The Intermedial Screen:

Cinema and Media Culture in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945

By

Laura Jo-Han Wen

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Asian Languages and Cultures: Chinese)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2016

Date of final oral examination: 08/09/2016

Members of the Final Oral Committee:

Nicole Huang, Professor, Chinese Literature and Visual Culture
Steven Ridgely, Associate Professor, Japanese Literature and Visual Culture
Louise Young, Professor, Modern Japanese History
Jill H. Casid, Professor, Art History and Visual Studies
Ronald Radano, Professor, Musicology and Ethnomusicology

Abstract

What is, and where was, cinema? How might media archaeological inquiries of cinema be unpacked in a colonial context? And how would we rethink cinema with historical insights from Taiwan, a former Japanese colony traditionally conceived to be situated on the periphery of East Asian modernity? Cinema, mediating new concepts of seeing and techniques of storytelling since the late nineteenth century, has greatly redefined the landscape of culture in vastly divergent locales of the world. Hinging upon the issue of colonial modernity, this dissertation investigates the intersections in colonial Taiwan between cinema and other cultural media, such as magic lanterns, newspapers, and popular music. With historical coincidence, Taiwan became a Japanese colony in 1895, the same year as the Lumière brothers showed some of the earliest motion pictures to a paying public. Intersecting the development of early cinema, screen practice, soundscapes, and wartime discourses, cinema in Taiwan began with the Japanese mediated, transnationally shaped colonial culture. Inspired by media archaeology to conceptualize cinema as a techno-historical event, the visual dominance of which intertwines with technological capacities, imperial control, and local appropriation of its cultural moments, this dissertation examines the interconnection between cinema and media culture in colonial Taiwan in a transnational context through five chapters: "Revisiting Film History and Media Culture in Colonial Taiwan," "Magic Lantern Shows and Screen Modernity," "Reading *Eigaka* News: Colonial Actualities and Cinematic Adaptations," "Listening to Vernacular Modernism: Film Culture and Popular Soundscape," and finally, "Coda: The Media, The War, and Postcolonial 'Filming Back,'" which altogether reflect issues of cinema and power at the convergence of visual motifs, modern techniques, and colonial legacies.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction
Revisiting Film History and Media Culture in Colonial Taiwan.....1

Chapter 2 Magic Lantern Shows and Screen Modernity 26

Chapter 3 Reading *Eigaka* News
Colonial Actualities and Cinematic Adaptations.....64

Chapter 4 Listening to Vernacular Modernism
Film Culture and Popular Soundscape.....110

Chapter 5 Coda
The Media, The War, and Postcolonial "Filming Back".....163

Bibliography 180

Appendix I: Primary Sources 192

Appendix II: Selected Magic Lantern Slide Images of Colonial Taiwan 197

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the following people for their intellectual guidance and generous support: Nicole Huang, Steven C. Ridgely, Louise Young, Jill H. Casid, Ronald Radano, Susan Friedman, Rania Huntington, Guo-Juin Hong, Wenchi Lin, Emilie Yueh-Yu Yeh, Yoneo Ota and Fumiyo Ota (and their Toy Film Museum in Kyoto), Hana Washitani, Joseph Allen, Jason McGrath, Liang Luo, Jean Ma, Andrew Jones, Daw-Ming Lee, Jen Huang, Wen-Hsun Chang, Ming-Ju Fan, Nai-Tzu Liu, Fang-Ming Chen, Yang Tsui, Chien-Chung Chen, Pei-Chen Wu, Fritz Schenker, Jessica Ka Yee Chan, Nan Ma, Chunting Chang, Tsen-Chu Hsu, Chun-Chi Wang, Yun-Yuan Chen, Kiki Ssu-Fang Liu, Miwako Akamatsu, Chih-Ming Liang, Eric Siu-Kei Cheng (and everyone I worked with at the North American Taiwan Studies Association [NATSA]), Ting-Lan Ma, Ya-Chun Wen, Yi-Jen Yu, and Meng-Yin Wu. This dissertation is sponsored by the Chancellor's Fellowship, the Dana-Allen Dissertation Fellowship (Institute for Research in the Humanities), and the Mellon-Wisconsin Summer Fellowship at University of Wisconsin–Madison. I am grateful for all the support and warm friendship that sustained me along the way of thinking and writing, which will always be a treasured part in my ongoing learning journey.

for Shih-Ming Wen

Chapter 1

Introduction: Revisiting Film History and Media Culture in Colonial Taiwan

> "How do movies reproduce the world magically? Not by literally presenting us with the world, but by permitting us to view it unseen. This is not a wish for power over creation (as Pygmalion's was), but a wish not to need power, not to have to bear its burdens."
>
> Stanley Cavell, *The World Viewed*

> "Early cinema as a record of colonial expansion, as a tool of Western ideology, and perhaps as an indication of the ways Western technology could be transformed in non-Western contexts—these issues give some hint of the ways our field can constantly generate new issues which should continue an interrogation into the way film has been understood thus far."
>
> Tom Gunning, *Early Cinema: From Origins to 1913*

What is cinema? The question can be explored on many different levels. Stanley Cavell, for instance, emphasizes the automatism of photographic and cinematic representation. In motion pictures, the human agent seems to be removed from the task of image reproduction, while projections on silver screen also impose a sense of invisibility and the displacement of the viewing subject.[1] In this account, cinema is a technique of art accomplished by covering up traces of human subjectivity, or, by fulfilling, in Cavell's

[1] Stanley Cavell, "Ideas of Origin," *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 37–41.

words, "a wish not to need power, not to have to bear its burdens." Since its invention, cinema has been a fantastic medium that has complicated and redefined the power relations between human and visual mechanisms. The automatic, nonhuman process in film production and reception relieves the pressing necessity of tracking down cinema's source of power. Nevertheless, such automatism cannot erase, but only obscure the power that enables and secures moving images.

