When Routes become Roots: Liu Na'ou, Jiang Wenye, and Their Transnational Cultural Productions, 1923-1945

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates works of two Taiwanese-born, Japanese-educated, and Chinese-based authors during the volatile years of 1923 to 1945 – Shanghai-based short story writer Liu Na'ou 劉吶鷗 (1905–1940) and Beijing-based musician-cum-poet Jiang Wenye 江文也 (1910–1983). They were born in Taiwan under Japanese rule, sent to Japan for education, and intriguingly, they both chose to relocate to China against the backdrop of rising Sino-Japanese tensions which eventually led to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Liu was assassinated and Jiang was persecuted for the crime of being national traitors. Ironically, Liu is remembered as a Chinese writer and Jiang as a Japanese musician, deflecting attention from the particularly transnational character of their body of work.

The central argument of my thesis is that, in their writings, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye responded to East Asian colonial modernity differently from their Chinese and Japanese peers, as their cultural productions lacked nationalist overtones. In my first chapter, I will demonstrate that Liu Na'ou used the fugitive movement of modern girl in his urban writing to conduct a multi-layered and multi-directional critique of Shanghai's semicolonial, modern, and capitalist condition. In my second chapter, I will show how Jiang Wenye employed the survival tactics of disidentification in his publications to circumvent the twin mechanism of censorship and propaganda. By tracing the cacophonies of colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism reflected in Liu's and Jiang's writings, I aim to show that there are insights only visible beyond national borders, reimagining transnational peoples' cultural in-betweenness as opening a world of original and creative cultural practice.

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Introduction

It was raining heavily on Sunday evening, September 1, 1940. Japanese film producer Matsuzaki Keiji 松崎啓次 (1905-1974) just got off the plane in Shanghai after finishing his business trip to Tokyo, rushing back home as he had been leaving his guest, internationally famed musician Jiang Wenye 江文也 (1910–1983), unaccompanied in his house. The two greeted each other and called their friend Liu Na'ou 劉吶鷗 (1905–1940), a neo-sensationist writer who was then immensely popular among educated youth, over for dinner. At that time, Matsuzaki was the Director of the Production Department of Chinese Film Company Limited (中華電影公司), a Shanghai-based Japanese-controlled state-policy propaganda film company (国策映画会社). Liu Na'ou was his Assistant Director, and Jiang Wenye was a Professor of Music Composition at the Japanese-occupied Beijing Normal College. The three gathered to discuss about the film adaptation of Nobel Prize winner Pearl Buck's (1892-1973) novel *The Mother* (1934), but conversations soon diverged from work to family life and future plans. The three of them conversed for the whole night and did not go to sleep until Monday morning.[1]

Unfortunately, Liu Na'ou never had a chance to carry out his future plans, because he was assassinated the next day. His accomplished life ended abruptly at the young age of 35, five years before the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War. Writer Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 (1907-1986) described that Liu was shot to death by a gunman who shouted "Dadao hanjian" [打倒漢奸 Down with the Han Traitor[2]].[3] Three months later, the Kuomintang Cultural Work Committee of

[1] Matsuzaki Keiji 松崎啓次, "Liu Canbo utaru" 劉燦波撃たる[Liu Na'ou Attacked], in *Shanhai jinbunki: eiga purodusā no techō kara* 上海人文記：映画プロデューサーの手帳から [Records of People and Culture in Shanghai: from the Notebook of a Film Producer], (Tokyo: Takayama shoin, 1941), 280-282.
[2] Han Traitor (漢奸): Those who have become enemy of the Chinese state for betraying the Han-Chinese race.

the Chongqing Government (重慶政府國民黨文化工作委員會) claimed responsibility for Liu's assassination in their Annual Presentation for the Development of Anti-Japanese Art, calling him a "representative traitor" who betrayed his own country.[4] Born and raised in colonial Taiwan, Liu Na'ou lived an in-between life amid competing powers of Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism. Many newspapers of the time celebrated his death as the despicable death of a Han Traitor, whereas his close friend and colleague Huang Tianshi 黃天始 defended him by questioning if one's passport could speak for one's loyalty to a specific country, arguing that "Na'ou was not a Chinese person, nor a Japanese one. He was a world's person."[5] On the other hand, Jiang Wenye who was also a Taiwanese-born Japanese citizen went back to Japanese-occupied Beijing and worked on several book projects implicitly touching upon the sensitive issue of Japanese colonialism. After the war, he was repeatedly incarcerated by both the Nationalist and the Communist governments, also for the crime of being a Han Traitor.[6]

This thesis investigates the cultural productions of Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye – two Taiwanese-born, Japanese-educated, and Chinese-based border-crossing agents – focusing on the books they published during the volatile years of 1923 to 1945. Their transnational routes from Taiwan to Japan to China are very similar yet distinctive from each other. Liu Na'ou moved to the dazzling metropolis of Shanghai, became a modernist writer, and chose to publish in Chinese; Jiang Wenye moved to the ancient capital of Beijing, mused amid the relics of premodern Chinese civilization, and chose to publish in Japanese. Meanwhile, their writings

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[3] Xiacun 霞村. "Ji Liu Na'ou" 記劉吶鷗 [In the Memory of Liu Na'ou]. *Wentan* 文坛, issue. 1 (1942): 2.
[4] Matsuzaki, "Liu Canbo utaru," 226.
[5] Suichu 隨初. "Wo suo renshi de Liu Na'ou xiansheng" 我所認識的劉吶鷗先生 [The Mr. Liu Na'ou that I knew]. *Huawen daban meiri* 華文大阪每日, issue 5, no. 9 (1940), 69. Suichu was Huang Tianshi's pseudonym.
[6] Zhang Jiren 張己任, *Jiang Wenye: Jingji zhong de gutinghua* 江文也: 荊棘中的孤挺花 [Jiang Wenye: Amaryllis in the Thorns] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2002), 38-60.

about Shanghai and Beijing were both very different from those of local Chinese authors whose primary identification was with China and travelling Japanese authors who were representatives of Japan's ruling power. Liu's and Jiang's writings do not display what C. T. Hsia called an "obsession with China," nor did they treat China as Japan's Orient. In other words, their works lack the nationalistic overtones strongly present in the works of their Chinese and Japanese peers. This might be the reason why their writings have not been welcomed into Chinese or Japanese national literatures. Instead, the particularly transnational character of their body of work enables an intriguing dialogue between the two authors, exemplifying the ways of transnational people seeing the world.

The central argument of my thesis is that, in their writings, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye responded to East Asian colonial modernity differently from their Chinese and Japanese peers, as their cultural productions lacked nationalist overtones. In the first chapter, I will demonstrate that Liu Na'ou used the fugitive movement of modern girls in his urban writing to conduct a multi-layered and multi-directional critique of Shanghai's semicolonial, modern, and capitalist condition. In the second chapter, I will show how Jiang Wenye employed the survival tactics of disidentification to publish while circumventing the twin mechanism of censorship and propaganda. By tracing the cacophonies of colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism reflected in Liu's and Jiang's writings, I aim to show that there are insights only visible beyond national borders, reimagining transnational people's cultural in-betweenness as opening a world of original and creative cultural practice.

Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, there has been a growing interest in Taiwan of "rediscovering" Taiwanese-born people who have been famous in Japan and China but forgotten

in their native land.[7] Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye are among this set of figures and have gained an increasing popularity among cultural historians across East Asia and in North America. However, the importance of researching them does not stop at re-classifying them from Chinese writer and Japanese musician to Taiwanese cultural icons. In my opinion, their transnational cultural expressions constitute an intriguing example of the intricate and sometimes paradoxical ways in which border-crossing agents in East Asia responded to colonial modernity during the first half of the twentieth century. It is their broad artistic horizon displayed in their writings, which arose from their transnational life experiences as Japanese-educated Taiwanese people contributing to the modern Chinese literary and cultural scenes, that establishes the significance of studying them at the contemporary moment of globalization when migration, immigration, and displacement have become daily occurrences.

In this introductory chapter, I will first provide the biographical information of the two authors and give a background of pan-Asianism and East Asia's colonial/modern condition, especially the triangular relation of Japan, China, and Taiwan. Then, I will explain my overarching theoretical framework, critical intervention, and methodological creativity. This chapter ends with a summary of the two content chapters to follow.

[7] Liu Na'ou was "welcomed back" to his home in Tainan in 2001 with the publication of *The Complete Works of Liu Na'ou* by the Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Tainan City Government. Mark Tang-shan Chen 陳唐山, "Ying jie Liu Na'ou fan xiang 迎接劉吶鷗返鄉" in *Liu Na'ou quan ji wen xue ji* 劉吶鷗全集文學集 eds., Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁 (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 2-3. Similarly, Jiang Wenye's writings were rediscovered, collected, and published by the Cultural Centre of Taipei Prefecture (台北縣立文化中心) in 1992 as *Jiang Wenye wenzi zuopin ji* 江文也文字作品集 [Anthology of Jiang Wenye's Writings].

1923 – 1945: Pan-Asianism and East Asia's colonial/modern condition

I chose to limit my time frame between 1923, year of the Great Kantō earthquake which marked the turning point of Japan's literary and cultural modern (as per scholars such as William Gardner and Miriam Silverberg), and 1945, the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War (and World War II as a whole). In 1923, Liu Na'ou became a college student in Tokyo and chose literature as his concentration. In 1945, the unconditional surrender of Imperial Japan foreclosed the first half of Jiang Wenye's life as an internationally recognized Japanese musician.

Both Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye were born into relatively affluent families in Taiwan under Japanese rule, sent to Japan in their teenage years for education, and intriguingly, they both chose to relocate to China against the backdrop of rising Sino-Japanese tensions. Liu Na'ou was born in colonial Taiwan in 1905 into a landlord family in Tainan. He went to Tokyo in 1920 for secondary and tertiary education in Aoyama College (青山學院) majoring in English literature. He graduated in March 1926 and went to Shanghai the next month to further his study in a special French program in L'Université L'Aurore (震旦大學), where he met other aspiring writers such as Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905-1950), Shi Zhecun 施蟄存 (1905-1903), and Du Heng 杜衡 (1907-1964).[8] Together the four started a short-lived literary society called Society of Jade and Pearl (瓔珞社) in 1926, Frontline Bookstore (第一線書店) in 1928, and *Trackless Train* (無軌列車), an avant-garde literary magazine which was published fortnightly, during the

[8] Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍, "Langdang tianya: Liu Na'ou 1927 nian riji" 浪蕩天涯：劉吶鷗一九二七年日記 [Vagabonding about the World: Liu Na'ou's 1927 Diaries], in *Liu Na'ou quan ji riji ji* 劉吶鷗全集 日記集. Edited by Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁. Translated and Edited by Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍 and Huang Yingzhe 黃英哲, (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 10-11.

same year.[9] While in Shanghai, Liu Na'ou worked a number of hats: magazine editor, translator, short-story writer, cultural entrepreneur, and filmmaker. He made his debut as a short story writer into Shanghai's prosperous and vibrant literary scene with his short-story collection *Dushi fengjing xian* 都市風景線 (Urban Landscape, or *Scène*) in April 1930, which consists of 8 short stories he wrote between 1927 and 1929 and depicts fast-paced urban love games of dandies and modern girls in 1920s Shanghai. It has attracted a lot of recent scholarly attention in Taiwan, China, and Japan, especially as a representative work of the Neo-Sensationist School which travelled from Paris to Tokyo to Shanghai at that time.[10]

As another cultural icon being "rediscovered" in Taiwan, Jiang Wenye also gained popularity among literary and cultural scholars recently. He was born in colonial Taiwan in 1910 into a merchant family in Taipei, raised in provincial areas in Fujian, China from 1917 to 1923 and Nagano, Japan from 1923 to 1929. He moved to Tokyo in 1929 to study electrical engineering in Musashi Senior Technical School (武藏高等工業學校). However, he was more interested in music and made his debut first as a singer in March 1932 with Nippon Columbia (Columbia Records in Japan),[11] then as a composer in 1934 with a piano piece titled *Night in the City* (城内の夜) which he wrote while touring his hometown Taipei earlier that year.[12] Later he adapted *Night in the City* into a symphony titled *Formosan Dance* (台湾の舞曲), which won a

[9] Zhang Xinmin 张新民, "Shangye hua qikan: duzhe zhudao de wenxue shengchan" 商业化期刊——读者主导的文学生产 [Commercialized Journals: Reader-led Literary Production], in *Qikan leixing yu zhongguo xiandai wenxue shengchan* (1917-1937) 期刊类型与中国现代文学生产（1917—1937） [Types of Journals and the Production of Modern Chinese Literature], (Zhongguo shehui kexue chuban she, 2014).
[10] Ye Jia-syong 葉佳雄, "Liu Na'ou chuan qi 劉吶鷗傳奇" in *Liu Na'ou quan ji wen xue ji* 劉吶鷗全集 文學集 eds., Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁 (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 4-6.
[11] Liu Meilian 刘美莲. *Jiang Wenye zhuan: yiyue yu zhanzheng de hui xuan* 江文也傳: 音樂與戰爭的迴旋 [A Biography of Jiang Wenye: Music and War Circling Around]. Xinbei: Ink, 2016. 108-9.
[12] Liu, *Jiang Wenye zhuan*, 123-4.

prize in the Berlin Olympics' Musical Competition in 1936. Jiang's winning of this international award was to some extent downplayed in Japan's music circle and was looked down upon by critics as "providing cheap exotic flavor," and Jiang Wenye was enraged at this comment.[13] During the same year, he took a trip to Beijing, China and was fascinated by its culture. He permanently relocated to Beijing as a music professor two years later, just after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1942, he published a monograph on Confucian musicology (*Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 [A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music]) and two books of poetry (*Daidō sekibutsu shō* 大同石佛頌 [Hymn of the Stone Buddha of Datong] and *Pekin mei hyakushu* 北京銘百首 [Inscriptions of Beijing: A Hundred Poems]). All these books were written in Japanese and published in Tokyo. He also wrote a volume of poetry in Chinese (*Fu tiantan* 賦天壇 [Ode to the Temple of Heaven]), which was kept by his widow in China and published posthumously in 1992 in Taiwan. After the surrender of Imperial Japan, he chose to spend the rest of his life in Beijing, facing imprisonment by the Kuomintang government for being a Han Traitor, and later another twenty years of persecution in the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the Cultural Revolution of Mainland China due to his wartime collaborations.[14]

Imperial Japan had distinct and significant impacts on Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye as they went through its colonial rule in Taiwan, educational system in Japan, and empire-building efforts in China. Prevalence of pan-Asianism is the intellectual background of this time, so a historical overview is due at the outset. Originally directed against Western colonialism and later used to legitimize Japan's leading position and its own version of imperialism in "the Orient,"

[13] Liu, *Jiang Wenye zhuan*, 147.
[14] Zhang Jiren, *Jiang Wenye: Jingji zhong de gutinghua*, 38-60.

pan-Asianism was not a short-lived phenomenon. It is perhaps best known by Okakura Kakuzō's 岡倉覚三 (1862–1913) famous opening of his 1903 book *The Ideals of the East*: "Asia is one."[15] However, Japanese historian Sven Saaler has convincingly proven Okakura's influence marginal back in Japan.[16] He demonstrates how pan-Asianism grew from a romantic feeling of solidarity into a political ideology justifying Japanese hegemony in the region, amid intensifying Sino-Japanese frictions with Japan's rise to power and its re-evaluation of China's position as the "Middle Kingdom."[17] Saaler identifies four elements of a pan-Asianist imagination of "East Asian identity": the cultural unity based upon the shared heritage of Chinese characters (同文 dōbun), the racial kinship all belonging to "the yellow race" in Western categorization (同種 dōshū), the geographical proximity and economic ties, and the feeling of a common destiny against Western imperialism.[18]

A more detailed account of the evolvement of pan-Asianism can be found in historian Cemil Aydin's monograph *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia*. According to Aydin, pan-Asianism was a belief "based on the powerful notions of East-West civilizational discourses and the white race's continuing discrimination against the colored races."[19] It was intellectually widespread but lacked any political support during the 1920s.[20] The 1920s was the peak of Liu Na'ou's creative writing, and this sentiment against colonial racism is clearly evident in his

[15] Okakura, Kakuzō, *The Ideals of the East with Special Reference to the Art of Japan*. (London: J. Murray, 1903), 1.
[16] Sven Saaler, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism, and borders.* Eds. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, (Routledge, 2007), 5.
[17] Saaler, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History," 10.
[18] Saaler, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History," 10.
[19] Cemil Aydin, "The Triumph of Nationalism?: The Ebbing of Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Visions of World Order During the 1920s," in *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*, (New York: Columbia UP, 2007), 160.
[20] Aydin, "The Triumph of Nationalism," 160.

diaries and short stories. However, pan-Asianism gained official endorsement by the Japanese government in the 1930s, and when Jiang Wenye started to write his books in 1941, hegemonic pan-Asianism had become a political tool to justify Japan's own imperialism in Asia. This partially explains why pan-Asianism was not an object of attention for Liu Na'ou but was taken up by Jiang Wenye as the main target of criticism.

Japan's colonial expansion went hand in hand with the arrival of a Western modernity that was traumatically sudden and inherently foreign. In the era of colonial modernity, East Asia was opened from outside to join the global capitalist system while rapidly transforming from within. Taiwan, the island mainly consisting of ethnic Han-Chinese settlers while colonized by Japan for fifty years (1895–1945), was on a delicate ground between major players in the region, namely China and Japan. Under Japanese rule, the population of Taiwan was composed mainly of Minnan speakers who originally came from Fujian Province and formed the largest linguistic group (Liu Na'ou being one of them), Hakka speakers who came from Fujian and Guangdong Provinces and took up 15% of the population (Jiang Wenye being one of them), and aboriginal people who could further be divided into nine tribal groups.[21] The languages of Minnan, Hakka, and aboriginal peoples were not mutually intelligible, and with Japan's heavy-handed assimilation policies, Japanese gradually became the common language on the island during the colonial period.

