fundamental change during the Japanese colonial period that the period is considered crucial to the historical shaping of the groundwork and character of modern Taiwanese society.²⁹³ Taiwanese paintings of that period, though more restricted than literary works in their thematic concerns and scope, provide visual testimony to diverse perspectives on a society at a juncture of monumental change. The diversity of perspectives and styles, all the more apparent when two or more paintings are viewed together or with works by Japanese painters of the day, made for an intriguing art scene that contributes to today’s

²⁹² Tanaka Ichiji ed., *Taipeishi shi: zhaohe liunian* (The History of Taipei City: the Sixth Year of Showa), trans. Li Zhaoxi (1931; rpt. Taipei: Taipeishi wenxian weiyuanhui, 1998) 42.

²⁹³ As discussed in Chapter One, Liu Mingchuan, the first provincial governor of Taiwan in the late Qing Dynasty, had initiated a series of modernization programs before the Japanese colonial period. However, the short-lived modernization phase ended soon after Liu left Taiwan in 1891. It was not until the Japanese colonial period that Taiwan underwent intensive, widespread modernization in aspects such as public infrastructure, hygiene, medical services, educational facilities and industries.

understanding of the varied responses to the rapid changes that were taking place; it also reveals the ambiguity and ambivalence of the artists' negotiation of Taiwanese cultural identities.

At the First *Taiten* in 1927, Li Shiqiao exhibited *Taipei Bridge* (fig. 90) for his debut at the colonial salons. Only nineteen years old, Li was then a fifth-year student at Taipei Normal School, where Ishikawa Kinichirō imbued in his Taiwanese pupils a love for art and a vogue for sketching landscapes *en plein air*. Picturing a section of the Danshui River spanned by the newly completed Taipei Bridge, Li Shiqiao's first work displayed at the colonial salon is a serene watercolor riverscape based on naturalistic observation and a lyrical rendering of the new "scenic spot" of Taipei.

Completed in 1925, Taipei Bridge was a state-of-the-art structure that replaced an old wooden bridge built during the Qing Dynasty in 1889 by Liu Mingchuan for Taiwan's first railroad, from Keelung to Hsinchu. The Japanese colonial government changed the train's route and built the new bridge with modern steel and concrete.²⁹⁴ With its imposing seven-arch design, it became known as one of the eight main landmarks of Taipei City, and was often referred to as the "Steel Bridge at Sunset."

In 1925, Gōhara Kotō, the founding juror of the Eastern Painting Division at the colonial salons, had depicted Taipei Bridge in one of his series of *Pictures of Famous Spots in Taipei—Twelve Scenes* (fig. 91).²⁹⁵ Chen Zhiqi, Li Shiqiao's senior classmate at Taipei Normal School, also depicted the new landmark on canvas in that year (fig. 92). Their teacher, Ishikawa Kinichirō, however, expressed his dislike of the new landmark of

²⁹⁴ Lai Jingui et al. *Taipei hechuan qiaoliang zhilu* (Tour to the Rivers and Bridges in Taipei) (Taipei: Taipei City Government Information Office, 2003) 114-16.

²⁹⁵ The scenes included in the series are the Danshui River, the Beitou Spa, Taipei Botanical Garden, *Sakaemachi* (today's Hengyang Road), the Governor-General's Office Building, Longshan Temple, New Park, the Great Bridge at Dadaocheng, the Xindian River, and Xindian River Morning Mist.

“modern civilization,” which seemed to spoil his poetic vision of an unadulterated, rustic Taiwanese scenery.

The noise and hubbub of the streets of Taipei stop at the embankments of the Danshui River. The wharf embankments wall out all mundane affairs. Beyond the embankments, the vast stretch of nature is offered to the sweep of the eye. It looks as though one could easily turn into a person in a totally different world if one advanced one step beyond the embankments. However, one feels drawn back into the real world when looking afar toward the lower stream and catching sight of the serpent-like Taipei Bridge stretching over the river. This is due to the particularly conspicuous shape of the bridge. The illusion vanishes, and reality reenters the mind.²⁹⁶

The Western appearance of Taipei Bridge seemed to Ishikawa out of place in the Taipei landscape. It is no wonder that, as a Japanese painter who liked to explore nostalgic sentiments, he opted to picture, in a work exhibited at the same colonial salon in 1927, a view of the same river as seen from a different site upstream where the unsightly presence of the new bridge, an embodiment of modernizing colonial power, was out of sight (fig. 93).

In contrast to their Japanese teacher, Ishikawa, who sought a pastoral atmosphere and found an archaic allure in Taiwanese landscapes, Chen Zhiqi and Li Shiqiao took inspiration from the new landmark on the horizon of the Danshui River. Both depicted the Taipei Bridge from the shore of the Danshui River looking toward Taipei from Sanchong. The white building at the end of the bridge in the two artists' works marks the location of the No. 9 Floodgate. Li Shiqiao depicts more buildings and boats than Chen Zhiqi and gives these motifs as much compositional and emblematic significance as the modern bridge. To reduce the potential dissonance between the bridge's ponderous scale and that of the old-fashioned boats and houses, between its intrusive geometric design

²⁹⁶ Ishikawa Kinichirō, “Xunfeng ta,” (Chair in the Breeze) *Taiwan Jihō* May 1928, in Qiu Hanni, “Jiadao shang de xiasheng zhe: rizhishiqi de taipei tuxiang yu chengshi kongjian,” (Sketching on the Streets: Taipei Images and Urban Space in the Period of Japanese Rule) MA thesis, National Taiwan University, 2000, 86.

and the adjacent architecture, Li Shiqiao presents a foreshortened side view of the bridge that simultaneously enhances the depth of the pictorial space and minimizes the proportional disparity between the bridge and the other motifs dwarfed by its presence. With a light palette and delicate washes, he renders a scene of harmony, in which the emblem of modernization merges with motifs of local tradition. It was a new vision of Taiwan's modernity under Japanese rule.

Yet another painting of the new Taipei Bridge was exhibited at the First *Taiten*. Unlike Li Shiqiao's painting, which pictures the bridge from a distance, Kageyama Yasutoshi's *Slope* (fig. 94) pictures a close-up of one end of the bridge. Instead of portraying the modern structure and monumental size of the new bridge, or its imposing presence in Taipei's cityscape, Kageyama, a Japanese student at the *Taihoku Kotogakkō* (Taipei Higher School),²⁹⁷ depicts people and vehicles passing over the bridge. For the best possible view of such activity, the artist selected a lower vantage point on the road that connects with one end of the bridge. The leitmotif is no longer the appearance of the bridge itself, but its role in daily life. With a slice-of-life rendering of only an entrance to the ponderous structure, *Slope* gives a revealing glimpse of how the modern bridge functioned in a "not yet so modern" peripheral area of Taipei City. Fewer vehicles are using the bridge than pedestrians—including a promenading couple in stylish Western attire, a woman in Chinese/Taiwanese-style dress walking with a child and, most peculiarly, peddlers trading by the roadside. While the bridge occupies half of the composition, the other half is packed with telegraph poles, lampposts, boats, houses and

²⁹⁷ *Taihoku Kotogakkō* (Taipei Higher School) was established by the colonial government for Japanese students as a preparatory school for entrance to universities. Kageyama Yasutoshi graduated from the school in 1930. See "Ribennren xiyang hwajia," (Japanese Painters of Western Painting) *Nanguo meishu daintang: Taiwan meishu zhanlanhui (1927-1943) zuopin ziliaoku* (The Temple of Art of the South Country: Database of Works of Taiwan Fine Arts Exhibitions, 1927-1943) <http://ndweb.iis.sinica.edu.tw/twart/System/database_TE/03te_artists/jw/te_artists_jw11.htm> (11 Feb. 2008)

mountains. The strong contrasts of light and shadow create not only interesting visual effects but a surreal ambience in a scene of Taiwanese modernity. The assemblage of motifs modern and traditional, exotic and indigenous, in this Taipei cityscape epitomizes the intersection of past and present, a conjuncture in which what is in the process of vanishing mingles with what is gaining ascendancy in an evolving society.

In popular images, such as posters for colonial expositions and commemorative postcards issued by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office on anniversaries of the beginning of Japanese rule, a common strategy for showing off colonial achievements was to illustrate a contrast between Taiwan's historical past and the colonial present, the primitive and the modern. For instance, the officially issued postcards for the twentieth, twenty-second and thirtieth anniversaries of the start of Japanese rule highlight colonial accomplishments by showcasing a photographic comparison of the old and the new (in the order of the aforesaid years, respectively): Taipei's Seimonchō (Ximending) district then and now (fig. 95); a Chinese-style *shobō* and a Japanese-/Western-style common school (fig. 96); and Taiwan's Qing-era provincial government's office building and that of the colonial governor-general (fig. 97).²⁹⁸ All of them utilize vivid contrasts between past and present Taiwan to illustrate the purported civilizing effects of Japanese rule.

Paintings like Li Shiqiao's *Taipei Bridge* and Kageyama Yasutoshi's *Slope* similarly project impressions of the modernizing effect of Japanese colonialism. Viewed against the purely propagandistic images that represent Taiwan's present and past with unequivocally contrasted, side-by-side images, these paintings contain an ambiguous, yet more illuminating snapshot of the cultural scene in colonial Taiwan. In these pictures, local color and colonial modernity do not take the simplified form of two

²⁹⁸ Sometimes, such official postcards, like those issued to commemorate the first two decades of Japanese rule, also depicted Taiwan's aborigines, fruitage, flora and famous scenic spots, sporadically decorated with photos of the governor-generals.

compositionally, temporally distinct images. Rather, past and present conditions are shown as co-existing, mingling or contending with each other. *Dragon Boat Racing* (fig. 98), a picture exhibited in the Eastern Painting Division at the Fourth *Taiten* by Taiwanese artist Cai Xuexi,²⁹⁹ presents an intriguing instance of the admixture of various cultural forces in a scene of a regatta during the Chinese traditional Dragon Boat Festival. In Chinese, the Dragon Boat Festival is called the Duanwu Festival because it is celebrated on *duanwu*, the fifth day of the fifth month in the Chinese lunar calendar.

The festival is best known for its dragon boat races, especially in the southern provinces of China, where there are many rivers and lakes. This activity is traditionally associated with the legend of the Chinese poet Qu Yuan (c. 340 -278 BC) of the Warring States Period (5th-century BC to 221 BC), who is said to have committed suicide by drowning himself in a river. Boat racing symbolizes the attempt to rescue the poet or recover his body.³⁰⁰

In Cai Xuexi's picture, the age-old Chinese festival is staged on the Danshui River adjacent to Dadaocheng, one of Taipei city's two major commercial quarters in

²⁹⁹ Cai Xuexi (b. 1884) was a self-taught artisan/painter who worked primarily with traditional Chinese media and techniques. Famous in northern Taiwan for his bird-and-flower paintings and landscapes, he sold his works and took on pupils at his studio in Taipei's Dadaocheng District. However, like other Taiwanese painters in the traditional Chinese ink painting style, his works were not accepted by the first colonial salon. It was his pupil Guo Xuehu, rather, who met with instant success, with a style that reflected the mainstream vogue of sketching from life. Cai later sent to the colonial salons pictures executed in a new style similar to Guo Xuehu's, and his work was finally exhibited at the Third *Taiten*.

³⁰⁰ After Qu Yuan drowned, locals, the legend goes, threw food into the river to feed the fish so they would not eat Qu's body. They sat on long, narrow paddle boats and tried to scare the fish away with the thundering sound of drums and the fierce-looking carved dragon head on the boats' prows. For thousands of years, the Duanwu festival has been marked by eating *zongzi* (steamed bamboo leaf-wrapped glutinous rice cake) and racing dragon boats.

which only Taiwanese lived.³⁰¹ Taipei Bridge makes its appearance in the distance, with a floodwall to the right. Two dragon boats with Japanese flags waving on their sterns are shown racing downstream toward the finish line. Crowds throng the riverside, watching the race and the traditional Taiwanese Opera being performed on a floating stage in the center of the picture. Besides the spectacle of the boat races, the onlookers on the embankment themselves constitute a spectacle in this *mise-en-scène* wherein the human subjects are seeing and being seen. Consisting of people of different gender, ages, classes and attires, the crowd epitomizes the various strata in a Taiwanese social landscape full of interesting contrasts. An old gentleman wearing a queue³⁰² watches the race alongside men in Western suits and traditional long gowns. An aged lady with bound feet walks behind women in high heels. A peasant shouldering a carrying pole stands beside a man riding a bicycle. Just as the men's clothing styles range from Qing Dynasty to modern, the women's include Chinese/Taiwanese apparel, Japanese kimonos and Western fashions. Traditionally, the Duanwu Festival was one of the three major Chinese holidays

³⁰¹ Taipei, called *Taihoku* in Japanese, emerged as the political center of the Japanese colonial Government. In 1920, Taihoku Prefecture was established and included Bangka (Wenhua), Dadaocheng, and Chengnei districts and a number of other small communities. Huang Deshi, *Taipei shi fazhanshi: jiangyu yu yange* (History of Taipei City: Domain and Development) (N.p., 1981) 78-80; *Taipei shisei nijū nen* (The Twenty Years Administration History of Taipei City) ed. Taipei Shiyakusyo (Taipei: Taipei Shiyakusyo, 1940) 201-03; Tanaka Ichiji, 39-43.

³⁰² The queue (or *cue*) was a male hairstyle consisting of the hair on the front of the head being shaved off above the temples and the rest of the hair braided into a long ponytail, or queue. It was forcefully introduced into China by the ruling Manchus in the mid-17th century. In colonial Taiwan, wearing a queue, as well as opium smoking and footbinding, was considered by the Japanese as one of the "Three Bad Habits" of Taiwanese society. It was considered an archaic and unhealthy practice associated with the degenerate government of the fallen Chinese Empire. Wu Wenxing, "Riju shiqi Taiwan de fangzu duanfa yundong," (Taiwan's Movement for Cutting the Queues and Unbinding Women's Feet in the Period of Japanese Occupation) *Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. Monographs Series B, No.16: Taiwan shehui yu wenhua bianqian yantaohui lunwenji* (Proceedings of the Conference on Taiwanese Society and Cultural Changes) (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 1986) 69-108.

on which the common people would dress in new clothes. The diverse clothing styles in Cai's scene of the festival reflects the mixing of different cultures in Taiwanese society.

Just as local people in attires emblematic of different times and generations and cultural identities are depicted as mingling harmoniously on this festive occasion, the modern Western-style steel bridge, the ancient Chinese dragon boat regatta, the concrete floodwall and the greenery on the opposite shore are also orchestrated into a decorative ensemble. Functioning as more than outlandish background décor for the Chinese traditional festivity, Taipei Bridge marks both geographical and temporal coordinates in Cai Xuexi's ambitious representation of a scene that is uniquely Taiwanese. It is a Chinese festival taking place in Taipei but—without a shadow of a doubt—in the new era of Japanese dominance. In the picture, Taipei Bridge serves as a sign of modernity and colonial achievement that physically and symbolically encloses all the hustle and bustle along the Danshui River. One of the dragon boats bears Japan's national flag, *Hinomaru*, while the other bears its naval ensign.

As if these numerous motifs do not suffice to signify Japanese domination, the presence of a Japanese policeman reveals the pervasive omnipresence of Japan's colonial power. Standing in the rear of the crowd to the far right, in commanding view of the festival activities, the policeman (fig. 99) epitomizes the all-seeing, controlling imperial eye. In social realist novels of the times, the domineering presence of the Japanese police,³⁰³ whom the colonized Taiwan people fearfully addressed as “your honor” is more vividly represented. Throughout much of the Japanese period, the police forces in Taiwan were granted broad power and authority. In a poster issued for the 1925

³⁰³ Most of the members of the police forces during this time were Japanese nationals, though toward the later period of Japanese rule, locals began to be recruited. For a survey of Japanese police control in Taiwan, see Chen Chingchih, “Police and Community Control in the Empire,” *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, eds. M. Peattie and R. Myers (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984) 213-39.

Sanitation Exhibition of Taipei Police, for instance, the colonial policeman was represented like a thousand-handed *Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva* (fig. 100). His many tasks, indicated in captions beside each of his hands, include traffic, public security, sanitation, aboriginal affairs, censorship and rescue missions.

While official imagery portrayed the police as compassionate Buddhist deities, they were viewed by the colonized as a symbol of the oppressive side of Japan's rule. In many literary works focusing on Taiwan village life and stories about the downtrodden, the colonial presence was often constructed through its most important local functionary—the Japanese policeman, who symbolized the pervasive, persistent brutality of Japanese colonization. In Lai He's short stories, such as "Steelyard" or "Unlucky New Year Holidays," the domineering presence of the Japanese police was portrayed poignantly against a background of festivities.³⁰⁴ The policeman in Cai's *Dragon Boat Racing*, however, is more like an unobtrusive mark of the colonial reality set within a panoramic representation of a local gala wherein the old cultural practices were being penetrated by new cultural and political forces.

While many of the literary works of the time portray the colonial violence of which they serve as historical indictments, the greater part of pictorial representations merely present visual records of scenes and sites where the artists were encouraged or allowed to set up their easels.³⁰⁵ Most Taiwanese painters portrayed subject matter

³⁰⁴ In a number of Lai's stories, such as "I gan chengtzi," (Steelyard) "Buruyi de guonian," (Unlucky New Year Holidays), "Ru!?" (Humiliated!?) and "Reshi" (Getting into Trouble), the policeman is a recurring element, attesting to the penetration of the Japanese police system throughout Taiwan. These and other stories center on rural village life and village characters whose lives are overshadowed by the omnipresent Japanese police force. Shi Shu ed. *Lai He xiaoshuoji* (Collected Stories of Lai He) (Taipei: Hongfan, 1994)

³⁰⁵ The painters were not allowed to paint in certain strategic sites and places such as train stations and harbors, unless they obtained special permission. For instance, Ni Jianghuai's journal revealed that he had to make annual applications for permission to

within the orbit of the ordinary Taiwanese populace. Their paintings rarely contained signs of Japanese presence, yet their exoticized representations of Taiwanese scenery or depictions of “local color” often mirrored the imperial gaze.

Guo Xuehu’s *Prosperous South Street* (fig. 82), for instance, provides a romanticized view of Dadaocheng streets and the district’s ancient Xiahai Chenghuang (Town Lord) Temple,³⁰⁶ which won the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* Prize at the Fourth *Taiten*.³⁰⁷ Besides portraying the stream of people during the Zhongyuan Festival,³⁰⁸ *Prosperous South Street* alludes to a wide spectrum of native products, which are spelled out vividly on the often colorful signboards mounted on Dadaocheng’s *yanglou* (Western-style buildings): banana caramel, papaya candy, Dajia straw hats, fabrics, preserves, herbal medicines and ginseng, bamboo paraphernalia and aboriginal products. The names of the stores, such as Takasago, Niitaka, Nangoku and Penglai, moreover, are

sketch activities at Keelung harbor. His artworks on this subject had to be submitted regularly for inspection to the Keelung military headquarters. Ni Houde and Bai Xuelan, trans. “Yiwei huajia de 365 tian: Ni Jianghuai riji xuanji,” (A Painter’s 365 Days: Excerpts from Ni Jianghuai’s Diary) in *Yishu xingjiao: Ni Jianghuai zuopin zhan* (A Journey into Formosan Landscapes: The Works of Ni Jianghuai) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1996) 115.

³⁰⁶ Chenghuang is a guardian deity in Chinese folk religion. Each town or city has a Chenghuang who looks after the fortunes of the city and judges its dead. In ancient times, the Chenghuang temple was typically situated in the town’s center. Typically, these town gods are said to be famous or noble persons of the town who were deified after death. The Xiahai Chenghuang Temple in Dadaocheng district was built in 1859 by Tongan people from Quanzhou in Fujian Province. Huang Deshi, “Dadaocheng fazhan shi,” (History of Dadaocheng) *Taipei wenwu* 2 (1953): 83; Huang Deshi, *Taipei shi fazhanshi* (History of Taipei City) (N.p., 1981) 42-43.

³⁰⁷ The colonial salons of Taiwan conferred a range of rankings and prizes to the exhibited works, including the *Taiten* Prize, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* Prize and *Jihō* Prize.

³⁰⁸ This is a Chinese festival that falls on the seventh full moon of the lunar calendar, observed variously as a “summer lantern festival” or a day for commemorating the dead.

all fabrications, Japanese-coined terms that indicate the presence of Japanese colonists and tourists.

While Taiwanese scenery provided a significant element of local color that was often turned into a site of contending cultural forces, the depiction of Taiwanese women, among other subjects of figure painting,³⁰⁹ also frequently reflected the complex identity portrayals of the colonial period. In literary works of the time, figures of the elderly and women are often represented as tokens of traditional social and cultural values, for they were supposed to lead a more insulated existence during this transformative period.³¹⁰ Images of the elderly and women also appeared much more commonly than those of young Taiwanese men in Taiwanese artists' paintings of the colonial period. In general, the motif of Taiwan's elderly represented an embodiment of the old ways and values of Taiwanese life. While the paintings depicting the older generation convey a sentiment of nostalgia for the past, the pictures of Taiwanese women are more complicated and ambiguous in their varied symbolic and cultural connotations.

Chen Jin's *Leisure* (fig. 101) and Liao Jichun's *Reading* (fig. 102), for instance, reflect the dialectic between colonial modernity and the ethnic past, as well as competing visions and positionings in the cultural representation of Taiwan. *Leisure*, executed in Japanese painting style in 1935, depicts a reclining young woman who is passing her time

³⁰⁹ As explained in the previous chapter, owing to the lack of a formal art school and professional models in Taiwan, figure painting was a more difficult genre to practice than was landscape painting, for example. Consequently, the output of figure paintings of the period was relatively small.

³¹⁰ In Taiwan's literature of the period, most female characters were cast as ill-fated heroines whose misfortunes and hardships were dramatically portrayed to epitomize the repressive side of a conservative, feudal society in pressing need of reform. Suffering women were represented as symbols of all the backward old customs and cultural practices in Taiwanese society. Xu Junya, "Rijushiqi Taiwan xiaoshuo zhong de wunu wenti," (Problems of the Female in Taiwan's Novels in the Period of Japanese Occupation) *Taiwan Wenxue lun: cong xiandai dao dangdai* (Taipei: Nantian, 1997) 29-60.

in a traditional boudoir interior. The elaborate décor—including a Chinese-style canopy bed with exquisitely carved wooden framework and ornate panels, and an embroidered headrest and ceramic incense burner—and the apparel and jewelry of the *distinguée* woman, bespeaks a private world of comfort, refinement and luxury.³¹¹ The woman, with Western hairstyle, is dressed in Chinese-style *qipao*. As she reads a Chinese rime book, *Shiyun quanbi*³¹² in a leisurely manner, the scent of incense emanates from the delicate burner beside her pillow, creating an imaginary aroma and poetic sentiment evocatively Chinese.³¹³

Chen Jin was the most prominent Taiwanese female painter of the colonial period.³¹⁴ Hailing from a prosperous family in Hsinchu, she received a comprehensive

³¹¹ Lin Yuchun suggests that *Leisure* was a work intended for exhibition at the Sixteenth *Teiten* in Tokyo in 1935, but the *Teiten* was called off that year, and this work had never been publicly displayed before it was acquired by the Taipei Fine Arts Museum in 1988. The setting of the work, including the furniture, is modeled after the home of Chen Jin's married sister Chen Xin, who was Chen Jin's model for this work and for her painting *Duet*. Lin Yuchun, "1930 Niandai de Chen Jin: cong 1935 nian *Youxian* [*Leisure*] tanqi," (Chen Jin in 1930s) in *Taiwan no josei nihongaka seitai hyaku nen kinen: Chin shin* (Centennial Celebration of Chen Chin [Chen Jin]: a Taiwanese Painter of *nihonga*) (Tokyo: The Shoto Museum of Art, 2006) 17-19.