Renowned Japanese writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirō depicts the power of cinema in his fiction, "The Tumor with a Human Face" ("Jinmenso" 人面疽, 1918). In the story, the protagonist, Utagawa Yurie, constantly heard about a film that starred herself, a film during which people claimed to experience uncanny experience such as "you yourself are about to vanish" or to even lose their minds after viewing. Yet, Yurie had no recollection of having acted in such a motion picture. Moreover, not only Yurie but also every character in the story failed to find out who produced the film.[2] In this fiction by Tanizaki, cinema is mysterious, monstrous, and terrifying, as if there exists behind the cinema an untraceable but overwhelming power that reorders the world by absorbing human subjectivity. If Cavell celebrates the invisibility of manmade traces as an assumed exemption of power achieved by cinematic arts, then, on the contrary, to Tanizaki the absence of human subjectivity burdens the cinema with an unknown power, as though a phantasmagoric tumor with a human face, manifested through screen presentations. In this regard, cinema is the medium of power, the technological double of Pygmalion's creation.

---

[2] Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 谷崎潤一郎, Thomas LaMarre, trans, "The Tumor with A Human Face," *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and "Oriental" Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005), 86–102.

This dissertation is motivated by the problematics behind the intricate connection between cinema and power. What Cavell and Tanizaki discuss in their film discourses are close to the visual and technological power of cinema that brings groundbreaking changes to the human world. As a new visual medium emerging since the late nineteenth century, cinema has intervened and reconstructed the landscape of culture, building new stories and dreams, whether they are fantastic, horrified, or something else that has to be viewed in a different lens. Cinema is a medium of power: the power of the mechanical vision that shapes the screened world, the power of the screened world that subtly makes changes in its viewers, and furthermore, the power of the expansion of empires that deploys early cinema in colonies and controlled territories, through which the cinematic power and imperial power reinforces one another and ensures, as David Trotter remarks, an "integrated space of flows" of imperial capitalism, in which colonies are commissioned nodal hubs.[3] It might not be a coincidence that most early films were produced via imperial networks.

During the first few decades after its invention, the technology and discourses of cinema traveled with imperial expansion and appeared in colonial lands, first as a modern apparatus of powerful foreigners. In colonial film histories, the belatedness, compression, and transculturation of cinematic modernity almost always occupy center stage in debates. Borrowing the term "power" from Cavell's statement on cinema and yet thinking about it in an almost opposite point of view: the cinema in colonies is largely

[3] David Trotter, "Representing Connection: A Multimedia Approach to Colonial Film, 1918–39." Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, eds., *Empire and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 151–165.

constructed by power, both visible on the imperial screen and invisible in the colonial everyday, and the burdens of which must be borne by the witnesses of such power.

Positioning cinema at the convergence of modern visual techniques and transnational power relations, I propose to answer "what is cinema" with an understanding of the medium's compelling influence in colonial contexts. In this dissertation, I focus specifically on issues unfolded by the film history of the first conquest of Japanese imperialism: Taiwan, an island located in East Asia on the North Pacific Ocean between Japan, China, and the Philippines. Taiwan became Japan's colony in 1895, the same year in which the Lumière Brothers first showed motion pictures to a paying public in Paris, an event heralded as the advent of cinema. Four years later, the colony first experienced cinema via a public screening of Edison's The Spanish-American War in Taipei. From the very beginning, colonial Taiwan's encounter with cinema was thus informed and complicated by imperial power relations, the visual agencies of colonial modernity, and the demands of a distant war. Besides its reception of early motion pictures, the island had also participated in the world's filmmaking system as a major exporter of camphor, the base material of film and celluloid products.[4] In terms of hardware, material, and aesthetic style, from cinema's inaugural year to the Japanese Empire's defeat in the Second World War in 1945, Taiwan experienced the first

[4] During the 1930s, 80% of the world's camphor supply went into film and celluloid products. At that time, Taiwan was a chief exporter of camphor, while its colonizer, Japan, dominated the price of camphor-based compounds on the global market, according to Richard Maxwell and Toby Miller, *Greening the Media* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012): 74–75. Here, my argument concerning the connections among cinema, empire, and the world's labor system is indebted to David Trotter, "Representing Connection: A Multimedia Approach to Colonial Film, 1918–39," Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, eds., *Empire and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 151–165.

half-century of cinema's development with its colonizers. Japanese colonization in Taiwan ended in 1945, when Japan announced its retreat from the Second World War after the atomic bombings on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. During the fifty years of imperial Japanese rule, Taiwan experienced the first half-century of cinema's development with its colonizers. The period involved the importation of early cinema and newsreels; films showed in theaters contracted with European studios, New York, and Hollywood; silent films exhibited with an additional interpreter's narrations; talkies promoted with popular songs; narrative films connected with the Japanese Pure Film movement and the Chinese leftist movement; Japanese genres such as cultural films and national films; wartime films produced under the influence of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere; and films made with Taiwanese participation. Though the island did not establish a stable local film industry during the period of Japanese imperial rule, colonial Taiwan had attended to the history of cinema since the medium's early stages. Yet, if local Taiwanese were asked, "what is cinema," at the time, the answer might differ drastically from the statements provided by Cavell and Tanizaki. Cinema in colonies, perhaps, has not been a medium free of power, nor simply a powerful visual representation threatening human subjectivity. Power—at once visual, technological, and imperial—inextricably accompanies cinema, as the movement of light in projections, everywhere and nowhere, contextualizing the meaning and perceptions of cinema in colonial Taiwan.