Born in Taiwan, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye both went through Japan's *dōka* (同化 assimilation) policies (1910s–1937), which was a vaguely defined project encouraging Taiwanese (also Koreans and Okinawans) to "become Japanese" through formal approximation

[21] Ye Shitao 葉石濤, "The Advent of the Taiwan New Literature Movement," in *A History of Taiwan Literature*, translated and edited by Christopher Lupke. (Amherst; New York: Cambria Press, 2020), 69. See also note 16 on page 126.

of language and culture.[22] Japanese was the official language for them when they grew up, and neither of them spoke Chinese Mandarin before their respective relocations to Shanghai and Beijing. The *dōka* project in the colonies morphed into a more specific *kōminka* (皇民化 imperialization) movement (1937–1945) with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. The *kōminka* movement was designed to turn the colonized into loyal imperial subjects sacrificing themselves for Japan's "holy war" and its attempt to create a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," a policy formally announced by Japan's then Foreign Minister Hachirō Arita in June 1940 appealing for the creation of a self-sufficient "bloc of Asian nations led by the Japanese and free of Western powers."[23] Writers and artists from all parts of the empire were asked to collaborate with the cultural policies of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to promote racial harmony through literature, film, and music. As observed by Leo Ching, while Taiwanese colonial intellectuals were forced by Japanese colonialism to convert into Japanese, the cultural and political imaginary of China also loomed large in their consciousness.[24] During the colonial period, Chinese nationalism and Japanese imperialism worked together to form and deform Taiwanese cultural identity. Both ideologies had impacts on Liu Na'ou's and Jiang Wenye's intellectual trajectories and transnational movements.

[22] Leo T. S. Ching, "Between Assimilation and Imperialization," in *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, (University of California Press, 2001), 104.
[23] In June 1940, Foreign Minister Hachirō Arita announced the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in his radio address entitled "The International Situation and Japan's Position." William Theodore De Bary, ed. *Sources of East Asian Tradition: The Modern Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 622.
[24] Leo T. S. Ching, "Introduction: Those Who Were Once 'Japanese'," in *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*, (University of California Press, 2001), 7.

When Routes become Roots: Sinophone subjects and their multilingual cultural production

My thesis is informed and inspired by the critical concept and theoretical framework of the Sinophone. According to pioneer Sinophone studies scholar Shu-mei Shih, Sinophone studies is "the study of Sinitic-language cultures on the margins of geopolitical nation-states and their hegemonic productions."[25] In her book *Fan Lisan* [反離散 Against Diaspora], where she lays out the parameters of Sinophone studies situated at the intersection of postcolonial studies, ethnic studies, transnational studies, and area studies to direct attentions to Sinophone subjects on the margin or outside the "China proper" due to historical processes of (im)migrations, Shih argues that the idea of the Sinophone urges us to rethink the relations between "roots" and "routes."[26] Traditionally, "roots" is linked to a nostalgia for the ancestral home, whereas "routes" invokes an air of melancholy due to rootless transplantations. However, the Sinophone deconstructs this antagonism and instead proposes a new possibility when "routes" becomes "roots," a new sense of belonging that is tightly tied to locally specific geopolitical conditions.[27] Both Liu Na'ou (native speaker of Minnan dialect) and Jiang Wenye (native speaker of Hakka dialect) could be considered as Sinophone subjects in addition to their identity as Taiwan-born Japanese citizens/colonial subjects of Han-Chinese ethnicity. In my thesis I argue that, both being neither fully Japanese nor comfortably Chinese, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye were members of a "community of the medium"[28] detached from any imagined communities of modern nation-states

[25] Shu-mei Shih, "The Concept of the Sinophone," *PMLA: Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, issue. 126, no. 3 (May 2011): 710.
[26] Shu-mei Shih 史書美, "Fan lisan: huayu yuxi zuowei wenhua shengchan de changyu" 反離散：華語語系作為文化生產的場域 [Against Diaspora: Sinophone as a Field of Cultural Production], in *Fan Lisan: Huayu yuxi yanjiu lun* 反離散：華語語系研究論 [Against Diaspora: Discourses on Sinophone Studies]. (Xinbei: Lianjing chuban she, 2017). 49.
[27] Shih, "Fan lisan: huayu yuxi zuowei wenhua shengchan de changyu," 49.
[28] Borrowing Raymond Williams' term when he described European modernist writers.

but belonging to an affective community of border-crossing agents who came from a variety of routes rather than homogeneous roots. Consequently, their writings display what Shu-mei Shih identifies as a multidirectional critique, "a multiply-mediated and multiply-angulated critical position that does not succumb to nationalist and imperialist pressures."[29]

I noticed that the concept of the Sinophone is usually applied in contemporary contexts, against the concept of Chinese-language literature as literatures produced in and consumed by the People's Republic of China (PRC). My thesis pushes the time frame to the modern period, expanding the scope of Sinophone studies to include pre-1949 authors with ambiguous and misconstrued identities before the establishment of the PRC. I understand that for cultural production during the time frame that I am looking at, a more common approach is postcolonial analysis. In *The Empire Writes Back*, postcolonial literature is defined as literatures emerged "out of the experience of colonization and asserted themselves by foregrounding the tension with the imperial power, and by emphasizing their differences from the assumptions of the imperial centre."[30] However, the postcolonial framework is not enough for the purpose of this thesis, as Liu Na'ou's and Jiang Wenye's writings display tensions with multiple powers (Japanese, Western, and Chinese) at the same time and are at varied distances from multiple centres (Tokyo, Paris, Shanghai/Beijing). This is why I resort to the critical tool of the Sinophone, which is not tied to a singular nation-state but is instead inherently transnational and global, redirecting attentions from centre-margin opposition to a constellation of Sinitic-language cultures and communities the margins of nation-states across the world. In addition to theory and methodology, the Sinophone is also an epistemology reimagining cultural in-betweenness as a

[29] Shih, "Fan lisan: huayu yuxi zuowei wenhua shengchan de changyu," 50.
[30] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, "Introduction," in *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*. (London; New York: Routledge, 1989), 2.

transnational identity and place-based fluidity. A postcolonial reading of these authors' works would highlight resistance, whereas my reading is more about resilience, about how they did not have a singular national tradition to turn to and instead turned to a mixture of French, Japanese, and Chinese traditions. Both Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye were transnational Sinophone subjects to whom routes had become roots. Apart from their Sinitic-language backgrounds, it is the interwoven threads simultaneously critiquing multiple colonialisms, imperialisms, and nationalisms that make them distinctly Sinophone.

Although the Sinophone has conventionally been understood as a transnationality linked through a certain idea of Chinese language(s),[31] hence past scholarships have generally focused on Chinese-language literary and cultural productions by Sinophone subjects, I need to point out that my thesis does not solely engage with Chinese-language primary materials. In fact, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye chose to write and publish in different languages: Liu wrote his diaries in Japanese while all his publications were in (a macaronic form of) Chinese; Jiang wrote privately in both languages but primarily published in Japanese. I want to underscore that Sinophone people of transnational mobility are often multilingual, as it is necessary for them to speak multiple tongues while surviving and sailing across distinct cultural worlds. What fascinates me the most is their conscious linguistic choices among native, local, foreign, and official languages while living through cacophonies, complicities, and conflicted identities navigating in-between. I understand that it is arguable whether Jiang Wenye counts as a Sinophone writer in the traditional sense given that his major publications were all in Japanese, but by including him, I highlight the multilingual characteristics of transnational Sinophone

[31] Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: What is Sinophone Studies?" in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, eds. Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia UP, 2013), 8.

authors and cast light on their conscious linguistic choices. Liu Na'ou chose to write in Chinese driven by both local markets demands and his artistic vision of changing society with literature and art. Holding an artistic vision of "a good work of literature and art reflects the color and air of its time,"[32] his hope to move the society forward by reaching and influencing local Chinese readership is evident in his diary entries. On the other hand, knowing that his writings about China would be subsumed into the ethnic branch of Japanese national literature to feed the market's hunger for exotica, Jiang Wenye chose to write in Japanese, which was the "national language," to speak his anti-colonialism, anti-violence position to power.

I want to acknowledge that Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye belonged to a specific and privileged class endowed with the relative freedom of transnational mobility, and language, education, and leisure necessary for literary and cultural production. However, the privilege is quite precarious as we see from Liu's assassination and Jiang's repeated incarcerations. Their precarious privilege and their state being "almost there but not quite" allowed them to produce more information while constantly being questioned about their identities and asked to justify their existence. My observation extends to transnational colonial intellectuals in general. Compared to authors with majoritarian identities who do not have to question who they are, minoritarian subjects are constantly questioned where they are from and where they belong. Their precariously privileged position enabled them to produce more information and more accounts to push against the universalizing machines of nationalism and imperialism.

[32] Liu Na'ou, "Yi zhe ti ji 譯者題記" in *Liu Na'ou quan ji wen xue ji* 劉吶鷗全集文學集 eds., Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁 (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 229.

A note on methodological creativity

I want to highlight that the major theoretical framework I am using for Chapter One is critical race studies scholar Anne Anlin Cheng's ideas of ornamentalism and perihumanity (arguably the first sustained theory of Asiatic feminism), whereas in Chapter Two I draw upon the idea of disidentification widely discussed in critical race theory (i.e. Lisa Lowe) and queer and gender theory (i.e. Judith Butler and José Esteban Muñoz). It is a very unconventional approach to bridge these theories, which obviously stemmed from different contexts, to the field of East Asian area studies. I want to clarify and emphasize that what I am doing is *not* to apply Western "Theory" into East Asian contexts, but to rethink the role of theory in humanities by using an innovative attempt underscoring the shared impulse of decolonization and historically grounded critiques of hegemonies.

Structure of the Chapters

Chapter 1 and 2 are intended as separate yet inter-related case studies of the short stories of Liu Na'ou and the books of musicology and poetry of Jiang Wenye. In Chapter 1, I investigate three intriguing stories from Liu Na'ou's short story collection *Scène*, namely "Bones of Passion," "Two Men Insensitive to Time," and "Etiquette and Hygiene." All these stories feature female characters who are at the same time described as a modern woman and a classical fox-spirit, Westernesque in the Asian eye and Oriental in the Western eye. All the male protagonists in the above-mentioned three stories are top-hatted flâneurs wandering in the city of Shanghai carrying a long cane (and looking for women to replace their canes), and interestingly they all were tricked by the modern girls. Drawing from critical race theorist Anne Anlin Cheng's framework of ornamentalism, which traces the discourse of an "ornamental Asiatic femininity"

and redefines it with the concept of a "perihumanity," my analysis of Liu Na'ou's short stories foregrounds Asian modern girl's mobile and transformative moments. I argue that by simultaneously tricking and letting down both native and western dandies, Liu Na'ou's modern girl embodies his caricature of western imperialism, capitalist fetishism, and native patriarchal nationalism.

In Chapter 2, I argue that for Jiang Wenye, writing and publishing in Japanese was a conscious linguistic choice. I see it not as a gesture of identification with Japan's colonial regime, but a strategy of *disidentification* working on and against the dominant discourse of Pan-Asianism, creating room for dissent from within. I read *Confucius' Treatise* as a liminal text destabilizing pan-Asianism which was the theoretical foundation of Japanese imperialism, and *Inscriptions of Beijing* as a dissenting voice that found its way around censorship by disguising as an exotic travel guide. Both seemingly propagandist books embody Jiang Wenye's political agenda of what I call "oppositional lingering," *lingering* in history, tradition, and the imagination of a premodern peaceful Oriental civilization, to *oppose* the violence done by modern nation-states (Japan and the West) under the names of progression and prosperity in East Asian present.[33] I argue that Jiang Wenye's anachronistic *lingering* towards a shared Asian past was intended to function *against* the Pan-Asianist discourse that justified the very existence of the Japanese colonial empire.

What I want to achieve with this thesis is to provide alternative readings of Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye's body of works beyond the binary mode of nationalistic resistance or treacherous collaboration. I hope my thesis sheds light on some information that the authors did

[33] It needs to be pointed that although I read the books as embodying Jiang Wenye's anti-war and anti-colonial political agenda, not many copies of the books were sold at that time and he was not a popular author.

not spell out due to various reasons, mainly censorship and surveillance. Travelling back to 1920s to 1940s East Asia, I hope to illustrate the richness of their works and to direct scholarly attentions to their transnational visions, instead of letting them be subsumed into national canons. The journey unfolds from here.

Chapter One

Fugitive Beauty: Orientalism and Ornamentalism in Liu Na'ou's Urban Writing

Un éclair... puis la nuit! — Fugitive beauté
Dont le regard m'a fait soudainement renaître,
Ne te verrai-je plus que dans l'éternité?

A lightning flash... then night! Fleeting beauty
By whose glance I was suddenly reborn,
Will I see you no more before eternity?

– Excerpted from Charles Baudelaire's "À une passante" (To a Passer-by), *Les Fleurs du mal*

In March 1930, Shanghai, booklovers could hardly wait for modernist writer Liu Na'ou's 劉吶鷗 (1905-1940) upcoming short story collection *Dushi fengjing xian* 都市風景線 (Urban Landscape).[34] Advertisement of the book promised that Liu Na'ou, "a sensitive urban man," will "dissect airplanes, movies, jazz, skyscrapers, eroticism, the high speed of long-bodied cars, and the mass production of modern life" with a fresh style that was "unprecedented and best reflects our times."[35] The book came out the next month with both its Chinese title as advertised, and a French title, *Scène*. The bilingual titles gesture towards several interesting aspects of this book: the use of macaronic language and code-switching (with the author's Japanese-flavored Chinese mixed with French and English), the innovative techniques learned from the French-originated transnational modernist school of neo-sensationism, and a Baudelairean artistic attitude

[34] In this chapter, all primary materials by Liu Na'ou are my own translation with Liu's original English/French italicized.
[35] Advertisement for Liu Na'ou's *Scène* appearing on the inside cover of La Nouvelle Littérature 2:1 (March 1930). Quoted in Shu-mei Shih, "Gender, Race, and Semicolonilaism: Liu Na'ou's Urban Shanghai Landscape," in *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937*, (University of California Press, 2001), 276.

illuminating the metropolis as a glittering spectacle while watching city dwellers as if they were merely players on a stage.

Liu Na'ou acquired Japanese and the Minnan dialect of Chinese during his childhood in Tainan and learned English and French in Tokyo and Shanghai. He was born in colonial Taiwan under Japanese rule in 1905 and sent to Tokyo for high school in 1920. In 1923, he became a college student in the same school (Aoyama College) and majored in English literature. He graduated in March 1926 and went to Shanghai in April to study French at Aurora University. He went back to Tainan in April 1927 for a short family visit, then returned to Tokyo and stayed from May to August for a summer program in Athena France Language College.[36] Among all the places he had travelled to and lived in, he decided that Shanghai would be his "land of future."[37] He permanently relocated to Shanghai in September 1927 and based his literary and cultural career there until he was assassinated on September 3, 1940. Migrating from Taiwan, periphery of the Japanese Empire, to metropolitan Tokyo and cosmopolitan Shanghai, Liu Na'ou was detached from any deeply rooted national traditions. Instead, his transnational trajectories gave rise to a transnational artistic vision, which was to capture the Zeitgeist with bold literary and cultural practices that were "all new, all cutting-edge."[38]

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[36] I sketched this trajectory from reading his diary entries from April 12 to September 9, 1927. Liu, Na'ou 劉吶鷗, diary, translated by Peng Hsiao-yen 彭小妍 and Huang Yingzhe 黃英哲, in *Liu Na'ou quan ji ri ji ji* 劉吶鷗全集日記集, edited by Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁, (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 246-572.

[37] Liu, diary (entry of July 12, 1927), in *Liu Na'ou quan ji ri ji ji*, 446.

[38] Shi Zhecun 施蟄存, "Wo de chuang zuo sheng huo zhi jing yan." 我的創作生活之經驗 [My Experience from My Life of Creative Writing] (Shanghai: Tian ma shu dian, 1935), quoted in Wang Xiangyuan 王向远, "Xin gan jue pai wen xue ji qi zai Zhongguo de bian yi: zhong ri xin gan jue pai de zai bi jiao yu zai ren shi" 新感觉派文学及其在中国的变异: 中日新感觉派的再比较与再认识 [Neo-Sensationist Literature and Its Variation in China: Re-comparing and Re-understanding the Chinese and Japanese Schools of Neo-Sensationism]. *Zhongguo xian dai wen xue yan jiu cong kan* 中国现代文学研究丛刊, no.4 (1995): 47.

While living in Tokyo, especially after the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake which marked the boom of Japan's literary and cultural *modan*, Liu observed Japan's literary avant-garde and mass cultural scenes with great curiosity and interest. As an avid reader of both French and Japanese literatures, he was especially fascinated by a branch of literary modernism travelling from Paris to Tokyo, namely neo-sensationism. The Japanese Neo-sensationist School (新感覚派), led by literary stars such as Yokomitsu Ri'ichi 横光利一 (1898-1947) and Kawabata Yasunari 川端康成 (1899-1972), pay tribute to French modernist and imagist writer Paul Morand (1888-1976) whose depictions of modern life in early 1920s Europe were very powerful in a way that directly evoked intuitive sensations.[39] Agonized by the traumatically sudden imposition of a Western *modern*, while at the same time fascinated by Tokyo urbanites' cultural *modan*, the Japanese neo-sensationists explored new impressions, perceptions, and sensations of life in a modern city trying to express the intricacies of their time. Their writing style featured broken grammar and code-switching, devices of symbolism and personification, frequent internal monologues in the style of stream-of-consciousness, and heavy usage of visual imagery and filmic techniques such as montage, collage, and juxtaposition. Their body of work reflects the fleeting beauty living in a modern metropolis, or *genshōbi* 現象美 (phenomenological beauty), a popular term in 1920s Tokyo describing a precarious consumerist lifestyle best encapsulated by Kawabata Yasunari as "*Eroticism*, and *Nonsense*, and *Speed*, and *Humor* like social commentary cartoons, and Jazz Songs and Women's legs."[40]

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[39] However, Paul Morand never used the words "neo-sensationism" or "neo-sensation," see Peng Hsiao-yen's *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flaneur,and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris*, (Routledge, 2010), 92.

[40] Kawabata Yasunari, *Asakusa Kurenaidan* (Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1930). Facsimile ed. (Tokyo: Kindai bungakukan, 1980), 33, quoted in Miriam Silverberg with Silverberg's translation, "Japanese Modernity Within Modernity," in *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 18-9.