³¹² *Shiyun quanbi*, a book compiled by Tang Xiangse in the Qing Dynasty, is a rime book for composing Chinese classical poetry.

³¹³ In the past, burning incense while reading or playing a musical instrument was regarded by Chinese literati as a refined practice. Weng Wenxin, *Xianghai liutie: Lu yan xiang hua cha li: gujin xiangyi wenhua daguan* (Six Encounters with Aroma Culture: Incense Burner, Smoke, Fragrance, Flower, Tea, Manners: an Overview of Aroma Culture Past and Present) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2006)

³¹⁴ Chen Jin was the first Taiwanese woman to exhibit at both the colonial and imperial salons. She won three special awards at the *Taiten* from 1928 to 1930, and a total of eighteen of her works were selected for display at the *Taiten* and the *Futen*. She was extolled by Japanese critics as "the female genius of the southern sea," and was one of the first two Taiwanese painters to be invited to serve as jurors at the colonial salons. In 1934 she exhibited the painting *Duet* at the Fifteenth *Teiten* in Tokyo and was awarded an ink stone by the Japanese emperor's mother. *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Jin*, vol. 2 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1992) 272.

Japanese education and studied Japanese painting at Tokyo Women's Art School. She achieved early successes at both the Imperial and colonial salons with images of females in the manner of the Japanese *bijin-ga* (painting of beautiful women) tradition. She also developed images of women in Chinese-style costumes and décors, however, that embody both exotic appeal and classical cultural refinement. In the 1935 painting *Leisure*, Chen Jin portrays a lifestyle of elegant ease identifiable with Chinese tradition. The way in which it is portrayed, however, reveals a temporal and cultural context that is no longer completely traditional or Chinese. The setting itself is actually hybrid, characteristic of the Taiwanese furnishings of the period. The Chinese-style canopy bed, for instance, is decorated with both traditional fretworks and new motifs, such as the Western-style pediment shape and curvilinear foliage design. The woman is reading a Chinese book while enjoying the smell of incense from a ceramic burner whose style is Japanese. These clashing details identify the scene not with the past, but with the colonial present. Above all, the very picture of a woman reading evokes neither the male-centric Chinese literati tradition nor the conventional female imagery in Chinese history.

By comparison, the paradigm of an ideal woman in Chinese tradition is expressed more unequivocally in paintings such as Huang Huaren's *Interior* (fig. 103), in which the diminutive figure of a housewife, framed by a series of doorways and pillars, is busy at needlework in a quiet Chinese-/Taiwanese-style living space.³¹⁵ In the foreground on the floor lies a pair of men's shoes, which seems to suggest that the master of the house is resting inside the room to the right. There is a *bian-e* (horizontal inscribed tablet) hanging

³¹⁵ According to an interview with Huang Huaren, the décor and layout of the picture was inspired by the artist's parents' home, while the compositional arrangement of the female figure was suggested by her teacher Gōhara Kotō. Lai Mingzhu, "Guixiu huajia bi xia de tuxiang yihan," (Images and Significance in the Works by Women Painters) *Yixiang yu meixue: Taiwan nuxing yishu zhan* (Mind and Spirit: Women's Art in Taiwan) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1998) 33.

over the threshold of the hallway, whose inscription, “*gong gao liang xiang*,”³¹⁶ alludes to the master’s achievement and glory in his official career, while the role and duty assigned to the mistress is confined to the narrow world within the walls of the domestic space.

Liao Jichun’s *Reading*, by contrast, depicts a young woman totally engrossed in a book. Her relaxed posture and casual attire, particularly the unbuttoned blouse, suggest the private atmosphere of a modern boudoir. The model for this domestic scene was Liao Jichun’s wife, Lin Qiongqian. Coming from a family of gentry in Changhua, she was well-educated, having attended high school, which was uncommon for Taiwanese women of her times.³¹⁷ One condition she required of Liao Jichun when he proposed marriage to her was that his educational level had to outstrip hers.³¹⁸ Liao recalled that it was the lack of professional models that made him ask his wife to sit for him for this work. In an effort to assert himself as a figure painter, he depicted her as partially naked in a reclining position, a posture commonly used for female figures in Western paintings of nudes. Liao, however, endows his capable and strong-willed wife with subjectivity. The subjectivity of the modern woman is signified by the act of reading, which serves to represent her as more than a passive object of the viewer’s voyeuristic gaze. She is a

³¹⁶ “*Gong gao liang xiang*” is a compliment to one’s achievement as an outstanding official.

³¹⁷ Lin Qiongqian first attended the Presbyterian Girl’s School in Tainan. After Zhanghu Girl’s High School—the first Girls’ High School located outside Taipei that admitted non-Japanese students—was founded in her hometown in 1919, she became one of its first students and graduated in second place, after a Japanese student. Lin was such a strong-minded woman that she tore up her graduation certificate as a protest because she regarded herself a better student than her Japanese classmate. Xie Lifa, “Secai zhi guo de kuaile shizhe: Taiwan youhuajia Liao Jichun,” (Happy Messenger from the Kingdom of Color: The Life of Taiwan Oil Painter Liao Jichun) *Xiongshi meishu* 118 (1980): 50-51.

³¹⁸ This requirement motivated Liao Jichun to study at Tokyo Art School from 1924 to 1927, though at the expense of his future father-in-law, as his own family could not afford it. Xie Lifa, “Secai zhi guo de kuaile shizhe,” 51.

woman who thinks and acts with a will. The painting was exhibited at the Eighth *Taiten*, when Liao Jichun was invited to serve on the jury of the Western Painting Division,³¹⁹ but the work was cut into pieces by Mrs. Liao after a quarrel with him because she considered it inelegant.³²⁰

Though depicting a more traditional boudoir, Chen Jin's *Leisure* deviates in its own way from the traditional stereotype of a woman, making her a personification not so much of Confucian female virtues as of *bon ton* and sophistication. The painting expresses a changed social context in which women could be imagined and represented differently from tradition. Despite their differences in media, style and schema, *Leisure* and *Reading* both reflect the change in women's lives that was a metaphor for modernized society under Japanese rule. Seemingly representing women of antithetical types, both works nevertheless intriguingly address the colonial modernity that altered Taiwanese women's relationship to knowledge and, by extension, to the outside world, thanks to a modernized education.

In Chen Jin's *Perfume of Orchids* (fig. 104), a work exhibited in the Sixth *Taiten* in 1932, the Taiwanese bride in her Chinese-style wedding robe still has bound feet, a traditional symbol of the social rank and the sexual appeal of Chinese women,³²¹ but a

³¹⁹ At the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth *Taitens*, Taiwanese artists were invited to sit on the jury with Japanese painters. Chen Jin was the only Taiwanese painter who was ever invited to be a juror in the Eastern Painting Division. Liao Jichun was invited to sit on the jury with Japanese painters in the Western Painting Division from the Sixth to the Eighth *Taiten*, when Yan Shuilong became the third Taiwanese painter to serve on a jury. After the Eighth *Taiten*, the Cultural and Educational Bureau ceased to invite Taiwanese painters for jury duty due to controversies in connection with juror candidates. Yen Chuan-ying, "Yingzao Nanguo meishu de diantang: Taiwanzhan chuanqi," *Fengjing xinjing*, 181-82.

³²⁰ Li Qinxian, *Secai • hexie • Liao Jichun* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1997) 73. Besides furthering the aim of keeping women in the home, foot-binding was believed to improve a couple's sex life because walking on bound feet tightened the vaginal muscles.

token of backwardness in the opinions of Japanese critics.³²² The reading lady in *Leisure*, by contrast, hides her feet behind the drapes. Are her feet bound or unbound? Chen Jin seems to have deliberately left that open to the viewer's imagination. What she is reading is a classical Chinese rime book, but her modish haircut and the hybrid-style furnishing of her boudoir reveal the interplay of mixed cultures characteristic of colonial Taiwan.

While women were variously depicted in colonial Taiwan, modern Taiwanese men were rarely represented in works of art. Apart from a few self-portraits executed by students in Japan as academic exercises, Taiwanese painters rendered very few images of themselves, their associates or the colonial intelligentsia. Even though the practice of sketching and painting *en plein air* was very popular, the canvases rarely deliver light-hearted representations of emergent bourgeois leisure or fashionable gathering places, which in Taiwan were built primarily for the entertainment of Japanese residents and tourists. There is a variety of tokens of modernization in Taiwanese artists' paintings: modern bridges, telegraph poles, train stations, public parks, Western-style costumes and architecture, etc. Their canvases rarely, however, picture a modern lifestyle, or express any modern social dynamics, despite the fact that French impressionist and modernist paintings were admired greatly by the first generation of Taiwanese painters. In colonial Taiwan, a specious Western-style modernity was constructed by and within Japanese colonialism. Although the native populace, women included, benefited from a modernized education and westernized infrastructure built by the colonizers, they were not encouraged to aspire to a completely modern outlook that reached beyond their traditional social role. Unlike Western modernity, which evolved organically, the

Ke Jisheng, ed. *Qianzai jinlian fenghua: chanzu wenwu zhan* (A Thousand Years of Bound Feet) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2003) 126-29.

³²² Hsieh Shih-ying, "Houzhimin jiedu Chen Jin huihua *Zhilan zhi xiang*," (A Post-colonial Reading on Chen Chin's Painting *Perfume of Orchids*) *Youxian jingsi-Chen Ji Shinu shi mei* (Pondering at Leisure: The Beauty of Chen Jin's Ladies) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2003) 11.

modernity of colonial Taiwan was primarily imposed from above by the colonizers, represented in forms of urbanization, industrialization, capitalism and tourism; and the dynamism and intellectual principles that initiated and upheld modernity were absent from the inception. More often than not, the various forms of modernity were imported horizontally from Japan, disconnected from any chain of historical causality or practical social demands.

Taipei's famous three-lane boulevard, for example, outstripped even avenues in Tokyo with its European style and was dubbed "petit Paris in East Asia," but it did not serve its intended function to the full. Ishikawa Kinichirō ridiculed the relative disuse of the three-lane boulevard, which seemed more a pompous spectacle than a practical design for the still quite rustic society.³²³ Weeds grew on it for lack of modern motorized traffic; the road was traveled more by traditional ox-carts, sedan chairs and pedicabs. Lan Yinding's work *Three-lane Boulevard* (fig. 105) portrays this curious mismatch of road and traffic.

It is no wonder, then, that the most idealized and utopian visions of Taiwanese modernity were produced by expatriate Japanese painters. In paintings by such expatriate Japanese painters as Koyama Furō and Nomura Seigetsu, modernized, Japanized Taiwan is rendered as a new paradise for its Japanese residents. Koyama's *View of New Park* (fig. 106) depicts the new public space built in 1908 for Japanese officials and residents in Taipei City.³²⁴ For that purpose, the old Taipei Mazu Temple, built in the heart of the city's intramural area during the Qing Dynasty, was completely demolished and replaced by a museum of natural history in honor of Governor-General Kodama Gentarō and chief

³²³ Ishikawa Kinichirō, "Ruguo zhenshi zheyang, na jiu baoqianle," (It is a pity if it really works this way) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 8 Jun.1925, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Shuicai • zilan • Ishikawa Kinichirō*, 99.

³²⁴ The name "New Park" (*Shinkoen*) alludes to the fact that it replaced suburban Yuanshan Park (Maruyama Park) as Taipei City's most well-known large park.

of civil administration Gotō Shimpei.³²⁵ In Koyama's picture, the neo-classical Western-style architecture of the museum is visible beyond the luxuriant tropical vegetation.³²⁶ Visitors are shown walking or cycling in the well-ordered space. Two women, one in a kimono, the other in Western dress, are shown strolling in the foreground, accentuating an ambience of modernity, urbanity and Western-style leisure that New Park was constructed to symbolize.

In the same way, Nomura Seigetsu's *After the Rain* (fig. 107), exhibited at the Ninth *Taiten* in 1935, shows two stylish young women in the foreground, promenading on the Meiji Bridge, another new landmark on the northern fringe of urban Taipei. Built in 1901 as part of the Taiwan Jinja (Taiwan Shinto Shrine) construction project, the bridge was rebuilt in 1933 with a reinforced concrete and steel structure.³²⁷ Across the Keelung River, rising on the distant hillside is the prominent red *torii* of the Taiwan Jinja, which was built in 1901 on Jiantan Mountain and was the most important, and most elevated, of all *jinja* built by the Japanese in the colony.³²⁸

³²⁵ Gao Chuanqi, *Chuanyue shikong kan Taipei: Taipei jiancheng 120 zhounain: guditu jiu yingxiang wenxian wenwuzhan* (The Exhibition for the 120th Anniversary of the Establishment of Taipei City: Old Maps, Old Images, Documents and Artifacts) (Taipei: Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, 2004) 101-02.

³²⁶ The museum was only one of many public and governmental buildings built in this intramural space that were modeled on Western styles of architecture.

³²⁷ Lai Jingui et al., 125-30.

³²⁸ The Taiwan Jinja Shinto shrine, completed in 1901, contained the remains of Prince Kitashirakawanomiya Yoshihisa, who died in Japan's military pacification actions after annexation of the island. The colonial government also decreed October 28 as a national holiday for worship at the Taiwan Jinja. To facilitate the visit of Japanese officers and aristocrats to Taiwan Jinja, the colonial government built an "imperial envoy's avenue," linking the stretch from the Taiwan governor-general's office to the Meiji Bridge, which led to the Taiwan Jinja at Yuanshan. Meiji Bridge was regarded as the gateway to the Taiwan Jinja. In some of the postcards of the period, the bridge was called "the sacred bridge to the shrine of Formosa." He Peiqi ed. *Rizhi shiqi de Taipei* (Taipei under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: National Library, 2007) 78, 251-67.

Before Nomura Seigetsu, in the Eastern Painting Division of the Second *Taiten*, the Taiwanese painter Guo Xuehu had exhibited his *Scenery near Yuanshan* (fig. 81), in which the old Meiji Bridge looms beyond the verdant trees, crops and variety of wild vegetation. The nearby Taiwan Jinja, and the sanctified grounds in the vicinity of this Shinto shrine across the Keelung River from downtown Taipei, are suggested only through the unobtrusive presence of the Meiji Bridge, which leads to the site, in the same direction in which a flock of white birds is shown soaring. With the inclusion of the Meiji Bridge, which linked urban Taipei to the Taiwan Jinja, the realistically rendered local scenery is easily associated with the imperial order ruling over the depicted world of bucolic Taiwanese beauty and serenity.³²⁹ It is interesting to note that in *Scenery near Yuanshan*, *View of the New Park*, and *After the Rain*, Western pictorial idioms and techniques are employed to portray a world of order and lucidity by painters who worked with *nihonga* media and technique. While Guo Xuehu's *Scenery near Yuanshan* endeavors to express a harmonious coexistence of old and new, represented at a site laden with political significance, Koyama Furō's and Nomura Seigetsu's paintings render a relatively more modernized, Japanized Taiwanese landscape put at the service of Japanese religious practice, urban leisure and tourism. The two Japanese painters' pictorial vision embodies what Takekoshi Yosaburō, the author of *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, had expressed in joyful anticipation:

Clearly, a new Formosa has appeared. Java has been called 'the Public Park of the World,' but if Formosa continues to progress as she is now doing, she will, it seems to me, become 'the Pleasure Garden of Japan,' if not of the world.³³⁰

³²⁹ It has been noted that, in Guo Xuehu's Yuanshan landscape, the allusion to the Taiwan Jinja by the inclusion of the Meiji Bridge symbolizes the *tennō* theocracy that reigned over the well-regulated Taiwanese landscape. Qiu Hanni, 77.

³³⁰ Takekoshi Yosaburō, 310.

Such paradisaical visions, however, were constructed in the interests of the Japanese residents, tourists and colonizers. While the new spectacles of Taiwan were represented and consumed as glories and achievements of Japanese colonization, the Taiwanese populace, particularly the older generation and the lower social strata, felt quite differently. While Tanaka Ichiji, the Japanese editor of *The History of Taipei City—the Sixth Years of Showa*, sang praises for the modernization and Japanization of Taiwan, a profound sense of loss and confusion is articulated in “Qiu xin” (Autumn Tidings) by the Taiwanese writer Zhu Dianren (1903-1949), a novella about an old scholar who leads a reclusive lifestyle in the Taiwanese countryside.

In “Qiu xin,” the protagonist Mr. Douwen, a Qing Dynasty *xiucai*, represents the older-generation intellectual who is well-versed in Chinese classics and is deeply attached to the values and ethics of Chinese culture. He is required to pay the compulsory donation that a local policeman collects to finance the Commemorative Exhibition of Japan’s Forty Years of Administration in Taiwan, and the latter urges him to go see the exhibition: “Old *xiucai*! How about going to Taipei to see what Japanese culture is as compared to your—no, Qing Dynasty—culture?”³³¹

The condescending utterance of the Japanese policeman reveals a sense of cultural superiority to China and the Chinese people, who had lost Taiwan to Japan. Mr. Douwen represents the Chinese cultural heritage which shaped the values and customs of traditional Taiwanese life but was the butt of mockery by the Japanese rulers. Finally persuaded by a letter from a classmate of his grandson who is studying in China, telling him that his grandson recommended that he go to Taipei to see the exhibition, he decides to do so, and on the train he becomes the focus of attention.

³³¹ Zhu Dianren, “Qiu xin,” (Autumn Tidings) 1936, in *Wang Shilang Zhu Dianren heji*, ed. Zhang Henghao (Taipei: Qianwei, 1991) 229.

As soon as Mr. Douwen stepped onto the train, all eyes somehow simultaneously fell upon him. Among the variety of outfits seen in the train—kimonos, Taiwanese robes and Western-style clothes—Mr. Douwen’s archaic outfit—black bowl-shaped hat, long black gown, black cloth shoes, the bamboo pipe in his mouth and, particularly, the queue hanging behind—stood out strikingly in the eyes of the crowd.³³²

After arriving in Taipei, Mr. Douwen discovers that, to his chagrin, the old Taipei City that he remembers is gone. The city walls built during the Qing Dynasty have been dismantled, and the historic edifices of Taipei’s Chinese past have been replaced by a colonial exhibit. He feels totally at a loss in the new Taipei. When he visits the exhibition hall which showcases colonial educational achievements, he fails to understand the narrative, which is in Japanese. His feeling of alienation is aggravated by the sneering looks of two Japanese students whom he is unable to respond to in Japanese. In humiliation, he excoriates the Japanese slogan “The leaps made by industrial Taiwan start with us!”, which someone has translated into Chinese for him:

What “exhibition”? This is nothing more than bragging...As for “leaps made by industrial Taiwan...,” it is only you Japanese devils who are allowed to leap forward. As for the children of the Taiwanese, they are probably not allowed to advance even an inch. Not to mention education!³³³

Mr. Douwen articulates an aversion to the colonial vision of progress and modernity, which in effect serve as a veneer for the colonial violence and exploitation that are arbitrarily obliterating or belittling the island’s Chinese historical and cultural legacy. But there is nothing he can do about it. Trying to re-experience his past glory by returning to the Qing Dynasty Taiwan Governor’s Administrative Office, visited forty years ago as a *xiuca*, Mr. Douwen is informed by the pedicab driver that the site has become the location of the Taipei Public Assembly Hall, and the old Qing Dynasty building has been dismantled and moved to be put on display at the Botanic Garden.

³³² Zhu Dianren, “Qiu xin,” 231-32.

³³³ Zhu Dianren, “Qiu xin,” 235.

Under Japanese rule, the embodiments of Chinese history and culture of which he had been so proud have been made into quaint tourist spectacles. Like the figure of Mr. Douwen himself, the Chinese past and all its cultural vestiges are being transformed into an inverse image of modern, progressive Japanese colonialism.

Conclusion

As Japan's discursive and visual hegemony transformed the cultural priorities and landscape of Taiwan, the meanings of Taiwan's historical legacy and local traditions were permanently altered. The prevailing vision under Japanese colonialism was one which divided the world between the enlightened and the uncivilized, betokening a pressing need to replace the premodern with colonial modernity.

Taiwan's pre-modern aspects, however, were precisely those that conveyed a distinctive Taiwanese identity, which were simultaneously sought after and banished in the ambiguous cultural representations produced by both the colonizers and the colonized. In Japan's hegemonic discourse, the pre-modern elements of Taiwan were disparaged as signs of Taiwan's cultural inferiority in order to legitimate Japan's imperial enterprise and cultural dominion. On the other hand, the portrayal of Taiwanese local color was encouraged in representations of the place and people of Taiwan for the purposes of tourism. The prevalence of paintings of Taiwan's tropical ambience, local festivals and aboriginal peoples represents an artistic embodiment of that discourse, adding an aesthetic dimension to Japanese cultural hegemony.

Portrayals of modernity in the colonial cultural discourse were no less ambiguous than were representations of Taiwan's distinctive local color. Colonial modernity was double-edged, exerting both enabling and constraining effects on the colonized. While Japan delivered to Taiwan science, systematic public education and modern infrastructure, and cast itself as the indispensable agent for Taiwan's attainment of

modernity, its authoritarian rule stunted the development of a self-directed autonomy. The course and means of modernization, moreover, were often indistinctly equated or intertwined with Japanization.

The construction of modern Taiwanese cultural identities was held in a constant state of uncertainty and ambivalence. The fruits of modernity and the violence of colonialism were two sides of the same coin, a coin that came up heads in one instant and tails in the next. The interlacing of colonialism and modernization therefore produced in Taiwan a variety of contradictory or ambiguous depictions of its cultural landscape and identity.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the effects of colonial modernity were not uniform but highly uneven across diverse social groups and different regions. Along with other members of the colonial intelligentsia, Japanese-educated Taiwanese painters constituted the new cultural elites, with privileged access to the new media and forms of cultural representation. In the intersection of competing cultural categories, however, their colonial encounters created conditions of uncertainty and contingency.³³⁴ If Japanization seemed to be equatable with modernization, the line between Chinese-ness and Taiwanese-ness was indistinct and seemed in need of redefinition. Whether in contradiction or ambivalence, whether with deliberate thematic concentration or through omission, the trajectory of Taiwan's colonial cultural construction was characterized by in-between-ness, oscillation and ambiguity. The diverse pictorial depictions created by

³³⁴ The 1920s saw a number of political organizations—most notably the *Shinminkai* (New People's Society) and *Taiwan Seinenkai* (Taiwan Youth Association)—founded in Tokyo by expatriate Taiwanese students who came under the impact of the liberal and socialist thought popular among Japanese intellectuals after World War I. In 1921, the Taiwan Cultural Association was also founded in Taipei. Despite their disparate political agendas, their endeavors to improve their homeland's political status within the empire yielded a hybrid identity, an uncertain amalgam constructed in the face of the Japanese political order, Chinese historical tradition and Taiwanese local consciousness.

Taiwanese painters, viewed in conjunction with those produced by their Japanese peers, pointed to new possibilities and ways to negotiate and articulate relations between tradition and modernity, ethnicity and cosmopolitanism, within the framework of Japanese colonialism.

CHAPTER IV
TOWARD THE EMERGENCE OF A MODERN TAIWANESE
CONSCIOUSNESS

National Longing

Across the ocean
A Motherland unvisited
Seemed so near yet so far away.
The Motherland dreamed of and read about,
Circulated in my veins through thousands of years,
A living shadow in my bosom,
An echo in my heartbeat.
Alas! Is it my Motherland calling?
Or am I calling out to her?