Film History of Colonial Taiwan

Film history is inextricably a transnational history, and it is no exception in the case of colonial Taiwan. Despite the lack of locally produced films, the abundant films imported

from Japan, Hollywood, Europe and China adequately constructed a prevalent cinematic culture in Taiwan during the colonial period. As a latest novelty and an emerging global business with proper profits, cinema had become one of the dominant sources in people's leisure life since the 1910s Taiwan. In 1910, popular theater Asahi-za started a film contracted with French company Pathé. With regularly imported films from Europe, public film screening became one of Asahi-za's major programs besides its traditional events such as Japanese puppet drama (*ningyo joruri*) and comic storytelling (*rakugo*). In 1915, two major Taipei theaters, Seiko-kan and Yoshino-tei, started their keen competition by signing regular contracts with two Japanese film studios Tenkatsu (Tennnenn-shoku Katsudo-shasin Kabusikikaisha) and Nikkatsu (Nihon-Katsudo-Shasin-Kabusikikaisha) respectively, which transformed theaters into a highly professional and demarcated film-screening space. By 1925, many movie theaters had exclusive contracts with specific film studios around the world: Yoshino-tei played Japanese films provided by Tekoku Studio and Tonga Studio; Sekai-kan played Japanese and American films provided by Nikkatsu, Shochiku and United Artists; Taiwan Theater played American films provided by Universal Pictures. Besides films from Japan, Europe and Hollywood, there were also some films imported from China. For instance, according to Japanese film scholar Mamie Misawa's interviewing records, Shanghai martial arts series *The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple* (1928-1931, 19 feature-length parts) was quite popular in Taiwanese audience's circle during the 1930s.

In contrast to the prosperous screening business enhanced by various imported films, domestic film production in colonial Taiwan was limited. There were less than 20 films produced in Taiwan at that time, and yet most of them were made from the

collaboration between the Japanese and Taiwanese elites. Only limited films were made by domestic Taiwanese teams without too much involvement of Japanese funds and/or governmental sources: *Whose Fault Is It* (1925) and *The Blood Stain* (1929) were among the cases; yet no copies have survived to date. Compared to Japan's another colony Korea, which had developed a domestic film industry during the first half of the twentieth century, or occupied Shanghai, in which the domestic cinema was a localized site embodying the modern global vernacular in Zhen Zhang's terms, colonial Taiwan was rather a locale having a "film history without film."[5]

Even though the domestic production of Taiwan cinema was so limited and incomparable to those in Korea and China, cinema still played an important role in people's daily life in colonial Taiwan not only because of the abundant imported films but also due to Japanese General-Government and local intelligentsia's exuberant usage of films as a medium to spread knowledge and ideology. In colonial Taiwan, cinema was not merely a latest novelty, a new form of modern art, and a localized international business; it was also a contested site manifesting different ideological forces. Besides contracted theaters, regular screening events of selected films were promoted by a great variety of social groups. For instance, many news accounts addressing cinematic activities were related to screening events held by Taiwan Police Association, Taiwan Education Association, Patriotic Women's Association–Taiwan Branch, and Taiwanese

---

[5] Zhen Zhang applies "vernacular modernism" to conceptualize Shanghai cinema in her book, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Guo-Juin Hong describes Taiwan cinema during the colonial period as, "film history without film; national cinema without nation." See his book, *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011): 18-21.

Cultural Association. While the first three were governmental associations, local Taiwanese intellectuals initiated the last one in 1921, which created the most influential "Taiwanese public sphere" as a counterpart to the widespread Japanese governmental ideology. Taiwanese Cultural Association took cinema seriously as educational media. In 1925, the Association bought more than ten world films and an US-made projector from Japan to start its film-screening Mei-Tai Troupe around Taiwan. The films screened then had a wide range of topics, including titles such as "The Agriculture in Denmark," "The Red-Cross" and "Arctic Animal Ecology," which seemed to emphasize a practical, scientific and international worldview to the Taiwanese audience.

Yet, ideological embodiment and educational implication was by no means the only two phases of cinema in the everyday culture of colonial Taiwan. Taiwan's reception of world cinema in the beginning of the last century implied its involvement in the early-modern discourses in the global context. Zhang Zhen, in her book *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896-1937* (2005), defines "vernacular" as a language mode of expression and thus conceptualizes Shanghai cinema in vernacular modernism not only by addressing cinema as a "new Tower of Babel" in a broad sense, but also by introducing the hybrid daily language utilized by Shanghai spectatorship in their modern life: Shanghai *yangjingbang* (pidgin). If Shanghai *yangjingbang* can be a significant element defining the vernacular modernism of Shanghai cinema, which situates the cinematic culture of Shanghai as a non-Western case challenging the extant boundary of "modernism," then we can also apply a similar linguistic approach to the *benshi* culture in colonial Taiwan. *Benshi*, as a translator and a performer interpreting

silent films or foreign-language films to a broad audience in vernacular language, was a new vocation emerging after world films regularly imported to Taiwan.