Liu Na'ou is generally credited as the first person who transplanted the Franco-Japanese neo-sensationism to China, and his debut short stories marked the beginning of the short-lived Chinese literary modernism. In *Trackless Train* (無軌列車), the avant-garde literary magazine he started and edited with his Aurora University cohorts Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (1905-1950), Du Heng 杜衡 (1907-1964), and Shi Zhecun 施蟄存 (1905-2003), Liu Na'ou translated all sorts of avant-garde literatures and introduced neo-sensationism to China. He is often paired with Mu Shiying 穆時英 (1912-1940) as the representative figures of Chinese neo-sensationism. The latter was a more prolific author who published three short-story collections in early 1930s, whereas when Liu Na'ou was alive, *Scène* was the one and only collection of his original works. Liu continued to write and publish short stories until the year of 1934 while trying out different roles related to the film industry such as critic, screenwriter, director, and producer. He eventually gave up creative writing and devoted himself to a career in film, as he found film a better medium for conveying new sensations of modern life.

Apart from the theme of fast-paced modern love and city life, the usage of macaronic language and code-switching, and the innovative literary and filmic techniques, another feature that Liu's urban writing shares with the 1920s and 30s global modernism is the trope of the sybaritic Modern Girl. As impressively documented in *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, the Modern Girl who sheds her traditional clothes for a Western dress, who wears a cloche hat on her fashionable bobbed hair, was a transnational cultural motif prevalent all over the world in America, Australia, China, France, Germany (Weimar and Nazi), India, Japan (including Korea, Okinawa, and Taiwan), South Africa, Soviet Union, etc. during the first half of the 20th century. Japanese cultural historian Miriam Silverberg

defines the Modern Girl as a highly commodified cultural construct of the mass media.[41] According to Silverberg, the Modern Girl in Japan was "a glittering, decadent, middle-class consumer who, through her clothing, smoking and drinking, flaunts tradition in the urban playgrounds of the late 1920s."[42] Frequently treated as a rebellious icon against tradition, the Modern Girl's protest was "expressed through sensuality and *mobility* (emphasis mine)."[43]

Mobility is the keyword here, both in Silverberg' interpretation of the Modern Girl and for my own analysis of Liu Na'ou's urban writing in this chapter. As opposed to the traditional perception of a stay-at-home femininity, Silverberg identifies "movement on the streets" as the distinguishing characteristic of the Modern Girl: the Tokyoite Modern Girl engages in *ginbura*, which means the act of aimlessly cruising in Ginza – Tokyo's ultramodern and most stylish shopping, dining, and entertainment district.[44] Westernesque[45] in her appearance and unabashed for her movement on the streets, the Modern Girl defies native men's nationalist anxiety against the backdrop of the East Asian colonial modernity dominated by Euro-American mores.

In Liu Na'ou's *Scène*, the Modern Girl finds her new urban playground in Shanghai, the (in)famous *mato* [魔都 diabolical capital] which inspired numerous literary and artistic creations. The name *mato* (diabolical capital) was coined by Japanese novelist Muramatsu Shōfū 村松梢風 (1889-1961) in 1924 to encapsulate Shanghai's semicolonial condition as a marvelous, sensual, and culturally heterogenous "cosmopolitan club" which was simultaneously "the city of Heaven

[41] Miriam Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant (Movement on the Streets)," in *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2006), 51.
[42] Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," 51.
[43] Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," 63.
[44] Silverberg, "The Modern Girl as Militant," 51.
[45] I borrow the word "Westernesque" from Indra Levy's *Sirens of the Western Shore: The Westernesque Femme Fatale, Translation, and Vernacular Style in Modern Japanese Literature* (Columbia UP, 2010) where she discusses about "Westernesque Femme Fatale" as a literary trope reflecting native men's anxiety over colonial racism.

and the city of Hell."[46] The bifurcation of Heaven and Hell is interpreted by Shu-mei Shih as a pronounced tension between the culture of *metropolitan* West/Japan as an object of desire, and the power of *colonial* West/Japan as a humiliating presence.[47] Shih defines semicolonialism as "the state of *multiple* and *multilayered* colonization of China by competing foreign powers,"[48] and describes Shanghai as "an ostentatious visual reminder of multiple colonial presences and uneven development… a city of sin, pleasure, and carnality, awash with the phantasmagoria of urban consumption and commodification."[49]

Several literary critics and cultural historians have discussed in depth about Liu Na'ou, the city of Shanghai, and the Modern Girl since he was rediscovered as a cultural icon at the beginning of the 21st century. Shu-mei Shih proposes that, as part of the phantasmagoric reality of Shanghai, the Westernized Modern Girl unsettles the bifurcation between the metropolitan West and the colonial West, questioning the givenness of nationalism, colonial racism, and patriarchy.[50] On the other hand, Zhang Pingjin finds Shih's feminist reading ascribing too much autonomy and agency to the Modern Girl,[51] and argues that as a highly objectified and commodified cultural construct, the excessively material Modern Girl collapses into one with Shanghai the Modern Metropolis, devouring Liu Na'ou's always already alienated and ambiguous subjectivity.[52] In the meantime, Peng Hsiao-yen reads the dandies/flâneurs and the

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[46] Muramatsu Shōfū 村松梢風, "Jijo"自序 [Preface by the Author], in *Mato* 魔都 [Diabolical Capital], (Osaka: Konishi shoten, 1924), http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/972136.
[47] Shu-mei Shih, "Modernism and Urban Shanghai," in *The Lure of the Modern: Writing Modernism in Semicolonial China, 1917-1937*, (University of California Press, 2001), 231.
[48] Shih, "Gender, Race, and Semicolonialism," 282.
[49] Shih, "Modernism and Urban Shanghai," 232.
[50] Shih, "Gender, Race, and Semicolonialism," 277-8.
[51] Zhang Pingjin 张屏瑾. "Zai chenzui yu kuanghuan Zhong zhan li: Liu Na'ou he ta de mo li Shanghai" 在沉醉与狂欢中战栗：刘呐鸥和他的魔力上海 [Thrill in the Intoxication and Carnival: Liu Na'ou and his Magical Shanghai]. Shanghai Culture, no. 4 (2009): 36. See also Note 31 on page 41.
[52] Zhang, "Zai chenzui yu kuanghuan Zhong zhan li," 34-39. Zhang noticed that Liu Na'ou never used first person narrative in his short stories and sees it as a symptom of Liu's alienation. She further argues

modern girls/flâneries in Liu's texts as cultural translators enabling transcultural and transformative creation.[53]

Building on past scholars, I read Liu Na'ou's Modern Girl as a *fugitive beauty*. I define fugitivity as a relative freedom of mobility moving in and out of the case of a presupposed cultural role,[54] and demonstrate that with her fugitive mobility, the Modern Girl in Liu Na'ou's *Scène* flirts with and flees from multiple hegemonical powers (colonial orientalism, patriarchal nationalism, and global capitalism) while being desired, commodified, and dominated. I argue that the fugitivity of the Modern Girl is a projection of Liu's own colonial and transnational mobility, and that it is used by Liu in *Scène* to conduct a multi-layered and multi-directional critique of Shanghai's semicolonial, modern, and capitalist condition.

In this chapter, I investigate three bizarre and witty stories in Liu Na'ou's *Scène*:

1. A French man thought he finally found his Oriental Goddess uncontaminated by Western capitalist materialism, only to find out that she, too, asked him money for sex. ("Reqing zhi gu" [熱情之骨 Bones of Passion])
2. Two dandies were competing to impress a modern girl by courting her in what they perceived as the newest Western fashion, while she mocked them for being too outdated. She told one of them that he could have had sex with her in the car three hours ago if it

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that Liu's alienated subjectivity was not only caused by the modern condition, but also by his vague identities as a person not belonging to anywhere. "刘呐鸥的认同缺省以及无归属感却使他能够感应到上海于他的特别相宜之处. 也就是说，在模糊、分裂、游移、变动这些意 义上，他与上海"飞地"的独特属性相通。"

[53] Peng Hsiao-yen's *Dandyism and Transcultural Modernity: The Dandy, the Flaneur,and the Translator in 1930s Shanghai, Tokyo, and Paris*, (Routledge, 2010).

[54] My definition of fugitivity is inspired by critical race theorist Fred Moten's concept of *fugitivity* as the African American experience of desiring for the outside while moving in and out of the case of blackness. Moten describes fugitivity as an uncompromising attitude, an ongoing refusal of standards imposed from elsewhere, a spirit of escape and transgression of the proper and the proposed. See Fred Moten, "The Case of Blackness." *Criticism*, Vol. 50, No. 2, (Spring 2008): 177–218.

was not for his clumsy show of Western etiquette. ("Liangge shijian de buganzheng zhe" [兩個時間的不感症者 Two Men Insensitive to Time])

3. A French diplomat and a Chinese lawyer negotiated a rental agreement concerning the latter's wife (who was an Oriental beauty in the French eye and a Westernesque bestial woman in the Chinese eye), but the wife had already run off with another man by the time the lawyer arrived home with the intention to sell her. ("Liyi yu weisheng" [禮儀與衛生 Etiquette and Hygiene])

These three stories are positioned one after each other in *Scène* exactly in this sequence. What they have in common is that they all have the Modern Girl playing the female lead that tricks and stunts the colonial and patriarchal expectations of Western and native dandies. In Liu Na'ou's urban writing, the Modern Girl is frequently described as a fox spirit (狐狸精), both bestial and ghostlike, Westernesque in the Asian eye and Oriental in the Western eye. The Modern Girl is a highly aestheticized being constantly on the run in and out of the city, suddenly appearing or vanishing in phantasmatic manners in front of the shattering gaze of orientalist/patriarchal nationalist men.

In the following sections, I will expand on my idea of fugitive beauty in relation to Liu Na'ou's transnational mobility, draw from critical race theorist Anne Anlin Cheng's framework of ornamentalism and perihumanity, while referring to the above-mentioned stories as examples, to illustrate how the fugitive and flirtatious Modern Girl embodies Liu Na'ou's multi-layered and multi-directional caricature of orientalism, commodity fetishism, and patriarchal nationalism.

Fugitive Beauté: Orientalism, Ornamentalism, and the Modern Girl's Perihumanity

At the very beginning of this chapter, I quoted a part of Charles Baudelaire's poem "À une passante" (To a Passer-by). The poem is from the section titled "Tableaux Parisiens" (Parisian Scenes) in Baudelaire's famous poems collection *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Flowers of Evil). In this poem, the poet briefly encountered an agile and graceful woman and felt as if there were "A lightning flash… then night." The next phrase, "Fugitive beauté," is commonly translated as "fleeting beauty," which evokes the transient, illusory, and contingent aesthetic qualities of modern city life. However, translating "fugitive" as "fleeting" only captures the temporal aspect of the word, while missing the sense of spatiality and mobility evoked by its other meaning: "who escaped and is on the run." The phrase *fugitive beauty*, therefore, can be read in two ways: the fleeting beauty (a phenomenon) of the precarious modern city life, and a fugitive beauty (a woman) that escapes/is on the run.

One striking feature of Liu Na'ou's *Scène* is the elaborate descriptions of the Modern Girl's mobile, transformational, and "portable" quality. Most female protagonists in Liu Na'ou's short stories are fugitive beauties constantly on the run, rushing from place to place on the urban streets, going in and out of the city on the train, taking hurried flight on elopements. From the perspective of the woman-watching dandies/flâneurs, the Modern Girl's fugitive body curiously transforms from its human shape into walking canes, race cars, animals, decorative flowers, marble sculptures, pearls and gemstones, fruits, playthings, and fox spirits.

In her book *Ornamentalism*, Anne Anlin Cheng traces the discourse of an ornamental Asiatic femininity and redefines it with the concept of *perihumanity*.[55] Cheng identifies the problem of "yellow womanhood as a condition of denigration and violence that peculiarly and

[55] Anne Anlin Cheng, "Introduction," in *Ornamentalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 2-4.

insistently speaks through the language of aesthetic privilege,"[56] exploring the transitive properties and possibilities of the yellow woman who has been viewed as things, ornaments, aestheticized beings with the beauty of abjectness. According to Cheng, instead of belonging to a normative humanity, the yellow woman who is at once an embodiment of civilizational value and a disposable ornament of decadence and decoration falls into the category of what she calls perihumanity, and the peripheral and transitive position ironically grants the yellow woman's survival,[57] a survival that is often "unexpected, perhaps even unspeakable." [58] I hereby quote Cheng's definition of perihumanity in its full length:

> By perihumanity, I mean to identify the peculiar in-and-out position, the peripherality and the proximity of the Asiatic woman to the ideals of the human and the feminine. At once closely linked to ideas of ancient civilizational values and yet far removed from the core of Western humanist considerations, she circles but is excluded from humanity.[59]

The idea of mobility is strongly implied (by the word "circles") but not explicitly spelled out in Cheng's formula of ornamentalism and perihumanity. Building on Cheng's theory, my idea of fugitive beauty foregrounds the Asian Modern Girl's mobility and moments of transformations. I see her fugitivity as a condition being simultaneously subjected to and escaping from the case of femininity, circling but excluded from normative humanity, objectified by the male gaze while shattering it with her unexpected survival through crushing her objectivity.

As past scholars have pointed out, the Modern Girl is a literary trope, a cultural construct, an aestheticized being. I need to clarify that in this chapter, I am *not* reading the modern girls in Liu Na'ou's urban writings as real women who were empowered with agency and autonomy. Instead, I read them as fugitive beauty with, to borrow Anne Cheng's phrase, a "less-than-human

[56] Anne Anlin Cheng, "Preface," in *Ornamentalism*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), xi.
[57] Cheng, "Introduction," 1.
[58] Cheng, "Introduction," 19.
[59] Cheng, "Introduction," 2.

agency" in her "Ornamentalist personhood."[60] It is exactly the objectification under male gaze that grants her less-than-human agency to survive as ornaments and things, to disappoint the colonial and nationalist expectations of men, and to act as a trickster who unexpectedly twists the storyline.

To me, what is even more interesting is the interweaving threads of the Ornamental and the Oriental. As Cheng perceptively points out, the Oriental relies on a decorative grammar. In the act of mocking orientalist imaginations and patriarchal nationalist sentiments, Liu carried out a bold and innovative experiment: objectifying and fetishizing the Modern Girl with the most lavishing details in the style of neo-sensationism, while intriguingly using those misogynist descriptions as weapons to caricature the hypocrisy and anxiety of Western and Asian dandies. From fleeting phenomenological beauty to fugitive beauties on the run, the Modern Girl in Liu Na'ou's *Scène* demonstrates Liu's multidirectional critique of colonialism, nationalism, and commodity fetishism with her fugitive and perihuman movements.

The interweaving Orientalism and Ornamentalism speak for Shanghai's semicolonial condition, and I argue that the fugitive movement on the Modern Girl projects Liu Na'ou's own condition as a colonial subject and border-crossing agent. Being an ethnic Chinese person born in Taiwan under Japanese rule, who was educated in Tokyo and chose Shanghai as his new home to start his literary and cultural career, Liu Na'ou was neither a complete foreigner nor a native person to Japan or China. In *Shanghai jinbunki* 上海人文記 [Records of People and Culture in Shanghai], Liu Na'ou's friend and colleague Matsuzaki Keiji recounted that when they were living in a hotel in Shanghai together for a business project, there were many anonymous phone calls directed to Liu Na'ou, and when Liu picked up, the caller would scold him for being Han

[60] Cheng, "Introduction," 19.

Traitor then instantly hang up.[61] He also recalled that Liu Na'ou once complained about his state of being stuck in between China and Japan. He remembered Liu Na'ou saying: "When I talk to a Japanese person, the person instantly shows despise once I mention that I was born in Taiwan. And the Chinese also looked at me in a strange way, thinking that I am a Japanese-flavoured Chinese person. I know very clearly how chaotic someone like me would feel when he stands among people who have unambiguous national flags waving behind their backs, how people from both sides would look at us with suspicions."[62]

The key difference between Liu Na'ou's transnationality and that of his Chinese and Japanese peers' is that, Liu's mobility was at the same time granted by and subjected to a colonizing authority that was not his native government. Born as a colonial subject, Liu Na'ou was moving from place to place to find his chosen land but had always experienced being in a state that was "almost there but not quite," marked by an outsideness and subjected to multiple powers despite the relative privilege of freedom of mobility. In this sense, the Modern Girl's fugitive beauty is a projection of Liu Na'ou's own transnational mobility and vision as a Taiwan-born colonial subject. Her capability to outsmart, caricature, and escape both orientalist and native patriarchal gazes embodies Liu's ability to innovate with new literary techniques and his multidirectional critique towards Western colonialism and Asian reactive nationalism, refusing to offer respect to powers while mocking various ideologies in semicolonial Shanghai with a free and flirtatious spirit.

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[61] Matsuzaki Keiji 松崎啓次, *Shanhai jinbunki: eiga purodusā no techō kara* 上海人文記：映画プロデューサーの手帳から [Records of People and Culture in Shanghai: from the Notebook of a Film Producer], (Tokyo: Takayama shoin, 1941), 241.

[62] Quoted in Tamura Shizue 田村志津枝, "Zhina zhi ye" 支那之夜 [Night of China], in *Li Xianglan de lianren: dianying yu zhanzheng* 李香蘭的戀人：電影與戰爭 [Li Xianglan's Lover: Cinema and War], translated by Wang Jiankang 王建康 and Shi Guanhai 石觀海, (Taipei: Taiwan shufang, 2010), 145.

Dissecting the Spectacle: Three Stories from Liu Na'ou's *Scène*

"Bones of Passion"

In his seminal book *Orientalism*, Edward Said noted how Oriental women are framed in Orientalist travelogues as both innocently primitive and deviously licentious. Focusing specifically on the "peculiar materiality of Asiatic, female flesh," Ann Anlin Cheng observes that "the yellow woman is persistently sexualized yet barred from sexuality, simultaneously made and unmade by the aesthetic project."[63] The Orientalist imagination of the racialized invention of Asian female depends on an ornamental, phantasmatic, and decorative grammar, and in his story "Bones of Passion," Liu Na'ou brilliantly took up this grammar and turned it to the opposite direction to mock the Orientalist fantasy.