Wu Yongfu, "Motherland"³³⁵

To Taiwanese intellectuals who went to Japan for advanced studies and came into contact with what they perceived to be more enlightened, liberal thought, the unpleasant realities of colonial rule in Taiwan came to seem more poignant by virtue of the contrast with what they admired in their Japanese experience and aspired to apply in their own lives. Some of them strove to improve the plight of the Taiwanese people through various forms of social activism within the existing system of Japanese imperialism. Although it is not the goal of this dissertation to discuss the history and developments of political

³³⁵ Wu Yongfu, "Zuguo," (Motherland) 1936, in *Wu Yongfu quanji*, ed. Shen Menghua vol. 1 (Taipei: Chuanshen fuyin, 1995) 80.

movements in colonial Taiwan,³³⁶ it is nevertheless important to note that the rise and demise of these movements occurred against a background of identificatory oscillation between the two ethno-national poles of Japan and China.³³⁷

Take, for example, the most representative and long-standing movement among moderate, liberalist Taiwanese intellectuals. A campaign to petition the Imperial Diet to establish a Taiwanese parliament was launched in 1921 under the leadership of reform-minded colonial elites, including Lin Xiantang, Jiang Weishui and Cai Peihuo. Their attempts to influence the Imperial Diet through legal measures and to seek local autonomy would last fourteen years, with the Japanese Diet forever refusing to review their petitions.³³⁸ After their fifteenth petition was dismissed, the entire campaign, known as the Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament (*Taiwan gikai secchi seigan undō*) was abandoned permanently in 1934. As hopes for juridical and political reformation under the colonial framework were extinguished, Taiwanese

³³⁶ Most Taiwanese anti-colonial movements during the period were not allowed to last long. These political movements drew their theoretical energy from ideologies ranging from liberalism to Marxism, but they shared a common final goal of Taiwan's autonomy. For a comprehensive account of Taiwan's political movements in the English language, see Edward I-te Chen, "Formosan Political Movements under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1914-1937," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 31/3 (1972): 477-97.

³³⁷ Leo T. S. Ching provides an instrumental schema that classifies Taiwanese anti-colonial movements within four epistemological and geographical coordinates (China/Japan/Liberalism/Marxism) that shed light on both the discursive limits and possibilities of the diverse political movements. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, (Berkeley, CA.: University of California Press, 2001) 53-56.

³³⁸ Wakabayashi Masahiro, "Taishō demokurashii to taiwan gikai secchi seigan undō" (Taishō Democracy and the Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament). *Nihon shokuminchi shugi no seijiteki tenkai, 1895-1934* (The Political Development of Japanese Colonialism, 1895-1934) (Tokyo: Ajia seiki gakkai, 1980) 76-230; see also Chou Wan-yao, *Riju Shidai de Taiwan Yihui shezhi qingyuan yundong* (Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: Zili Baoxi, 1989).

intellectuals gave up their aspiration to change the oppressive status quo. On the one hand, they were disillusioned about the *dōka* (assimilation) policy and the possibility of ever becoming equally treated Japanese subjects. On the other hand, they were full of misgivings and anxieties about the future of Taiwan within the larger world system. Their pent-up frustrations and disillusionment would be embodied in literary works as a yearning for a motherland in which they would no longer be inferior and discriminated against.

The cultural denigration that resulted from the clash between the colonizers and the colonized came into play in the Taiwanese people's oscillating identification with the colonial mother country and the imaginary motherland, China, whose relations with Taiwan had always been unstable and ambivalent. While the Japanese colonialists constructed an image of China as a decrepit country of opium smokers and foot binders, in contrast to a progressive, westernized Japan, Taiwanese people, particularly those frustrated by either the political or the economic situation, turned to China for possibilities that were denied them in Taiwan or Japan.

China was indeed the only imaginable resource for Taiwanese intellectuals in their discursive or actual confrontation with Japanese hegemony and their efforts to resist Japan's oppressive cultural politics. Lin Chenglu (Rin Teiroku) contended, in his advocacy for local autonomy for Taiwan, that Japan's *dōka* policy was inappropriate for Taiwanese people, who were not a "savage and uncivilized people without history."³³⁹ Despite the military and political superiority of modern Japan over China, Japan had been profoundly influenced by Chinese culture in many respects ever since the Tang Dynasty (618-905). Even Japan's written language was developed from Chinese script. In

³³⁹ Lin Chenglu, "Kindai shokuminchitōji ni kansuru taijin seisaku," (Policy toward the Ruled in Modern Colonialism) *Taiwan seinen*, 2, no.1 (1921): 19-27, quoted from Ching, *Becoming Japanese*, 112.

addition, traditional Japanese society was regulated by a value system imbued with Confucian ethics. It was not until the beginning of the Meiji Period that Japan tried to replace its Chinese cultural canon with Western modernism.³⁴⁰

Despite the semi-colonized and war-ridden condition of China, which suffered constant domestic disharmony from power struggles among warlords and the depredations inflicted by imperialist foreign powers, China became a consoling icon onto which the anguished Taiwanese intellectuals projected their pride and hope. Most Taiwanese people's ancestors were settlers from China, who had left their hometowns for economic or political reasons decades or even centuries earlier. Their knowledge of the Chinese classics allowed them to take pride in their cultural connection with the old China, whose image was one of historical splendor and cultural preeminence. Their Chinese roots thus became their alternative identity, and this would assert itself especially when they felt alienated from the Japanese colonizers. The yearning for a utopia in China where they would enjoy freedom and equality of opportunity became a leitmotif of many literary works of the time.

The true distance between such yearning and the reality of China, whose image of magnificent, sophisticated civilization the Taiwanese had gleaned from both their ancestor's memories and classical Chinese literature was actually beyond their comprehension, however. The famous poem, "Motherland," by Taiwanese poet Wu Yongfu, was written in 1936 after the scandalous incident in which Lin Xiantang, the leader of Taiwan's Cultural Association, was attacked in public for having openly

³⁴⁰ Japan was the first among Asian countries to endeavor to become "modern" on a national scale primarily by means of westernization of its industry, technology and sciences. The course of westernization and modernization went hand in hand and changed Japan profoundly in not only economic and technological, but also societal and cultural respects. The success of Japan became a model for other Asian countries, and many tried to gain information and knowledge of Western modernity through Japanese channels.

remarked on his happiness upon returning to the “motherland” during a trip to China.³⁴¹ In the poem, China is presented as the object of aspiration for the agonized islanders. Yearning for China’s glorious past and splendid cultural tradition, the poet voices feelings of misery, anger and disappointment in the motherland he has never seen, which gave up Taiwan so easily after losing the First Sino-Japanese War. Imploring the “motherland,” who had abandoned the Taiwanese to a foreign foster parent, to shake off her lethargy, Wu ends his poem with the following impassioned plea:

Our customs, traditions and languages are all different.
The claim of equality under alien rule
Is clearly empty talk.
Much empty talk produces agonies.
Return our Motherland!
I shout at the ocean, return our Motherland!³⁴²

In Taiwanese literature of the colonial period, the most well-known semi-biographical novel, which has become symbolic of emerging Taiwanese consciousness and Taiwan’s “wandering orphan” status in contemporary history, is *Orphan of Asia* by Wu Zhuoliu.³⁴³ The encounters of its protagonist depict the twists and

³⁴¹ Lin led an observation tour, organized by *Taiwan Xinminpao* to visit southern China in 1936. They were warmly welcomed in Shanghai and Lin expressed his pleasure at “returning to the motherland” in a talk he gave at the welcoming reception. For this slip of the tongue, he was severely rebuked as a “traitor” by the colonial mouthpiece *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo*. While attending a festivity in commemoration of the beginning of Japanese colonial rule in Taichung Park, he was suddenly attacked and slapped by a Japanese rightist ruffian abetted by Ogisu Ryūhei, the colonial military chief of staff. Lin moved to Tokyo after this humiliating “Motherland Incident.” Huang Fushan, *Lin Xiantang zhuan* (Biography of Lin Xiantang) (Nantou: Taiwan Wenxian Guan: 2004) 58-60.

³⁴² Wu Yongfu, “Motherland,” *Wu Yongfu quanji*, 82-83.

³⁴³ Written in Japanese, in secret, between 1943 and 1945, the novel was first published in Tokyo in 1946 under the title *Ko Taimei*, the Japanese version of the protagonist’s name. Another Japanese edition published in 1956 gave the novel its now familiar title for the first time, but in a 1957 edition, the title was altered to *Distorted Island*. It was finally translated into Chinese in 1962, with the title *Orphan of Asia*.

turns in the process of identity formation of the Taiwanese people. The novel narrates, with irony, the fate of a Taiwanese intellectual, Hu Taiming, whose journeys to Japan and China not only fail to advance his quest to find out who he is and where he belongs, but exacerbate the confusion and conflict in his heart. Both the protagonist's colonial experience and his trip to Japan make him realize that he is far from being a "real" Japanese. Even though he chooses deliberately to forget the traumatic experiences of repression and discrimination that he has felt or witnessed, these experiences persist like incurable sores, easily aggravated by new indignities and iniquities. His mother is slapped by a Japanese overseer when she attempts to stop him from carrying forward a railway construction project for sugarcane transportation that is destroying the ancestral grave of the Hu Family. She resigns meekly to her treatment and regards it as an accident, but Hu Taiming, as a Japanese-educated intellectual becomes deeply traumatized, awakening to the reality of colonial violence and injustice and the helplessness of the situation. "Even TaoYuanming would be incapable of healing this sort of trauma," he sighs.³⁴⁴ He henceforth dreams of a new world where he can breathe freely and begins to fantasize about crossing the strait to China. The China in the attractive image presented by his elders becomes a utopia in which his day dreams and hopes are harbored.

When he finally arrives in China, however, the imaginary homeland to many Taiwanese intellectuals, he is shocked by the disparity between image and reality. He also discovers that the Taiwanese are not regarded as "pure" Chinese. The

³⁴⁴ Wu Zhuoliu, *Orphan of Asia*, (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1908) 106-8. TaoYuanming (c. 365-427) was the most famous Chinese poet in the Jin Dynasty. He resigned from public office and retired to the countryside to lead a reclusive life. He has become the revered model of a self-imposed recluse who chooses to detach himself from officialdom in order to maintain his integrity and personal freedom in a time of chaos. However, the protagonist in Wu Zhouliu's novel discovers that Tao Yuanming's escapist philosophy, like other ancient wisdom that he has learned from the Chinese classics and literature, affords no comfort amid the hardships of colonial life.

insurmountable gap that has opened up between Hu and the people of both Japan and China with whom he has attempted to identify comes as a great shock to him, as he finds himself constantly looked upon as an Other both in the colonial “mother country” and in the ancestral “motherland.” At the end of the novel, Hu Taiming breaks down after returning to his hometown, where he undergoes still more devastating experiences during the Pacific War (World War II). These include his experience as a translator for the Japanese army and as an eyewitness to its brutality toward Chinese soldiers and civilians, and the death of his youngest brother, who dies of exhaustion in a labor service team forcefully mobilized by the colonial government. Conflicting emotions and feelings of dislocation, alienation and inferiority drive him to despair. At the peak of the war, he disappears.

Encountering the “Motherland”: Two Taiwanese Painters in China

Themes of national longing and alienation were never articulated in visual works as explicitly as in literary works in colonial Taiwan. The official art salons dominated the choice of subject and style of painting. In a way, painters were more fortunate than writers because the latter were forced to articulate their experiences in the language of their oppressors and faced sharper problems of identity from the start. Some Taiwanese painters, however, chose to go to China, and, as in the case of their literary contemporaries, their cultural encounters sharpened sentiments of alterity and displacement, and resulted in reevaluations of preconceived notions of colonial identity. Two Taiwanese painters, one who settled in China for good, the other who returned to Taiwan but was executed by the Chinese Nationalist Party government of the Republic of China after it took over the island, are discussed below as two examples instrumental to understanding of the complicated and ambiguous position of Taiwanese intellectuals caught up in the triangular relationship of Japan, China and Taiwan.

Liu Jintang (a.k.a. Wang Yuezhi)

Liu Jintang (1894-1937) is a significant example of a painter who not only went to China, but also settled there and assumed a brand-new Chinese identity. Liu embarked on his artistic career via a path typical of many first-generation Taiwanese painters. After graduating from the Taipei Normal School, he went to Japan to study oil painting in 1915 and became the earliest Taiwanese painter to major in Western-style painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. During his five-year student career in Japan, he was exposed to currents of both modern Western art and nationalism evoked by World War I. In the wake of the May Fourth Movement, a Chinese student anti-Imperialism movement that erupted in China in 1919, Liu left Tokyo and went to China to dedicate himself to China's nation-building efforts. He joined the KMT and was adopted by Wang Faqing, a senior KMT official.

In contrast to most other major Taiwanese artists, Liu was determined to identify with the Chinese people, and regarded China as the homeland for which he was ultimately willing to die.³⁴⁵ He not only changed his name—to Wang Yuezhi—but also his officially registered ancestral home province—to Hubei—that of his adoptive father. His *Self-Portrait* (fig. 108), painted in 1921 as a graduation piece for the Western Painting Division of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, reveals his sense of identification with

³⁴⁵ In order to participate in China's transformation from an age-old feudal society into a modern, enlightened one, Liu almost dropped out of the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1919, but was persuaded by his adoptive father to return and complete his studies. He became the first Taiwanese student at Peking [Beijing] University in 1921. While studying Chinese literature there, he helped his adoptive father with underground intelligence activities. Zhou Yali, "Zuguo rentong yu Taiwan guanhuai: Liu Jintang de 'Taiwan yimin tu'," (Motherland Identification and Caring for Taiwan: Liu Jintang's Painting of Taiwan *Yimin*) in *Hewei Taiwan? Jindai Taiwan meishu yu wenhua rentong lunwenji* (Searching for Cultural Identity: Symposium on Modern Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, 1997) 292.

Chinese culture. Seated in a Ming-style wooden armchair, Liu looks like a Chinese scholar in his study. Dressed in a plain Chinese robe with his back turned to the light, the artist sits brooding with his head leaning on his hand. His face is shaded, accentuating his pensive mood and presenting a sharp contrast to his highlighted back, which leads the eye to the hanging scroll on the wall behind him. With the major part of the scroll cropped by the picture frame, only the lowest three characters, seen in mirror image, are visible: "...Who would know?" Although it is a common Western practice for artists to paint their self-portraits before a mirror, the inclusion of the mirror image within this picture complicates the layers of meaning. It reflects not only the image of the artist gazing at his reflection, but also reveals what is behind him: two major components included in the picture for both decorative and symbolic reasons.

The fragmented calligraphic message reveals a repressed feeling of loneliness, echoed by the quietly blooming flowers in the background, calling to mind the old Chinese maxim—savoring one's own beauty and fragrance unknown to the world. It is a sentiment that was appreciated, indeed eulogized by traditional Chinese literati, especially in times of anarchy and disorder. The mirror imagery in the background encapsulates the artist's emotions as he tries to portray himself on canvas. While identifying himself as a Chinese literatus with a feeling of alienation from the real world, Liu acknowledges, by introducing a mirror into the study, the existence of a surrounding modern world—in the Westernized metropolis of his colonial mother country—in which he is an insignificant foreign art student. Besides the artist's Western hairstyle, which, in contrast with the other elements of the image, is incongruously modern, the reverse-image Chinese script appears to symbolize the impossibility of reversion to olden times, when China's national standing among Asian countries was superior to that of modern Japan. The unseen mirror, a Western invention introduced to Taiwan through Japanese channels, symbolizes both modernity and colonialism, which in colonial Taiwan oftentimes seemed synonymous.

A self-portrait of Korea's first oil painter, Ko Hui-Dong (1886-1965), executed as a graduation piece for the same art school, provides a contrast to Liu's more equivocal self-image. Although Korea became a Japanese colony in 1910, Ko Hui-Dong represents himself in *Self-portrait with a Crown on the Head* (fig. 109) as an official in the solemn court attire of Korea's Choson (Joseon) Dynasty (1392-1910), in a half-length portrait format against a neutral background. Ko Hui-Dong was sent by the government of the Korean Empire in 1909 as one of the first students to study Western Painting at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. When he graduated and returned to Korea in 1915, the Korean national flag had been replaced by the Japanese flag.³⁴⁶ Although the sentiment of grief and anguish seems subdued in this oil painting, executed with a relatively realistic style, Ko Hui-Dong's self-portrait articulated a nostalgia for and sense of identification with the fallen dynasty whose royal family had ruled for over five hundred years, and for whom the artist had served as a translator.

Unlike the Koreans, the Taiwanese people did not have an identifiable sovereign to whom they could pledge allegiance or upon whom they could project nationalist ideals. Taiwan was a settler's society, many of whose ancestors had come from China hundreds of years earlier. For most of its elderly intelligentsia, their Han cultural ethnocentrism prevented them from identifying with the Manchu rulers of the Qing Dynasty, which was deemed heterodox by Confucianists. Even Sun Yat-sen's republican revolution against

³⁴⁶ After the First Sino-Japanese War, the Treaty of Shimonoseki officially guaranteed Korea's independence from China and the Choson Court declared the establishment of the Korean Empire in 1897 to signify a sovereign nation no longer a tributary of the Qing Dynasty. After a short period of Russian influence, however, the Choson Dynasty ended in 1910 when Japan annexed the Korean peninsula after it defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. For a survey of Korean history under Japanese rule, see Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: a Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997)139-84.

the Qing government was promoted with ethnocentric slogans about expelling the “savage Manchus” and restoring a Han China.

The sentiment of national longing in Liu Jintang’s *Self-portrait*, therefore, is both indistinct and ambiguous, evoked in a romanticized image of a melancholic youth’s nostalgia for far-away antiquity. The new Republic of China, proclaimed by the KMT in Canton in 1912, was still a fragile entity, while what used to be the Manchu Empire was riven by warlord rivalry and foreign imperialist economic predation. What Liu and other Taiwanese portrayed in their nostalgia and what they enlisted in their identity construction, was a China that no longer, and perhaps never had, existed. It was a utopia that provided the agonized Taiwanese mind with a space in which to assert itself or to resist Japanese cultural hegemony, although in the Taiwanese cultural representation, the colonial shadow tended to show through in varying degrees of visibility.

After graduating from the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1921, Liu Jintang settled in Beijing and attended Peking University as a student of Chinese Literature. He also started to teach Western-style painting in the National Beijing School of Fine Arts, founded in 1918. With a few teaching colleagues and other oil painters in Beijing, Liu co-founded the Apollo Society—the first avant-gardist art study group in Beijing, which contributed to the modernization of art education and exhibitions in the conservative capital city. Liu married a Chinese woman in 1923 and became increasingly active in both art educational and political domains, assuming several posts at the Education Bureau and Overseas Chinese Affairs Bureau of the Beijing City government from 1924 to 1927.

Liu moved to Hangzhou in 1928 upon being appointed chair of the Western Painting Department of the newly founded National West Lake College of Arts. His most famous self-portrait, *Plantain* (fig. 110), was created in 1928 and 1929 while he was away from the stagnant, traditional atmosphere of Beijing, engaging more vigorously in creative work. Dressed in a black cassock, wearing prayer beads, and sitting in a lotus

position on a prayer mat, he portrays himself as a meditating Buddhist monk, though with eyes open. Behind him is West Lake with its famous causeway in the distance.

In *Plantain*, a more symbolic, stylized expression replaces the realistic style of the self-portrait created in Tokyo seven years earlier. Compared to the latter, which exudes a young man's romantic identification with traditional Chinese literati, this self-portrait created in Hangzhou is stylistically more evocative of Chinese flavor, yet emotionally more secluded from the world. Even the poetic landscape in the background seems desolate, reflecting a mood of aloofness. As a devoted art educator and republican dedicated to the pursuit of Chinese national self-determination and determined to "go native" in a China where many artists regarded "replacing religion with aesthetic education" as their social duty,³⁴⁷ Liu's self-representation is surprising in its explicit sense of alienation, embodied in the image of a Buddhist monk, a metaphor for detachment and transcendence. Liu had forged a new Chinese identity by assuming his adoptive father's surname and ancestral home province, but there were more complex and fundamental issues involved in "becoming Chinese" and ridding himself of his Taiwanese identity. Because Taiwanese people under Japanese rule knew only the Japanese language and Chinese dialects other than Mandarin such as Taiwanese and Hakka,³⁴⁸ Liu decided to study in the Chinese literature department of Peking University

³⁴⁷ This was a famous slogan coined in 1917 by Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), one of China's most prominent educators and the first president of Academia Sinica. Cai placed much emphasis upon the significance of the sociocultural role of art cultivation and aesthetic education. See Cai Yuanpei, "Yi Meiyu dai zongjiao shuo," (Replacing Religion with Aesthetic Education) in *Cai Yuanpei Meiyu Lunji* (Selected Writing of Cai Yuanpei on Aesthetic Education), ed. Gao Pingshu (Hunan: Hunan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1987) 43-47; Nie Zhenhua, *Cai Yuanpei ji qi meixue sixiang* (*Cai Yuanpei and His Aesthetic Thinking*) (Tianjin: Tiangjin Renmin, 1984) 341-86.

³⁴⁸ Taiwanese, the most widely spoken Chinese dialect in Taiwan at the time, originated in southern Fujian Province, from which came the majority of Chinese immigrants to the island. The second-most common dialect in Taiwan is Hakka, used by people belonging to the Hakka ethnic group whose ancestors immigrated from Guangdong Province.

to improve his Mandarin, the officially declared national language. Still, his residual Taiwanese accent was suggestive of southern roots, and he sometimes pretended, among the people of Beijing, whose dialect was considered as the standard for good Mandarin pronunciation, that he was from Fujian Province.³⁴⁹ Circumstances might occasionally compel him to disown Taiwan in order to avoid the discriminatory attitudes of Chinese whose grudge against Japan was often vented on Taiwan, commonly referred to as Japan's "menial dog."

Wherever we go, no one trusts us. We are destined to be a deformity. It is not fair that we receive such treatment since we ourselves have not sinned. But what else can we do? We must, by virtue of concrete actions, prove that we are not "a son born of a concubine." We are by no means less enthusiastic than others for sacrificing for the cause of building the Chinese nation.³⁵⁰

The paragraph quoted above is an excerpt from an episode in the novel *Orphan of Asia*, in which the protagonist, reunited with an old Taiwanese friend who, like Liu Jintang, had successfully become a university professor in China, expresses the discrimination experienced by all Taiwanese in China. As remembered by his son, Wang Ping, Liu Jintang was a sullen, melancholic presence at home, quick-tempered and disconsolate over his frustrated career.³⁵¹ His colleagues at the private Jinghua Art School attacked him in newspapers after he returned to Beijing in 1930 to become president of the school, where he proceeded to launch numerous reforms. One of his critics inveighed against him:

Wang is a Taiwanese called Liu Jintang, who snuck into China with a different name, Yefeng, after committing a serious crime in Japan. Adopting Wang

³⁴⁹ Zhou Yali, "Zuguo rentong yu Taiwan guanhuai: Liu Jintang de 'Taiwan yimin tu,'" 301-2.

³⁵⁰ Wu Zhuoliu, *Orphan of Asia*, 120.

³⁵¹ Zhou Yali, "Zuguo rentong yu Taiwan guanhuai: Liu Jintang de 'Taiwan yimin tu,'" 302.