In his *History of Taiwan Cinema during the Japanese Ruling Period* (1998), Long-Yan Ye defines Taiwanese *benshi* as a subversive agent in the colonial context. He indicates that such an interpreter usually does not just directly "translate" the image or language shown on the big screen, but also add creative personal comments to it or even make up totally different contents of the film, which could end up with delivering a new "film" to the audience. In his discussion of *benshi*, Ye provides some anecdotal cases regarding how *benshi* uses Taiwanese dialect to transform a propaganda film into a visual-audio-performing text to mock Japanese governmental ideology, challenging the authority and originality of the film text. Also discussing *benshi*, Guo-Juin Hong, in his book *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen* (2011), holds a slightly reserved opinion on the subversiveness of *benshi* due to the lack of concrete historical evidence. Although calling *benshi* a "cultural translator and national warrior in one" and acknowledging its imperative role in film screenings and touring exhibitions, Hong thinks more evidence is needed to picture *benshi*'s subversiveness in the colonial context. Nevertheless, the existence of Taiwanese *benshi* adds another layer to the original Japanese *benshi*, debating the uneven colonizer-colonized power relations and their multiple representations. On the other hand, speaking to the broader epistemologist context of theories of early modern culture, Taiwanese *benshi* provides an alternative perspective other than China to the non-Western discourse of vernacular modernism: the one that locates in non-Western films as well as in a localized reception of global films.

Despite the lack of locally produced films, there needs more research on the film history and culture of colonial Taiwan. Contemporary scholarship on Taiwan cinema started by focusing on "New Taiwan cinema," the alternative film genre emerging in the 1980s and favored by Europe critics. Then, film scholars extended their subjects to earlier healthy realism films and Taiwanese dialect films, as well as later social films and youth films. Yet, film scholarship on colonial Taiwan still lacks attention except for a few major film-historiographic works done on information collecting and interview recording by Daw-Ming Lee, Lung-Yen Yeh, Tian-Duo Li, Jen Huang and Mamie Misawa. These scholars have preserved precious memories and facts and made great contribution to Taiwan Studies. In addition, Mamie Misawa's two books, *Zhimindi xia de "yin mu:" Taiwan zongdufu dianying zhengce zhi yanjiu (1895–1942)* (The Colonial Screen: A Research on the Film Policy of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General, 1895–1942) and *Zai "diguo" yu "zuguo" de jiafeng jian: rishi shiqi Taiwan dianyingren de jiaoshe yu kuajing* (Negotiation and Translocality between "Empire" and "Motherland": Taiwanese Filmmakers during Japanese Ruling Period), provide a further transnational framework to current scholarship. The former book is divided into three sections, "film policy," "propaganda and film," and "film and the messes," addressing issues on ideological construction and the image-making of Japanese government as a caring educator and Japanese police as a terrifying protector through the work of film policy and the circulation of selected films promoted by the government. The later book, on the other hand, taking a more direct transnational approach, traces the activity routes of local screening groups in Taiwan and two of the very few Taiwanese filmmakers, Liu Na'ou

(1905–1940) and He Feiguang's (1913–1997), and their film careers and life experiences in Japan and China.

The excavation and digitalization of colonial archives since recent years give chances for researchers to rethink the lost history and culture in colonial Taiwan. Two major primary sources play essential roles in this regard: *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* 臺灣日日新報 (Taiwan Daily News) and *Taiwan minbao* 臺灣民報 (Taiwan People's News). *Taiwan Daily News* was a daily newspaper issued and released between 1898 and 1944, regarded as the largest and most influential newspaper in colonial Taiwan. Although closely worked with the Taiwan Office of Governor-General, recent scholarship has proved that the *Taiwan Daily News* was not simply a media delivering governmental ideology, but also provided as a public space for the growth of popular culture in colonial Taiwan. Many popular Taiwanese writers had published their series novels and gained the fame as a qualified novelist from this newspaper.[6] In other words, despite the fact that this newspaper implied a pro-colonizer's ideology, it was also a press that reflect an aspect of the everyday and popular culture in colonial Taiwan. *Taiwan People's News* was issued and released through 1923 to 1944 by the Taiwanese Cultural Association. The association was founded in Tokyo, Japan, by a group of overseas Taiwanese students, who aimed on reforming Taiwanese society by organizing educational events to the public through speeches, street performances and film screenings. Current scholarship usually positions *Taiwanese People's News* as a counterpart to *Taiwan Daily News*, and

[6] Mei-e Huang 黃美娥, *Chongceng xiandaixing jingxiang: rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* 重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文人的文化視域與文學想像 [Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Visions and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule] (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2004).

acknowledge this newspaper as the largest media to express localized Taiwanese opinions.[7] The abovementioned scholarship and primarily materials build an essential foundation to further approach "what is cinema" in colonial Taiwan.

Media Archaeology

Building on inquiries concerning "what is cinema" to colonial Taiwan, this dissertation also tries to locate clues on "where was cinema" at that time. The goal of the research here is not to prove the supposed connection between cinema and colonial modernity, but to examine the ways in which various types of power shape and reshape the meaning of cinema in colonial history. By power, in addition to imperial, technological, and visual power, I refer also to another level of power: the power of transnational cultural discourses spreading throughout the early twentieth century, which shares an affinity with the construction of modernity, popular culture, and wartime mobilization. Such transnational discourses work in tandem with imperialism and modern technology in colonies as imperative forces that shape the cinematic mediums while also being reinforced by it. By shedding light on the issues of power and cinema in colonial Taiwan, I probe my research question specifically with the following inquires: How was cinema "seen" among the colonial everyday? In what ways did authoritative news media configure the function and meaning of cinema? How did the local intelligentsia respond to and make use of cinematic visuality? In what ways did cinema facilitate or debilitate

[7] For instance, see Ping-Hui Liao. "Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945." Ping-hui Liao and David Der-Wei Wang, ed., *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 78–94.

identity politics for the colonizers, the colonized, and the ones in between? How did cinema connect to forms of modern knowledge, types of media both old and new, and modes of representation both verbal and visual? In what ways did cinema characterize colonial propaganda, as well as constitute a contested field for discourses such as Western commercialism and Chinese vernacularism, some of which might not directly relate to the colonial ideology?