"Bones of Passion" tells the story of a romantic adventure in Shanghai of a French young man named Pierre. Pierre left Paris for Shanghai after college graduation in hopes of finding an Oriental beauty uncontaminated by capitalist commodity fetishism. He was fed up with the "metropolises covered in grey fogs"[64] in Western Europe, and consequently "came to the Orient – the country of gold in Western Europeans' imaginations, the nest for romance."[65] When he first arrived, he was rather disappointed because "white beasts with shovels in their hands jostled each other in front of the gate of the Golden Country."[66] Nevertheless, Pierre did not give up his hopes for a sweet and unexpected encounter – a bliss to meet an Oriental beauty as described in Pierre Loti's hugely popular *Madame Chrysanthème*, an 1887 novel written as an autobiographical journal of a French naval officer. In Loti's novel, the French officer had a

[63] Cheng, "Introduction," 1-2.
[64] Liu, *Scène*, 75. "灰霧裡的都市"
[65] 75. "到這西歐人理想中的黃金國，浪漫的巢穴的東洋來了"
[66] 75. "手裡拿著鐵鏟的白色禽獸滿擠在黃金國的門口"

short-lived affair with a Japanese woman named Kiku (Chrysanthemum) after meeting her by chance in a garden in Nagasaki, Japan. Meanwhile, Pierre's adventure unfolds on a quiet afternoon when he was wandering aimlessly on the streets of Shanghai with his walking cane.

Pierre strolled along the streets, relaxed, as if he were a little tipsy. He had a feeling that some unexpected happiness was waiting for him ahead. It was at this time that he was seduced by the smell of a mysterious flower, and he traced the smell until he stopped at a flower shop. There, he met "the one":

> It was a girl as enchanting as a flower spirit that jumped out of the flower fence.
>
> "Would you like some orange blossoms, sir? You will not find them unless you come into the greenhouse."
>
> Such beautiful round eyes. Pierre's heart skipped a beat…The only view in front of his eyes was two white sails emerging out of the red sea. He heard echoing voices of the Sirens.
>
> …… (omitted some conversations about the flowers giving out the mysterious scent being calendulas instead of orange blossoms.)
>
> "O, mademoiselle. I feel as if you just came out of the garden of the God of Spring."
>
> Pierre has never seen such an exquisite hand as the one gesturing delicately in front of his collar at this moment. He was thinking, wouldn't it be interesting if he could replace the calendula flower with this tiny hand, so that he could always hang it in front of his chest to view it and admire it? He wanted to get close to the tiny hand with his shivering lips, but it has already been withdrawn.

> 從花的圍墻中跳起來的是一個花妖似的動人的女兒。
>
> ——你要香橙花嗎，先生？那你不到溫室裡去是沒有的。
>
> 一對圓睜睜的眼波，比也爾心頭跳了一下。…… 比也爾只看見紅海里浮出兩扇的白帆，並聽見人魚答應的聲音。
>
> **……**
>
> —— 喲，姑娘，你像是從春神的花園裡出來的。
>
> 比也爾從沒見過像在他襟前纖弱地動著的那樣秀膩的小手。他想，把這朵金盞花換了這一隻小手，常掛在胸前觀賞可不是很有趣的嗎？他想把慄動著的嘴唇湊近去時，那小手已經縮回去了。[67]

[67] 71-2.

In this magical moment created by surreal images of flower spirit, heavenly garden, and siren songs, the young lady presented Pierre with a calendula flower, while the latter fantasized about replacing that flower with her hand, and further imagined her hand as an ornament dangling in front of his chest so that he could always have a chance to feel it and play with it. This passage invites an interpretation from the perspectives of orientalism and ornamentalism, that the Asian woman collapses into an aesthetic supplement going through an ornamentalist transformation under the orientalising male gaze. Within several lines, Liu Na'ou precisely captured a moment of dehumanization of Asian female peculiarly through the language of aesthetic privilege.

The more Pierre gazed at the flower shop lady, the more he felt that she met all his expectations for an Oriental goddess. He completely ignored the fact that she was able to converse with him in French, and blindly believed that she was the embodiment of the Orient uncontaminated by Western European modernity. In his mind, she was the Kiku from Loti's novel coming into life for him:

> He really could not believe that this touching and lovely Kiku was so close to him in front of his eyes. He thought over her body and found every part absolutely lovely. Her black pupils hid deeply the passion of the Orient, and aren't the two pearl-like ears from shells where Venus was born? … Ah, such exquisite feet! Compared to the bestial feet of Western European women, how vulnerable and delicate are hers! These feet certainly would not interrupt sweet dreams on the rosy bed.
>
> 他真不相信這麼動人，這麼可愛的菊子竟會這麼近在眼前。他想一想，覺得她的全身從頭至尾差不多沒有一節不是可愛的。那黑眸像是深藏著東洋的熱情，那兩扇真珠色的耳朵不是 Venus 從海里出生的貝殼嗎？那腰的四圍的微妙的運動有的是雨果詩中那些近東女子們所沒有的神秘性。纖細的蛾眉，啊！那不任一握的小足！比較那動物的西歐女是多麼脆弱可愛呀！這一定是不會把薔薇花的床上的好夢打破的。[68]

[68] 76.

However, Pierre was only to be disappointed – right in the middle of their physical intimacy, she asked him for five hundred *yuan*. This pure and beautiful angel suddenly turned into a chunk of worthless stinky flesh, and Pierre's spiritual world shattered:

> ——*Ma cherie*, I ……
>
> Below the powerful dominating presence, it was as if that delicate body was almost about to be crushed. She did not resist but locked him with her drunk eyes. Yet suddenly the cherry popped, she said,
>
> —— Give me five hundred *yuan*, alright?
>
> Pierre jumped up as if cold water poured over his head. He kneeled down below the couch, withdrew his hands across her waist, and couldn't open his mouth for a while.
>
> ——Ma cherie, 我……
>
> 在那強大的壓迫的下面，那脆弱的身體像要潰碎了。她並不抵抗，只以醉眼望著他。但是忽然櫻桃一破，她說，
>
> ——給我五百元好麼？
>
> 比也爾一時好像從頭上被覆了一盆冷水一樣地跳了起來。他只是跪在椅褥下，把抱著腰圍的兩手放鬆，半晌不能講出半句話來。[69]

The story ended with the flower shop lady's letter to Pierre providing her justification of asking for money, as in a capitalist society everything has a price. At the end of the letter she signed her real name, Lingyu 玲玉. She was referred to as "Kiku" through out the story and this real name was not revealed to the readers until the very end.

The seemingly random mentioning and comparison of Asian female feet and those of their European counterparts was probably Liu Na'ou's cheeky reference to a French story that he translated and published one month earlier in his literary magazine *Trackless Train*.[70] Past scholars such as Leo Ou-fan Lee have observed that Liu Na'ou named the protagonist of this

[69] 82.

[70] This is probably an inside joke prepared by Liu Na'ou for his literary friends, as "Life of Inflation" was published in *Trackless Train* in November 1928 and "Bones of Passion" was first published in December 1928 as dated in his anthology. Reading the two stories together creates a greater effect of irony.

story “Pierre” in an intentionally playful way alluding to the French Orientalist novelist Pierre Loti.[71] Nevertheless, while going through Liu’s translation works, I discovered that there is another Pierre that Liu Na’ou might be referring to, the French playwright Pierre Valdagne. In the fifth issue of *Trackless Train*, Liu translated a short story by Valdagne called “Life of Inflation” [生活騰貴] which tells a story as follows:

> A young man was accompanying his old uncle who was reminiscing about his past romances in his youth, while putting tokens of love he collected into fire. Among various tokens such as letters, ribbons, photos, and dry flowers, the young man was mostly drawn to an exquisite women’s shoe made of dark brown silk. The uncle zealously worshiped the shoe recounting how “delicate, pure, sacred, and enchanting” his lover’s feet were, and the young man was eager to find a lover with beautiful feet and ask for her shoe to keep as well. However, romanticism and passion did not serve him well as the old days were gone – when the young man worshiped his lover’s feet and begged her for her silver-colored high heel boot decorated with red jade, the lady was astonished and exclaimed, “But my friend, are you mad? This shoe cost me a thousand and two hundred francs. I wouldn’t be able to pay such a price everyday!” (my translation from Liu’s Chinese translation)[72]

Both “Bones of Passion” and “Life of Inflation” show that in modern urban life, where the air is filled with commodity fetishism, romance and passion are simply ludicrous. With the disturbing comparison of the “delicate” feet of Asian women and the “bestial” feet of European women, and joking that the Asian feet “certainly would not interrupt sweet dreams on the rosy bed,” Liu Na’ou creates a moment of intertextuality: if for a second we read the protagonists from Liu’s “Bones of Passion” and Valdagne’s “Life of Inflation” as the same person, we have a consistent story of a French young man, who had a spirit of a poet and was disappointed by the increased price of tokens and decreased value of passion in Paris, went to Shanghai for spiritual salvation

[71] Lee, “Face, Body, and the City,” 201.
[72] Valdagne, Pierre. “Sheng huo teng gui.” 生活騰貴 [Life Inflation], trans. Liu Na’ou, in *Liu Na’ou quan ji wen xue ji* 劉吶鷗全集文學集. Edited by Kong Lai-shin 康來新 and Hsu Chin-chen 許秦蓁 (Tainan: Tainan xian wen hua ju, 2001), 213-9. Originally published in *Trackless Train*, November 10, 1928.

only to find out that “what the blonde girls like, girls with black hairs like them too [金髮的女兒所喜歡的，黑髮的女兒也無不喜歡].”[73]

The title “Bones of Passion” [熱情之骨] was a pun, playing on the ambivalence of the word “bone” [骨] in Japanese, which can mean both the core characteristic of a person [中核] and the dry bones or ashes after a person’s death [遺骨]. The protagonist Pierre, whose core characteristic was being passionate, was consumed by his passionate love for Lingyu after the revelation that she was not the Oriental angel he imagined. In Pierre’s mind Lingyu was not a real person but rather a symbol of exotica, a trophy of his adventure, and following the storyline of Pierre, readers would not be able to know Lingyu’s name as from an Orientalist perspective “Kiku” is the name shared by all Oriental beauties. Throughout the story, Lingyu existed in the category of perihumanity as she transformed from woman to flower spirit, to Siren, to dangling ornament, to Oriental goddess, and to a chunk of meat. From Pierre’s perspective, her words that did not fit into his Orientalist expectations were meaningless. However, Liu Na’ou gave her a chance to reclaim her voice in her eloquent letter at the end, shattering Pierre’s Orientalist gaze and rendered him speechless “as if he had swallowed a metal nail,” [74] demonstrating that it is laughable for western imperial powers to look for uncontaminated primitive spirituality while bringing commodity fetishism over with capitalist and colonial expansions.

[73] 79.
[74] 87. “把這個看完，比也爾便像吞下了鐵釘一樣地憂鬱起來。”

"Two men insensitive to Time"

In the second story "Two Men Insensitive to Time," Liu Na'ou turned his mockery around, shifting his target of caricature from Western flaneurs to native dandies. In this story, two Shanghai dandies were competing to court a Modern Girl in what they perceived as the newest Western fashion, while she mocked them for being too outdated. Moving from the jockey club to a café, from the café to busy streets, from busy streets to a department store, from the department store to a dance hall, this is a light-hearted story about the Modern Girl flirting with native dandies' nationalist anxiety over colonial racism through her sensuality and mobility.

The story opens with a malodorous and rather unpleasant description of the environment of a jockey club:

> Dust, spit, secret tears, and stinky smell of horse excrement diffused in the depressed sky, contrasting with people's determination, nervousness, disappointment, frustration, surprise, and excitement, forming a saturated atmosphere. However, the overly proud *Union Jack* kept fluttering in the wind, radiating a red smile in the beautiful blue sky.
>
> 塵埃，嘴沫，暗淚和馬糞的臭氣發散在鬱悴的天空裡，而跟人們的決意，緊張，失望，落膽，意外，歡喜造成一個飽和狀態的氛圍氣。可是太得意的 Union Jack 卻依然在美麗的青空中隨風飄漾著朱紅的微笑。[75]

The juxtaposition of the stinking and filthy environment and the "the overly proud *Union Jack*" reveals the semicolonial condition of Shanghai as a city of heaven and a city of hell. In *Lure of the Modern*, Shu-mei Shih identifies a bifurcation of the *metropolitan* West and the *colonial* West in Shanghai-based authors' writings.[76] Instead of fetishizing the metropolitan Western culture while hiding the anxiety over the colonial Western presence, Liu Na'ou juxtaposes scenes of Shanghai as heaven and Shanghai as hell, unabashedly shedding light on the Euro-American colonial presence in the city.

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[75] 91-92.
[76] Shih, "Modernism and Urban Shanghai," 231.

Against this backdrop, the protagonist Mr. H spotted a Modern Girl at the jockey club:

> All of a sudden, a wave of the scent of *Cyclamen* turned his head. Without him knowing when did such a gentle thing arrived behind his back, a *sportive* modern type of woman came into his vision as he turned his head. Beneath the shining French silk, her elastic muscles vibrate as she moves. Their pairs of eyes easily met. As the cherry pops, a smile radiated from an emerald lake.
>
> 忽然一陣 Cyclamen 的香味使他的頭轉過去了。不曉得幾時背後來了這一個溫柔的貨色，當他回頭時眼睛裡便映入一位 sportive 的近代型女性。透亮的法國綢下，有彈力的肌肉好像跟著輕微運動一塊兒顫動著。視線容易地接觸了。小的櫻桃兒一綻裂，微笑便從碧湖裡射過來。[77]

Noticing that Mr. H bet on the right horse and won nearly 1,000 *yuan*, the Modern Girl approached him with interest, salaciously asked if he could help her carry her opera bag. Not having much experience with women or money, Mr. H was so nervous that sweats were running down his forehead. Clumsily raising his hat to show her respect, he asked:

> —— So… Now what? Do we spend time here?
>
> H spoke while showing off the bouquet of money in his hand.
>
> —— What are you talking about? There's not even a spot to sit.
>
> Humph. H thought in his mind. She's a fresh and pretty girl. It won't be too bad of an idea to use her as a walking cane to stroll along the streets.
>
> —— 那麼，怎樣辦呢，就在這兒嗎！
>
> H 示著手裡的一束鈔票說。
>
> ——怎麼可以呢，坐也不能坐。
>
> 哼，H 心裡一想，這麼爽快又漂亮的一個女兒，把她當做一根手杖帶在馬路上走一走倒是不錯的。[78]

Mr. H carefully followed the steps of how a modern gentleman fluent in Western etiquettes would pursue a lady: small talks; bringing her on a walk, "the essential element of modern love;"[79] taking her to an American café for delicious ice-cream, etc. With his newly gained

[77] 93.
[78] 95-6.
[79] 97. "知道散步在近代的戀愛是個不能缺的要素"

fortune, Mr. H was feeling so proud and competent acting as a real dandy, that he "would not be afraid even if she sticks her eyes onto fancy goods behind the glass windows of grand department stores,"[80] and that he was able to "make the most elegant move to place her from his left hand to right hand as if she were a cane." [81] However, to his surprise and confusion, the Modern Girl became rather bored and started flirting with another man, Mr. T. Together the three went to the dance hall, and while the two native dandies were competing for her attention, she eventually looked at her watch and announced that time was up for these two gentlemen, as she needed to move on to another date. When asked by Mr. H to provide a reason, she complained that:

> —— Ugh, such a child. Who told you to be so clumsy? What were all those long-winded things such as eating ice-cream and having a walk? Don't you know that *love-making* should happen in the car with the wind? There are green shades in the countryside. I haven't dated a *gentleman* for over three hours. This was already an exception!
>
> ——啊，真是小孩。誰叫你這樣手足魯鈍。什麼吃冰淇淋啦散步啦，一大堆嘮嚛。你知道 love-making 是應該在汽車上風裡幹的嗎？郊外是有綠陰的呵。我還未曾跟一個 gentleman 一塊兒過過三個鐘頭以上呢。這是破例呵。

The two men were left speechless, feeling as if the dance hall music in the background had turned from Waltz to Fox-Trot.[82]

In *Location of Culture*, cultural theorist Homi Bhabha raises the concept of mimicry and argues that the very idea of a lesser culture mimicking the superior culture, through partial repetition and exaggeration, turns the act into a sort of mockery of the colonizer's superior

[80] 98. "懷裡又有了這麼多的錢，就使她要去停留在大商店的玻璃窗前不走也是不怕她的"
[81] 98. "用最優雅的動作把她像手杖一般地從左腕搬過了右腕"
[82] 105. "H 覺得華爾茲真像變了狐步舞了。他這會饞摸出這懷裡的人是什麼一個女性"

culture. In Liu Na'ou's "Two Men Insensitive to Time," the mockery was carried out by the fugitive Modern Girl moving from place to place in her urban playground under the gaze of native dandies. Transforming from woman to walking cane, then into fox-spirit, the Modern Girl mocks the native dandy for being a half-sophisticate believing that he was capable of Western etiquettes. In the end, it was not the Modern Girl who reviewed her true form, but the native men that treated her as ornamental supplement: the native dandy turned out to be a dandy-wannabe, a failed semicolonial mimicry.

Compared to the prevalent theme of literature of Liu Na'ou's time criticizing the excessively material Modern Girl while sympathizing with the native gentleman's anxiety over colonial racism and Western modernity, Liu Na'ou's story sympathizes with no one and mocks two targets at once: the native dandy's patriarchal and nationalist sentiments with his urge to dominate and claim confidence over the native women, and the legitimacy of the dominating position of Euro-American mores in the Orient. With her fugitive movements on the streets and her transformational moments from woman to walking cane to fox-spirit, the Modern Girl in "Two Men Insensitive to Time" mocked her suitors for being childishly and clumsily imitating the West and poked fun at their colonial anxiety, simultaneously caricaturing the idea of a Western subjecthood that the Asian Modern Girl is circling peripherally.

"Etiquette and Hygiene"

As how Liu Na'ou arranged it, the sense of irony culminated in the third story of the trio. This final story was entitled "Etiquette and Hygiene," where the themes of illusory Orientalist imaginations and patriarchal nationalist anxiety of being left behind time are both taken up. The protagonist Yao Qiming is a famous divorce lawyer known for helping modern new women gain

independence from their husbands. However, he did not like his female clients because they are too talkative – "For God's sake - as if He designed an extra tongue for women!" [上帝作孽，真像多根了個舌頭給女人].[83] After work, he felt a "Spring Melancholia"[84] that urged him to go outside for a walk with his walking cane.