Faqing's surname and changing his first name to Yuezhi, he took over the Apollo Society and exploited it as his own property. He polluted the National Art School and was expelled. He has been disturbing our education and ruining the refined tradition [of the Jinghua Art School]. He should be deported from China as soon as possible for our people's peace of mind.³⁵²

If the Taiwanese were an Other in Japan, they remained so in China. Or worse, they were looked down upon as colonial stooges of Japan, China's most resented foe. It was a fact realized all too painfully by Taiwanese intellectuals, who at first naïvely regarded going to China as bringing an end to their colonial suffering, offering the promise of a sense of belonging. Taiwanese writer, Zhong Lihe described the feeling of discrimination in a sarcastic tone in 1945:

Beiping [Beijing] was very big. With its greatness and modesty, it was capable of embracing everything. But if you were recognized as Taiwanese, it would be trouble. It would be unfortunate, it meant a death penalty. At that moment, you would feel exactly how narrow Beiping was; it would be too narrow to hide you, because, it welcomed only honorable people.³⁵³

In many respects, Taiwanese people in most inland provinces of China actually had a feeling of being like a foreigner.³⁵⁴ The hero in Zhong Lihe's autobiographical short story "Oleander" expresses his "cultural shock" when he first arrives in Beijing from his "homeland in the south." He cannot help feeling confused and alienated after he finds out that the thinking process and lifestyles of his Beijing neighbors are completely different from those of both his Taiwanese homeland and, particularly, the old cultural China of his imagination.

³⁵² *Peking Morning Newspaper* 17 Aug. 1931, quoted from Xie Lifa, "Liu Jintang • Taiwan zuizao de liuri you huajia," (Liu Jintang: the earliest Taiwanese oil painter who studies in Japan) *Taiwan chutu renwuzhi* (Taipei: Qianwei, 1988) 106.

³⁵³ Zhong Lihe, "Baishu de beiai," (The Sadness of White Potato) *Yuanxiang ren* (Taipei: Yuanjing, 1988) 168-69.

³⁵⁴ Most Chinese immigrants to Taiwan came from two coastal provinces: Fujian and Guangdong. Their spoken dialects, lifestyles and customs were very different from those of the inland provinces of China.

Sometimes, he almost has strong doubts about his relationship with them. He often wonders whether they are really from the Weishui River basin. That is, whether they are people of the same blood, same customs, cultural tradition, history and fate as himself.³⁵⁵

In Liu Jintang's pictures, all the pungent feelings and perplexity are distilled into a lyrical nostalgia. Behind the poetic lyricism and the Buddhist composure in his *Plantain*, there is a subdued sentiment of estrangement and loneliness. Buddhism, with its philosophy of cosmic piety and universal compassion for all, has been a popular religion in China regardless of historical or social distinctions. Many have converted to Buddhism not only in the pursuit of enlightenment but as an escape from secular involvements, especially in times of upheaval and political turmoil. Besides its religious connotation, Liu's Buddhist attire reveals his feeling of alienation from a Chinese society that viewed him, just as he viewed himself, as an Other; it also signifies a craving for equanimity and contentment denied him by the secular world.

The most intriguing motif in the self-portrait is the plantain tree. Rendered in considerable detail, with a hanging banana bunch, peduncle and foliage, it occupies more than one-third of the pictorial space. Although this picture is titled *Plantain*, and the plantain is a poetic motif in traditional Chinese literature, what Liu rendered here looks more like a banana tree, which was a popular emblem of colonial Taiwan, well known for its banana exports. In Buddhist iconography, it is the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) under which Buddha is reputed to have received enlightenment while meditating in its shade. Although representing himself as a Buddhist monk, Liu replaces the tree of enlightenment with a tree reminiscent of his homeland, making one of its bending leaves fall right behind the monk's head, like an oval nimbus. Expressive of the island's tropical ambiance and fruitful abundance, the banana tree was a favorite motif of artists, depicted in many paintings and Japanese tourist images of Taiwan.

³⁵⁵ Zhong Lihe, "Jiazhutao," (Oleander) *Jiazhutao* (1945; Gaoxiong: Paise Wenhua, 1997) 12.

Liao Jichun's *Courtyard with Banana Trees* (fig. 25), painted at about the same time, similarly makes the banana tree a significant motif, evocative of the earthy scenes and tropical atmosphere of the Tainan area in southern Taiwan, where Liao lived. By contrast, the banana tree in Liu's self-portrait is more symbolic than representational because banana trees grow only in tropical climates like central and southern Taiwan. The climate of the depicted West Lake area in Liu's picture is too cold for bananas to thrive. The banana tree is thus a metaphor for the far-away homeland, and its misplacement beside West Lake suggests the artist's own deracination. Sitting in a lotus posture for meditation, free from all secular ambition, what takes root in Liu's mind is the image of Taiwan, renewed and poeticized amid a homesickness aggravated by the experiences of discrimination and alienation that was the common fate of so many Taiwanese expatriates.

As noted by some scholars, Liu Jintang's *Swallows Flying in a Pair* (fig. 111), from the same period, is charged with the same nostalgia in its lyricism and poetic allusions. In a format evocative of Chinese ink painting, Liu depicts a lady in Chinese costume, alone in a yard enclosed by high walls, gazing at a pair of southward-flying swallows. Liu had given voice to the similar theme of insatiable yearning in one of his poems: "...the bitterness of longing, lasting year after year, cannot be appeased."³⁵⁶ Swallows fly to the south every winter, but the artist, like the lonely lady in the picture, remained in solitude, far away from the object of his longing. In order to escape the colonial reality of Taiwan, for both cultural and political reasons, Liu had chosen to identify with China. Yet, in both his literary and pictorial work, images of Taiwan replaced those of China as expressions of yearning for a sense of belonging. Although

³⁵⁶ Liu Yi, "Liu Jintang de shengping yu yishu," (Liu Jintang's Career and Art) in *Liu Jintang Bainian Jinian zhan*, (Liu Jintang Centennial Memorial Exhibition) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1994) 17.

residing in the West Lake area, whose superb scenery had been eulogized by innumerable Chinese poets and artists, Liu conveyed in his poetry and painting a nostalgia for unseen vistas far away. Having changed his name in hope of becoming Chinese, he named one of his sons “Tai” in memory of his own birthplace and homeland Tai-wan.³⁵⁷

Unlike other Taiwanese artists, who maintained close contact with Taiwanese colleagues and participated in their associations and exhibitions even when living abroad, Liu tried to conceal his roots, disguising his sense of loss as a vague feeling of sadness in his artwork. Before his death, Liu returned to Taiwan only once, in 1925, on an information-gathering tour performed on behalf of the Beijing Education Bureau. Love and concern for Taiwan continued to be a significant theme in his art, however, and his last two major paintings express a profound compassion for and empathy with the suffering of the Taiwanese people.³⁵⁸

Completed in 1934, Liu’s painting *Outcast (Chimin tu)* (fig. 112) has been cited by some writers as being the first oil painting that alluded to mounting anti-Japanese sentiment in China in the lead-up to the Second Sino-Japanese War (often described in Chinese as the Chinese War of Resistance against Japan).³⁵⁹ Hired by Liu off the streets of Beijing, the model for the picture may well have been part of the exodus of refugees that flooded into the city and other regions of northern China in the wake of Japan’s

³⁵⁷ Xie Lifa, “Liu Jintang • Taiwan zuizao de liuri you huajia,” 87; Yang Lizhou, preface, *Liu Jintang Bainian Jinian zhan*, 7.

³⁵⁸ After Liu passed away in 1937, *Taiwan Yimin Tu* and another of his oil paintings, *Journal of a Desperado*, were selected by the Chinese government to show with other Chinese paintings at the World Fair in Paris. *Outcast* was exhibited at the Second Chinese Art Exhibition in Nanjing. Liu Yi, “Wo de fuqin,” (My Father) in *Liu Jintang Zhang Qiuhai shengping yu yishu chengjiu yantaohui lunwezhuanji* (Conference on Life and Artistic Achievement of Liu Jintang and Zhang Qiuhai) (Taizhong: National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts) 51.

³⁵⁹ Xie Lifa, “Liu Jintang • Taiwan zuizao de liuri you huajia,” 87-88.

occupation of Manchuria (known in China as the Northeast) in 1931. Hence although this image of a homeless old man might be interpreted as standing for all dispossessed and down-trodden human beings, some have regarded it as symbolic of Chinese and Taiwanese victims of Japanese aggression and as an indictment of Japanese imperialism.

In addition to whatever anti-Japanese connotations the painting may have, *Outcast* bears a number of meanings personal to the artist. Depicted with a formal, frontal view, the old man is represented as having a sage demeanor, looking directly at the viewer with a calm gaze free of self-pity, strongly expressive of forbearance and an understanding attitude. In a review of Liu's one-man show in 1934, *Outcast* was mentioned by the prominent Chinese painter Xu Beihong as his favorite among Liu's paintings. He greatly appreciated what he perceived as its strong resemblance to paintings by the Swiss painter Ferdinand Hodler.³⁶⁰

In a sense, *Outcast* is also a self-representation of Liu Jintang, who during his self-exile in China felt as rootless and marginalized as an outcast. In a style integrating realistic observation and symbolic representation, the artist projected onto the wrinkled face of a refugee his own inner suffering mixed with compassion. Taiwanese literary works of the period express similarly complicated feelings of dislocation, rejection, and helplessness. Wu Zhuoliu's *Orphan of Asia* portrays the same sentiment and self-awareness—that of a young Taiwanese who feels like an orphan and an outcast, having failed to find a place for himself either in his native land of Taiwan, in the colonial mother country of Japan, or in the ancestral motherland of China. To the great disappointment of the Taiwanese people, no one seemed to care for their predicament, and they had nobody but themselves to turn to for consolation.

²⁴ Xu Beihong, "Wang Yuezhi Huazyhan," (Wang Yuezhi's Exhibition) *Zhaongyong Ribao* 12 Dec. 1934, in *Xu Beihong Yishu Wenji* (Taipei: Yushijia, 1987) vol.I 264.

In a poem composed in 1933 for a visiting brother on the occasion of the latter's return to Taiwan, Liu Jintang had articulated the feeling of being orphaned in these words:

Having fallen [to the Japanese] for over forty years,
The Taiwanese *chimin* [outcasts]³⁶¹ no longer have anyone's sympathy.
Return home and be a good farmer, my brother.
Our seventy-year-old mother still depends on you.³⁶²

It is noteworthy that Liu Jintang used the term *chimin*, or outcast, in this poem to characterize the Taiwanese. Only one year later he used it in the three-character Chinese title for his painting of the homeless old refugee—*Chi-min tu* (Picture of an Outcast)—which appears in writing on the upper margin of the canvas of *Outcast*, imitating the format of a traditional Chinese pictorial scroll. As a title deliberately chosen to enhance the image's evocation of sympathy for the downtrodden, "*Outcast*" alludes not only to the marginal existence of Chinese refugees in metropolises like Beijing, but also to the Taiwanese people, who felt marginalized as an appendage of either the Chinese or Japanese empire. As the artist had addressed Taiwanese people as *chimin* in the 1933 poem, in his view, the Taiwanese people were as helpless as the refugees from northeastern China. After hostilities between Japan and China broke out in 1931, Taiwanese were often regarded by Chinese as accomplices of Japanese imperialists. Distrusted and discriminated against, they faced a more humiliating situation than that of Chinese outcasts.

Of all Liu Jintang's paintings, the one with the most explicit connection to Taiwan is *Taiwan Yimin Tu* (Picture of Taiwan *Yimin*), painted with oil pigments on silk (fig.

³⁶¹ In the compound expression *chimin* used by Liu both in the poem and in the Chinese title of his painting *Outcast*, the word *min* means "person/people," and the word *Chi* means "forsake/forsaken." Thus, *chimin* literally means "forsaken person/people."

³⁶² This is one of several four-line poems that Liu wrote for his brother Liu Jinjiang. Liu Yi, "Liu Jintang de shengping yu yishu," in *Liu Jintang Bainian Jinian zhan*, 18.

113).³⁶³ The title is taken from the four Chinese characters (*tai wan yi min*) found in the cinnabar seal affixed at the top of the painting in the manner of a traditional ink painting or calligraphic work. The word *min* means *person, people* or *a people*. The word *yi* can variously mean leave behind/left behind; forget/forgotten; abandon/abandoned; hand down or handed down from the past; heritage; or legacy—depending on the word that follows *yi* in compound expressions. When used in the context of a change of political regime, the expression *yimin* often refers to those who identify with a fallen regime or those who mentally resist the new political dispensation. As a fragment used in the title of a piece of art, however, *yimin* carries multilayered overtones of the above-listed meanings of the word *yi*. On the sad, negative side, it conveys the idea of a people who are lost, abandoned, and forgotten. More positively, it connotes survivors who carry on a legacy.

Executed in 1934, *Taiwan Yimin tu* is one of Liu Jintang's last masterpieces, in addition to being his most enigmatic work. As if representing an invocation of blessings for the people of Taiwan under colonial rule,³⁶⁴ the painting depicts three young women with modern hairstyles dressed in long Chinese-style *qipao* gowns, all standing still, barefoot, two of them with joined palms in a gesture of prayer.³⁶⁵ The woman in the center holds in her right hand a miniature globe, with Eastern Hemisphere turned toward the viewer. Her downward-stretched left hand makes a Buddhist *Varadamudra*

³⁶³ Xu Beihong in his review on Liu Jintang's exhibition in 1934, referred to this work as a *Picture of Taiwan Yi min*. He regarded it as a successful example of the artist's experiment in painting with oil pigments on silk. He also commended the drawing technique of the work and related it to the style of French painter Pierre Laurens. Xu Beihong, "Wang Yuezhi Huazyhan," 263.

³⁶⁴ For a detailed analysis of the painting, see Zhou Yali, "Zuguo rentong yu Taiwan guanhuai: Liu Jintang de 'Taiwan yimin tu,'" 290-306.

³⁶⁵ This is the most common Buddhist hand gesture (*Namaskara mudra*). As in most religious traditions, it signifies devotion and reverence. In Buddhist iconography and in Buddhist worship, the palms are held at chest level.

(wish-fulfilling hand gesture).³⁶⁶ On her open palm is an eye staring outward, evocative of the palms in images of the thousand-armed Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara.

In conjunction with Buddhist iconographic attributes, the female trio with their monumental stature and idealized visages evoke a sense of dignity and detachment characteristic of religious icons in Chinese Buddhist art, which may have been why this painting was titled *San Dashi* (Three Great Personages) when it was reviewed by *Shangbao Huakan*.³⁶⁷

In traditional Chinese art, seals served a variety of functions. According to Liu Jintang's son, the square seal employed to imprint on the painting the four vermilion Chinese characters—*Taiwan yimin*—was probably carved by Liu Jintang's friend Wang Chingfang.³⁶⁸ It is possible that Liu intended to imprint the seal as a title for the painting in a fashion that would enhance its Oriental flavor as he experimented with combining Western and Eastern pictorial vocabularies. In Chinese artistic tradition, however, a seal on an artwork rarely represents a title. Rather, it usually denotes the artist's signature, artistic pseudonym, the name of his studio, the essence of his personal philosophy or

³⁶⁶ *Varadamudra*, or *varamudra*, means a gesture (*mudra*) that bestows or fulfills (*da*) a wish or boon (*vara*). When the Buddha is depicted in the lotus position, the hand rests on his knee. When the Buddha is depicted standing, the hand is to his side, with palm facing forward. This mudra symbolizes charity, compassion and commitment to help those who call upon him. E. Dale Saunders, *Mudra: a Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1960) 51-54; Li Hongxue ed. *Fojiao zhuzun shouyin* (Mudra of Buddhist Deities) (Chengdu: Bashu Shushe, 2003) 1-4.

³⁶⁷ In popular Buddhist or Taoist images, the major deity, such as the Buddha, is commonly flanked by two minor deities, such as Bodhisattvas. When it was first shown in the magazine *Shangbao Huakan* (published in Tianjin), Liu's canvas of *Taiwan Yimin* was given the title *Three Great Personages* (*San Dashi*) by the editor, probably because its figural composition and hand gestures were reminiscent of the popular trio of Bodhisattvas—*Absinthe*, *Avalokitesvara* and *Samantabhadra* in Buddhist iconography. Liu Yi, "Liu Jintang de shengping yu yishu," in *Liu Jintang Bainian Jinian zhan*, 18.

³⁶⁸ Wang Chingfang was a colleague of Liu Jintang at Beijing Art School and was quite active in Beijing art circles of the time. Liu Yi, "Wo de fuqin," 51.

literary inclination, or a quotation from a literary work. Assuming the seal was not intended as the title of this painting, it is reasonable to suppose that the seal “*Taiwan yimin*” probably served as an alias seal or a studio seal, signifying the artist’s acknowledgment of his identity as a Taiwanese.

Whatever the seal represents, it is interesting to ponder. Did Liu Jintang coin the term *Taiwan yimin* to highlight the fact that the Taiwanese people had been “left behind” by Qing China to bewail their fate in isolation? Or did he do so with the aim of symbolizing the Taiwanese people’s spirit of resistance to the Japanese conquerors, with a still vital cultural identification with the previous regime? Although the artist was silent about the implication of his work, it is clear, at least, that it was entangled with where he came from, who he was, whom he cared for and what he longed for.

In response to inquiries about the peculiar eye on the woman’s hand extended in a wish-fulfilling *mudra*, Liu Jintang once stated that it was an eye “looking out on Taiwan.”³⁶⁹ Despite its equivocal connotation and enigmatic iconography, it is clear that this painting represents an invocation of blessings for Taiwan, whose people had no one to turn to in their plight. With nowhere on Earth to cry to for help, they could only plead for divine intervention to change their destiny. *Taiwan Yimin Tu*, with its peculiar amalgam of artistic styles and pictorial idioms drawn from different cultural traditions, was Liu Jintang’s swan song, created in honor of his long-yearned-for homeland and its people.

Liu Jintang’s journey of self-fulfillment ended prematurely with his sudden death from appendicitis in Beijing in 1937, leaving behind unrealized dreams, an unrequited yearning and a legacy of intriguing pictures, which convey as the leitmotif of his art a constant longing for and pursuit of a sense of belonging.

³⁶⁹ Liu Yi, “Wo de fuqin,” 51.

Chen Chengpo

Another modern Taiwanese artist who looked to China in pursuit of career prospects brighter than those available in his colonialized homeland is Chen Chengpo (1895-1947). As in Liu Jintang's case, Chen's Japanese colonial and Chinese experiences served to heighten his awareness of his Taiwanese identity. He differed from Liu, however, in the way he positioned himself in relation to the two dominant cultures. Also, Chen was more extroverted in temperament and treated art as a vehicle for transcending identificatory conflicts.

Chen Chengpo has been nicknamed "Taiwan's Van Gogh" by those who appreciate his fervent spirit and zeal for painting. Van Gogh was his hero in his pursuit of art, and, like Van Gogh, Chen Chengpo died prematurely, becoming a tragic figure in the history of modern Taiwanese art.³⁷⁰ One of Chen Chengpo's earliest self-portraits (fig. 114) completed in Tokyo while still an art student and exhibited in the 1929 Hongo Art School Exhibition, was painted in homage to Van Gogh.³⁷¹ It was probably painted when he had just graduated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School and decided to enter the school's graduate program for advanced study in oil painting.

³⁷⁰ According to Xie Lifa, Van Gogh was Chen Chengpo's hero among all artists and in Chen's book collection, there were two Japanese books on Van Gogh's life in which his many underlines in red ink demonstrate the owner's repeated reading. One book was a biography translated and edited by Kitahara Yoshio. The other is a collection of Van Gogh's correspondence translated by Kimura Sohachi. Both were published in 1929. Xie Lifa, "Xueyuan zhong de surenhuajia," (A Naïve Painter in Academy) *Xiongshi Meishu* 106 (1979): 34.

³⁷¹ Although the year for this oil has been dated differently by scholars, it is agreed that it was created when Cheng studied in Tokyo in the period 1927-1928. Li Shuzhu, "Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) nianbiao de chongbian," (Chen Chengpo's Chronicle, Revised) *Jinyishu* (Mar. 2003): 114.

The painter depicts himself against a background of stylized sunflowers. Framing his figure with the famous motif associated with Van Gogh, whose art and life had become the stuff of legend among Taiwanese artists of the time, Chen expresses something more than a stylistic experiment inspired by European Post-Impressionism. Co-founder of Taiwan's earliest Western painters' group, the Seven Stars Society, established in 1926, Chen Chengpo was an artist of passionate temperament and idealistic spirit. Before going to Tokyo, he had articulated his fervent commitment to art in his notes of 1921: "For someone who sees the creation of art as his mission in life, could he still be regarded as an artist if he could not live for art, and die for art?"³⁷² He was naturally drawn to Van Gogh's zealous devotion to his art and dreamed of founding an artists' society and creating a new kind of oil painting with an Oriental character.

In this self-portrait, the painter looks determined yet apprehensive, with half of his visage in the shadow cast by his wide-brimmed hat. The sunflower motif conveys his identification with this legendary Dutch painter and his ideal of pursuing a new art "in the South"—only the South did not mean Arles for the Taiwanese student in Japan, but his Taiwanese homeland, where the sun shone as brightly and sunflowers grew as exuberantly as in Van Gogh's canvases of southern France.

Being the first Taiwanese painter to exhibit at Tokyo's Imperial Salon, in 1926, he attained the official recognition which was an important goal for all of his Taiwanese colleagues. In addition, 1927 saw the inauguration in Taiwan of the annual *Taiten* salon which became a showcase for Taiwan's first generation of modern painters, who were desperate to seize any opportunity to assert themselves for both personal glory and the island's glory under Japanese rule. For most of them, becoming a professional artist was a tremendous struggle, given the lack of proper institutions of art education and

³⁷² Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 29.

information from the outside world, as well as a dearth of employment opportunities in Taiwan. In Chen Chengpo's case, his wife had to work hard in Taiwan to make a living for the whole family and support Chen financially while he studied in Japan.³⁷³ To his family's disappointment, after finishing his graduate studies in 1929, Chen Chengpo chose to go to China instead of returning to Taiwan to become a primary school teacher.

Chen Chengpo accepted a post as a professor in the Western Painting Department of the private Xinhua Arts School (1926-41) in Shanghai; he would teach there and at other private art schools until the summer of 1933.³⁷⁴ As in Taiwan, the development of modern art in China was still in its formative stage. Because of the dearth of formal art schools in China, many aspiring artists went to Japan or Paris to receive academic training.³⁷⁵ In spite of the shadow of imperialist incursions and domestic disorder, the second decade of the 20th century saw in China the establishment of many private art education institutions in addition to a few public art academies. Chinese art students were more fortunate because, in comparison to Taiwan, China offered more freedom and opportunities for pursuing artistic enterprises. Chen had associated with

³⁷³ According to his son Chen Chongguang, after Chen graduated from the *Zuga Shihan* Division of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, his decision to pursue advanced studies in oil painting at the graduate school annoyed his wife, who stopped sending money to him in the hope that he would return. However, she gave in to Chen's wish when he fell ill from exhaustion, having to work to support his studies. Chen Chongguang, "Huishou jing bainian: 'Jiayiren- Chen Chengpo bainianji' jinianzhan yougan," (Reflection on the Exhibition in Memory of Chen Chengpo's Centenary Birthday) *Xiongshi Meishu* 276 (1994): 41-42.

³⁷⁴ During this period from 1929 to 1933, Chen taught Western-style painting at several private art institutes, such as the Xinhua Arts School, Chuangming Arts School, and Yiyuan. Chen Chongguang, "Huishou jing bainian," 42.

³⁷⁵ Li Chu-tsing, "Bali yu chuqi zhongguo xiyanghau de fazhan" (Paris and the Development of Western Painting in China) in *Zhongguo bali zaoqi lufa huajia huiguzhan* (China • Paris: Seven Chinese Painters who Studied in France, 1898-1960) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1988) 7-9.

Chinese art students in Tokyo and was so attracted by their ideal of creating an orientalized modern art that he made a trip to southern China in the summer of 1928 when he was still a graduate student at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. A few landscapes of West Lake painted during the trip record his first impressions of China. One of them, depicting a view of West Lake Canal (fig. 115), was exhibited at the second *Taiten* that same year.³⁷⁶ Compared to the desolate landscape in Liu Jintang's *Plantain*, which was completed at about the same time, Chen's West Lake is depicted as a place for sightseeing and tourist pleasure, dotted with such noticeable signs of commercialization and modernization as a motorized launch and power lines.