The above questions focus on cinema as a medium of modern power, which frames this dissertation to be less pertinent to a domestic, regional, or ethnographical film history, but rather an examination of cinema and its relation to visual culture in Taiwan's colonial context. The approach of my research thereby comes closer to media archaeology instead of classical film historiography. Thomas Elsaesser, an illuminist of media archaeology, introduces the approach by characterizing the digital age of cinema as a resemblance of the cinema of attractions, as well as in familiar relations with other modes of technological representation featured by images, sounds, texts, events, and experiences.[8] In aiming to overcome the opposition of old media to new media, Elsaesser argues that the digital image does not constitute a radical break in Western visual culture, nor a mere technological continuation of the chronological, linear history of mechanical vision. Rethinking "the idea of continuity and rupture, as well as the dynamics of convergence and divergence, of synergy and self-differentiation," Elsaesser applies media archaeology to liberate the subject from fixed originality and teleological historiography to locate the subject in dynamic relations with other audiovisual media.

---

[8] Thomas Elsaesser, "The New Film History as Media Archaeology." *Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies* 14.2–3 (2004), 75–117.

As an approach to remapping the moving image on the forking paths of history and theory, media archaeology not only challenges the linear narrative of the old and the new, but also tries to understand the medium with knowledge beyond extant paradigms. Inspired by Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (conceptions of the archaeological method toward the history of ideas) and Marshall McLuhan's view of media ("the 'content' of any medium is always another medium"), Friedrich Kittler situates media archaeology as a means to excavate the existential conditions of the media apparatus. He notes, "the factual condition is no simple methodical example but is in each case a techno-historical event."[9] Adopting this concept, the current dissertation also regards cinema as a techno-historical event embedded in the cultural situation of colonial Taiwan. To study this event, to simply pin the island's cinema on a certain point in the established film history is not enough; it is also imperative to observe cinema's modes of sensation and perception in a dialectic conversation with other audiovisual apparatuses and discourses. Hence, a major task of this dissertation is to develop a discursive archive—or in Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka's terms of media archaeology, "a museum without walls"—for the cinematic medium in colonial Taiwan.[10] The touring exhibitions of motion pictures and their relation to the magic lantern shows; news media and their relation to newsreels and films of knowledge; the configuration of cinematic space; film music and its relation to vernacular popular culture; the moving image of wartime mobilization and its relation to translocal filmmakers and stars—all are

---

[9] Friedrich A. Kittler (Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz, trans.), *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 229.

[10] Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1–21.

imperative, yet never comprehensive materials of colonial Taiwan's cinematic archive that parallel and problematize the events (or, situations of discourse and representation). As such, these are the foci of the dissertation.

Among recent studies of cinema in East Asia, a similar approach can be found in Aaron Gerow's *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925*, though Gerow does not apply the term "media archaeology" in his writing. The introduction of the book, "A Discursive History of Japanese Cinema," also addresses Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* as a means of redefining the object of cinema and thus reveals a Japanese film history beyond films. Following an intermedia approach that investigates news accounts and textual statements of cinema, Gerow declares, "Cinema was written in early Japanese film history before it was filmed."[11] In his research, Gerow focuses on "the fissures and contradictions within Japanese film history" with an intention to resist given boundaries between Japan and the West, as well as other binary distinctions. He observes that Japanese essayist Terada Torahiko described himself after his first experience of watching film as "not as surprised as the first time I saw *gentō* [the magic lanterns]." Citing Yamaguchi Masao's view of *gentō* as the Japanese "shadow culture" that "prepared the way for image culture," Gerow notes:

> The shock of modernity may not have occurred when the cinematic apparatus arrived in Japan—in fact, it may have happened well before or

[11] Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 3.

> well after that point—and did not necessarily involve the spectacle of Otherness (here the West) that prompts self-consciousness and even nationalism. Given the domestic development of projected visuality, the Otherness could equally stem from divisions from within, such as class, and thus be open to struggle.[12]

Gerow's perspective of Japanese cinema and visual culture echoes burning concerns in media archaeology. As a modern device imported to Japan in the late nineteenth century, cinema could be both Western and domestic, foreign and familiar. On the one hand, it is possible to expand the current understanding of film culture to a point before the invention of cinema, since the culture of other visual media—magic lanterns, for example—might inform the ways in which spectators received films. On the other hand, those "other" visual devices could have been already domesticated before the arrival of another foreign machine; at the moment when it becomes "the content" of the new media, the new thus is in fact not quite new, but has already been processed on domestic soil. Moreover, what constitutes domesticality could be a hybrid of culture shaped by both local discourses and global forces. In this sense, what Gerow challenges is not merely the linear narrative of film history or the binary configuration of the West and the Rest, respectively, as filmmaker and film-taker, but also the ways in which one understands media, culture, and the formation of modern subjectivity.