The juxtaposition of a refreshing metropolitan Shanghai and a filthy semicolonial Shanghai reappears. On the side of the cosmopolis, blonde ladies wearing high heels lightly stepped upon soft sunshine with flowers in their hands; upper-middle class mother and daughter got off a luxurious car and they smell like fresh grass; Indian traffic officers directed the flows of cars in an organized manner. Mr. Yao purchased aphrodisiac from a pharmacy here while flirting with the Slavic receptionist, while German-made medicines were sorted tidily on display in glass jars. Mr. Yao then walked a few more blocks to go to the Chinese district to find a prostitute:

> Only two or three blocks further, sceneries changed as if one has crossed an ocean. Protruding signboards of all colours made the area above head a danger zone. The shops have never been visited by sunlight, and they spit out cold and spooky feelings. The mixed liquid of oil, sweat, and dust go to people's internal organs through nostrils. Health has escaped far away. Even the accent of people offering and buying sex contain the malodor of Ammonia in the alleyway.
>
> 只隔兩三條的街路便好像跨過了一個大洋一樣風景都變換了。從店鋪突出來的五花八色的招牌使頭上成為危險地帶。不曾受過日光的恩惠的店門內又吐出一種令人發冷抖的陰森森的氣味。油脂，汗汁和塵埃的混合液由鼻腔直通人們的肺腑。健康是遠逃了的。連招買春宮的簇簇的口音都含著弄堂裡的阿摩尼的奇臭。[85]

After spitting on the street, Mr. Yao's figure faded into this environment. After satisfying his desire for intimacy, he went home to face the endless quarrels with his wife Mrs. Yao – Keqiong, a modern, educated woman who is a friend of art and artists. Mrs. Yao accused Mr. Yao for frequenting brothels, while Mr. Yao accused her back for cheating with artists. Through Mr.

[83] 110.
[84] 110.
[85] 113-114.

Yao's eyes, the readers could see Mrs. Yao as an "angry female leopard [發怒的母豹]" with a "clever tongue [伶巧的舌頭]."[86] The two ceased fire eventually and decided to meet at the art studio where Mrs. Yao's younger sister Bairan serves as the mistress of the art studio owner as well as nude model.

When Mr. Yao arrived at the studio in French concession, Bairan was naked in a standing pose amid an extensive exotic collection of art pieces from all over the world, while two men were painting her body. At the sight of Bairan's nudity, Mr. Yao "withdrew eye contact as if he saw something he should not have. However, it seems that the nudity has lost all the feelings. It was not startled by the new intruder, but threw a nerveless glance at him, and kept her *Pose* still." [好像看見了不該看的東西一樣，忙把視線收起來。可是那裸體卻好像失掉了感覺似的，並不因這新的闖入者而受驚，反而對他拋了無神經的一眼，仍舊不動地繼續著她的Pose].[87] It turns out that Bairan is a mute person. She never speaks and does not seem to feel or care. She is first described as a sculpture, then as nature, and eventually as a map for the male voyeur to gaze, tour, appreciate, and claim his territories. There were three men gazing at Bairan's body: Mr. Yao, the bohemian artist who owns the place (and temporarily Bairan's body), and a blonde French man named Colonel Prunier [普呂業大佐]. Colonel Prunier used to be a French diplomat in Beijing but decided to quit and open an antique store in Shanghai out of his interest in Oriental antiques. The three men talked with eloquence about art, antiques, and women, with the companionship of the speechless Bairan. The Frenchman talked about his "Oriental intoxication [東方醉] in a high spirit:

[86] 122.
[87] 125.

——……Western women's bodies generally feel a lot more corporeal. This of course is because of butter. However, it is also because of the western active lifestyle and the demands from western men. In fact, they are really like animals… and objects of desire. However, oriental women are different. The more you look at them, the more exquisite you'll find, and it does not arouse any desires. Their ears are as lovely as shells from deep sea, and in their black pupils there hides the secrets of the Orient.

——……西洋女人的體格多半是實感的多。這當然是牛油的作用。然而一方面也是應著西洋的積極生活和男性的要求使其然的。從事實說，她們實是近似動物。眼圈是要畫得像洞穴，唇是要滴著血液，衣服是要袒露肉體，強調曲線用的。她們動不動便要拿雌的蟑螂的本性來把異性當作食用。美麗簡直用不著的。她們只是慾的對象。但是東方的女士卻不是這樣。越仔細看越覺得秀麗，毫不喚起半點欲念。耳朵是像深海里搜出來的貝殼一般地可愛。黛的瞳子裡像是隱藏著東洋的秘密。[88]

Bairan "kept her mouth closed quietly and one could not tell if she were listening "[似聽非聽的靜靜地不作聲],[89] whereas Mrs. Yao also entered into the room making no comments.

The next time when Colonel Prunier ran into Mr. Yao in a movie theatre, the French merchant confessed to the Chinese lawyer that he was drawn to the latter's wife from the first sight as he saw her as a model Oriental beauty. Colonel Prunier told Mr. Yao that he was moving to Annam (present-day Vietnam) and wanted Mrs. Yao's company. He proposed to trade his antique store in Shanghai, which is worth several hundred thousand grands [數十萬兩] with Mr. Yao, for several years of Mrs. Yao's time spent with him. Colonel Prunier insisted that although his proposal might sound awkward, it was very legitimate because "nowadays everything has a price" [因現時什麼一切都可當做商品規定價值的].[90] Mr. Yao was initially quite shocked at this proposal, but he tried his best to maintain his composure, as he self-positions as a cosmopolitan dandy, and this wife-rental arrangement "might be the most up-to-date Western

[88] 133.
[89] 133.
[90] 138. This sentence echoes Lingyu's letter in the first story, "Bones of Passion."

etiquette" [或許這便是流行在現社會底下的新儀式][91] that he felt a need to follow. He remained his composure and bid farewell to Colonel Prunier, rushing home to negotiate the deal with his wife, only to be surprised that Mrs. Yao has already taken off on an elopement with another man. Mrs. Yao left Mr. Yao a note saying that he could either wait for her or divorce her as he pleased since he was good at divorcing anyway, but he could not change the situation that she has already left with a cute Pekinese man. She thoughtfully reminded him in the notes, that he could have sex with her mute sister, instead of going to brothels as he usually does, because her last piece of advice is that "what's cheap might not always be hygienic" [容易的往往是非衛生的].[92] The final sentence of the story is as follows:

> Reading it over in a second, Qiming was so confused as if he was enchanted by a fox-spirit. Half drunk and half sober, he suddenly felt that there was something human behind. He turned over his head, and saw Bairan standing there on the stairs, smiling. Yet her lovely tiny mouth was still tightly stitched.
>
> 一氣看完之後，啓明覺得被狐精迷了去的一般地掃不清腦筋的條痕。他還在半醉半醒中時，忽然覺得背後有了人氣。他回頭時，看得是早已站在扶梯頭微笑著的白然，可是那可愛的小嘴卻依然是縫著的。[93]

To me, the stitching of Bairan's mouth is the most intriguing aspect of this story. The juxtaposition of Keqiong and Bairan illustrates the two directions of the orientalist and patriarchal imagination of Asiatic femininity: Keqiong was compared to an angry female leopard, capable of speaking many tongues while unable to control her "primitive" passion; Bairan was compared to a "nerveless" sculpture, synthetic and speechless. In the descriptions of the two sisters, Liu Na'ou juxtaposes Asian Modern Girl's ontological conditions of simultaneously being human and nonhuman, flexible in many tongues yet rendered speechless,

[91] 139.
[92] 141.
[93] 141.

displaying excessive materiality on her body while supposedly blank in her mind. Anne Anlin Cheng defines the ornament as "the insignificant, the superfluous, the merely decorative, the shallow, and the excessive" which are at the same time "detachable, and migratory."[94] In Liu Na'ou's stories, the ornamental Asian Modern Girl transforms with a ghostly revival as a trickster who unexpectedly twists the storyline, through her perihumanity and fugitive mobility.

In the latter two stories of the trio, instead of venting the nationalist anxiety, which was a common theme of that time, Liu Na'ou was cleverly mocking the patriarchal nationalism and the elevated place of western culture in Asia's colonial modernity at the same time. Mr. H, Mr. T, and Mr. Yao were by no means real cosmopolitan dandies familiar with western etiquettes. They were all dandy-wannabes, half sophisticates trying to prove their dandiness, by dominating native women with money and/or patriarchal power. While the Modern Girl transforms from human to ornaments, to sculptures, to maps, to beasts, and to fox spirits in Liu Na'ou's urban writing, the target of caricature becomes the idea of a Western subjecthood that the Asian modern girl is circling peripherally, as well as the native dandies emulating Western etiquettes and coping with the Western mores. The Modern Girl in "Two Men Insensitive to Time" mocked her suitors for being childishly and clumsily imitating Western ways of courting and poking their colonial anxiety of being left behind times, and Keqiong in "Etiquette and Hygiene" fled before the exchange of ownership would take place, disappointing the Chinese man's confidence in patriarchal control and the French man's fantasy of Oriental intoxication at the same time, demonstrating Liu's multidirectional critique simultaneously mocking patriarchal nationalism and Orientalism.

[94] Cheng, "Introduction," 19.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated three intriguing stories from Liu Na'ou's short story collection *Scène*, namely "Bones of Passion," "Two Men Insensitive to Time," and "Etiquette and Hygiene." Assembled one after another carefully by the author, these three stories echo each other to form a curious urban landscape where Western men seeking Oriental goddess and native dandies trying to conquer the Modern Girl were all ended up as caricatures being tricked by these fugitive beauties. Drawing from critical race theorist Anne Anlin Cheng's framework of ornamentalism and perihumanity, this chapter highlighted Asian Modern Girl's mobile and transformative moments, and their peculiar character being at the same time described as a modern woman and a classical fox-spirit, Westernesque in the Asian eye and Oriental in the Western eye. I argued that the fugitive mobility of the Modern Girl is a projection of Liu Na'ou's own transnational movements as a colonial subject, and that by simultaneously tricking and disappointing both native and western dandies, Liu Na'ou's Modern Girl embodies his multidirectional critique of western imperialism, capitalist fetishism, and native patriarchal nationalism.

Chapter Two
Resilience through Disidentification: Jiang Wenye's Wartime Music and Poetry

On February 15, 1935, in Ginza, Tokyo, a distinguished Russian-born musician named Alexander Tcherepnin (1899-1977) was attending a social event held by the Modern Japanese Composers' Association to discover young local talents. There he met Jiang Wenye 江文也[95] (1910-1983), a Taiwanese-born composer-cum-poet who was then a rising star in Japan's music society. Jiang Wenye was born in colonial Taiwan and moved to Fujian, China with his family at the age of 6, attending a Japanese elementary school specifically reserved for Taiwanese children. He was then sent to Nagano, Japan at the age of 13 for secondary education, and later moved to Tokyo following his father's command, training to be an electrical engineer. However, he never gave up his passion for music. After his father passed away, he joined Nippon Columbia (Columbia Records in Japan) in 1932, first as a singer and two years later as an award-winning composer. Apart from Jiang's exceptional musical talent, it was his transnational trajectory that immediately caught Tcherepnin's attention. Tcherepnin valued heterogeneity over "purity" in terms of culture, out of his belief after his prolonged exile that there are things only visible beyond national borders. Both being perpetual travellers to whom home was wherever their journeys took them, Jiang and Tcherepnin quickly became friends and toured China

[95] For the sake of consistency and following the existing North American scholarship in both musicology and cultural studies, this essay will use the pinyin spelling "Jiang Wenye" for 江文也. Jiang Wenye was born with the name Jiang Wenbin 江文彬. He adopted the Japanese-sounding name Kō Bunya 江文也 around the start of his musical career in Tokyo in 1932 and was known internationally as Bunya Koh in his publications until 1937. Around 1938, the year of his generally agreed "traditionalist" turn, Jiang changed his official spelling to the more Chinese-sounding "Chiang Wen-yeh" and is still known internationally as a composer under this spelling. See Wu Lingyi 吳玲宜, "Jiang Wenye shengping yu zuopin 江文也生平與作品 [The Life and Works of Jiang Wenye]," in *Jiang Wenye jinian yantaohui lunwenji* 江文也紀念研討會論文集 [A Conference Volume in Memory of Jiang Wenye], ed. Zhang Jiren (Chang Chi-jen) (Taibei: Taibei xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1992), 155.

together in spring and summer 1936, which preluded the "traditionalist" turning point of Jiang's musical and literary career.[96]

In 1938, eight months after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Jiang Wenye was relocated to Japanese-occupied Beiping (now Beijing), China, where he would spend the rest of his life. At that time Jiang was already an internationally renowned musician positively representing Japan and Taiwan. The official story of his relocation (endorsed by his Chinese widow Wu Yunzhen 吳韻真) was that Ke Zhenghe 柯政和 (1889-1979), a professor from Taiwan and then Chair of the Music Department in the Japanese-controlled Beijing Normal College, invited him to take up a job opening.[97] However, Japanese historian Katayama Morihide 片山杜秀 argues that Jiang's professorship was granted by the Japanese government, which regarded him as a valuable political tool in Japan's empire-building: a bridge connecting Japan, its colonies, China, and Manchuria like the legendary Chinese-born Japanese singer-actress Li Xianglan 李香蘭 (1920-2014).[98] Katayama's view is supported by the memoir of Jiang's contemporary Yang Zhaojia 杨肇嘉 (1892-1976), who recounted that Jiang was placed in China under the mission of pan-Asianist propaganda film composing, starting with *Tōyō heiwa no*

[96] Katayama Morihide 片山杜秀. "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku" 江文也とその新たな文脈 (Jiang Wenye and the New Context), in *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 [A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music] (Tokyo: Heiban sha), 2008, 331-3.
[97] Wu Yunzhen 吳韵真, "Bansui Wenye de huiyi" 伴隨文也的回憶 [Memories with Wenye], in *Jiang Wenye yan tao hui lun wen ji* 江文也研討會論文集 [Jiang Wenye Conference Proceedings], ed. Liu Jingzhi 劉靖之, (Hong Kong: Xianggang da xue Yazhou yan jiu zhong xin: Xianggang min zu yin yue xue hui, 1992), 1-28.
[98] Katayama, "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku," 319.

michi 東洋平和の道 (Road to Peace in the Orient, 1938), a propaganda film with the formulaic plot of Chinese commoners being saved by well-meaning Japanese soldiers.[99]

The colonial politics behind Jiang's relocation needs to be understood against the backdrop of Japan's nation-building, empire-building, and heavy-handed assimilation policies in Japan's Orient (東洋 tōyō), present-day East Asia. As demonstrated in the Introduction, the prevailing ideology of the time was pan-Asianism, which was originally directed against Western imperialism and later used to legitimize Japan's leading position and colonial rule in the Orient. As identified by Japanese historian Sven Saaler, there are four elements of a pan-Asianist imagination of "East Asian identity": the cultural unity based upon the shared heritage of Chinese characters (同文 dōbun), the racial kinship all belonging to "the yellow race" in Western categorization (同種 dōshū), the geographical proximity and economic ties, and the feeling of a common destiny against Western imperialism.[100] In order to create a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" in which Asian nations would be "led by the Japanese and free of Western powers,"[101] the *kōminka* (皇民化 imperialization) movement (1937-1945) took place in the colonies to turn the colonized into loyal imperial subjects to sacrifice themselves for the Holy War. Regarding Manchuria and the Japanese-occupied parts of China, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs implemented a series of cultural policies to promote racial harmony and solidarity through literature, film, and music. Writers and artists from all parts of the empire were

[99] Wu Lingyi 吴玲宜, *Jiang Wenye de yinyue shijie* 江文也的音乐世界 [The Music World of Jiang Wenye], (Taipei: Zhongguo minzu yinyue xuehui, 1991), 12.
[100] Sven Saaler, "Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History," in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism, and borders.* Eds. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann, (Routledge, 2007), 10.
[101] In June 1940, Foreign Minister Hachirō Arita announced the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in his radio address entitled "The International Situation and Japan's Position." William Theodore De Bary, ed. *Sources of East Asian Tradition: The Modern Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 622.

enlisted to speak as one, for one unified goal – to build the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and in one language – *kokugo* (国語), which means Japanese as the "national language."

As a colonial Taiwanese subject and an internationally recognized musician, Jiang Wenye was no exception in being asked to collaborate with Japan's empire-building process during his time in Beijing. He composed for propaganda songs masking imperial aggressions with the concept of progression, such as "Tōa minzoku shinkō kyoku" 東亜民族進行曲 (The March of the East Asian Race). He also published three books during this period, all written in Japanese the national language in 1941, and published in Japan in 1942: a monograph on musicology titled *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 (A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music, hereafter *Confucius' Treatise*) [102] and two books of poetry, *Daidō sekibutsu shō* 大同石佛頌 (Hymn of the Stone Buddha of Datong) and *Pekin mei hyakushu* 北京銘百首 (Inscriptions of Beijing: A Hundred Poems, hereafter *Inscriptions of Beijing*).[103] These music and writings, produced under surveillance and censorship from the Japanese government, became reasons for his multiple incarcerations and tortures in postwar China.

Past scholarships have generally regarded Jiang Wenye's wartime music and writings as evidence of his collaborating position. Taiwanese historian Chou Wan-yao points out an

[102] In East Asian-based scholarship this book is generally referred to by the latter part of its name as *Kongzi de yue lun* 孔子的樂論 (Confucius' Treatise on Music) due to the derogatory word *shina* 支那 hurting readers' feelings. In fact, Jiang Wenye was aware of the negative connotation of *shina* and attempted to use *chūkoku* 中国 (China as how Chinese people would call it). However, he stated at the very beginning of the book that he had to change *chūkoku* all back to *shina* due to geographical confusions with the *chūkoku* area in Japan. See Jiang Wenye (Kō Bunya) 江文也, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 [A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music] (Tokyo: Heiban sha, 2008), 12.

[103] In this chapter, all translations of Jiang's primary texts are my own.