In the second year of his Chinese period, Chen Chengpo painted another *Self-Portrait* (fig. 116). More financially secure at the time, the artist portrayed himself with plumper cheeks, a brighter palette and bolder brushwork. This picture reflects a new self-confidence on the part of the artist, who had become an art professor and was eager to champion modern art. The symbolic sunflower motif of his first self-portrait was replaced by another floral motif, *fusang* (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*), a tropical flower growing almost everywhere in Taiwan. When he painted his melancholic self-image against a background of abstract sunflowers a few years earlier, Chen meant to draw a parallel between himself and Van Gogh, with whom he identified strongly for his artistic ideals and style. The iconographic significance of the *fusang* flowers was of a different nature. It was not derived from any symbolic or schematic source in either Western or Oriental artistic traditions, but from the artist's reminiscences of one of the most common flowers in Taiwan. In contrast to the patterned, wall-paper-like sunflower motif in the early self-portrait, the bright, vivid hibiscus blossoms serve as more than a decorative

³⁷⁶ The oil painting exists in only the form of a back-and-white photographic reproduction.

background, acknowledging both the artist's homesickness and his pride in his Taiwanese identity.

There must have been complicated feelings and ambiguous sentiments in Chen Chengpo's encounter with China, as there must also have been in the experiences of all other expatriate Taiwanese. One of Chen's calling cards from his Shanghai period shows no mention of his birthplace, Taiwan. Under his official title as chair of the Western painting divisions of two private art schools in Shanghai, Fujian was "conveniently" cited as his ancestral province. That is, instead of indicating where he himself came from, it states where his ancestors came from. This would suffice on social occasions, as people in China were accustomed to asking new acquaintances about their ancestral geography. On the back of the card, however, he identified himself as a graduate of Tokyo Fine Arts School and listed seven major salons at which he had exhibited his works. The combination of Japanese Imperial salons and colonial salons in both Taiwan and Korea reveals his colonial identity indirectly, but overtly nevertheless.³⁷⁷

It appears that what mattered most to Chen was his artistic identity. He was so engrossed in painting and teaching that he seemed less bothered than Liu Jintang by the problems of contesting ethno-national identities. Liu's involvement in Chinese politics made him an easy target of ethnocentric attacks, whereas Chen generally associated with painters who had friendly interactions with him. While Liu Jintang tried to replace his Taiwanese identity with a brand new Chinese identity, Chen Chengpo seemed to find little conflict in positioning himself as both a Taiwanese and a Chinese. Furthermore, whatever feelings of social or linguistic alienation he had were offset by the excitement of participating in a new artistic enterprise.

³⁷⁷ Li Yuchun, *Youcai • reqing • Chen Chengpo*, (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1998) 53; Li Shuzhu "Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) nianbiao de chongbian" (Chen Chengpo's Chronicle (1895-1947), revised) *Jinyishu* (Art Today) 126 (2003): 110.

Chen Chengpo's father had a *xiuca* degree conferred by the previous Qing Dynasty government and was a respected teacher of Chinese classics at a local *shobō*. In spite of the fact that his father left him in his infancy,³⁷⁸ Chen took great pride in him. His admiration for Chinese culture seems in part to have been an extension of a yearning for his father. He once remarked, "Born in the Qing Dynasty, I would rather die in a Han nation,"³⁷⁹ sounding like someone determined to martyr himself for the honor of the Chinese nation. Chen Chengpo was born only three months before Taiwan was ceded to Japan, and therefore had no actual knowledge of Qing China. Although Taiwan was part of the Chinese empire between 1683 and 1895, Chen Chengpo, like Liu Jintang, belonged entirely to the generation of Taiwanese who grew up under Japanese rule. In Chen Chengpo's case, his admiration for his father deepened his admiration for Chinese culture, as manifested in the interest he showed in classical Chinese and calligraphy.³⁸⁰ On the other hand, the Japanese education he received in both Taiwan and Tokyo shaped his values and artistic cultivation.

Throughout his Chinese period, Chen traveled between China and Taiwan and remained active in the official exhibitions of Japan and Taiwan as well as of China. In Japan, he exhibited *Early Spring* at the Tenth *Teiten* in 1929 and *Female Nude* at the Eleventh *Teiten* in 1930. His works were accepted for display at the Second Prince

³⁷⁸ Chen Chengpo's mother died soon after he was born. His father remarried and put the infant in a nanny's care. He lived in the nanny's home until the age of three, when his grandmother took him in and raised him on her own. At the age of thirteen, when his grandmother became too old to work, he moved in with his second fraternal uncle's family. It was not until then that Chen was able to attend elementary school for the first time. Xie Lifa, "A Naïve Painter in Academy," *Xiongshi meishu* (December 1979): 20; Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 27-28.

³⁷⁹ Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 29.

³⁸⁰ Chen even participated in classical Chinese composition activities and in 1923 took sixth place in the 37th Chinese writing competition of the *Chongwen* Society in Zhanghua. Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 28.

Shōtoku Arts Exhibition in 1930.³⁸¹ He never failed to send works to the colonial salons in Taiwan, exhibiting landscape paintings, primarily of Chinese scenes, in the Third to Sixth *Taitens*. In China, his works were exhibited at the Fujian Provincial Arts Exhibition in 1928 and the First National Fine Art Exhibition in Beijing in 1929, for which he served as a juror.³⁸² He was elected as one of “the twelve major contemporary oil painters” in China, and his *Clear Stream* (fig. 117), was selected for exhibition at the Chinese Village in the World Fair in Chicago in 1933.

In addition, Chen was active in non-official exhibitions. He participated in annual exhibitions of the Japanese artists’ association *Kaijusha* (Pagoda Tree Society, 1924-1932) from 1927 to 1930.³⁸³ He sent works to be exhibited by the Red Island Society (1929-1933), a Taiwanese artists’ association, and he was the only Taiwanese painter who participated in exhibitions of the Chinese avant-gardist society *Juelan* (Storm, 1931-35).³⁸⁴ Eager to pioneer “an art of the Oriental,” Chen Chengpo appears to have succeeded in transcending the complications of the China-Taiwan-Japan triangle. As an artist with a Western-style art education and working with Western media, his ideal of creating an Oriental art that would stand up to modern Western art reflects a nationalist sentiment popular among both Japanese and Chinese artists of the time. All of them endeavored to create a new modern art with distinctive national characteristics. After the

³⁸¹ *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Chengpo*, vol.1 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1992) 252.

³⁸² Li Shuzhu, “Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) nianbiao de chongbian,” 115-16, 119.

³⁸³ Li Shuzhu, “Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) nianbiao de chongbian,” 114, 119-20; *Taiwan meishu quanji: Chen Chengpo*, vol.1, 252-53.

³⁸⁴ For an account of the founding of the *Juelan* society, see Pang Xunqin, “*Juelan she xiao shi*” in *Yishu xunkan*, 1/5 (1932) and Pang Xunqin, *Jiu shi zheyang zouguolai de* (This Is the Way I Came) (Peking: Sanlian, 1988) 171-74 ; see also Yan Tingliang, “*Xin xing yi shu de kuang lan: Juelan she yanjiu*,” (Storm of New Art: Research on the *Juelan* Society) *Chengyan yishu*, 12 (Apr. 2003)
<<http://www.be-word-art.com.cn/no12/document4.htm>> (25 Mar. 2008)

early stage of imitation, both Japanese and Chinese artists sought to develop ethnic aesthetic characteristics that could hold their own in an amalgam with Western art. Although China and Japan competed with each other for leadership in Asia, both Chinese and Japanese artists felt humiliated by the imperialist incursions of the Western powers. Their modernization programs started from similar roots, with resort to westernization followed by nationalistic demands for the orientalization of Western imports. In this common pursuit of a modern Oriental art, Chen seemed to find an extraordinary degree of latitude that permitted him to transcend the identity contradictions that typically afflicted Taiwanese sucked into the vortex of Sino-Japanese antagonism. Chen's commitment to art in the name of the sweeping term "Orient" rationalized for him who he was and what he was doing.

Chen associated with Chinese painters working in both Chinese and Western media. His surviving letters and photos of the period show that he made friends with many painters and occasionally joined them on sketching trips. He sketched many cityscapes of Shanghai streets and harbor scenes and also frequented West Lake, Suzhou, and Lake Tai to portray the scenery of these places, whose poetic imagery had been perpetuated in Chinese literature. It has been suggested that in Chen's rendering of sites evocative of Chinese literary associations and historical memories, an allusion to traditional Chinese painting seems to prevail.³⁸⁵ In most of his canvases, however, especially those that record his impressions of modern cityscapes and everyday reality,

³⁸⁵ Yen Chuan-ying notes that Chen Chengpo, in painting such scenes as West Lake landscapes that were full of historical tradition, tended to refer to the tradition of Chinese landscape painting through the use of smaller broken brush strokes evocative of Chinese ink painting and rendering of distant views in a forward-tilting manner, against the Western principles of linear perspective. Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 38-39. Liu Yuchun argued that in Chen Chengpo's landscape paintings of southern China, a brownish yellow and green dominated his palette, which was less colorful than his ordinary tonality, but closer to that of traditional Chinese landscape painting. Lin Yuchun, *Youcai, reqing, Chen Chengpo* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1998) 63.

references to Van Gogh and Cézanne dominate.³⁸⁶ On the one hand, his approach and technique are based upon his solid, Western-style academic training in Japan.³⁸⁷ As he himself indicated, nature was his studio and most of time he painted directly in the open air. Pictures such as *Bridge Reflection, Shanghai, Mt. Putuo Beach, Shanghai Warf*, and *Suzhou* (figs. 118-121) demonstrate that he worked diligently to record his perceptions and impressions of both natural scenery and views of modern life. On the other hand, he wanted to find a new way of seeing the world and occasionally borrowed the linear rhythms, ink color, brushstrokes and various compositional devices from traditional Chinese painting. In such landscapes as *Villa by Lake Tai* (fig. 122), *Clear Stream* (fig. 117) and *West Lake* (fig. 123), elements such as shifting perspectives and calligraphic brushstrokes seem to reflect an effort to combine pictorial idioms from the Chinese literati tradition with Western media and techniques.

It is evident that Chen was groping for a new representational language. He had been accustomed to the tropical scenery of Taiwan. The misty atmosphere of China's lake areas and the hurly-burly and modernity of metropolitan Shanghai demanded different palettes and new styles. Unlike in Taiwan, where Chinese ink painting had lost favor in the colonial salons, ink painting still dominated the pictorial arts in China, and the visual schemata of the literati tradition were still pursued as canons. Chen Chengpo

³⁸⁶ Were it not for economic and family obstacles, Chen would have gone to Europe to study Western art firsthand. He had studied French and cherished two books on Van Gogh all his life. He wrote from China to his Japanese mentor Ishikawa Kinichirō about his plans for Europe, but Ishikawa advised him to remain in China and take the opportunity to study oriental culture and art since Chen's personal finances would not allow a trip to France. Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 39.

³⁸⁷ The mainstream of modern painting in Japan was dominated by a kind of "Academic Impressionism" represented by the followers of Kuroda Seiki at both the Tokyo Fine Arts School and the Imperial salons. Since the majority of the Taiwanese painters who studied art in Japan entered this school and regarded the Japanese official salons as the most authoritative place to achieve public recognition, it was necessary for them to become versed in the dominant taste and the Japanized style of academic Impressionism.

himself revealed that early in his Shanghai period, he had become interested in Chinese painting, particularly the works of Ni Zan (1301-1374) and Bada Shanren (1626-1705).

Nevertheless, conflating elements from the Chinese visual tradition with Western media, Chen Chengpo's relation to the literati masters remains rather superficial. Take, for instance, his most famous work from this period, *Clear Stream*, which presents a view of *Duanqiao canxue* (Melting Snow at Broken Bridge), one of the ten most celebrated views of West Lake in Chinese literature.³⁸⁸ A deliberate reference to the Chinese pictorial tradition in this picture is observed in such aspects as its shifting perspectives, brownish tan tonality, and calligraphic brushstrokes and lines.³⁸⁹ Upon further examination, however, it seems clear that *Clear Stream* does not convey the characteristic aesthetics of Chinese landscape painting. In the Chinese literati tradition, landscapes ranked at the top in the hierarchy of subject matter for paintings. The virtuosity of execution of landscape paintings—in terms of both mastery of ink-and-brush calligraphic technique and profundity of observation of and communion with nature—was taken as an indicator of the literati artist's breadth of mind and depth of cultivation. Chinese landscape painting, therefore, was less concerned with representation of outward appearance than with the expression of rhythmic vitality and poetic sentiment.

In contrast to that standard, Chen's landscape *Clear Stream* seems to be a relatively straightforward record of his visual perception. Although its spatial arrangement does not adopt a typical linear perspective, the painting's lines and colors,

³⁸⁸ Traditionally, the "Ten Views of West Lake" include: Melting Snow at Broken Bridge, Autumn Moon over the Calm Lake, Lotus in the Breeze at Crooked Courtyard, Twin Peaks Piercing Clouds, Spring Dawn at Su Causeway, Three Pools Mirroring the Moon, Viewing Fish at Flower Harbor, Evening Bell at Nanping Hill, Sunset Glow at Leifeng Pagoda, and Orioles Singing in the Willows.

³⁸⁹ Lin Yuchun, *Youcai, reqing, Chen Chengpo*, 56; Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe de huaxiang," 39.

on the whole, serve a fairly descriptive purpose. Further, the painting evidences no contrast of *yin* and *yang*—void and substance—which is crucial to the spatial organization of traditional Chinese landscape painting. In the latter, parts of the pictorial space are deliberately left blank, whereas in *Clear Stream*, no space is left unpainted.

If Chen Chengpo's *Clear Stream* is viewed side by side with Liu Jintang's *Plantains*—which also shows a view of West Lake in the background—it is evident that Liu's work evokes more literary sentiments while Chen's work is rooted in the post-impressionist tradition. The desolate landscape in *Plantain* is emblematic of Liu's emotional alienation from the reality in which he found himself. In this aspect, his *Plantain* is more reminiscent of Ni Zan's landscapes, which are often interpreted as conveying the alienated vision of this Yuan painter under Mongolian rule. In contrast, *Clear Stream* manifests a stylistic and compositional affiliation closer to Western landscape painting—such as Cézanne's *Mont Sainte-Victoire* (1886, Courtauld Institute of Art)—than to Ni Zan's images of Lake Tai scenery or Bada Shanren's archaic landscapes in the style of ancient Chinese masters. Chen's rendering of West Lake is more descriptive and matter-of-fact, and his relation to the depicted vista remains primarily on the visual level. Following the Western practice of painting landscapes in the open air, Chen tended to faithfully register on canvas what appeared before his eyes, including details like modern buildings, telegraph posts and tourists. Despite his self-proclaimed admiration of Ni Zan's linear style and Bada Shanren's brushwork, his work is a far cry from their rarefied representation of nature and their mastery of sophisticated calligraphic idioms.³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Chen's interest in Ni Zan and Bada Shanren among other literati artists is prone to a reading which notes Chen's similar fate to these two artists, both of whom lived in dejection under the rule of a different ethnic group—Ni under the Mongolians and Bada under the Manchus, respectively. However, Chen's pictures of Chinese scenic spots often reflect a sightseeing mentality in which the eye is busier than the mind or the heart. His

No matter what type of Oriental characteristics feature in Chen's picture, and to what extent they do so beyond an exploration of pictorial forms, they signify an active involvement of the Taiwanese artists in a collective effort to pioneer a modern Asian art. *Clear Stream* is one of the paintings of which Chen was most proud. It was exhibited in China's First National Art Exhibition, organized by the Ministry of Education in 1929, and was sent back by the artist to Taiwan to show in the third *Taiten* of the same year. It was also exhibited along with other Chinese paintings in the Chinese Village at the Chicago World Fair in 1933. In view of the variety of official exhibitions in which this canvas was shown, it is manifest that Chen was equipped with an enterprising spirit and a belief in the idea that art transcends national boundaries.

In addition to Chen Chengpo's busy teaching engagements at three different private art schools, he participated in art exhibitions and associated with a variety of local artists working in both Chinese and Western styles. He took the opportunity to see masterpieces of traditional Chinese painting and made the acquaintance of Chinese-style painters such as Yu Jianhua and the brothers Zhang Daqian and Zhang Shanzi, just to name a few, through introductions by his old acquaintance Wang Jiyuan.³⁹¹ As an artist working with Western media, the most significant society which he joined during his Chinese period was the avant-gardist art society *Juelan*. He attended most of its meetings, gatherings and inaugural exhibitions before he was forced to leave China in 1933 upon the outbreak of war. Led by Pang Xunqin and Ni Yide, *Juelan* gathered a group of young painters who shared a common dissatisfaction with the Chinese art scene of the 1930s and wanted to devote themselves to a collective avant-garde movement. Almost all its

attraction to these two literati painters seems to arise simply out of visual interest than out of any historical parallel with himself.

³⁹¹ Chen had known Wang since his student days in Tokyo when Wang visited there with a Chinese art observation group. Li Shuzhu, "Chen Chengpo (1895-1947) nianbiao de chongbian," 111-12.

members had studied Western art in either France or Japan and drew their creative energy and artistic concepts from the Western post-impressionist tradition and modernist schools like Fauvism and the School of Paris. *Juelan* is often referred to as the first art society to promote Western-style modern art in China. Its establishment marked a high point of the modern art movement in China before an upsurge of nationalist sentiment in the mid 1930s prevailed over the “art for art’s sake” ideal upheld by *Juelan*’s members.³⁹² Records show that Chen Chengpo was present at *Juelan*’s first meetings for discussions concerning the society’s inauguration, naming, criteria, and future group exhibitions. Although it remains unclear which works of Chen’s were exhibited, he participated as an associate member in *Juelan*’s first group exhibition in 1932, on which occasion it publicized its rebellious manifesto in a fanatical tone:

Painting is neither the slave of religion nor the illustration of literature; we shall construct a world of pure forms, freely and synthetically.
We loathe every old form, old color, and any mediocre low-end technique. We shall express new spirits with novel techniques.
The 20th century in Europe has seen vigorous new spirits, the loud shouts of the Fauves, the transformed shapes of Cubism, the violence of Dadaism, and the fantasy of Surrealism....
The 20th century in China expects the emergence of some new spirit.
Let’s rise! Create a world made of color, line and form with stormy passion and steely sense!”³⁹³

These heady words were more radical than the actual pictorial styles of their works. In spite of their admiration for Fauvism and Dadaism, their painting in varied styles was still based on a formal exploration of the legacy of the post-impressionist

³⁹² Xie Peini, “Juelan she yu sanling niandai de Shanghai: jianxie zhongguo meishu xiandaihua diyiqi de licheng” (Juelan, the Storm Society and 1930s Shanghai: with A Brief Account of the First Phase of Modernization of Chinese Art) in *Shanghai Juelan she jinain zhan: Juelan she yu sanling niandai de shanghai* (Juelan, the Storm Art Society & 1930s’ Shanghai) (Taichung: Taiwan Museum of Art, 2000) 11-12.

³⁹³ Ni Yide, “Juelan she xuanyan,” (Proclamation of the Juelan) *Yishu xunkan* 1:5 Oct.1932, quoted from *Shanghai Juelan she jinain zhan*, 23.

school. Chen Chengpo must have felt invigorated by and proud of sharing in a collective artistic enterprise dedicated to pioneering modern Chinese art. In particular, the sense of belonging and being included in a serious undertaking partly fulfilled Chen's desire to prove himself, a desire rooted in his lonely childhood and intensified by his colonial experience. Owing to a paucity of documentation, it is hard to discuss the stylistic influences or interaction between Chen and his fellow Chinese painters, who worked in a variety of styles. Nevertheless, Chen's paintings of the last three years of his Chinese period were charged with a vigor and boldness that reflect his personal enthusiasm for collective pursuit of modern art. Although Chen was more famous as a landscape painter, his figural paintings from this period demonstrate a more enterprising spirit and expressive intent in formal terms. Compared with his earlier work in landscape, pictures like *Woman*, *Little Boy* and *Girl* (figs. 124-126) were executed in a freer manner through which the artist's subjective perceptions and conceptions could be expressed by means of a direct delineation, broad brushwork, vivid color contrasts and flattened pictorial space.

My Family (fig. 127), a portrait of the artist's own family, is the most intriguing picture of Chen Chengpo's Chinese period. It depicts his family in their dwelling in Shanghai, gathered around a big dining table. Before assuming his teaching post in China, Chen had been away from home for more than five years, and his wife had had to raise their family in Taiwan while paying tuition for her husband in Japan. Now the family had finally reunited after Chen was able to take over their financial responsibilities and get them together in China. In this domestic scene, intended to signify the happiness of the Chen family's reunion, Chen chose to render himself as a painter at work, holding the palette and brushes. In the background hang two of his landscapes, the only decorations on the wall. The artist seems to attempt to record in one single picture his identities as father and husband in a modern nuclear family and as a painter of oil paintings.

According to the reminiscences of Chen's eldest son, the figure second from right in the picture, the family portrait depicts one of the most precious moments of their rare time together as a family.³⁹⁴ Every evening after supper, while the mother did her chores, the father would show them his work of the day or explain his ideas to them. The artist employs a tilted perspective for the depiction of the round table, which symbolizes the union of his family, while at the same time displaying each member's interest or preoccupation. On the table, in addition to children's toys and readings, there is a Chinese ink-stone and brush set, two envelopes addressed to "Mr. Chen Chengpo" in Shanghai, and a Japanese book titled "Proletarian Painting." The Chinese ink-stone and brush are the necessary writing implements for his daughter's calligraphy homework, but they also allude to the painter's new interest in traditional Chinese painting, with which he had come into close contact while living in China.

Under the impact of nationalist sentiments among Chinese artists, Chen upheld the importance of preserving the quintessence of traditional Chinese art. On the other hand, the incongruous presence of a Japanese book on proletarian painting bespeaks Chen's connection to Japan as well as to an intellectual current of the time, when many young Asians were attracted to socialist utopian ideals or even joined secretive leftist associations. Like the modern art movement, the socialist cause seemed an appealing reformist option, especially given its utopian vision, which transcended national boundaries and cultural differences.³⁹⁵ The presence of the Japanese book nevertheless

³⁹⁴ Chen wrote the title "My family" on the back of the canvas in Japanese. This work was not dated, however, and we can only gather that it was probably executed during the period between August 1930 and November 1931. Before August 1930 his wife and three children still lived in Taiwan, and after November 1931 his fourth child was born in Shanghai and would have been included in this family portrait.