It would be an even more complicated case if one were to adopt Gerow's theoretical model to explore cinematic visuality in colonial Taiwan. The island, which

---

[12] Ibid., 28.

was mostly inhabited by indigenous Austronesians and Han Chinese settlers by the end of the nineteenth century, had experienced different dominions, including the Dutch East India Company (1624–1662), the Spanish Empire (1626–1642), Ming loyalists (1661–1683), the Qing Dynasty (1683–1895), and Japan (1895–1945). As a result, what domestic Taiwanese culture is, as well as who the natives are, always characterize ongoing debates. In the case of Taiwan, cinema and *gentō* came nearly at once with Japanese colonizers, as if another classical representation of the compressed condition of being a latecomer to modernity. By no means the first foreign and colonial power to the island, Japan layered Taiwan's optical unconscious through a technological and ideological route different from the formation of its own cinematic experience. What was defined as cinema and noncinema in Japan was reconfigured in colonial Taiwan to, in turn, develop new meanings for the dynamics among power, visuality, and the everyday.

In the light of media archaeology, this dissertation hopes to advance dialogues with current film theory and historiography. The most updated and comprehensive film history of Taiwan in English, Guo-Juin Hong's *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*, has inspired many detailed considerations in the present research. Describing Taiwan's film history as "the historiography of absence," Hong treats Taiwan cinema in colonial archives with a postcolonial archaeology and thus discovers questions regarding the representation of history, the production of knowledge, and the development of vernacular hybridity in the colonial cinemascape. Characterizing the colonial film history of Taiwan as "film history without film, national cinema without nation," Hong notes, "For as a technology at once cultural and industrial, film represents as well as precipitates how the modern is implicated in the East-West dichotomy in the colonial and

postcolonial drama of nation-building, a set of conditions that will continue to impact postcolonial Taiwan after 1945."[13] In his narrative of Taiwan's film history, "nation" and "cinema" are not fixed categories but mutually constitutive; cinema in colonial Taiwan thus serves as a prism for cultural discourses and discrepancies among national history, identity politics, and Western modernity. "Nation" is often perceived as a default paradigm for the study of film history, yet in Hong's view, such a paradigm is questionable. On the one hand, cinema has been transnational since its invention; on the other, nation is not a fixed concept for Taiwan—not even now. Hong's interpretation of Taiwan cinema reveals a contest between film historiography and the idea of nation, which works as a theoretical foundation for the present dissertation. As a medium at once transnational and counternational, cinema in Taiwan has not only been connected to imperial power, visual technology, and transnational industry from the very beginning, but has also developed a film culture that has resisted the national category both during and beyond the colonial period.

By studying films of colonial Taiwan with a transmedia approach registered in the transnational paradigm, this dissertation treats cinema as a discursive category shaped by power and visuality. Here, transnationalism is not simply a comparative framework manifesting the encounters of culture, but also forces configured through unbalanced power relations. Taiwanese films made under the influence of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, as well as motion pictures introduced via European and Hollywood networks, are cases deeply connected to transnational phenomena. In this dissertation,

---

[13] Guo-Juin Hong, *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 13–32.

colonial Taiwan is considered to be a specific temporal-spatial condition constructed through Japanese colonialism during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, rather than a certain geographic or ethnographic distinction in the world's film history. It is not research focusing on the emergence and development of Taiwan's cinema before the formation of Taiwanese identity, but an examination of cinema and its meaning in a historical context underlying non-Western (and yet also largely Western-induced) colonialism. The cinema considered here refers to not only motion pictures made by Taiwanese filmmakers, but also Japanese-made films and films from abroad, as well as related cinematic materials, including texts, sounds, spaces, events, and other relatives of the moving image.

As a starting point for the museum without walls, besides this introduction, I explore my research in the three main chapters: "Magic Lantern Shows and Screen Modernity," "Reading *Eigaka* News: Colonial Actualities and Cinematic Adaptations," "Listening to Vernacular Modernism: Film Culture and the Production of Popular Soundscape." Each chapter concerns questions of power and visual discourses in the intricate relationship between cinema and other media. As mentioned, it is not the time of the media's invention that defines what is old and what is new, but the position and use of the media in given contexts. Since social conditions are always in flux, the old and the new are fluid, mutually defined concepts. The following chapters explore the ways in which cinema and other media interacted in colonial Taiwan. In order to underscore the significant intermedial moments, each chapter focuses on cinema and its techno-historical interaction with another cultural medium such as the magic lantern, the newspaper, and the gramophone.

Magic Lantern Shows and Screen Modernity

This chapter focuses on the magic lantern, its relation with the introduction of motion pictures, and the culture of exhibition in colonial Taiwan. The magic lantern show is a crucial yet insufficiently discussed *event of seeing* in early cinema of colonial Taiwan. The history of these shows provokes issues of optical modernity, images of colonial edification, and the projection of empires. Introduced in Europe during the seventeenth century, magic lantern shows were widely deployed in colonial Taiwan at the turn of the twentieth century before the screening of motion pictures took their place of significance.

The magic lantern show, called *Gentō-kai* (幻燈會) in Japanese context, was a significant part of the *misemono* spectacles that developed into Japanese shadow culture after their importation from the West in the eighteenth century. *Gentō* turned out to be an apparatus of enlightenment and civilization at work since the Meiji period and widely used as a device for social edification on various occasions, including school activities, public lectures, governmental announcements, and even religious sermons.[14] Applied in everyday education, the use of magic lanterns flourished with Japan's craving for new technology and modern knowledge and played an important role in the formation of Japanese national identity. The *gentō* fashion reached its peak at the turn of the twentieth century during the first Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, while outside of Japan, the first Sino-Japanese War made Taiwan the first colony of Japanese imperialism, thereby intensifying the island's interaction with Japanese shadow culture and visual

[14] Iwamoto Kenji 岩本憲児, *Gentō no seiki: eiga zenya no shikaku bunkashi* 幻燈の世紀 : 映画前夜の視覚文化史 [Centuries of Magic Lantern in Japan: A History of Visual Culture on the Eve of Cinema] (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2002), 208–223.