"imaginary ethnic style" displayed in Jiang's pre-1945 works where he frequently used Taiwan and China as exotic motifs, connecting his intellectual beliefs with Japan's "kingly way."[104] Literary critic David Wang lists the titles of Jiang's music written during the Second Sino-Japanese War and rightly remarks that "[t]hese works could all be interpreted as promoting racial harmony and solidarity among East Asian countries, and to that effect they resonated with the emerging discourse of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."[105] Katayama Morihide implies that Jiang's research projects of Chinese music and culture in Beijing, as well as his constant travels to see his Japanese wife Kō Nobu 江乃ぶ and their children in Tokyo, were granted and funded by the Japanese government for his propagandist service.[106] Meanwhile, Jiang Wenye's daughter argues that Jiang's wartime activities in Beijing were likely controlled and coerced by Japan's military authorities.[107]

In a different but related context, Taiwanese literary critic Peng Ruijin 彭瑞金 commented on the traumatic period when Taiwanese writers were called out by Japanese government officials to collaborate in making propagandas for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, by questioning if "a choice made being pointed at by a loaded gun really counts as a choice" and proposing the possibility of "a deliberate ambiguity, an intentional

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[104] Chou Wan-yau 周婉窈, "Xiangxiang de minzu feng: shi lun jiang wenye wenzi zuopin zhong de Taiwan yu Zhongguo" 想像的民族風──試論江文也文字作品中的臺灣與中國 [Imagined Ethnic Style: Taiwan and China in Jiang Wenye's Writings]. *Taida lishi xue bao* 臺大歷史學報, no. 35 (2005): 127-180).
[105] David Der-wei Wang, "The Lyrical in Epic Time: The Music and Poetry of Jiang Wenye," in *The Lyrical in Epic Time: Modern Chinese Intellectuals and Artists through the 1949 Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015*)*, 215.
[106] Katayama, "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku," 319.
[107] Chou, "Xiangxiang de minzu feng," note 144 on 171.

pretense" to be discovered and debated by future generations of scholars.[108] In this chapter, I take up Peng's proposal to explore "a deliberate ambiguity, an intentional pretense" by re-examining and offering an alternative reading of two books by Jiang Wenye published in Japanese in 1942, Tokyo: his monograph on musicology *Confucius' Treatise* and his poetry *Inscriptions of Beijing*.

I argue that for Jiang Wenye, writing and publishing in Japanese was a conscious choice. I see it not as a gesture of identification with Japan's colonial regime, but a strategy of *disidentification* working on and against the dominant discourse of pan-Asianism, creating room for dissent from within. I read *Confucius' Treatise* as a liminal text destabilizing pan-Asianism which was the theoretical foundation of Japanese imperialism, and *Inscriptions of Beijing* as a dissenting voice that found its way around censorship by disguising as an exotic travel guide. Both seemingly propagandist books embody a political agenda of what I call "oppositional lingering," *lingering* in history, tradition, and the imagination of a premodern peaceful Oriental civilization, to *oppose* the violence done by modern nation-states (Japan and the West) under the names of progression and prosperity in East Asian present. I argue that Jiang Wenye's anachronistic *lingering* towards a shared Asian past, was actually intended to function *against* the pan-Asianist discourse justifying the very existence of the Japanese colonial empire.

A conscious linguistic choice: censorship, propaganda, and disidentification

I deliberately chose to re-examine *Confucius' Treatise* and *Inscriptions of Beijing* in this chapter, because they have been frequently cited by past scholars and biographers as proofs of Jiang Wenye's participation in (and to some extent, identification with) the pan-Asianist

[108] Peng Ruijin 彭瑞金. "Queding de niandai, bu queding de wenxue" 確定的年代，不確定的文學 [Certain Time, Uncertain Literature], in *Ye Shitao pingzhuan* 葉石濤評傳 [A Commentary on Ye Shitao], (Gaoxiong: Chun hui chu ban she, 1999), 5.

discourse. For instance, Katayama suggests that *Confucius' Treatise* reveals Jiang's attitude as a "nationalist, Asianist artist,"[109] and Jiang's biographer Liu Meilian 劉美蓮 reads *Inscriptions of Beijing* as "a tour guide satisfying … (the Japanese) desires for Beijing's exotica" quoting scholarly opinions.[110] There are very good reasons behind these readings, but still, I was left with many questions. First and foremost, why were these books written and published in Japanese?

According to Jiang Wenye's Chinese widow Wu Yunzhen, Jiang was very fluent in Mandarin despite having a slightly quirky accent, and he actually wrote a whole volume of poetry in Chinese around the same time which was also on the theme of Beijing, only to decide against publishing it.[111] On one hand, Wu claims that Jiang viewed China as his home and Chinese civilization as his roots, which renders his choice to write and publish in Japanese curious. In fact, there was no urge displayed in these books to excavate the authentic or to reconnect with tradition: he claimed that he had absolutely no interest in real Confucius in the preface of *Confucius' Treatise*, and his *Inscriptions of Beijing* depicts Beijing in an intentionally alienated and exoticized way. On the other hand, if Jiang Wenye's mission were to promote pan-Asianism in China, it seems that writing in Chinese, addressing Chinese people, would better serve this purpose. By opting for Japanese, who was his audience in mind and what message was he trying to convey? Is there something else going on in these two books?

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[109] Katayama, "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku," 354.

[110] See Liu Meilian 刘美莲, *Jiang Wenye zhuan: yiyue yu zhanzheng de hui xuan* 江文也傳: 音樂與戰爭的迴旋 [A Biography of Jiang Wenye: Music and War Circling Around] (Xinbei: Ink, 2016), 275. Liu suggests that the titles of the 100 poems put together looks like a tour guide for Japanese citizens travelling to the semicolonial Beijing. She quotes Taiwanese scholar Lin Yingqi 林瑛琦 that "this poetry collection functioned as a tour guide, satisfying the needs of Japanese citizens who desired the exotica and Beijing and wanted to travel to Manchuria."

[111] Wu Yunzhen 吳韻真, "Bansui Wenye de huiyi" 伴隨文也的回憶 [Memories accompanying Jiang Wenye]. The book in question was titled *Fu Tiantan* 賦天壇 [Ode to the Temple of Heaven]. It was written in 1944 and published posthumously in 1992 in Taiwan.

The answer I put forward in this chapter is that, when writing in Japanese, Jiang Wenye was not writing in *nihongo* 日本語 (Japanese), but *kokugo* 国語 (Japanese as "National Language"). Knowing that his works would be subsumed into and appropriated by the state through censorship and propaganda, Jiang was using the language of his colonizers in order to speak against them, simultaneously utilizing and criticizing their rhetoric of pan-Asianist imperial inclusion. This realization was illuminated by Japanese literary scholar Christina Yi's monograph *Colonizing Language*, where in the first three chapters she investigates how ethnic literature produced by colonial Korean writers living on the periphery was incorporated into the Japanese empire within and through *kokugo* – written in Japanese, published in Tokyo, consumed as a commodity by the metropole as an ethnic branch of "national literature" (as compared to "Japanese literature") with renewed metropolitan interest in the colonies shortly before and during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Yi points out that for colonial subjects who wished to publish in Japanese in wartime Japan, they had to go through the "twin mechanisms of censorship and propaganda."[112] Also, a number of famous Korean intellectuals were enlisted to promote pro-Japanese sentiments, following the call to create a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" in June 1940 and the kick start of the New Order Movement 新体制運動 (shintaisei undō) in July 1940.[113] Taiwanese writers were incorporated into this empire-building process as

[112] Christina Yi, "'LET ME IN!': Imperialization in Metropolitan Japan," in *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea*. (New York; Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2018), 26. She also gave an example of the "publisher's forum" formed by fifty-four Tokyo publishers in October 1937 to illustrate how the twin mechanisms worked: representatives of the forum met every month with censorship authorities in the Home Ministry, who not only had the power to issue censorship bans but also had control over paper allocations.

[113] Christina Yi, "Envisioning a Literature of the Imperial Nation," in *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea*. (New York; Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2018), 48.

well, and Jiang Wenye's publications in the 1940s could be seen as "national literature" written in "national language" subsumed into the "national movement."

As Yi nicely lays out, wartime Japanese publishers used a number of different measures to avoid government punishments while catering for the demands of the reading public, with the most popular tactic being invoking the exotic appeal of the topos of Manchuria.[114] Earlier I have mentioned how Jiang Wenye's poetry has been viewed as fulfilling the same function. However, I believe that Jiang's books should not be read as providing cheap exotic flavour, as he was clearly aware how the colonies were branded and marketed as a-part-of, yet not-the-same-as the Japanese empire. In his diary entry of December 27, 1936, Jiang Wenye complained about how Japanese musician Moroi Saburō 諸井三郎 (1903-1977), who served as a judge for the 1936 Art Competitions at the Summer Olympics in Berlin, dismissed his award-winning orchestral piece *Formosan Dance* 台灣舞曲 (Taiwan bukyoku) as "with no real value … the winning of its kind was contingent upon people's curiosity."[115] Jiang Wenye was rather offended that Moroi regarded his composing as "cheap exoticism."[116] Moroi was not the only one. Jiang Wenye's another peer composer, Kiyose Yasuji 清瀬保二 (1900-1981), also commented that he disliked Jiang's experiment with the Japanese style of music and instead appreciated his Chinese style more.[117]

As observed by Japanese postcolonial scholar Leo Ching, in the pan-Asianist formula, Asia is somehow superior to the West, and Japan is somehow superior to the rest of Asia: to use Okakura Kakuzō's words, it is "the living museum of Asiatic civilization," "the singular genius

[114] Yi, "'LET ME IN!': Imperialization in Metropolitan Japan," 26.
[115] Qtd. Chou Wan-yao, "Xiangxiang de minzu feng," 155.
[116] Chou, "Xiangxiang de minzu feng," 155.
[117] Chou, "Xiangxiang de minzu feng," 147.

of the (Asian) race."[118] Japan therefore needed to lead and help its Asian neighbors because, as noted by Japanese historian Naoki Sakai, "the stronger folk must conquer and subjugate other weaker folks in order to form the nation,"[119] whereas the weaker folks deserved tokenistic inclusion. I argue that on the surface, *Confucius' Treatise* and *Inscriptions of Beijing* were written and published to facilitate the imperial inclusion, whereas beneath the surface Jiang conveyed an alternative message criticizing colonial violence with the strategic mode of disidentification.

The concept of disidentification as a survival strategy of subjects with minor positionality has been widely explored in queer and gender studies, as well as critical race theory. It is less drawn upon by postcolonial analysis, especially in the context of East Asia. Building on Judith Butler's suggestion to use disidentification as a point of departure when identification failed as a viable option, Queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz defines disidentification as "a third mode" of dealing with dominant ideology: a disidentificatory subject does not assimilate to dominant ideology, nor strictly resist it, but *works on and against it*. According to Muñoz, "this 'working on and against' is a strategy that tries to transform a cultural logic from within, always laboring to enact permanent structural change while at the same time valuing the importance of local or everyday struggles of resistance."[120] On the other hand, Asian American studies scholar Lisa Lowe views disidentification as a position to question the official narrative of history which dictates identification, and to challenge multiculturalism's insistence on inclusion and tokenistic

[118] Leo T. S. Ching, "Taiwan in Modernity/Coloniality: *Orphan of Asia* and the Colonial Difference," in *The Creolization of Theory*, eds. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 200.
[119] Sakai Naoki. "Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism." *The South Atlantic Quarterly, Postmodernism and Japan* 87, no. 3 (1988): 492.
[120] José Esteban Muñoz, "Introduction," in *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 11-12.

representation.[121] According to Lowe, "disidentification does not entail merely the formation of oppositional identities against the call to identification with the national state. On the contrary, it allows for the exploration of alternative political and cultural subjectivities that emerge within the continuing effects of displacement."[122]

In the case of Jiang Wenye, the theory of disidentification works well in explaining how he simultaneously worked *on and against* the conditions of (im)possibilities generated by the dominant discourse of pan-Asianism. As a colonial Taiwanese subject who was considered neither fully Japanese by Japan nor authentically Chinese by China, Jiang's literary production was at different distances from the canonical nationalist projects of both Japan and China, and the strategic mode of disidentification lead to a third path transcending the prevalent binary narratives of nationalist resistance or treacherous collaboration. Although disidentification might not always be adequate for resistance or survival for all minority subjects, at times when it is too utopian to attempt to break free of a hostile yet inescapable public sphere. Jiang Wenye's two books, *Confucius' Treatise* and *Inscriptions of Beijing*, provide a fascinating case study of how colonial subjects might use the limited socially acceptable roles available to them to convey their voice circumventing the twin mechanisms of censorship and propaganda, how they survived the hostile and precarious environment with their strategy of resilience, innovatively negotiating dominant ideology and inventively recycling majoritarian cultural codes to create an alternative sphere of minoritarian existence and expressions *within and against* a dominant culture. I argue that the repeated mentioning of Chinese civilization in Jiang Wenye's writing was never, and never intended to be, an essentialist gesture towards truth or an authentic tradition. Rather, the

[121] Lisa Lowe, "L.A. Production of Multiculturalism," in *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1996), 91.
[122] Lisa Lowe, "Decolonization, Displacement, Disidentification: Writing and the Question of History," in *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham and London: Duke UP, 1996), 103-104.

images of the ancient sage of Confucius or the enduring capital of Beijing were invented by Jiang Wenye through recollecting, recycling, and reinvesting in new meanings serving his own purposes. Hypersensitive to the exotic nature of the "authentic," Jiang Wenye's seemingly nostalgic lingering towards ancient China in his textual world was a conscious choice to express his oppositional stance.

In the next two sections of this chapter, I will show how Jiang Wenye's oppositional lingering operates on a textual level in *Confucius' Treatise* and *Inscriptions of Beijing*, where he respectively takes on the personas of a Chinese scholar and a native informant/poet-traveller. By self-consciously claiming authenticity and authority with regards to Chinese culture in front of a Japanese-language audience (through ethnicity and the social status of scholar and poet), lingering and *always already* invented memories of Confucius and Beijing are mobilized by Jiang Wenye to expose the falsity of the Japanese appropriations of China, working on and against Japanese imperialism with a hidden anti-war activism creatively circumventing censorship with his tactics of disidentification.

***Confucius' Treatise*: The Oppositional Lingering, Discreetly**

At the end of March 1938, Jiang Wenye moved to Beijing as a Professor of Music Composition and Vocal Pedagogy at Beijing Normal College. Since April, he was commissioned to compose melodies for Japanese propaganda songs and background music for Tōhō film company's documentaries on Chinese civilization. In the meantime, he started two parallel projects on Confucian music: the composition of *Confucian Temple Music* (for Orchestra), op. 30, 1940, and a four-year research project of Confucian musicology and the concepts of *gaku* 楽

(music), *ri* 礼 (ritual), and *jin* 仁 (benevolence) in ancient China. The research proceedings were later published in 1942 as the book *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 (A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music, 1942). The main body of the book is roughly divided into two parts, the first part being a historiography of music preceding Confucius, and the second part was a critique on Confucius' treatise of music centering the connection between "music" and "benevolence." The tone becomes less academic in the second part as the author discusses the relationship among music, politics, and peace.

Earlier I have introduced that music historian Katayama suggests that *Confucius' Treatise* reveals Jiang's attitude as a "nationalist, Asianist artist"[123] and evaluated music from Jiang's early Beijing period (1938-1945) as "a New Confucian music that uses modernist techniques to revive the essence of Confucianism."[124] Sakata Shin'ichi, a scholar of classical Chinese music, agrees with Katayama's idea that *Confucius' Treatise* was a project to restore the Confucian ideals. Sakata remarks that through the idealization of ancient rulers' achievements of wisely using music to reign over their own peoples and assimilate foreigners, this book consolidated Japanese military authorities' [*gunbu* 軍部] illusory dream of building "an Oriental paradise following the imperial way" [*tōyō ōdō rakudo* 東洋王道楽土].[125] Indeed, Jiang's project seems to fall into the same category of the then popular publications of Japanese East Asian Studies scholar Ishi'i Fumio 石井文雄, who published extensively from 1937 to 1945 advocating for a "New Asianism" [*shin tōyō shugi* 新東洋主義] based on the restoration of Confucian ritual

[123] Katayama, "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku," 354.
[124] Katayama, "Kō bunya to sono aratana bunmyaku," 356.
[125] Sakata Shin'ichi 坂田進一, "Kō Bunya no reigaku sakuhin" 江文也の礼楽作品 [Jiang Wenye Works on Ritual Music], in *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron* 上代支那正楽考—孔子の音楽論 [A Study of Ritual Music in Ancient China: Confucius' Treatise on Music] (Tokyo: Heiban sha, 2008), 362.

music, proposing a national policy of imposing the New Order of East Asia with Asia's own music.[126]

However, I would like to propose that it might still be too hasty to draw this conclusion. After all, at the very beginning of *Confucius' Treatise*, Jiang Wenye already clearly and firmly declared that:

> I will hereby start a humble attempt to discuss about the concept of "music" in ancient China and the musical aspect of Confucius, is not only a non-believer of Confucius, but also not having any intentions with this book to restore or promote the Confucian ideas of music. The author is simply a musician, a composer who lives among the notes.[127]

> これから支那古代の「楽」について、または孔子の音楽面について、少し論述を試みようとして居る私は、孔子の信者でもなく、且つこの書物の中で、儒教の音楽思想を復興したり、宣揚しようとするものでもない。私は、単なるひとりの音楽家でしかなく、音符の中に生活して居るひとりの作曲家でしかないものである。

This opening passage itself disputes the received reading of the book as expressing Jiang's deep identification with Confucian cultural China and his attempt to restore the Confucian ideal. But then, one might ask, what motivated this book project instead? Is there still another political agenda operating between the lines? Reading Jiang Wenye's prose essays, one could observe that he viewed the function of music and the mission of musicians as pacifying the wars and restoring peaceful harmony.[128] Although Jiang did not make a manifesto against war and militarism in this

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[126] For some examples of Ishi'i's publications see Ishi'i Fumio 石井文雄, "Jyugyō no reigaku ni tsu'ite" 儒教の禮樂に就いて [About Confucian Ritual Music], *Shibun* 斯文, vol. 19, no. 3 (1937): 17-32; *Shin reigaku shugi* 新禮樂主義 [New Confucianism (Centering on Ritual Music)] (Tokyo: Tōa kenkyū kai, 1937); and "Ongaku ni okeru shin tōyō shugi" 音楽に於ける新東洋主義 [New Asianist through Music], *Ongaku no tomo* 音楽之友, vol. 2, no. 10 (1942): 18-24.

[127] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 9.

[128] Jiang Wenye commented sarcastically on the "musicians" idolizing and intoxicated by Western composing techniques in his personal journal, and lamented that, "If there are really that many great composers around the world, there would have been absolutely no war ages ago!" See Jiang Wenye 江文也, "Zuoqu yujin" 作曲餘燼 [Embers of Music Composing], in *Jiang Wenye wenzi zuopin ji* 江文也文字作品集 [Collection of Jiang Wenye's Writings], edited by Zhang Jiren, (Taipei: Taibei xianli wenhua zhongxin, 1992), 328.