³⁹⁵ Although little is known about Chen's involvement with Japanese or Chinese socialist associations, he was once quoted in an interview as saying that the center of Oriental culture was Moscow. *Taiwan Shinminpao* 1933, cited from Yen Chuan-ying, "Yongzhe

reveals another identity of the artist related to Japan, which he had to guard with great discretion while in China. Coming from a Japanese colony, Taiwanese were constantly under a discriminatory, suspicious gaze in China. Each member of Chen's family is portrayed with staring eyes and a tense expression, the shadows behind them accentuating a sense of menace as a full-scale Sino-Japanese war looms ahead.³⁹⁶

Instead of looking at each other, all the figures in *My Family* stare in the viewer's direction, as if conscious of an outsider's gaze. This awareness of the spectator becomes the unifying element of the composition, in which even all the objects on the table are placed peculiarly, as if floating, for the convenience of the viewer. The ensemble of this domestic imagery is charged with a feeling of uneasiness and apprehension. Away from their hometown in Taiwan, they lived in the exotic metropolitan city of Shanghai, where people did not understand their Taiwanese or Japanese, just as they could not comprehend Mandarin or the Shanghai dialect. The family was drawn closer to each other by the shared feeling of alienation from the outside world.

de huaxiang," 44. In addition, a number of *Juelan* members, such as Pan Xunqin, were formal members of the *Taimeng Society*, which was banned by the Chinese government in 1931 because of its radical leftist coloration. It is likely that Chen came in contact with socialist ideas first in Japan when he studied art there during the 1920s and then in Chinese art circles. As for colonial Taiwan, most leftist movements were purged or disbanded by 1931, and the remaining Taiwanese Communist Party members fled to southern China. See Lu Xiuyi, *Riju shidai Taiwan gongchandang shi (1928-1932)* (The History of the Taiwanese Communist Party under Japanese Occupation, 1928-1932) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1989); see also *Taiwan Sōtokufu Keisatsu Enkakushi* (The Chronicle of the Police Affairs of the Government-General of Taiwan), ed. Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, (1933-1942; Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 1986) vol.3, 583-874.

³⁹⁶ The Japanese Army invaded northeastern China on September 18, 1931. This "Mukden Incident" augured the Second Sino-Japanese War, which would last until the end of World War II. Japan established colonial control over Manchuria in 1932. On January 23, 1932, the Japanese army invaded Shanghai under the pretext of protecting Japanese expatriates. The military conflicts following the January 23 Shanghai Incident lasted four months, until China and Japan signed the Shanghai Ceasefire Agreement. By the agreement, Shanghai was designated as a demilitarized zone in which China was allowed to keep only a small police force.

In February 1932, after the Japanese embassy's notice of evacuation of all Japanese expatriates in Shanghai after the January 23 Shanghai Incident, Chen sent his family back to Taiwan. He lived alone in China for another year or so, hoping for a chance to stay. It soon became very clear, however, that his motherland was actually in semi-colonial enthrallment to many imperialist powers, of which Japan was but a latecomer. China could not take care of herself, let alone the people of Taiwan. Ironically, for safety reasons, Chen had to stay in the French concession as a Japanese expatriate until he too was forced to leave China in June 1933. His last pictures of Shanghai cityscapes, rendered in a relatively unrestrained style, were his farewell to the most modernized yet also most colonized metropolis in China. Unlike his earlier lakescapes, these cityscapes were executed with a spontaneity evocative of Van Gogh or early Cézanne. They (figs. 128-129) are reminiscent of Western modernist representations of modern life, exuding a similar sense of alienation and detachment, albeit for different reasons.

After returning to Taiwan, Chen did not secure a teaching job but became a professional painter. In an interview published in *Taiwan Shinminpao* in 1934, Chen summarized his goal, shedding light on his artistic credo along with an assertion of Oriental cultural identity. He mentioned that since his Shanghai period he had become interested in traditional Chinese painting. "We are Oriental and should not gulp down styles of Western painting without thinking." For the expression of "linear dynamics," or rather, "a certain unspeakable mysterious power," he was taking pains to explore the role of lines in pictorial composition and experimenting with a new method in which "lines were concealed within touches," which he believed would yield better effects. In

conclusion, Chen described his future direction as combining rich Oriental color with “Renoir’s linear rhythm” and “Van Gogh’s touch and application of brush.”³⁹⁷

It is noteworthy that the first generation of Western-style painters in Taiwan had no native visual schemata to turn to as a frame of reference for their creations on canvas. Much less were they involved in any aggressive revolt against or revival of any canonic pictorial tradition. In addition, the conservative atmosphere of colonial Taiwan discouraged an innovative pursuit of a non-mainstream style that tried to encompass both the modern and the traditional, especially at a time when the old pre-colonial tradition had become problematic and was replaced by new colonial cultural paradigms. Chen Chengpo, Liu Jintang and other Western-style Taiwanese painters in China were distinctive in their attempts at achieving a stylistic “nationalization” of oil painting. This artistic venture, however, bore little fruit, since their knowledge of both Western and Chinese pictorial traditions remained on a relatively superficial level.

In Chen Chengpo’s case, he was forced to leave China before attaining any genuine internalization of Chinese aesthetics. His Chinese lakescapes appear quite affected and tentative because he was not yet capable of a creative synthesis of disparate visual traditions, despite his artistic ambition. After he returned to Taiwan, the Chinese pictorial tradition gradually ceased to be a dominant influence on his exploration of pictorial idioms. When Japan’s de-Sinicizing policy was reinforced with all-out Japanese aggression in Asia, overt references to Chinese cultural forms was expunged. Chen’s work from the period nevertheless not only bears witness to his personal cultural encounter in China, but also sheds light on the dynamic history of the interface between competing cultures in the common process of pioneering modern art.

³⁹⁷ “Yincang xiantiao de cabihua,” (Painting Containing Lines in Touches) *Taiwan Shinminpao* Fall 1934, in Yen Chuan-ying, “Yongzhe de huaxiang,” 44.

Rendering Taiwanese-ness in the Late Colonial Period

Identities are realized in difference rather than in essence. For Taiwanese people, their colonial experience transformed politically, culturally and psychologically their relationship with the rest of the world. On the one hand, they came to realize that they were regarded as Other anywhere outside the island. On the other hand, they developed an awareness of their Taiwanese-ness and the distinctiveness which that implied. From the reality of their situation as citizens of a colonial territory, they discovered the insurmountable gap between being “Japanized” and being Japanese. Moreover, those who wanted to replace their colonial identity with a Chinese identity experienced disillusion and discrimination in China, which was another, quite different world, allowing them no sense of belonging.

In other words, the projections of Otherness made by dominant cultures had significant effects on the collective identificatory construction of the Taiwanese, who were confronted with the division between self and Other within a fraught cultural context. The first cultural encounters were poignant and shocking, but they also yielded positive effects to the extent that they presented the differences through which identities could be created or expressed. Through the experience of alterity, the Taiwanese intelligentsia were the first among the colonized Taiwanese to see their own images of “Taiwanese-ness” highlighted in the mirror of “Chinese-ness” or “Japanese-ness.”

Along with the futile search for a sense of belonging among the Chinese or the Japanese, the colonial period in Taiwan saw the emergence of an archetypal consciousness of what it meant to be Taiwanese. Like the protagonist in *Orphan of Asia*, many Taiwanese youths who had embarked on a journey of self-discovery that took them to Japan or China would return to Taiwan with a different self-identification emerging through the pathways of alterity. Having undergone these alienating encounters and discriminatory experiences, the collective construction of a Taiwanese identity finally

now turned from an outbound search for identification with Japanese imperialism or Chinese ethnocentric Han culturalism into an inbound enterprise of self-rationalization and self-definition.

As colonial identities do not exist in stable, coherent terms, artistic characterizations of Taiwan and a Taiwanese specificity under Japanese rule were in a state of uncertainty, ambivalence and tentativeness. The continuous contact between competing dominant cultures of Japan, China and the West engendered dynamics of cultural self-definition that saw a hybridity and ambivalence in the construction of Taiwanese identities. During the formative years of Taiwanese modern art, all Taiwanese painters were faced with the challenge of representing Taiwan and the shifting relational identity of the Taiwanese within the framework of the institutionalized practice of exhibitions.

Rather than attempting to identify a distinct style of painting that might characterize the pictorial response to that challenge, I will try to delineate the varied ways in which different painters endeavored to negotiate or define a distinctive Taiwanese character on their canvases. Selected pictures created during the final years of Japanese colonial rule will be examined in order to elucidate the dynamics and problematics of individual artists' positionings and identity constructions in reaction to the diverse elements of Japanese colonization, Westernization, the influx of new ways of thinking, observing the world, and behaving.

Cheng Chengpo's *Coconut Trees* of 1938 (fig. 130), five years after he had returned from China, depicts a view of Taiwan's first arboretum. Established in Taipei in 1896 by the colonial government as *Taihoku Byōho* (Taipei Nursery Garden), an experimental site for plant breeding and seed production, the site expanded rapidly and was declared a botanical garden in 1921, as a spot for public leisure, forestry research and natural science education. Like many other urban recreational and educational facilities in Taiwan, the Taipei Botanical Garden was emblematic of colonial modernity and became

a popular tourist attraction for Japanese vacationers. As Matayoshi Seikiyo points out, the Taipei Botanical Garden symbolized for them Japan's possession of Taiwan, offering concrete contact with tropical flora brought together in a combined display to create an exotic ambience.³⁹⁸ In addition, two buildings of symbolic significance were erected in the garden. The *Kenko Jinja* was a shrine erected in 1928 dedicated to the spirits of all those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of Japanese colonization. The Taipei Commercial Museum was founded in 1916, occupying a two-story building constructed with Taiwan red cypress (*Chamaecyparis formosensis*) from Mt. Ali, designed to house an exemplary collection of Taiwanese products and to present related information on local agriculture and trade development.³⁹⁹

Instead of depicting either of these two edifices or the garden's abundant variety of tropical flora collected from across the island and abroad,⁴⁰⁰ Chen Chengpo chose to render in his depiction of the garden a sight seen through rows of coconut trees that provide welcome shade for visitors looking for shelter from the blazing sun. As discussed in previous chapters, the coconut tree, like the banana tree, had become a popular motif in colonial tourist images of Taiwan and represented a sign of the island's consumerized and consumable tropicality and exoticism. Chen was not the first to depict the coconut tree as an emblematic tropical motif in Taiwanese landscapes. His canvas articulates more complicated layers of meanings, however, by deliberate inclusion of a historical relic from the previous regime. Beyond the sun-baked yellow ground, across a bridge in the background, is a part of the *Buzhengshisi Yamen*, the Qing-era Taiwan provincial

³⁹⁸ Matayoshi Seikiyo, *Taiwan jinxi zhi lu: Taipei pian* (Travel into Taiwan's Past and Present: Taipei) trans. Wei Tingchao, (Taipei: Qianwei, 1997) 252.

³⁹⁹ Matayoshi Seikiyo, *Taiwan jinxi zhi lu*, 251-55; He Peiqi ed. *Rizhi shiqi de Taipei* (Taipei under Japanese Rule) (Taipei: National Library, 2007) 175-84.

⁴⁰⁰ By 1930, the garden contained 1,120 species of plants, half of which were imported. He Peiqi ed. *Rizhi shiqi de Taipei*, 175.

government's administrative office for civil and financial affairs, built in western Taipei in 1888.⁴⁰¹ In 1932, it was torn down so that the site could be used to construct a convention center in honor of the coronation of the new Showa Emperor. Parts of the dismantled building were preserved, however, and reconstructed in the Taipei Zoo and the Taipei Botanical Garden in that same year. It is the portion reconstructed at the latter locale that Chen Chengpo included, partially obscured by the luxuriant tropical scenery, in the garden setting of *Coconut Trees*.

As if only incidentally glimpsed by the painter working en plein air under the coconut trees, the silhouette of the historical relic of old China, embodying as it did the artistic features and styles of ancient Chinese Palace architecture, is almost indiscernible. Under the colonial sky, in a Western-style urban park designed for public leisure, this emblem of China—first dismantled, then reconstructed—was now objectified like a specimen on display, side by side with specimens of indigenous and exotic flora, all offered for imperial consumption. Like a specter from Taiwan's historical past, the motif of *Buzhengshisi Yamen* and what it signified was fading into the background of both the natural and cultural landscape of Taiwan, yielding the stage to new motifs representative of the colonial present. The Taiwanese watercolorist Lan Yinding had earlier made a sketch of the building of the *Buzhengshisi Yamen* and remarked in the *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* in 1932 that its dismantling was a pity.⁴⁰² The re-positioning or re-location

⁴⁰¹ In 1895, the *Buzhengshisi Yamen* was chosen as the venue for the inauguration ceremony of Japan's colonial rule and was used as the colonial governor's office building. After a new Western-style building for the Taiwan general governor was erected at another site in 1919, the *Buzhengshisi Yamen* remained deserted for over a decade. Before its destruction in 1932, it was used as the exhibition venue for the Fourth and Fifth *Taiten*. He Peiqi ed. *Rizhi shiqi de Taipei*, 60; Yen Chuan-ying, *Taiwan jindai meishu dashi nianbiao*, 113,120.

⁴⁰² Lan Yinding, "Unmei no kyū chō sha," (The Destiny of the Old Government Office Building) *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* 24 Mar.1932: 6.

of the historical past did not necessarily mean its obliteration, however. Deliberately kept in the distance, the partly hidden, partly visible image of the old Chinese architecture in Chen Chengpo's picture evokes curiosity and imagination. Uprooted and objectified, though it was, Chen represented it as part of a harmonious ensemble in the newly fabricated urban setting, which contextualizes simultaneously the past and present as well as the cultural and natural faces of Taiwan.

If Chen's *Coconut Trees* alludes to the Chinese past by offering a glimpse of an architecture that resonates with historical significance, Li Shiqiao's *Yang Zhaojia's Family* (fig. 131) appropriates another new spectacle of the Taiwanese landscape as a meaningful background for his representation of a modern family portrait. Coming from humble origins but adopted into an affluent landowning family in Taichung, Yang Zhaojia (1892-1976) received his high school education in Japan and graduated from the Political Economy Department of Waseda University. A man with good political and social connections, Yang was known as an eminent leader of Taiwan's autonomy movement, an esteemed benefactor to Taiwanese students in Japan,⁴⁰³ and a generous patron of many cultural and artistic activities in colonial Taiwan.

In this family portrait of the Taichung celebrity and embodiment of the Taiwanese intelligentsia and social elite, Li Shiqiao portrayed Yang, his wife and their seven children in formal attire, gathered on a terrace overlooking the most famous scenic spot of Taichung Park.⁴⁰⁴ Their rather solemn expressions and mannered postures, in

⁴⁰³ When Yang studied at Waseda University in Tokyo from 1925 to 1930, he not only took his wife and children and two cousins with him, but also took in more than twenty Taiwanese students who lived with the Yang family. Yang's Tokyo residence became a popular hangout for Taiwanese students, who had great respect for him. Zhou Ming, *Yang Zhaojia Zhuan* (Nantou: Taiwansheng Wenxian Weiyuanhui, 2000) 77-85.

⁴⁰⁴ The Taichung Park was built by the colonial government in 1903 as the fourth modern city park in Taiwan after Yuanshan Park was built in Taipei in 1897, *Takasago* Park in Keelung in 1900, and Pingdong Park in 1902 in Pingdong City. It soon became a

conjunction with the ambiguous spatial relationship between their foreground placement and the park behind, make the Yang family appear to be inside a photo salon posing for a family portrait in front of an artificial landscape backdrop. Yang's family was actually living in Japan during the execution of this painting.⁴⁰⁵ It seems that Li Shiqiao deliberately incorporated the image of Taichung Park into the background as an allusion to both the family's origin and their standing as members of a leisured class. This canvas was accepted by Japan's imperial salon in 1936 and represented a milestone in the painter's pursuit of official recognition.⁴⁰⁶

When Li Shiqiao made his debut at the Imperial Salon in 1933 with the picture of *Lin Benyuan Garden* (fig. 132), he was still an art student in Tokyo and eager to prove himself by winning official recognition. The canvas depicts a young boy sitting alone in the famous Chinese-style Lin Clan Garden in Taipei.⁴⁰⁷ On a monumental scale, the

landmark and tourist attraction for the Taichung area. The most famous scenic spot inside the park was the pavilion in the center of its Juyu Lake. The pavilion, with its semi-Western, semi-Japanese style, was built in 1908 in commemoration of the completion of the trunk line of the Taiwan railway. The Japanese Prince *Kan'in Kotohito* (1865-1945), who came from Japan to officiate at the railway inauguration ceremony, rested in the pavilion. Lin Liangzhe et al. *Taichung Gongyuan Bainian Fenghua* (Taichung Park – A Century of Glamour) (Taichung: Taichung City Cultural Bureau, 2003) 19, 31-33.

⁴⁰⁵ Li Qinxian, *Gaocai • Zhixin • Li Shiqiao* (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1998) 62.

⁴⁰⁶ Li's first entry to the Imperial Salon was *The Lin Benyuan Garden*, in 1933. After graduating from the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1935, he decided to stay in Tokyo to seek more honors in the imperial salons. During the period from 1935 to 1944, he lived half of the year in Taiwan and made money by painting portraits of Taiwanese well-to-dos, and stayed in Tokyo for the other half of the year working on pieces intended for the official salons. Wang Deyu, "Gaocaidu de zhuzhuzhe: Li Shiqiao," (Seeker of High Color Saturation) *Taiwan meishu quanji: Li Shiqiao*, vol.8 (Taipei: Yishujia, 1993) 19-20.

⁴⁰⁷ The Lin clan in Banqiao was reputed to be the wealthiest clan in Northern Taiwan in the late Qing Dynasty. Completed in 1893, the elaborate Chinese-style garden of their residence in Banqiao was opened to the public during the Japanese period and was a famous attraction for Japanese tourists. For an account of the garden, see Liu Rutong ed. *Lin Benyuan tingyuan jianzhu shiliao* (Documentation of the Architecture of the Lin

picture appeals to the imperial spectators with an exotic ambience that accentuates the cultural gap between them and their colonial subjects in Taiwan. In contrast, *Yang Zhaojia's Family*, with the same Japanese viewers in mind, seems to assert a homogeneity—if not equivalence—between the Japanese-educated Taiwanese elites, exemplified by Yang Zhaojia's family, with their modernized manners, cultivation and lifestyle, and their imperial counterparts.

Yang Zhaojia had played an active role in the movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament, the most long-lasting political movement in colonial Taiwan, seeking Western-style autonomy while maintaining an accommodating stance toward the Japanese regime. In the light of the discursive contradiction between Japan's imperialist ethnocentrism and its colonial assimilation policy, it was reasonable to expect cultural representations of the Taiwanese ambiguously positioned between the extremes of colonial assimilation and differentiation. Yang Zhaojia was representative of the new colonial elite, whose rising influence was an outcome of the “civilizing” Japanese colonialism. The Western-style education fostered by the Japanese generated a cultural awakening and self-awareness among Taiwanese intellectuals, who were taught to envision, within or outside the imperial system, their autonomy and subjectivity.

Unlike their literary counterparts, most Taiwanese painters did not attempt to portray tension or conflict with the imperial power. Their diverse, multivalent pictorial renderings of Taiwan, however, challenged the simplistic imperialist assumptions that reduced the colony to the status of a homogenous Other vis-à-vis Japan.

A number of paintings from the 1930s by the Taiwanese artist Li Meishu present pleasant images of Taiwanese women seen through rose-tinted glasses. Unlike most of his colleagues, who would be fortunate to earn their livings as elementary school

Benyuan Garden) (Taipei County: Taipeixian Wenxian Weiyuan Hui, 1969); Li Qianlan, *Banqiao Lin Benyuan tingyuan* (The Lin Benyuan Garden) (Taipei: Xiongshi, 1887).

teachers, Li came from a wealthy family which allowed him to indulge himself in his artistic enterprise. One of his most renowned works is *Woman at Rest* (fig. 133), executed a year after he graduated from the Tokyo Fine Arts School and exhibited at the Ninth *Taiten* in 1936. In this picture, he portrayed his brother's daughter-in-law sitting on a patio adjacent to their family garden, seemingly taking a rest from her reading. While motifs such as the bamboo chair and red-brick floor are suggestive of a Taiwanese setting, other motifs in the picture—from the woman's hairstyle, dress, shoes, to the idealized background of a picturesque garden—bespeak a taste for things Western. In addition to the young woman's fashionable apparel, the opened book and the scattered color plates that she seems to have been examining are the most important signs of the woman's interests and cultivation. Among the pictures in the lower-right foreground, one can easily identify Renoir's *Nudes* (1918-19) and Van Gogh's *Dr. Gachet* (1890), works of the two most popular Western artists who had become known to many Asian painters in the early 20th century through frequent reproduction.⁴⁰⁸

Depicting the domestic leisure of the new Taiwanese woman with an appealing lyricism, Li Meishu's *Woman at Rest* was awarded the "Taiten Prize" at the colonial

⁴⁰⁸ In addition to illustrations in magazines and art books, individual color prints of Western art also made appearances as printing techniques improved. Moreover, books such as C. Lewis Hind's *The Post-Impressionists* also became available in Japan during the first decade of the century. The avant-garde literary group *Shirabaka* (White Birch) (1910-23) introduced Western art in its monthly periodical and hosted, from its fifth art exhibition onward, shows of reproductions of Western art ordered from abroad by their members. These exhibitions were a great event among Japanese admirers of Western art, and they were so successful that the *Shirabaka* exhibitions would consist almost exclusively of reproductions beginning with its seventh exhibition, at which over 100 works on show were reproductions. Naoki Sato, "Ryusei Kishida's Interpretation of Dürer: The Role of Reproductions in the Japanese Reception of European Classic Art," *The Crossing Visions: European and Modern Japanese Art* (Tokyo: The National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo, 1996) 202, 219-21. See also *Paris in Japan*, 264.

salon.⁴⁰⁹ In one respect, like much idealized female imagery in Western art, the subject of the painting represents an allegory of abstract ideologies and values. The twenty-six-year-old woman, with a submissive expression and childlike gesture of pressing one finger upon her lower lip, addressed the colonial gaze as both a civilized subject and a docile object. Surrounded by images of modern Western art, she was also a personification of Li Meishu's personal taste and cultivation. Among the colonial painters who rarely took young Taiwanese males as their subject matter, Li was particularly proficient in making imagery of Taiwanese women as markers of cultural identification. In this work, the poeticized image of one of Li's family members announced the artist's own identity as a Japanese-educated artist from the Taiwanese upper class, a privileged elite endowed with the skills, education, and leisure necessary to produce such works.

Still, Li Meishu's works reflect the constraints of the colonial discourse and an institutionalized exhibition system that undercut the cultural self-assertiveness of the Taiwanese and thwarted a more innovative articulation from a different perspective. His artistic idioms and conception of modernity represent a localized variation of the Japanese academic taste and the dominant discourse. In the process of challenging the stereotype of the Taiwanese as uncouth and inferior, Li Meishu nevertheless confirmed and embodied the fantasy which lies behind the deep structure of that stereotype, namely the proposition that civilization is equivalent to westernization, and progress equivalent to colonial modernity

Li Meishu's figural paintings from the final decade of the colonial period demonstrate an ambition to delineate an idealized vision of Taiwanese life on a

⁴⁰⁹ After the Third *Taiten*, the *Taiten* Award was established at the colonial salons in imitation of the *Teiten* Award of the Imperial Salon. It was the highest award, with a one-hundred-yen cash prize provided by the government. In addition, *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo* and *Taiwan Asahi Shimbun* sponsored the Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimpo Award and the Asahi Shimbun Award. Wang Xiuxiong, *Taiwan meishu fazhan shi lun* (History of Taiwanese Art) (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1995) 71-72.

monumental scale. His huge 1938 composition *Gentle Breeze* (fig. 134) was an attempt to render something like a Taiwanese version of Puvis de Chavanne's pastoral scenes or Seurat's *Sunday Afternoon on the Island of la Grande Jatte*, but it turned out like a parody with anachronistic putto-like naked children, a casually dressed smoking man, and a trio of women in stylish Chinese gowns inappropriate for a picnic. The picture was apparently inspired by Western pictorial themes like the *fête champêtre* and *déjeuner sur l'herbe*, with modern French painting as its referential canon. Even the apples that the children are shown eating or holding in the picture were not indigenous to Taiwan.