culture. In colonial Taiwan, the magic lantern shows, besides being connected to colonial governance, were closely associated with the transculturation of Japanese tradition and modernity. Among extant records in the colonial archive, the first news account on *gentō* appeared in April 7th, 1899, introducing an upcoming religious and memorial service alongside magic lantern shows held by the Japanese Red Cross.[15] Afterwards, increasingly more magic lantern events were held in Taiwan. Their topics included Japanese mythology and history, health and hygiene, land and agriculture, women and charity, images of the Russo-Japanese War, and Japanese Red Cross lectures, to name a few. When the motion picture entered the colony, it brought with it a similar task of introducing knowledge of the world, as if thereby continuing and optimizing the educational bent of *gentō*. Both the Japanese authorities and local Taiwanese intellectuals strategically employed such mediums for educational lectures at that time.

By the first decade of the twentieth century, magic lantern shows were frequent educational events visualizing news and modern knowledge in public screenings. They often incorporated live music and showmen's performance during presentations. In the 1940s, due to the pressing necessity of wartime propaganda, Japanese authorities reenacted magic lantern shows as substitutes for film screenings in rural villages. Between 1895 and 1945, colonial edification facilitated the development and revival of magic lantern shows in Taiwan, bringing the linear historiography of mechanical vision, as well as the idea of old and new media, into question. On their surface, the magic lantern shows seem to be an extension of colonial power; yet, the process of their

[15] "Suzukuchi junnan shōkon-sai" 錫口殉難招魂祭 [Spiritism for the Lost Ones in Malysyakkaw]. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News] (March 31st, 1899), 2.

projection and mediation also reveals the disintegrated temporality between the colony and the imperial screen.

Reading Eigaka News: Colonial Actualities and Cinematic Adaptations

This chapter addresses issues regarding textualized cinematic reality and the news through the interrelations of filmmaking projects depicted in newspaper accounts and real-scene footage in films. In focusing on the ways in which reporters used the term *eigaka* (映畫化; making into cinema) in their writings, I examine the (re-)production of cinema in news media. Meaning, "filmmaking" or cinematic adaptation, the invention of the terminology *eigaka* and its standardization in the Japanese language during the early twentieth century reflected the emergence of cinema and the changes it brought to media culture at that time. The first related news account appeared in *Taiwan Daily News* in 1924, titled "The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed."[16] Specially telegrammed from Tokyo, the news invited its audiences to expect a film revealing the Japanese empress's daily routine in Namazu. Delivered by the Ministry of Education, the film project claimed to mediate the distance between the royal family and Japanese civilians with a close visualization of the royal everyday. Yet, whether the colonized would feel themselves to be closer to the imperial family is another question. In a sense, the arrival of the film as a representation of the royal house might have rather been a reification of imperial power. From the 1920s to 1940s, the filming of real and pseudoreal scenes had become another favorite source of news making—a scripted visuality.

---

[16] "Kōgō heika no oseikatsu o eigaka shita" 皇后陛下の御生活を映畫化した [The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 7th, 1924): 2.

Guiding audiences, both actual and potential, about what would be realized and seen in films, the *eigaka* accounts as cinematic reality processed in texts were at once a promotion of the distinct experience of cinema and an enforcement of ideas.

Listening to Vernacular Modernism: Film Culture and Popular Soundscape

This chapter explores topics about film music, popular culture, and vernacular modernism. As a medium of imperial power, commercial power, and people's power, cinema transformed the landscape and soundscape of colonial Taiwan. In 1932, distinguished *benshi* (弁士; film narrator/interpreter) Zhan Tianma wrote the song, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood," to promote the Chinese silent film of the same name. With his song, Zhan successfully opened the audience's eyes and ears to the film. Catching the wave, Columbia Records in Taipei chose the song for what became the first Taiwanese record and started employing Taiwanese musicians. A golden age of Taiwanese popular music thus began. Starring phenomenal Chinese actress Ruan Lingyu and Korean-born actor Jin Yan, *Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood*, also called *The Peach Girl* in English, was a film depicting a classical unresolved love drama between an innocent girl and a landlord's son, thereby echoing people's common wish to resist the unjust social system. Receiving far more attention than the film, Zhan's detailed lyrics that aroused beautiful sorrows winding around the yearnings of love and freedom became the setting of colonial Taiwan's vernacular modernism as a response to the fervent conversation on everyday culture among the Taiwan language movement, Shanghai leftists, and Japanese modernity. Paralleling the modernization of some major cities in colonial Taiwan, more and more literary and theatrical works undertook the issue of love

and freedom as progressive discourses. The vehicle of such progressiveness, film culture in cities—including the performance of *benshi* and the circulation of popular music as significant elements of the cinematic vernacular—intertwined with the depiction of evolving public space, new women, and modern etiquette.

The Media, The War, and Postcolonial "Filming Back"

Lastly, a "Coda" of this dissertation is dedicated to thoughts about old media, new media, and dead media, followed by two additional sections on "Wartime Mobilization" and "Postcolonial 'Filming Back.'"