Japanese government funded research, and instead repeatedly claiming the book being neutral scholarship, his calling for the restoration of regional peace shines through the lines of the text. It is in this sense that I argue, that his seemingly *lingering* towards the ideas of Confucian ritual music and human benevolence in ancient China, which superficially resonates with the New Asianist discourse, in fact functions as an *oppositional* stance to the violence of Japanese colonialism by exposing its hypocrisy.

In the preface, Jiang Wenye claimed that, "to the author's astonishment, Confucius had a well-rounded personality and a rich philosophy of music… these astonishments instantly changed all the presumptions about Confucius that the author had had in mind."[129] Jiang then noted that systematic scholarship on Confucius' philosophy of music had been scarce, which motivated his project.[130] There are two pieces of information revealed by this passage. First, there had been negative "presumptions" about Confucius, which were given to Japanese subjects through public education of the time (as specified by Jiang later in the text).[131] Jiang Wenye argues that in the past centuries the Confucian ideas of music have been modified to become "something else," and with this book he hopes to "return the biased interpretations of Confucian notions… to the state of a blank paper."[132] It connects with the second piece of information, that by announcing the current state of scholarship as "scarce," Jiang Wenye attempts to void the existing literature (such as Ishi'i Fumio's "New Confucianism, New Asianism" project that I previously mentioned) by calling them "something else."

[129] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 9-10.
[130] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 10.
[131] Later in the text Jiang mentioned several times that Confucius as a person was different from his image as a sage given through Japanese public education starting from the middle school. See Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,*144 for an example.
[132] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 132.

This "something else," in my opinion, is hinting towards at least two invented traditions: the contemporary Asianist discourse treating Confucianism as a shared heritage of East Asian nations therefore proving "Asia as One," as well as the century-long construction of Confucius (and Confucian China) as an oppressive Other suppressing human emotions and expressions, which facilitated Japan's nation building and the formation of a "Japaneseness" embracing nature and human nature. [133] Again, Jiang Wenye was not endorsing any of these existing readings of Confucius. Jiang's version of the invented tradition of Confucianism reconfigures Confucius as a mortal man who loved music dearly and expressed his feelings according to his nature without constraints. For example, the sections "Uta wo ankōru suru kōshi" 歌をアンコールする孔子 (The Confucius Who Called for Encores) and "Ongaku ni muchū ni naru kōshi" 音楽に夢中になる孔子 (The Confucius who was Enthralled by music) reimagine an easy-going and sometimes childlike Confucius who would always cheer encores to show appreciation for a good performance, sing along and drum to express his happiness, and who forgot about the taste of meat for three months when he was too captivated by his research of musicology.[134] As the second half of the book turns increasingly anecdotal and affectionate in tone, it becomes clear that Jiang was trying to construct an alternative image of Confucius to implicitly expose the other versions' falsity, drawing from his expertise of Chinese culture and his readings of Confucian classics.

In the section "Gaku to jin to no sesshoku ten" 楽と仁との接触点 (The Intersection of Music and Benevolence), Jiang wrote a touching paragraph on the notion of "benevolence,"

[133] For more information of the intellectual history of the reception of Confucianism in Japan, see Kudoh Takushi 工藤卓司, *Jin bai nian lai Riben xuezhe sanli zhi yanjiu* 近百年來日本學者《三禮》之研究 [Japanese Scholars' Research on the Three Rituals during the Past Hundreds of Years] (Taipei: Wan juan lou, 2016).
[134] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 150-166.

which, written in Chinese/Sino-Japanese character as "仁," can be visually split into "人二" meaning two human beings. I hereby quote this passage at some length:

> "Benevolence is human." This quote means that benevolence starts from seeing another person as a fellow human being same as oneself. If you feel pain in doing something, others will find pain in it, too. And for the things that are to your disliking, others would not be enjoying them either. One should love others as if one loves oneself, because the others are also human beings who have a sense of the self. It is in this sense that benevolence means being human – benevolence is one person and another loving each other, being kind to each other.
>
> Therefore, it is not hard for us to imagine: when one person and another love and be kind to each other, the society will become a place of harmonious order; when a country and another love and be kind to each other, the world becomes a more beautiful place with a a harmonious order.[135]

> 仁者人也 [仁は人なり。『礼記』「中庸」]と、仁は、まず自分が人であると同じやうに、他人もまた人でなければならないところから始まる。自分の痛いと思ふことは、他人も同じく痛く思ふし、自分の厭がることは、他人がこれを好む筈はないのだ。自分が自分を愛するやうに、もうひとりの自分である他人をも愛することである。仁とはこの意味で、人のことである。人と人とが相愛し、相親しむことが、仁であるのだ。
>
> そしてこの社会を構成する各個人々々が、相愛し、相親んで調和した秩序を作つた時、その社会全体は調和したものと成り、一国家と一国家とが、相愛し、相親んで調和した秩序を作つた時、この世界はより美しい調和を保つやうになるであらうことも、われわれには容易に考へられさうである。

One can certainly argue that this passage sounds uncannily familiar with the imperialist notions such as the New Order, racial harmony, and co-prosperity sphere. However, I would like to propose that there is a hidden discourse operating between the lines, functioning as an *oppositional* stance towards the hypocritical discourse of Asianism. In this passage Jiang Wenye describes his vision of a "true benevolence" when encountering with alterity, that one should treat others as how one wants to be treated, instead of imposing onto others what one oneself does not desire. The hidden message here is that the Japanese Empire could never be truly

[135] Jiang, *Jōdai shina seikaku kō: kōshi no ongakuron,* 234.

benevolent as it claimed, given that it was subjecting neighbouring countries and what it called the "fellow members of the Asian race" to a horrifying violence of colonialism and warfare. This passage elucidates what I call the strategic mode of the "oppositional lingering," that Jiang Wenye mobilizes the lingering memories of a harmonious and peaceful past to implicitly criticize the savagery and inhumanity in the present caused by the deceptive colonial discourse of "Asia as One," discreetly destabilizing the very theoretical basis justifying Japan's imperial expansions to neighbouring countries. Jiang Wenye's oppositional lingering is therefore by nature deconstructive, given that the alternative image of Confucius he constructed simultaneously becomes a contested site of discursive power, challenging and at the same time being challenged by the dominant Asianist discourse, thus defying a stable and authoritative interpretation.

Jiang Wenye's disclaimer in the Preface that he is a non-believer to Confucius reminds his reader of the famous caution issued by André Gide, one of Jiang's favourite writers, at the very end of *Les Nouvelles Nourritures* (Later Fruits of the Earth, 1935): "Do not sacrifice to idols."[136] This caution is again connected with a poem in *Inscriptions of Beijing,* where Jiang Wenye mentions that the memories of Confucius and other Confucian sages exist in the plain form of wooden blocks in their local temple, and there is no need to idolize or put clothes on these figures from the past.[137] In 1938 when Jiang Wenye encountered Gide's *Later Fruits of the Earth* in Chinese translation, he was deeply moved by the book and went on to "read (the French original) inside out burying [his] head in a dictionary."[138] According to Jiang, the optimism

[136] André Gide, *Later Fruits of the Earth,* in *Fruits of the Earth,* trans. Dorothy Bussy (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), 221.
[137] Jiang Wenye (Kō Bunya) 江文也, *Pekin mei hyakushu* 北京銘百首 [Inscriptions of Beijing: A Hundred Poems] (Tokyo: Seigo dō, 1942), 16.
[138] Jiang, "Zuoqu yujin," 322.

towards a harmonious human future against the backdrop of a destructive world war displayed in Gide's text, was "not the newest but nonetheless the most beautiful and touching."[139] Weary with the conflicted life of a colonial intellectual, Jiang Wenye saw in his China projects a higher plan. In his writings he constructs an alternative world of yearnings for peace, joy, and human freedom.

Inscriptions of Beijing: Tracing the Mindscape of an Alternative World

The oppositional lingering displayed in *Confucius' Treatise* is also detectable in Jiang Wenye's first poetry collection published in the same year, *Pekin mei hyakushu* 北京銘百首 (Inscriptions of Beijing: A Hundred Poems, 1942). *Inscriptions of Beijing* is a collection of a hundred and two free verse short poems written in the Japanese vernacular. There is a prologue, a coda, and a main body consisting one hundred poems evenly distributed into four parts arranged according to the highly aestheticized four seasons. This collection, as well as his second poetry collection *Daidō sekibutsu shō* 大同石仏頌 (Hymns to the Stone Buddhas in Datong, 1943), were parallel projects Jiang Wenye carried out during his service to the Tōhō film company creating documentaries about China under Japan's cultural policies. Written in Japanese and published in Tokyo, *Inscriptions of Beijing* has been read by past critics as a depiction of Beijing's fascinating and extravagant landscape, "functioning as a tour guide satisfying the needs of Japanese citizens who wish to travel to Manchuria and their desires for Beijing's exotica."[140] I totally understand the rationale behind this reading: when looking at the content pages with the titles of the poems, the book undisputedly seem to be a map of tourist

[139] Jiang, "Zuoqu yujin," 322.
[140] Liu Meilian *Jiang Wenye zhuan*, 275.

attractions, from the Imperial College to the Lama Temple, from the Longevity Hill to the Houhai Lake. However, with the tactics of disidentification in mind, readers can once again see how Jiang's works simultaneously participate in and resist the dominant structure, conveying his dissenting voice while creatively circumventing censorship. With my analysis of how Jiang's oppositional lingering operates on a textual level in the main body of the hundred poems, this section crystallizes that *Inscriptions of Beijing* is far more than a Japanese Orientalist fantasy. I argue that in *Inscriptions of Beijing,* by tracing the poet-traveller narrator's journey into the colonial-landscape/surreal-mindscape of an alternative world beyond the official documentation, Jiang Wenye criticizes the brutal ruinations caused by imperial expansions, and calls for the restoration of human benevolence and peace in East Asia.

The Colonial Landscape and the Surreal Mindscape

The style of *Inscriptions of Beijing* was unmistakably influenced by French Symbolism, as noted by David Wang alongside others. Nevertheless, the first impression reading Jiang's poems reminds me of the works of Haikai master Yosa Buson 与謝蕪村 (1716-1784), both visually and phonetically. Like Buson's haiku, Jiang's poetry is arranged in short poetic units (mostly four or five lines per poem), written in plain language structure (as if it were spoken), but using elevated imageries to create a sense of transcendence signified by the adopted logographic Chinese characters (as well as *katakana* for tropes of non-Asian origins).

In *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival*, Japanese literary scholar Cheryl Crowley notes that in the 1777 *Shundei Verse Anthology* preface, Buson comes the closest to writing a poetic treatise with his articulation of *rizokuron* 離俗論, a theory of distancing haikai

poetry from the *zoku* (mundane).[141] According to Crowley's analysis, it is Buson's artistic vision that "the essence of good haikai is in separating oneself from and transcending the *zoku* realm, but retaining *zoku* language,"[142] and that "Buson's verse constructs an alternate world, in which the everyday realities of life are transformed into a landscape drawn from imagination and the literary tradition."[143] The motif of the ancient capital of Beijing in Jiang Wenye's *Inscriptions* experiences a similar transformation. In 1: 2-4,[144] under the title "Gyōshi suru mono" 凝視するもの (The Thing that I Gaze at), Jiang Wenye wrote the following lines:

1: 2

For the sake of seeing things I could not see
I opened my eyes wide as the sky

However things that one does not have to see, also
Rushed into my eyes one after another

Really really
What should I do

Ah, just as I was lingering
Are those not the things that one does not have to see that are visible to my eyes?

見えないものを　見ようとして

[141] Cheryl Crowley, "Buson and His Audience: Anxiety and Transcendence," in *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 47-8.
[142] Crowley, "Buson and His Audience," 48.
[143] Cheryl Crowley, "Anxiety and the Formation of a Poet: Hokku 1740-1770," in *Haikai Poet Yosa Buson and the Bashō Revival* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 53.
[144] I am adopting a different reference system for *Inscriptions of Beijing* for this part of my paper: by "poems 1:2-4" I mean the 2nd to 4th poems in the first section of the poetry collection. For example, "poem 3:25" would mean the 25th poem in the 3rd section. Jiang Wenye 江文也, *Pekin mei hyakushu* 北京銘百首 [Inscriptions of Beijing: A Hundred Poems] (Tokyo: Seigo dō, 1942).

私は　目を青天のやうに開いた

しかし　見なくてもよいものまでが
どし〜と　眼に這入って来た

ほんとうに　ほんとうに
どうしたらよいだらうか

あ々　ぐづぐづして居る間にも
見えなくてもよいものが　見えるではないか

1: 3

Therefore I　　closed my eyes
Because if I do not close them, I would not be able to continue to live
Anyway　　that was great
This beauty　while I am blind　　burns me even more

そこでわたしは　眼をと閉ちた
閉ちねばとても活きて行かれそうもないからだ
だが　それでよかった
こ々の美しさが　盲よ　とさらに私を灼きつけた

1: 4

I　　felt dizziness in this light
Now　I am happily living a conscious death
What?　talking about more regal things stirring me up?
No　　whatever you want, you can take them with you and go

私は　この光に眩暈いてしまった

いま　私は覚める死を楽しんで居る
何か　より尊いものが　私を煽るとでもいふのか
いや　欲しいものは何でも持って行け

This group of poems seem quite confusing but is central to the understanding of *Inscriptions of Beijing*, as it is one of the rare moments that the poet-traveller narrator becomes visible to his readers, with the first-person narrative signified by six *watakushi* 私 (I).[145] At this moment, the narrator closes his eyes at the sight of things he was reluctant to see, because otherwise life would be too much to bear. On the surface, it seems that the narrator has chosen to ignore the colonial scenes of subjections in the real-world Beijing but concentrate only on an aestheticized version of the city. However, I read the lines "Anyway/that was great//This beauty/while I am blind/burns me even more" as sarcastic, that the narrator is very much aware of the city's suffering under Japanese occupation, as well as his own privileged yet precarious position being a colonized subject holding a Japanese passport. He is simultaneously mocking the Japanese militarists' willful ignorance of the plights of the occupied nations and his own partaking in making documentaries about China feeding into Japanese Orientalist fantasies. The line "I am happily living a conscious death" displays an ironic attitude Jiang adopts towards the choices he had and the actions he took, given his precariousness as a colonial intellectual relocated to the metropole's newly conquered land. His powerlessness is hinted by the humble last line speaking to the triumphant conqueror: "No/whatever you want, you can take them with you and go."

In the forthcoming poems, the real world thereby gradually dissolves into a surreal alternative world. As the narrator closes his eyes, he brings his readers onto a journey to his mindscape in the rest of the Spring section. This is a world of effusive exotic imageries that

[145] In my translation the notion "I" appears more than six times due to the ambiguity of subject and tense in the Japanese vernacular.

barely has any relation to the imagination of a cultural China. Instead, one can sense an eerie feeling suffusing the century-old Beijing city: tiny fauns dance up to the sky while soaring souls eating their fill of nostalgia (1: 5-6); the world is turned into a lump of dirt, screaming while being dragged along by the Mongolian wind (1: 14); water slimily evaporates while half-clothed maidens waving their fair naked arms amid the ferocious tides (1: 16). Furthermore, poem 1: 20, "Yōwakyū ramaji no ichinichi" 雍和宮喇嘛寺の一日 (A Day at Yonghe Lama Temple), drives the menacing and supernatural atmosphere to its culmination:

1: 20

Brutal and peculiar
Surrounded by a tremendous sphere of sinister air　even in broad daylight
for real　a night parade of a hundred demons
The primitive past　long forgotten　the modern man　saw his hometown
This is a day　even Mephistopheles　must cut a wide berth of thirty miles

惨忍にして奇怪
妖氣の立籠る中を　書間でも　ほんとうに　百鬼夜行する
原始を　忘れて久しい　近代人が　その故郷を見た
メフィストフェレスをも　退避三舎さす一日

This poem (and arguably the Spring section as a whole), in my opinion, is a parody of the notion of racial harmony in the Pan-Asianist discourse. In the previous section I had mentioned the girl group "Three Girls Revitalizing Asia." The three girls respectively represented the Empire of Japan (Okuyama Saiko 奥山彩子), Manchuria (Li Xianglan 李香蘭), and China (Bai Guang 白光), in order to promote goodwill and racial solidarity facilitating the New Order in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. They were chosen for being healthy and lively young maidens and were respectively linked to chrysanthemum, orchid, and plum blossom to convey a sense of

a sisterhood of beauty and harmony. However, in Jiang Wenye's poem which was written in the same period, beauty and harmony are nowhere to be found. Moreover, although in the tradition of Japanese travel literature, pilgrimage to sacred places is a popular theme for spiritual elevation, Jiang's visit to the Lama Temple was by no means sacred: *internal* to Beijing, the capital city of a largely monoethnic Han China, the Lama Temple for the Tibetan Buddhism supported by former Manchu rulers (who were then positioned as junior members of the Japanese royal family) is submerged in a sinister air evoking an ominous presentiment, and the influx of *external* tourists is compared to the Japanese folktale of "hyakki yagyō" 百鬼夜行 (a night parade of a hundred demons), a horrific eruption of the ghostly world into the human realm. In Jiang's poem, the "New Order" of East Asian co-prosperity is non-existing, and one can only find "disorder" as the *landscape* filled by visitors in the daytime horrendously transforms into a completely chaotic *mindscape* of nightmares feared even by the European legendary devil Mephistopheles.

The mentioning of the startled European demon Mephistopheles is very intriguing here. In the introduction I explained that Pan-Asianism is a reactive nationalism calling for collective resistance against Western invasions, and Imperial Japan as "the singular genius of the (Asian) race" had to shoulder the responsibility of protecting Asia from the vicious West. However, this poem implies that when Pan-Asianism was put into practise, the "benevolent" violence caused by it might even frighten the menacing West. I also detect a trace of sarcasm in the following line: "The primitive past/long forgotten/the modern man/saw his hometown." With his caricature of an electrified audience at the sight of the Yab-Yum statue (a male deity in union with his female consort) in the Lama Temple, Jiang maintains a critical distance from the Japanese Orientalism which fetishizes while disparages neighbouring nations as the embodiments of the

"primitive past." Jiang cautions against the destruction caused by the modern man who has an illusory "homesickness," and remains skeptical about the narratives of modern nation-states celebrating linear historical progressions.