In the same year, Li painted *On the Beach* in a semi-Gauguinesque style to depict another imaginary scene, this time of female bathers on the beach. It too fails, however, to deliver a convincing vision. Neither of these Taiwanese images succeeds in evoking any of the utopian or idyllic implications usually associated with their progenitors in the Western tradition. The painter fails in these works to go beyond the preliminary stage of cultural imitation. He does not succeed in negotiating the gap between experience and imagination, between the Taiwanese reality and his modernist aspiration.

The Taiwanese imagery of modern life constructed on the loose ground of imagination and imitation was prone to become a dry derivative of Western painting. In general, the first-generation Taiwanese artists who worked in Western media and modern-life subjects did so without benefit of a rich store of uninhibited, "modern" urban experiences and without indigenous pictorial schemata. *Gentle Breeze* is only one of many works that are similarly unsuccessful. Rather than conveying the feeling of a Taiwanese golden age or a modern tropical paradise, *Gentle Breeze*, in its mimicry of Western modernity, became an ironic reminder of the wartime reality of the island, famous for its luscious fruits and flora but populated by a lethargic and passive people in a gloomy atmosphere. By that time, the Second Sino-Japanese War had just started, highlighting the irony of this attempt to picture a paradisiacal picnic scene. Li Meishu

himself was unsatisfied with *Gentle Breeze* and held back from further pursuing modern group imagery for years.

It was understandable that Taiwanese painters like Li Shiqiao, Li Meishu and other economically more secure artists wished to stay in Japan. They felt artistically uninspired and uninformed in Taiwan. In pursuit of more inspiration and opportunity, Li Meishu went to Japan again in 1939 and painted *Red Dress* (fig. 135) at a rented studio in Tokyo for submission to the Third *Bunten* exhibition. He went again in 1940 for the purpose of producing another piece, *Woman and Flowers* (fig. 136) for submission to the Fourth *Bunten*.

Red Dress and *Woman and Flowers* represent important accomplishments in Li Meishu's career, signifying his blending into the mainstream of modern Japanese art.⁴¹⁰ He seemed to find fewer difficulties in applying the pictorial vocabulary and schemata of Western art to a Japanese subject. In Tokyo's much more westernized and cosmopolitan environment, the impressionistic rendering of a Japanese waitress and an absinthe-like drink on the table does not look incongruous with the Western-style buildings seen through the window of a modern café in Tokyo.⁴¹¹

Having successfully created his own imagery of modern Japanese working women based on firsthand experience of Japanese modern life and Japanese academic training, Li went on to employ these figures as a kind of prototype for his images of Taiwanese women. The figure in *Peasant Girl* (fig. 137), for example, echoes the

⁴¹⁰ *Taiwan Shinminpao* even made a reproduction of Li's *Red Dress* into a calendar in 1940. Bai Xuelan, *Taiwan xiyang meishu shi sixiangqi: shiqing yu tude* (History of Taiwanese Western Art: Poetry and the Land) (Taipei County: Xinzhuang Shigongsuo, 1997) 60.

⁴¹¹ Li Meishu revealed that his inspiration for *Red Dress* was drawn from the image of a beautiful Japanese waitress he saw when he had tea at a café in the Matsuzakaya Department Store. Bai Xuelan, *Taiwan xiyang meishushi sixiangqi*, 59.

appearance of the two Japanese women, now transferred to the bucolic Taiwanese countryside. Be it a matter of personal preference or artistic measures to reconcile the disparity between the artist's Western canon and native subject, the Japanese seemed to serve as ideal intermediaries for Li's artistic transformation. Compared to earlier works such as *Gentle Breeze*, the *Peasant Girl's* subject looks more natural. The dual transformation of Li's art—first, from modern French to modern Japanese pictorial schemata and sensibilities, and second, from metropolitan Japanese to colonial Taiwanese societal contexts—discloses the impact of referential canons on Li's artistic creativity and cultural conceptions. Both visually and mentally, he needed a Japanese lens to focus and imagine the Taiwanese on his canvas. By so doing, he reiterated in his work the imperial superiority and the subordinated status of his own cultural representation.

To sum up, examination of these paintings reveals a co-existence of disparate or even contradictory cultural constituents that was to become a significant attribute of Taiwanese culture, which was in a constant state of flux, reflecting or refracting multiple influences. A noteworthy characteristic of the artistic images of this period is the expression of an intersecting array of cultural conditions. Japanese and/or Chinese, Western and/or Oriental, local and/or cosmopolitan, assimilation and/or resistance—all these elements came into play and contended with each other in the multivalent constitution of Taiwanese culture. The variety of artistic images offers historical testimony, in the works' ambivalence and uncertainty, to an emerging Taiwanese consciousness of modern art under Japanese colonization. Even today, what challenged the first-generation modern Taiwanese artists remains a persistent concern for contemporary Taiwan artists, writers and commentators in their quest to articulate the cultural distinctiveness of their homeland and themselves.

Identity Struggle and Taiwanese Consciousness during the Pacific War

With the expansion of Japan's imperialist ambitions in East Asia and the Pacific, the Taiwanese islanders felt the shadow of war cast with increasing darkness upon their daily lives. Japanese became the exclusive language for speaking and writing and new penalties were set against non-Japanese cultural practices. Living conditions in the colony became harsher because of the massive mobilization effort for the Pacific War. Many young Taiwanese joined the army. As a colony of the "Great Eastern Asian Empire" of Japan, Taiwan was seen as China's enemy, despite the fact that the majority of its native population shared the same ethnic and cultural background as the Chinese. Many Taiwanese were forced to seek political asylum and fled China under the protection of the Japanese Army. In the final years of the war, Taiwanese were conscripted to serve abroad in non-combat roles.

Schizophrenic identity conflicts were more visible in Taiwanese literature than in the visual arts. When Taiwan's seventeenth Japanese Governor-General, Kobayashi Seizō, decreed in 1937 that *kōminka* (Japanization),⁴¹² industrialization and southward advancement [in Asia] were to be the three criteria for ruling Taiwan, all islanders were forced to come to terms with the increasingly poignant identity problem. It lies beyond

⁴¹² Literally, *kōminka* means "transformation into imperial subjects/citizens." It was a Japanization campaign launched by the colonial government in Taiwan during the War from 1937 to 1945 with the goal of expunging the Han Chinese identity of the Taiwanese to ensure their loyalty to the colonial mother country. Measures included primarily the national (Japanese) language movement, the name-changing program, the military recruitment campaign, and reforms of native religion and social customs. The Taiwanese responses to the movements varied, and were complicated and ambivalent. The Japanese language movement, for the most part, achieved more success; the military recruitment campaign attracted a number of "volunteers" among young Taiwanese while religious and social reforms failed to transform Taiwanese into "true Japanese." In general, the *kōminka* movement caused identity problems among the Taiwanese, particularly the younger generation, who received a complete Japanese-style education. See Chou Wan-yao, "The *Kōminka* Movement: Taiwan under Wartime Japan, 1937-1945," Diss., Yale University, 1991; Ihara Kichinosuke, "Taiwan no kōgyōka to kōminka undō shōwa jūnendai no Taiwan," (Taiwan's Industrialization and the *Kōminka* Movement during the Last Ten Years of Japanese Rule) *Bulletin of Tezukayama University* 17 (1980): 1-27.

the scope of this dissertation to discuss the political and socio-economic aspects of *kōminka* during the last eight years of Japan's wartime rule. Its impact on Taiwanese identity construction was of great historical significance, however. Under the pressure of the *kōminka* movement, the struggle over identity was intensified and became an ever present concern for the Taiwanese, who were obliged to embody colonial ideology and identification as imperial subjects.⁴¹³ What was distressing was not simply the violence and repression under which the Taiwanese people were forced to renounce their indigenous dialects and de-sinicize their cultural practices; more disconcerting was the fact that the *kōminka* movement demarcated more tightly the way in which colonial identity was allowed to be constructed and represented. The leeway in which articulations and contestations of identity could be juxtaposed or intermixed became still narrower.⁴¹⁴ A few Taiwanese writers reflected in their wartime novels the conflicts and confusion that were keenly felt by Taiwanese intellectuals, whose cultural identities and anti-colonial resistance had been constructed on an ambiguous positioning or oscillation between China, Japan and Taiwan.

Wang Changxiong's novella "A Torrent," published in 1943, delineates in nuances the twisted and ambiguous psychology of Japanese-educated Taiwanese during these tumultuous years. The narrator of the story has graduated from a medical school in Tokyo and has returned to Taiwan to be a doctor in a small town. Tokyo and everything Japanese symbolizes for him progress and refinement. The sluggish and conservative lifestyle in Taiwan feeds his hankering for the cosmopolitan, liberal lifestyle that he has

⁴¹³ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese" – Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 91.

⁴¹⁴ Leo T. S. Ching provides an insightful theoretical analysis of the Japanese colonial discourse of *dōka* and *kōminka* that elucidates the fundamental difference between the two colonial policies, which were usually regarded as two stages of a single, continuous colonial project. Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming "Japanese,"* 89-132.

experienced in Tokyo. He feels destined to be lonely among his fellow Taiwanese who cannot understand his sense of loss and longing for a foreign place. But he meets a high school teacher, Yidong, who amazes him with his thoroughly Japanese lifestyle. Despite being a Taiwanese living in Taiwan, Yidong insists on using a Japanese name, marries a Japanese woman, speaks only Japanese and does everything in his daily existence in a completely Japanese way. The doctor is touched by Yidong's courage and "thoroughness," but he is also disturbed by a strange hostility toward Yidong from a high school student, Lin, as well as by Yidong's peculiar tolerance of Lin's insults. In the end, the doctor incidentally discovers the price of Yidong's "thorough Japanization," including ruthless disownment of his own mother, the embodiment of his Taiwanese identity. The doctor regrets that his curiosity has led to his discovery of the disagreeable truth behind this paragon of Japanization, and wishes he had never noticed the premature white hairs appearing on the young Yidong's head.

No matter whether at school or in society, for youths who have received a pure Japanese-style education, once they return home, they immediately find themselves in a completely different environment. Herein lies the overwhelming anguish of our young islanders living a double life. In order to overcome the anguish, they have no choice but to face one [of these two worlds], fight with it head-on, and smash it to pieces.⁴¹⁵

Yidong represents an extreme type who chose to identify with the Japanese world and smash the Taiwanese one. But was there absolutely no possibility of accommodating both worlds in one's life? Were all Japanese-educated Taiwanese intellectuals destined to live out the tragedy of contradictory lives and values.

The high school student Lin is an embodiment of Taiwanese youth who hope to come up with a way to handle the paradoxes of their colonial existence. He enrolls in a Japanese military academy in Tokyo with the determination to prove that "a Taiwanese

⁴¹⁵ Wang Changxiong, "A Torrent," 298.

can be more Japanese than a Japanese.” This, he discovers, is mere wishful thinking. On the one hand, young Taiwanese like Lin were keen to prove themselves worthy subjects of the Japanese Empire. On the other, they tried to preserve their pride and dignity as Taiwanese. Amid wartime exigencies, their inner identity struggle became even more twisted and aggravated in the triangulation between Japan, China and Taiwan.

An incomplete family portrait by Li Meishu exemplifies the challenge faced by the Taiwanese artists working with inevitable and unsolvable identity problems. *A Boy Playing with Turkeys* (fig. 138), painted in 1937, shows the artist’s wife and two children in their farmyard. The mother seems to be going about her chores and is looking at the boy, who is gesturing at the turkeys with a commanding, soldierly or policeman-like posture. In the lower right corner, his sister is sitting on a rock watching the mischief. Judging from the larger-than-life scale of the canvas—227 centimeters tall and 182 centimeters wide—and the existence of three preliminary oil studies, this work was probably created for display in a major exhibition. Comparing the studies with the final work, it is clear that the painter started with a domestic scene in which the figural composition and background scenery are different from the final version. In the largest study (fig. 139), there is an additional female in the lower right corner. In the background we see a white chicken coop, and a portion of a house is revealed through the bushes in the distance. Furthermore, the mischievous boy is rendered as a younger toddler in a black playsuit, while, in the final version, he becomes a schoolboy in uniform.

It is very likely that Li started with a domestic theme and made sketches of an ordinary scene from family life and gradually modified his subject to give it something of a more formal and timeless nature. As usual, he sought to create a grand piece of Taiwanese imagery by means of adapting Western pictorial techniques and vocabulary to Taiwanese subjects. In the first sketch, he posed his wife in a manner reminiscent of a classical statue rather than a housewife on a farm. The wife is shown in the same goddess-like posture throughout the different versions, but the artist changed her hair

style from a fashionable short haircut to a more solemn, long style and made her slender stature more rounded and solid in the final picture. In addition, the chicken coop is removed from the final composition in order to create a more open and noble space, with a high horizon against which the classical image of the mother appears more stately and monumental. The most intriguing modification, however, is in the image of the boy, whose age and height are increased. In the final image he becomes old enough to wear a Japanese military cap and enact a role that suggests not only childish playfulness but also dominance and superiority. As in the text of “A Torrent,” the motif of a Japanese military cap was a gesture to wartime politics and placed almost at the center of the canvas. In this ambitious composition depicting Taiwanese farm life, the aesthetics of Western art, contemporary political reality and Taiwanese specificity are intermingled in a seemingly simple but complex whole. The picture was, however, never completed, and some parts of it seem to have been retouched for political reasons after Japan’s defeat and the handover of Taiwan to Chinese control.⁴¹⁶

Li Shiqiao’s *Chorus* (fig. 140) makes for an intriguing comparison to Li Meishu’s *A Boy Playing with Turkeys* as an example of wartime genre painting. Painted in 1943, when Taiwan was under constant bombardment by Allied air forces, *Chorus* depicts a group of children singing patriotic songs in front of an air-raid shelter. In a realistic rendering that reflects the exigencies and relative poverty in Taiwan during the Pacific War, children are shown in the simple clothes and nearly all barefoot or wearing sandals. The eldest boy, who seems to be leading the chorus with a sheet of lyrics in his left hand, carries the youngest boy on his back. Huddled up to the dependable big brother, as if

⁴¹⁶The cap appears to have been repainted and does not bear any insignia. According to the second daughter of the artist, who was the girl depicted in the picture, their family was afraid that the motif of a Japanese army cap on the boy might become a target of political prosecution during the “white terror” under KMT rule. *Fengtu mingqing: Li Meishu zuopin zhan* (Li Meishu: Land and People) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1997) 84.

looking for protection, is the second-youngest boy, whose Japanese military cap is, here too, made the compositional center of the canvas. Like Li Meishu, Li Shiqiao traveled between Taiwan and Japan, and this appealing group imagery, consisting of children of different ages and postures, is said to have been built upon his observations of both Taiwanese and Japanese children. The military cap, not unlike that in Li Meishu's picture, is often interpreted as a trope in response to military rule in colonial Taiwan.

Upon further reflection, however, the placement of this politically charged motif calls into question a simple reading of the cap as a token of loyalty or as a gimmick to protect the picture from wartime censorship. First of all, both Li Meishu and Li Shiqiao's visual token of allegiance is deliberately placed upon the head of a child, whose naivety simultaneously accentuates and undermines the sense of loyalty, as it is for a cause beyond his comprehension. Typically symbols of the future, children were appropriated as a trope for unreserved faithfulness as well. They epitomize the future generation, rehearsing its future role as unquestioningly faithful "imperialized" subjects of the Japanese Empire. Second, there is an intriguing ambivalence with regard to the children's ethno-national identity. Are all of them Taiwanese? Does the child wear a Japanese military cap because someone in his family has enrolled in an imperial military school or joined the army, like the hero in "A Torrent"? Or is the child wearing the cap intended to be seen as a Japanese, or to symbolize the Japanese? Does *Chorus* present a scene of Taiwanese and Japanese children singing together in unison as a metaphor for equality and unity, bridging the divide between the colonizer and the colonized?

In the light of the social and political reality of the time, the metaphor of unreserved fealty to the Japanese Emperor was little more than wishful thinking and could be imagined or acted out only by uncomprehending subjects. Only children had the innocent enthusiasm that might serve to dilute the harsh reality that Taiwanese grownups knew only too well—the irreducible difference between being Japanized and being Japanese, the unbridgeable gap that could be blurred only in art and fiction.

In a gathering of artists who discussed the issue of war and art, Li Shiqiao described *Chorus* as an expression of joy and happiness combined with pain and struggle. He emphasized the importance of keeping the mood of hope and joy even amid the darkest period of the war.⁴¹⁷ The year the work was completed, in 1943, saw increasing war casualties. Many innocent lives were claimed, including that of the Taiwanese sculptor Huang Qingcheng, who was on a Japanese ship sunk by Allied air craft on a trip back home with his pianist wife. Li Shiqiao's optimistic spirit took the form of children singing in front of an air raid shelter, but what the song was and for whom the children were singing remain intriguing questions. The inaudibility of the song suggests possibilities and leaves room for the imagination, even for those who see the picture as a morale booster. The inherent identificatory tension between Japanese imperialism and Taiwanese consciousness was artfully prevented from surfacing in this work portraying hope in adversity.

Chen Chengpo's *Reminiscence* (fig. 141), painted in 1945, similarly depicts a rehearsal for an air raid. This "documentary" painting of wartime reality, however, is grafted onto a view of his hometown, Jiayi City, near the Huang Deshou House on Anle Street.⁴¹⁸ The rehearsal scene is represented through mundane details, such as two passersby squatting by the wall of the house in the middle ground and a little girl standing on the street wearing a protective helmet for the occasion. Chen's deliberate downplaying of the air raid rehearsal may cause the viewer to miss the wartime context of the scene, allowing the eye to be attracted to the two-story building in the background, with its hybrid European-style colonial architecture, delineated vividly against the purple

⁴¹⁷ Yang Sanlang et al. "Taiyang zhan wei zhongxin tan zhanzheng yu meishu," (War and Fine Arts: Review of Taiyang Exhibition) *Taiwan Bijutsu* Mar. 1945, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Huang Qihui, 348.

⁴¹⁸ Lin Yuchun, *Youcai, reqing, Chen Chengpo*, 126-27.

silhouette of Yushan (Jade Mountain), Taiwan's highest peak, in the far distance. The ensemble is permeated with a feeling of quiet and the timeless beauty of place rather than the poignant reality of a wartime drill.

In general, most Taiwanese painters dissociated themselves from representations of current affairs and harsh realities. Under the smothering influence of the *kōminka* movement, the use of Chinese script and speaking of native dialects were prohibited. Traditional Chinese temples and ancestral shrines were shut down, indigenous religious beliefs were suppressed, and Taiwanese people were commanded to worship at Japanese Shinto shrines. Their Chinese names were changed into Japanese names. Even celebration of the lunar New Year was proscribed. In the end, tens of thousands of Taiwanese were mobilized to the war front. As Leo T.S. Ching has argued, the latitude for contestation of identity narratives by the colonized became very narrow under *kōminka* policies, which made becoming Japanese the sole responsibility of the colonial subject as well as “the only avenue for the colonized seeking deliverance from political and economic inequality.”⁴¹⁹ Notably, when Taiwanese painters addressed the theme of patriotic loyalty, the figures in their genre paintings are predominantly children and women, whose presence is symptomatic of the collective absence of Taiwanese men. With the political and cultural strengthening of colonial rule, their absence reflects the paradoxical and ambiguous psychology of Taiwanese painters who, like others among the privileged, Japanese-educated elite, were predominantly male. Pent-up anxiety and the internalized struggle for identity made them unrepresentable, either ontologically or aesthetically, in their own work.

During the final years of the Japanese regime, scenes of Taiwanese nature or daily life were the main subject matter, allowing Taiwanese artists to express their affection for

⁴¹⁹ Leo T. S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”*, 104-13

and attachment to this homeland in a way that encountered less contradiction and conflict over clashing cultural identities. For example, Chen Chengpo painted several pictures of the pond inside Jiayi Park (figs. 142-143), a pleasant setting shaded by the voluptuous foliage of a flame tree (*Delonix regia*). The park is depicted as a serene and luxuriant sanctuary for birds as well as a haven for visitors during times of turmoil and scarcity. Some of his views of Changrong Girls' High School (fig. 144) suggest a similar association, providing a peaceful haven in the campus from which chaos and disturbances were excluded. Both the park and the school, however, were tokens of the benefits of colonialism, and schools in particular were victims of Japan's acculturation policies.⁴²⁰ Even this Presbyterian high school was no exception. Its principal, a church minister, was forced to return to England in 1937 and was replaced by a Japanese minister who could ensure politically correct curricula, replacing study of the Bible with the study of Shintoism and the study of Chinese language by Japanese.⁴²¹

If Taiwanese painters sought to find form for a refuge or a utopian vision, they gradually came to locate it in Taiwan itself. If there was any possibility of a better life, it was to be realized in Taiwan, by the people of Taiwan, rather than in fantasies of a utopian "Great Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" illustrated in the propagandist images produced by Japanese expatriate painters (figs. 145-147). It was in the representation of

⁴²⁰ With the implementation of *kōminka* policies, tutorials for classical Chinese were forced by the police to shut down, and students who spoke Taiwanese in school were disciplined.

⁴²¹ Changron Girls' High School was originally founded by the British Presbyterian Church as a Presbyterian Girls' School in 1887 during the Qing Dynasty, and the only qualification for admission at that time was that students could not have bound feet. When Chen Chengpo produced a series of paintings of its campus and dormitory buildings in the 1940s, it had already developed into a formal high school with a fully localized curriculum study of the Bible in Chinese translation, Chinese Classics such as *Shih-jing* and *Shan-je-jing*, arithmetic, algebra, Japanese language, geography, astronomy, physiology, housecraft, gymnastics, domestic hygiene and child-raising. <<http://www.ckgsh.tn.edu.tw/newpage/ckgshpage11.htm>> (12 Mar.2008)

the ordinary countryside and down-to-earth rustic life that a Taiwanese consciousness, if not yet an autonomous Taiwanese identity, was emerging in Taiwanese art.

Li Meishu's *Sunny Day* (fig. 148), which pictures a Taiwanese village at harvest time, was a token of affection for the environs of his home village of Sanxia, southwest of Taipei. Exhibited at the Fifth *Futen* in 1942, it is an example of Li's ongoing exploration of native Taiwanese themes, depicting a scene in Sanxia looking in the direction of neighboring Yinge. Based on his personal observation of daily farming activities,⁴²² the balmy landscape rendered in bright, pleasant tonalities portrays the Taiwanese countryside as a tranquil land of golden fields and modest farmers. The young woman whose image occupies one-third of the composition is the same one who appears in *Autumn Fruits* (fig. 149), exhibited at the Fourth *Futen* the previous year. As in the case of the woman in *Peasant Girl* (fig. 137), she has inherited the apparel—red blouse and black skirt, minus the white apron—of Li's Japanese waitress and flower lady (figs. 135-136).

These two pictures attest to Li Meishu's renewed interest in Taiwanese rural themes. The female prototype of the earlier urban genre paintings was ruralized to create a soothing Arcadian idyll for wartime viewers, many of whom in real life had to take refuge in the countryside. While the other villagers in *Sunny Day* are engrossed in their daily chores, with faces turned away from the viewer, the girl clad in vibrant red faces the viewer. Set against the backdrop of fields, mountains and sky rendered in pastel tonalities, the farm girl's darker, full-blooded color gives the impression of a pasted-on cut-out, representing her as a monumental personification of Taiwanese rural nature. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that this paragon of rural womanhood is shown holding a

⁴²² Li Meishu's family ran a rice business in the Sanxia area and owned many fields there.

basket of yams, the most common food staple in wartime Taiwan, which had already become a symbol of its people in native Taiwanese literature.

Taking as its setting the Jiayi countryside, Chen Chengpo's *Summer Morning* (fig. 150) depicts another village scene in an unfeigned, direct manner, conveying the same attachment to the land as *Sunny Day*. A father-and-son pair with bared torsos, wearing bamboo hats and summer shorts, have paused by a pond, apparently on their way to a day's work. They are shown from behind, dwarfed by their surroundings, with no one nearby, the viewer kept at an unintrusive remove. The impact is that of an unspoiled moment of intimate, perfectly natural communion between father and son and between them and the land that sustains them.

Summer Morning was exhibited at the Third *Futen* in 1940, where fellow artists remarked at its childlike directness and naivety.⁴²³ Unlike the picturesque scenery and the monumental figures in Li Meishu's modulated rural images of the same period, the countryside in Chen Chengpo's canvas is unpretentious yet evocative of tender feelings for the land. Especially when viewed against the historical backdrop of harsh wartime living conditions endured at the colonial grassroots, Chen Chengpo's figures of a humble farmer and his child standing in seeming silence, arouse empathy and respect.

If Li Meishu's rural images, composed according to formulaic pictorial idioms, cater to viewers representative of the dominant taste, Chen Chengpo's *Summer Morning* challenges that taste and appeals to a different audience, which found solace in the painting's simple familiarity and homeliness. In any case, the beauty of Taiwan's natural landscape and its people's attachment to the land became a popular theme for both artists and writers of the time, when public expressions of a mixed, cosmopolitan cultural

⁴²³ Yang Sanlang and Wu Tianshang, "Di sanhui Fuzhan yanghua pinglun: Yang Sanlang yu Wu Tianshang duitan," (Western Painting of the Third *Futen*— a Dialogue between Yang Sanlang and Wu Tiansang) *Taiwan Geijutsu* Dec. 1940, in Yen Chuan-ying, *Fengjing xinjing*, trans. Yen Chuan-ying, 279.

outlook were not tolerated by the colonial rulers. Irrespective of differences in individual style or attitude, the vitality and endurance of nature, concretely embodied as the land of Taiwan, became a major source of inspiration and aspiration for Taiwanese artists, providing them an avenue for creative transcendence of cultural or historical constraints and conflicts.

End of the Colonial Period - the Transition Years, 1945 to 1947

Following Japan's surrender to the Allied forces in 1945, Taiwan was handed over to the KMT-controlled government of the Republic of China.⁴²⁴ At first, the Taiwanese were overjoyed at the termination of Japanese colonial rule and welcomed the new arrivals from China as their brothers and sisters. However, the drastic transition from a de-Sinicizing Japanese regime to Chinese rule proved disruptive and harsh, due in good part to the cultural, linguistic, and experiential differences between the Taiwanese and the newly arrived "Mainlanders." The sense of separateness and difference was aggravated by Taiwan's half-century under Japanese rule and by the KMT regime's behavior as an arrogant conqueror in whose eyes the islanders were inferior Japanese colonial slaves. Taiwanese people soon awoke from their joy at reunion with their long-missed Chinese motherland. As described by Zhong Lihe's prose essay, "The Sadness of Baishu,"⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ During World War II when, in November 1943, R.O.C. leader Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek persuaded U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to issue the "Cairo Declaration," a communiqué in which the two Western leaders agreed, in principle, that Taiwan and other territories "stolen from the Chinese" by Japan, including "Manchuria, Formosa [Taiwan] and the Pescadores" would be "restored to the Republic of China."

⁴²⁵ *Baishu* means yam, the used in the prose to refer to native Taiwanese.

which reflects the writer's own experience in post-war China, the Taiwanese people were still regarded as an Other after the colonial period, this time by their Chinese compatriots.

“Taiwanese—” said the Motherland. And the word was often spoken in the same breath as the names of other [non-Han] peoples, like the Koreans.... In the past, we were addressed as such by our [Japanese] rulers. “Taiwanese!” From that form of address we drew many inferences—discrimination, contempt, insult, and the like. But what could we say?⁴²⁶

Before the hope for a liberal, autonomous Taiwanese society was completely extinguished by heavy-handed KMT rule, however, there was a very short period between 1945 and 1947 when the Taiwanese people celebrated reunion with China as the beginning of a new era. Many Taiwanese painters greeted the First Provincial Art Exhibition⁴²⁷ by submitting works featuring exhilarating new subjects. Chen Chengpo's *Celebration Day* (fig. 151) depicts a scene in which people on the street in front of Jiayi City's radio station wave Chinese national flags in celebration of Taiwan's return to China. Li Meishu's, *Sunday* (fig. 152), is a fictive portrayal of modern leisure, charged with utopian allusions. It attracted much public attention for having been purchased by the new provincial government as a gift to President Chiang Kai-shek.⁴²⁸ In contrast with the festive mood and images of social harmony that characterize most of the paintings in

⁴²⁶ Zhong Lihe, “Sadness of Baishu,” 172.

⁴²⁷ The yearly Taiwan Provincial Art Exhibition was launched in October 1946 with government funding. In addition to a Western painting division, it included a Chinese-style painting—or *guohua* (literally, *national painting*)—division and a sculpture division. The jury of the first Provincial Art Exhibitions included Lin Yushan, Chen Jin, Guo Xuehu, Lin Zhizhu and Chen Jinhui for the *Guohua* Division; Li Shiqiao, Li Meishu, Chen Chengpo, Liao Jichun, Liu Qixiang, Yang Shanlang, Lan Yinding, Chen Qingfen and Yan Shuilong for the Western Painting Division; and Pu Tiansheng and Chen Xiayu for the Sculpture Division. Xiao Qiongrui, *Wuyue yu dongfang*, 133-37.

⁴²⁸ In the previous year, Li had been commissioned by the Chinese government to paint an official portrait of President Chiang Kai-shek and a portrait of the deceased “founding father” of the republic, Sun Yat-sen. *Li Meishu shishi shizhounian jinianzhan: funu zhimei* (Exhibition in Memory of Li Meishu on the Tenth Anniversary of His Death: the Female Portraits Series) (Taipei: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, 1992) 52.

the exhibition, Li Shiqiao's *Market* (fig. 153), is a sober representation of the realities of postwar Taiwanese society, captured in a microcosmic throng of people at the entranceway to Taipei's *Yongle* Market in Dadaocheng. The centrally positioned woman dressed in trendy Shanghai-style apparel is *Market*'s compositional focus. To her right is another stylishly attired young woman pushing along her bicycle, a luxury at the time. In front of her bicycle is an emaciated, mangy dog scavenging scraps on the ground. Highlighting her socio-economic superiority, the woman in Chinese *qipao*, is surrounded by an old beggar leaning on a cane; a ragged, barefoot boy peddler; a man in tattered undershirt squatting by the sack of rice he is selling, a humble housewife negotiating with a yam peddler, and other modestly dressed folk. This group of people typifies the ordinary Taiwanese who eked out a living in the late 1940s. In vivid contrast with their shabby clothes and humble demeanor, the fashionable dress and haughty air of the rouge-lipped woman, hiding behind outlandish sunglasses, set her apart as an alien, alienating presence. She is an embodiment of the newcomers from China who replaced the Japanese colonizers and were in the process of becoming the new political, economic and cultural elite.

The greed and corruption that characterized Governor Chen Yi's autocratic administration soon evoked growing disillusionment and discontent among the native population. They had expected liberation from colonial oppression and discrimination, only to find themselves afflicted by a new brand of inequity and suppression. They had been ruled and educated by the Japanese for fifty years but were now in the hands of Chinese Mainlanders who had just finished an eight-year war with Japan and were hostile to anything related to their former adversary. The Mainlanders viewed the island "contaminated by Japanese colonization" as a trophy of war and insisted that all Japanese influence was a mark of impurity that had to be eradicated completely. By contrast, the Taiwanese people, particularly the Japanese-educated intelligentsia, perceived the

colonial experience as part and parcel of Taiwanese modernization, an indelible element in their cultural formation.

The painter Chen Chengpo was brutally executed by Chinese troops in March, 1947 along with many other Taiwanese intellectuals in front of the Jiayi train station. With his Chinese experience and superior Mandarin, he had volunteered to serve as an interpreter for a group of fellow Taiwanese who took food and petitions to the Chinese troops as a gesture of friendship, with the hope of resolving the violence which was sweeping the island. Thus did his wish to “die in a Han nation” come true in a most tragic twist of history.

Chen Chengpo’s untimely death was only one among many heartrending instances of sudden and brutal obliteration of the life and promising careers of Taiwanese intellectuals amid the ruthless military suppression of an uprising sparked by the February 28 Incident⁴²⁹ and the ensuing four decades of “white terror” under KMT dictatorship. For most of the native population, the “228” Incident and its bloody

⁴²⁹ During the immediate postwar period, Taiwan saw increasing discontent with the new Chinese KMT rulers, whose corruption and economic mismanagement led to grain shortages, inflation, unemployment, breakdown of military discipline, and ethnic conflict in Taiwan. The February 28 (228) Incident occurred on that date in 1947 when demonstrators gathered to protest the brutal beating of a woman cigarette peddler and the killing of an onlooker by the police the day before. Governor Chen Yi responded with machine guns, setting in motion an islandwide uprising, that was ruthlessly suppressed by troops sent from China by Chiang Kai-shek. The uprising, during which thousands of innocent people were slaughtered, marked the beginning of repressive rule by the KMT Mainlanders. See George H. Kerr, *Formosa Betrayed*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), a historical eyewitness account by the author who worked at the US Consulate in Taipei at the time of the massacre. See also Steven Phillips, “Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwan Political Aspirations under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948,” in *Taiwan: a New History*, ed. Murray A. Rubinstein (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999) 275-319.

aftermath—the most devastating islandwide trauma in Taiwan’s history—brought disenchantment with China.⁴³⁰

As one of the consequences of the uprising and the reign of terror that followed, many of Chen Chengpo’s works were destroyed by collectors out of sheer fear, or hidden away for many decades, leaving the majority of his surviving works in poor condition. His name became taboo for decades, and his second daughter, Chen Binu (1924-1995), was forced to give up her artistic pursuits as a promising oil painter. She even retouched one of her old paintings, which had been exhibited at the Sixth *Futen*, adding to it a ROC national flag (figs. 154, 155, before and after). Artists who were proficient in Japanese-style painting techniques and known as “Eastern painters” during the colonial period lost their place to *guohua* painters from China after the Eastern Painting Division of the Japanese colonial salons was replaced by the *Guohua* Division in postwar official salons. Many Japanese-educated men of letters, who had been thinking and writing in Japanese all their lives, found themselves suddenly deprived of the only tool they had to make a livelihood and compelled to learn a new language in mid-life. Many of them chose to stop writing altogether.

Conclusion

⁴³⁰ The white terror in Taiwan started with a prohibition of public discussion of the 228 Incident, followed by suppression of political dissent under martial law formally initiated in 1949 and lasting until 1987. During the white terror, over 100,000 Taiwanese were imprisoned or executed for their real or perceived opposition to the KMT government led by Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo. This period has left many native Taiwanese with a deep-seated bitterness towards the former KMT government, Chiang Kai-shek and, in some people’s minds, the Mainlanders who fled China in 1949. Prior to the February 28 Incident, Taiwanese intellectuals desired local autonomy from China but did not advocate the creation of an independent Taiwan. The incident became an important catalyst for the Taiwanese independence movement.

When the intensified Japanese cultural repression of the war years ended in 1945, Taiwanese intellectuals were eager to resume their cosmopolitan cultural pursuits, in which multiple cultural identities could overlap and did not have to nullify each other. Had they been able to do so unobstructed, the Taiwanese people's construction of cultural identity might have taken the form of a swiftly evolving syncretism of their Japanese experience, their Chinese cultural legacy, Western modernity, and unique elements of local consciousness, all of which are irreducible constituents of their collective memory.

The KMT policy of thorough de-Japanization and re-Sinification of Taiwan, however, preempted the development of such a harmonious composite of cultural elements. Not unlike the authoritarian *kōminka* policy, which viewed the Taiwanese as “incomplete” colonial subjects unless their loyalty was proven by absolute Japanization, Taiwanese people were regarded by the KMT rulers as “slaves” of the Japanese who were not entitled to equal respect until they had been completely re-Sinified.⁴³¹ Having been twisted by Japanese colonialism, the process of cultural identity formation underwent another traumatic distortion under the harsh rule of a Chinese regime founded on enforcement of a conservative, ethnocentric Chinese culturalism emphasizing a dichotomy between Chinese and native Taiwanese identity. The February 28 Incident was the defining event that led to such a conceptualization of “China” and “Taiwan” as two separate and irreconcilable entities, which has now become deeply rooted in the collective consciousness of the Taiwanese people.⁴³²

⁴³¹ Stevan Harrel and Huang Chun-chieh ed. *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan* (Taipei: SMC, 1994) 29-30

⁴³² To many Taiwanese people, the incident is the symbol of the domination of an alien regime over Taiwan's “native people.” Huang Meiyong, “Zaizhi de er er ba” (The Reproduction of 228) in *Xin diangying zhi si*, ed. Mi Zou and Liang Xinhua, 153-57. The Incident is also crucial for understanding the dynamic of contemporary Taiwanese society, including the antagonistic relationship between the government and the people during the KMT's party-state rule and ongoing tensions between Mainlanders and native Taiwanese even to this day.

Since Taiwan finally emerged from the darkness of the white terror in the late 1980s and began to create what has become one of the world's freest countries, its people have picked up where they left off in 1947, striving to assert a Taiwanese cultural specificity and to review and reconcile the facts and memories of their colonial and post-colonial history, suppressed for so many decades. Now, what so many colonial Taiwanese intellectuals tried to define, and what pioneering modern Taiwanese painters in the Western tradition endeavored to portray, as a fluid, cross-cultural development of Taiwanese cultural identities has once again become part of a vital, ongoing process. Despite the incompleteness and fragmentation that characterized their careers, their varied expressions of cultural identity and modernistic visions prefigured what has become a dynamically evolving, cosmopolitan Taiwanese culture. In this regard, the importance of Taiwanese artworks created during the colonial period goes beyond the simple signification of the dawn of modern Taiwanese painting; they are of inestimable value as unique witnesses to Taiwan's emerging cultural enlightenment and modernization.

CONCLUSION

After falling into Japan's hands in 1895, Taiwan was transformed radically, from a province of the Qing Empire, after two centuries of Qing rule over most of the island, into an exotic outland of the westernized Japanese Empire. It was assimilated through the colonial system into Japan's cultural sphere, including language, education, religion, manners and aesthetics. Due to its modernizing impact, Japanese colonialism sparked in the Taiwanese new ideals and possibilities that gave rise to new aspirations and cultural identities. Imaginative projection and persistent development of the idea of the Taiwanese people as a distinct, coherent community gradually took hold, although definition of this identity remained problematic for the islanders throughout the Japanese colonial period.

The meanings of Taiwan's historical legacy and local traditions were thoroughly altered as Japan's discursive and visual hegemony came to affect the cultural priorities and cultural landscape of the island. Han-centric culturalism, the intellectual foundation for cultural representations by turn-of-the-century Taiwanese intelligentsia, was to a significant degree superseded by a Japanese colonial modernity. The construction of modern Taiwanese cultural identities, however, was marked with uncertainty and ambivalence. If what was pre-modern seemed outmoded and unenlightened, what was modern was entangled with the socio-political power structure of imperial Japan.

The double-edged nature of colonial modernity had both empowering and constraining effects on the Taiwanese. While Japan imparted science, systematic education and modern infrastructure to Taiwan, casting itself as sole agent of Taiwan's modernization, its authoritarian rule constrained the development of a genuinely autonomous, self-directed nature. The course and means of modernization, moreover,

were too often equated and intertwined with Japanization. In light of the contradiction between Japan's imperialist ethnocentrism and the officially touted spirit of equality of its colonial assimilation policy, it is no wonder that cultural representations by the Taiwanese during the Japanese colonial period were ambiguously positioned or fluctuated between the extremes of colonial assimilation and assertion of Taiwanese distinctiveness.

After Western-style art practices and exhibition institutions were introduced into Taiwan through colonial education establishments, there arose on the island flourishing artistic activities that employed new media and new forms of expression. These developments marked the first chapter of modern Taiwanese art, in which all its initial conceptions, technical knowledge and means of presentation, mainly through annual salons, were transplanted from Japan. Over the course of time, however, hegemonic Japanese cultural ideology and aesthetics stimulated formulation of new genres, styles and categories of art.

Most of Taiwan's first-generation Western-style painters were graduates from the colonial normal schools and constituted an important segment of the new cultural elites under Japanese rule. Unsatisfied with the restrictive and uninspiring cultural environment on the island, those who could went to Japan in pursuit of formal art education and opportunities to make a name for themselves at the imperial salons in Tokyo. In Taiwan itself, the most important local stage for aspiring painters was the official art salons, which dominated the Taiwanese art scene from 1927 onward. By painting in the modes and styles upheld by the dominant discourses and exhibiting in the official art salons, Taiwanese painters contributed to the construction of new Taiwanese cultural images and identities within the framework of Japanese colonialism. Encouraged by Japanese interest in Taiwanese "local color," artists gradually developed a modernized perceptual capacity that came to visualize the island and its people in a new light.

Throughout the period of Japanese rule, representations of Taiwanese distinctiveness and of colonial modernity remained the prevailing two leitmotifs of cultural representation in Taiwanese artworks. Both, however, were charged with contradiction and ambiguity. Indigenous and unique aspects of Taiwanese culture were often simultaneously encouraged and suppressed in official colonial discourses, which on the one hand catered to exoticism and on the other promoted the goal of assimilating and civilizing the supposedly inferior Taiwanese. Representations of modernity were no less ambiguous. The fruits of modernity and the violence of colonialism were two sides of the same coin, a coin that came up heads in one instant and tails the next. The interlacing of colonialism and modernization, therefore, engendered a variety of contradictory or ambiguous representations of the cultural landscape. Given their mixed cultural experiences, Japanese-educated Taiwanese intelligentsia were confronted with multiple sets of values, the more so when they tried to negotiate an uncertain identity that comprised elements of assimilation and differentiation, subordination and confrontation. The humiliation that accompanied colonial cultural denigration spurred a sense of pressing need in the hearts of all intellectuals to elevate the cultural plane of their homeland. But how? By renewing their cultural links with China? Or by invigorating local traditions through an infusion of modern spirit? Many Taiwanese intellectuals experienced disruptive, ambivalent moments, abroad or at home, when they could not tell, amid the cultural triangulation of Japan, China and Taiwan, where they were most at home. The Taiwanese cultural discourses thenceforth manifested a dynamic dialectic stimulated by traditional Chinese and modern Japanese-cum-Western influences.

It was a daunting task, even in the realm of artistic creation, to integrate such contending elements into a satisfactory whole by dint of the struggles of individual talents. The pursuit of official salon recognition undercut cultural self-assertion and thwarted the evolution of a liberated artistic spirit. In comparison to Taiwanese literary intelligentsia, Taiwanese painters tended to be more accommodating toward the imperial

gaze and metropolitan canons as they worked to win social distinction by means of success in the official salons. While writers, who wrote in the Japanese language, were more given to portraying collision and conflict, Taiwanese painters who worked in Western media aimed to render a harmonious integration of contrasting cultural constructs. More often than not, they moved back and forth between cultures, smoothly or clumsily, registering in their works the complete range from personal initiatives to confrontation with the complex cultural interactions that characterized colonial Taiwan. Their sense of in-between-ness, of the coexistence of disparate cultural constituents, was to become a significant attribute of Taiwanese culture, which was in constant flux, reflecting or refracting the multiple cultural influences that the Taiwanese artists sought to address.

While the construction of Taiwanese cultural identity was characterized by ambiguity and hybridity, the cultural pursuits of Taiwanese intellectuals often met with disruption and distortion. The colonial encounter and the turbulent history of Taiwan precluded the possibility of smooth, autonomous cultural development through which its people could explore and express their literary and artistic ideals. Wang Baiyuan's poem "Incomplete Portrait" reveals the anguish and frustration of a Taiwanese artist who, in his own estimation, failed to faithfully and coherently embody his thought and feelings in either literary or pictorial form.

I want to sing out, full-throated
But the lyrics disobey my inner voice.
Unable to resist the creative urge,
I want to wield my brush and pen with total abandon,
But the paints are disappointing paints,
The written words conceptual cocoons.
The paints are of superficial form,
Able to express only inchoate intent.
Higher and higher I climb toward the pinnacle of beauty
Only to slip back into the valley of silence,
Where I paint into the heart's inner sanctum
A portrait forever incomplete,

Gazing upon it with bated breath.⁴³³

Wang Baiyuan, as a painter-turned-poet, reveals in his poems a sentiment of profound unfulfillment in terms of inexpressible or unrealized ideals and aspirations held by Taiwanese cultural elites. What was so problematic for Wang and others went beyond the realm of aesthetics. It was neither the means nor the forms of expression that were so equivocal and evasive; rather, it was the traditions, the canons and the schema underpinning the act of expression that were perplexing, disruptive and in need of redefinition. Caught between Han culturalism and domineering Japanese colonialism, there was no simple and easy path for the Taiwanese in their dual pursuit of a Taiwanese distinctiveness and a transcendent cosmopolitan modernity. Wang's expression "incomplete portrait" is also a metaphor for the vicissitudinous construction of Taiwanese cultural identity. The artist struggled to realize not only a portrait of his personal inner being, but a portrayal of Taiwanese cultural identity endowed with full autonomy and liberty.

What colonial Taiwanese intellectuals tried to define, and what pioneering modern Taiwanese painters endeavored to portray as dynamic, fluid, cross-cultural constructs of Taiwanese cultural identity, were distorted by Japanese colonialism, particularly by the imperialist *kōminka* movement during World War II. After Taiwan came under the rule of the Republic of China in 1945, the KMT-controlled ROC

⁴³³ Wang Baiyuan, "Weiwancheng de huaxiang," (Incomplete Portrait) *Jingji de daolu* (Road of Thistles and Thorns) 1931, trans. Chen Caikun (Zhanghua: Zhangxian wenhua, 1995) 58-59. Wang Baiyuan (1902-1965) taught at the Morioka Normal School for Women after graduating from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. In 1931, he published *Road of Thistles and Thorns*, an anthology of poems in Japanese written during his stay in Japan. He lost his teaching post in 1932 owing to his involvement in the leftist Cultural Association for Taiwanese in Tokyo. In 1934 he went to Shanghai, where he was later arrested and imprisoned by the Japanese Army. After the War, he worked as an editor of *Taiwan Culture* and *Taiwan Criticism*. He was incarcerated as a political prisoner by the KMT government in 1951 and released in 1954. Xu xuanji et al, *Taiwan lishi cidian*, (Taipei: Wenhua jianshe weiyuan hui, 2004) 0207.

government turned Taiwan upside down, halting the process of Japanization and launching one of re-Sinification, thereby foreclosing post-colonial possibilities for a timely melding of cultural elements drawn from several different traditions into a unified, organic whole.

Despite the incompleteness and fragmentation that characterized the careers and cultural identities of Taiwanese artists and intellectuals during the Japanese colonial period, their newly emerging cultural assertions and modernistic visions were seminal, outlining in broad strokes what was yet to come and is still in the process of coming into being—a cosmopolitan, dynamic construct of Taiwanese culture. Even nowadays, the challenges that pioneering artists under colonial rule grappled with survive as important elements in the works of contemporary Taiwanese artists, writers and commentators in their endeavors to articulate the civilizational character of their homeland and themselves. Artistic images characterized by split vision and diverse cultural constructs past and present offer historical testimony, in their ambivalence and uncertainty, to the emergence of a rich, multivalent Taiwanese consciousness in art and society at large.

The value of Taiwanese artworks of the colonial period, therefore, goes beyond a simple signification of the dawn of modern Taiwanese painting. They are of great importance as unique expressions of the evolutionary process—fraught though it was—of cultural enlightenment and modernization through which Taiwan’s artists became rooted in a cosmopolitan vision and optimistic conception of modernity.