Compared to the spectral and eerie section of the Spring, the tone in the Summer section gradually becomes pacified. The Summer section is more rhythmic, as it follows a pattern of tense (2: 1-2) – loose (2: 3-6) – tense (2: 7-9) – loose (2: 10-23) – tense (2: 24) – loose (2:25). In poems 2: 1-2, we have the poet standing on top of the forbidden palace facing south, shivering. A split-second sped through the back of his head flying towards the south, reaching the drum tower then flew backwards to pierce his head again. This hyper-intense moment dissolves into peace in the following four poems 2: 3-6, with beautiful images of some colourful glazed tiles, a fresh scenery of lake melting into the sky, the world lazily chewing the shadow of the sun in tranquility, and a serene ritual of time on the boundless yellow land. In poems 2: 7-9, again the tempo becomes fast with explicit scenes of dust and human excrement, followed by the next group of thirteen poems (2: 10-23) with bright and blissful imageries such as swallows, stars, flowers, lake, and sky alternating for a long period soothing the reader's heart. Finally, in poem 2: 24 a lunatic Caucasian woman briefly appears (she went mad after seeing a bizarre moon resembling a swollen yellow face), and in poem 2: 25 everything again dissolves into tranquility, leaving the poet in a vacant and pensive mood.

It is interesting to compare poems 2: 7 and 2: 8:

2: 7 "Mudai" 無題 (Untitled)

Over things that were destroyed
Over things that one destroyed
With a golden light, unrivaled

Today as always, the sun is rotating without a sound

壊されたものの上にも
壊したものの上にでも
比類なき金色の光もて
今日も　太陽は音一つなく廻轉してる

2: 8 “En’mei’en no haikyo ni te” 円明園の廃墟にて (On the Ruins of Yuanming Yuan)

A cylinder without any support
Suddenly thrusts into the sky
O look in the middle of the human blood a beast inhabits, as I thought
Just at this moment from the sky of noon out bursts some evil cackles

支へるべき何ものもない一本の圓柱が
にゆっと　中空に突き出される
見よ　人間の血の中に　やはり獣が住んでる
と　眞書の空に　げら～笑ふ聲がした

The two poems are on the same theme of devastations caused by wars. However, poem 2: 8 is given an explicit title, “On the Ruins of Yuanming Yuan,” for the readers to understand Jiang’s target of criticism, given that Yuanming Yuan was a beautiful summer palace famously destroyed by the French and British troops during the Second Opium War (1860). Poem 2: 7, on the other hand, is strategically entitled “Untitled.” For today’s readers, it is not that hard to speculate that the silently rotating and radiating sun shining over the occupied Beijing might be the Rising Sun on the war flag of the Empire of Japan.

The Poet as a Perpetual Traveller and a Kind of Optimism

In the previous passage I have shown that the Spring and Summer sections of *Inscriptions of Beijing* reveal two co-existing worlds alluding to each other: the “surreal” world of the

aestheticized mindscape, and the "real" world of the colonial landscape. The Autumn section is a variation of the Spring, describing an exotic and almost oracular mindscape with less Asian tropes and more European ones. The Winter section is a variation of the Summer, which contains more *zoku* (mundane) images such as peasant women, rickshaw pullers, starving beggars, donkeys, fruit flies, sweat, and dust, describing the colonial landscape and people's everyday life living there. The two worlds sometimes are in stark contrast, while other times refer to and intersect with each other, turning the city of Beijing into an alternative space where the surreal illusions illuminate the real-world remembrance of the vice of wars.

The lack of clearly stated subjects in the Japanese language enables the narrator to sway through the landscape/mindscape freely with shifting perspectives and themes. The narrator thus takes on the role of a poet-traveller, reminding readers of the greatest haikai master Matsuo Bashō 松尾 芭蕉 (1644–1694). In 1937, as a baritone singer, Jiang Wenye released an award-winning single called "Bashō kikō shu" 芭蕉紀行集 (Collection of Bashō's Travel Literature).[146] Among Bashō's travel logs, the most famous one is *Oku no Hosomichi* 奥の細道 (The Narrow Road to the Interior, 1702), recording a long spiritual journey remapping the cultural landscape of the northern region of Japan. The poet-traveller visits historical sites and poetic places to find traces of the ancients, pacifying the spirits from the past along the way while re-envisioning the cultural memory.[147] In his seminal book *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō*, Japanese literary critic Haruo Shirane remarks that Bashō's poetry serves a socioreligious function of connecting the past and present: "Boshō's

[146] "Bashō kikō shu" 芭蕉紀行集 [Collection of Bashō's Travel Literature], Taiwan yin sheng yibai nian 台灣音聲一百年 [A Hundred Years of Taiwan's Music and Sounds]. https://audio.nmth.gov.tw/audio/zh-TW/Item/Detail/20f96979-9c94-484c-8a47-c4b60570f4e7

[147] Haruo Shirane, "Remapping the Past: Narrow Road to the Interior," in *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 212-53.

haikai, like his travel, moved fundamentally in two directions, linking participants together and linking them with the past, with a sense of tradition."[148] Like Bashō, Jiang Wenye was also a perpetual traveller, and his cultural production can be said to move fundamentally in two directions as well: he is lingering in the vestiges of harmony in a poetic China, while simultaneously taking an oppositional stance calling the pan-Asian present into question. Although his career as a musician and professor was dependent on and under the control of the Japanese militarist government of the time, he attempted to make space for his artistic and critical freedom by taking on the persona of a poet-traveller. With his poetry, Jiang Wenye self-consciously constructed an alternative space, sometimes sinister, sometimes peaceful, and this imagined world casts light on the actual scenes of violence and subjugations, which a person of true benevolence would not be able to stand the sight of.

The social-spiritual function of poetry as displayed in Bashō's texts manifests in the Autumn and Winter sections of Jiang Wenye's *Inscriptions of Beijing*, where his oppositional lingering becomes increasingly obvious as the verses advance. In poems 3: 25 and 4: 10, the narrator becomes more vocal about his disapproval of Japan's colonial regime:

3: 25 "Banka" 挽歌 (Dirge)

In a place where hatred comes before love
Despite "loving" sweat and blood flow into a river
O Humans do not use "love" to conceal contempt
Ah after all those who are unable to love will eventually be love disabled

愛よりもさきに　憎悪がやって来る所では
愛するのに　汗と血とが流れをなす

[148] Haruo Shirane, "Epilogue: Parting of the Ways," in *Traces of Dreams: Landscape, Cultural Memory, and the Poetry of Bashō* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 288.

人よ　愛もて　軽蔑を蔵す勿れ
あゝ　しかし遂に　愛し得ざるものは無を愛するに至る

4: 10 “Makoto” 信 (Truth)

Goodwill?　How can one find even the slightest goodwill on a calculating abacus?
Other powers　once absorbed into his halo　even brothers
　　and slaves that he cannot strangle
However　let us have faith　in the belief that Heaven is watching
O You　can soon close your eyes

好意など　つゆほどにもない算盤の好意
他人の力が　後光にさすと　兄弟をも
絞殺しかねる奴隷ども
しかし　天が見てる　といふこの思想を信じよう
君よ　とっとと眼を閉ちてよいのだ

These two poems remind readers of the discussion of benevolence in Jiang Wenye’s *Confucius’ Treatise*. The Master said: “Benevolence means to love others.” Also, “do to others as you would have them do to you.” In these two poems Jiang Wenye is repudiating the legitimacy of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by unfolding the hypocrisy of “the brotherhood of all Asians,” for the Japanese empire had broken the Golden Rule of not imposing what one does not desire onto others. Later in 4:14 “Chūgoku wo shōkai suru to ifu” 中国を紹介するといふ (On introducing China), Jiang Wenye mocked the Japanese visitors craving for Chinese exotica for failing to distinguish the human skin from the skin of a sponge gourd, food for starving country bumpkins. A rather cryptic line follows, that “If you can/might as well strip off the skin of this air/and look at it while hanging it in your shabby mirror.” This is a moment of disidentification when a defiant colonial subject simultaneously obeys and disobeys the instructions of the colonial master.

Being asked to introduce China, the narrator was treated as a native informant. He probably could not refuse to conform. However, what he could do, with his knowledge of Chinese mores and linguistic ability of Japanese, was to in reverse turn the keen explorers into the target of caricature.

To one's relief, Jiang's *Inscriptions of Beijing* does not end in despair. Instead, as suggested by the line "However/let us have faith/in the belief that Heaven is watching," a kind of optimism already shines through. The main body of the one-hundred poems ends on a high note, with the very last poem titled ""Hitotsu no rakkan" 一つの楽観 (A Kind of Optimism):

4:25 "Hitotsu no rakkan" 一つの楽観

Really? before the time when blood poured down the ground
We were strangers to each other

Even if that is the case this land
If it sinks into the middle of a sea of blood

Ah I know!
It is at that very moment that the seed will begin to bud

Then this sun, this breeze
will not be passing by the seed without breastfeeding it

ほんとうに　地に血を流すまでは
お互に　他人であった

それでも　この大地が
血の中にでも　沈んだら

あ々　そうだ
その時こそ　種子が　芽を萌く

して　この太陽と微風とが
その上から哺乳しない筈はない

This poem again alludes to Gide's optimism towards the human future. In *Later Fruits of the Earth*, Gide depicts a utopian world of harmony where "[a]n all-pervading joy suffuses the earth," that "[e]verything is glad to be and every being rejoices … All nature teaches that man is born for happiness. It is the effort after pleasure that makes the plant germinate, fills the hive with honey, and the human heart with love."[149] I wonder if Jiang Wenye was imagining about this beautifully harmonious yet unfortunately illusory world when he wrote down the last poem. His optimism is nonetheless touching, that in the end of the section of Winter readers are given the refreshing scene of a budding seed with nurturing sun and breeze, signaling that a new life is yet to come in a new Spring. The cycle of the four seasons hereby becomes complete and moves forward, whereas the ancient capital of Beijing stands still against the flow of time, conveying a sense of transcendence.

Bringing all the four sections together, *Inscriptions of Beijing* features ceaseless change and a worldview organized around the aestheticized four seasons. The poet-traveller narrator sways through the surreal mindscape and the everyday landscape, while the text ending on an optimistic note. I also want to mention that Jiang Wenye dedicated this book to his first son who was born on the New Year Eve of 1941 when he was completing this poetry collection.[150] Jiang

[149] Gide, *Later Fruits of the Earth,* 143.
[150] Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋, "Jiang Wenye nianpu" 江文也年譜 [Chronology of Jiang Wenye], in *Jiang Wenye yan tao hui lun wen ji* 江文也研討會論文集 [Jiang Wenye Conference Proceedings], ed. Liu Jingzhi 劉靖之 (Hong Kong: Xianggang da xue Yazhou yan jiu zhong xin: Xianggang min zu yin yue xue hui, 1992), 39.

named the newborn "Mei" [銘] after the title of this book and finished the poems with a kind of optimism, believing in a better future to come after the endurance with the forward-facing oppositional lingering. Jiang Wenye said in an essay that "a poem is a ceremony of … sophisticated intelligence, well-rounded self-consciousness."[151] I hope by crystalizing his strategic disidentification of the oppositional lingering, one can find Jiang Wenye's poetry more intelligibly beautiful.

Conclusion: A Lasting Optimism

In this chapter, I have shown that Jiang Wenye's writings display a strategic mode of what I call oppositional lingering, using tactics of disidentification while responding to the status quo of East Asian colonial modernity. By oppositional lingering, I mean that Jiang's seemingly uncanny lingering towards a shared pan-Asian past, represented by an effusive cultural imagination of ancient China, functions in fact discreetly against the imperialist justification of the pan-Asianist present. The reveries of music and benevolence in *Confucius' Treatise* and the eerie mindscape in *Inscriptions of Beijing* open an alternative world, constituting a site of protest contesting the power of the Japanese Empire. Jiang Wenye's lingering "nostalgia" becomes a tactic of disidentification, which (revisiting Muñoz's theory) "scrambles and reconstructs the encoded message of a cultural text in a fashion that both exposes the encoded message's universalizing and exclusionary machinations and recircuits its workings to account for, include, and empower minority identities and identifications. Thus, disidentification is a step further than cracking open the code of the majority; it proceeds to use this code as raw material for representing a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the

[151] Jiang, "Zuoqu yujin," 317.

dominant culture."[152] Jiang Wenye's disidentification is in this sense forward facing. It is an oppositional stance taken in his transnational movements as a colonial subject, with resilience and a kind of optimism believing in a better future.

Jiang Wenye was subjected to Japanese colonialism for thirty-five years, and his oppositional lingering enabled him to carry out a political agenda opposing to warfare and militarism while preserving his own safety navigating as a colonial intellectual in a world of disarray. The lasting optimism also helped him survive another round of prolonged torture in the political turmoil of postwar Mainland China. After the war, Jiang chose to spend the rest of his life as a musicology professor in Beijing, imprisoned by the Kuomintang government for ten months due to these war time collaborations, and later another twenty years of persecution in the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the Cultural Revolution of Mainland China being called "youpai" 右派 (Rightist) and "hanjian" 漢奸 (Han Traitor).[153] During twenty years of hardship from 1950s to 1970s, Jiang Wenye maintained the optimism tracing back to Gide's *Later Fruits of the Earth*, his own *Confucius' Treatise*, and the last poem of Winter in *Inscriptions of Beijing*. In a long letter written to his third son in 1972 towards the end of his suffering as well as his life, Jiang Wenye wrote that: "You should understand that this (misfortune) is a cadenza by the whimsical god of wind… I can count on it that you will not lose faith because of a temporary mischief by the god of wind. See? Isn't the bright sunshine before noon shining all over your body cells?"[154] I wish to join Jiang Wenye in his belief (at least for a moment) that warfare and violence will one day be pacified by music and poetry, that one day true benevolence will reign and people will all see each other as fellow humans with joy.

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[152] Muñoz, "Introduction," 31.
[153] Zhang Jiren 張己任, *Jiang Wenye: Jingji zhong de gutinghua* 江文也: 荊棘中的孤挺花 [Jiang Wenye: Amaryllis in the Thorns] (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2002), 38-60.
[154] Zhang, *Jiang Wenye: Jingji zhong de gutinghua,* 52.

Conclusion

Growing up, the triangulation of China, Japan, and Taiwan has always been a point of fascination for me, and the process of writing this thesis has been very personal. While investigating the cultural productions of Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye during the years between 1923 and 1945, I went through their creative writings, diaries, personal letters, reading lists, as well as newspapers, magazines, and police records of their time. Among these primary materials and the memoirs and documented accounts by their friends and families, the term Han Traitor emerged repeatedly. Han Traitor, literally traitor of the Han-Chinese race, is used to refer to those who are of Chinese ethnicity and have become enemy of China for their treacherous acts of betrayal. The binary categories of resistance and collaboration can be found insufficient for making sense of people's wartime choices and actions. However, this Manichean binary is still in operation long after the war, as the nationalist resistance of Japanese imperialism has become one of China's defining myths.

In this thesis, I have illustrated that enabled by their transnational mobility and vision, shaped by their life experiences as colonial subjects, Liu Na'ou and Jiang Wenye responded to East Asian colonial modernity differently from their Chinese and Japanese peers whose works would more comfortably fit into national canons. I demonstrated that Liu Na'ou conducted a multi-layered and multi-directional critique of Shanghai's semicolonial, modern, and capitalist condition, and that Jiang Wenye employed the survival tactics of disidentification to circumvent the twin mechanisms of censorship and propaganda. My goal was not to re-evaluate these so-called Han Traitors as anti-colonial heroes, but to show how their collaborative choices and works could be interpreted in an alternative way that does not fit into the binary of nationalism or treason. Nationalism is a convenient tool to fasten people around a nation state under a collective

hatred of "the Others" who have betrayed "Us." However, there is a danger that the destructive desire for totality blinds one from the Other's humanity, ceasing ethical imaginations.

During the process of writing this thesis, what moved me the most was the accounts provided by the two authors' friends and families regarding their struggles in terms of identity. In Chapter 1, I quoted a moment when Liu Na'ou complained to Matsuzaki Keiji that compared to people who have unambiguous national flags waving behind their backs, he would always remain a person of chaotic identifications. In chapter 2, I mentioned that Jiang Wenye's Chinese widow Wu Yunzhen repeatedly claimed that Jiang regarded relocating to China as returning home. However, when visited by a Taiwanese musician, Jiang Wenye's Japanese widow Kō Nobu 江乃ぶ took out a volume of poetry gifted to her by her husband in the year of 1965. The slim book was entitled *Rakuyōshū* 落葉集 [Collections of Fallen Leaves] and was beautifully hand-written by Jiang Wenye. In the poems, Jiang Wenye compared himself to the fallen leaves, imagining himself flying to a hometown on the other side of the sun.[155] From Taiwan to China to Japan, which place did Jiang Wenye identified as home? The answer to this questions remains a mystery.

In his lectures on the fundamental concepts of metaphysics, Martin Heidegger famously quoted Novalis' poem, "Philosophy is really homesickness, an urge to be at home everywhere," to explain the concept of the *world*.[156] Heidegger viewed our homesickness as a desire for a wholeness being at once and at all times within the whole. He called this "within the whole" and its character of wholeness the *world*. On the other hand, I have proposed in the Introduction of this thesis that the field of Sinophone studies points towards a new direction when "routes"

[155] Liu Meilian, *Jiang Wenye zhuan*, 329.
[156] Martin Heidegger, *The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics: World, Finitude, Solitude*, (Indiana University Press, 1996), 5.

become “roots,” raising new possibilities when the romanticized homesickness gives way to a new sense of belonging that breaks away from the boundaries imposed by nation-states. To borrow haiku master Bashō’s words, “Those who float away their lives on ships or who grow old leading horses are forever journeying, and their homes are wherever their travels take them.”

This thesis of literary analysis and cultural history connects the dots of Liu Na’ou and Jiang Wenye’s life and works from the past, shedding light on transnational people’s experience living culturally in-between. Japanese colonialism is a memory of several generations and still has ramifications today, whereas with intensified globalization we are currently faced with new challenges of unequal development and tribal nationalism. When transnational movements have become daily occurrences, it is time to realise that the concepts of country, nation, ethnicity, language, and identity are not interchangeable. In the future, I hope my research continues to illuminate the life and struggles of transnational peoples, while simultaneously paying attention to literariness and worldliness, aesthetics and politics, forms and formations.

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