"Wartime Mobilization" entails two filmmakers' career and life stories: Wu Xiyang 吳錫洋 and He Feiguang 何非光 (1913–1997). Wu was the owner of First Motion Picture Studio and the initiator of allegedly the last Taiwanese film in colonial Taiwan, "Longing for the Spring Breeze" 望春風 (1937, lost). Wu's work had to be in compliance with Imperial Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere at that time, and thus he claimed the film was a representation of the friendly relationship between Japan and Taiwan. As an opposite case, He Feiguang's work and life was largely anti-Japanese. Born in Taichung, Taiwan, He was briefly educated in Japan and then began his film career in China, starting by playing Japanese antagonists in Shanghai cinema. When He began to make his own films, his works mostly drew upon an anti-Japanese paradigm, yet also implied a different interpretation of the boundaries of people, groups, and identity. Wartime cinema, whether anti or pro Japan, all seemed to twist the issue of identity politics.

Colonial legacies continue to be an influence in film and media culture after the termination of Japanese colonization. In 2011, Atayal director Laha Mebow made *Finding Sayun*, negotiated and reappropriated the popular narratives since Japanese *Sayon's Bell*, from a Taiwanese indigenous point of view. What she has achieved through the film is a postcolonial "filming back" to the dominant discourses.

This dissertation entails Taiwan's colonial film history without film. It explores a film history at its intersections with some dinosaurian media: magic lanterns, colonial news columns, and gramophone records. In such a history, the cinema is conceptualized, located, and mediated by issues of power, identity politics, and the absent ones.

Chapter 2

Magic Lantern Shows and Screen Modernity

> "The period of early cinema is also the period of intense colonization, and film plays a key role in this process."
>
> Tom Gunning, *Early Cinema: From Origins to 1913*

> "Technologies for casting an image and technologies of projection and introjection in the psychic mechanism of paranoia, the dynamics of melancholia, and the exercise of the 'special agency' that takes the ego as an excoriated and disciplined object shape the fortress ego and produce the phantom subject of discarnate reason, transporting bodily vulnerability, superstition, and susceptibility by a casting displacement that fixes that subject's antitypes, the 'others' of empire at home and abroad."
>
> Jill H Casid, *Scenes of Projection: Recasting the Enlightenment Subject*

Early Public Screenings

In 1899, a new screening of moving images made its way to the public in Japanese colonial Taiwan. The *Taiwan Daily News*, the most widely circulated newspaper at that time, reported this screening in its Chinese section as follows:

> A person from the Fushi Company, name unknown, purchased a "Western electric-lantern-shadowplay machine" from abroad and brought it to Taipei. It was exhibited and played at Luzhujiao District, Dadaocheng.

Audiences from all over the place had to pay 0.15 Silver for a ticket to the show. The show ran for a month, and its earnings were not bad. Yesterday, the show relocated to a venue at Old District, Báng-kah. The ticket price was down to 0.1 Silver per visit; half price for children. Nevertheless, not many visitors came because the show already played for quite a while at Dadaocheng; even people at Báng-kah had gone to see it. In addition, the show was similar to the magic lantern shows—the only difference was that the shadowed figures were movable, which was not that new or interesting.[1]

●電燈影戲　稱士公司者不知何許人也從番國購得西洋電燈影戲機器一副携到臺北在稻江麗竹脚街演設四方來觀者每人必以一角半銀子向買一票始得入覽近匝月所博不爲不多昨又移到艋舺舊街某番戶演設每票僅一角童子減半觀者尙寥々蓋在稻演設日久艋舺人徃彼縱覽者多且與幻燈會相似不過影中人物俱能活動而已亦不十分新奇也

Figure 2.1. "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" on the Chinese Section of *Taiwan Daily News*. September 5th, 1899.

[1] My translation. "Diandeng yingxi" 電燈影戲 [Electric Lantern Shadowplay], in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], Chinese Section (September 5th, 1899), 4. For the interest of readability, here, I translated the purchased site of the "Western electric-lantern-shadowplay machine" as "from abroad." The original text seems to indicate the location of purchase, but due to the unclear text on the extant copy of the news page, it is difficult to identify the message.

Directly entitled, “Electric Lantern Shadowplay” (電燈影戲, “Diandeng yingxi;” Figure 2.1), this news account carries many vague messages that call for a number of questions on Taiwan’s early film history. First of all, what exactly was the “Western electric-lantern-shadowplay machine” underscored in the article, and what were the images it showed to the public at that time? Who was the person that brought the machine—and from where—to Taiwan? Why did the person organize the public screenings mainly, if not merely, in Dadaocheng and Báng-kah—Taiwanese neighborhoods instead of Japanese districts—while the report of the event only appeared in the “Chinese section” of the colonial newspaper, the major language of which was Japanese? And finally, what might be implied from the last sentence of this piece of news, which compares the modernity of such a public screening with magic lantern shows?

“Electric Lantern Shadowplay” is a frequently mentioned article in Taiwan’s film history as a piece of evidence that potentially points to the earliest film screenings in colonial Taiwan. Yet, many questions hinged upon this news account remain unresolved. Film scholars have put forward several hypotheses regarding the content of the screening. For instance, film historian Jen Huang found that a similar screening event had appeared in Luzhujiao District, Dadaocheng, approximately one month before the “Electric Lantern Shadowplay.” The new material located by Huang was also from the *Taiwan Daily News*, entitled, “Western Drama, Grand Magic Lantern” (西洋演戲大幻燈), published in the advertisement column of the Japanese section in mixed Chinese-Japanese style. The mixed language, as stated in the advertisement, intended to attract

both Japanese and Taiwanese readers.[2] Information from "Western Drama, Grand Magic Lantern" seems to correspond with "Electric Lantern Shadowplay," as both accounts pointed to a show featuring western moving images in Dadaocheng in August 1899. According to Huang, it is likely that "Western Drama, Grand Magic Lantern" (August 4, 1899) and "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" (September 5, 1899) described the same set of moving images, while the former took place in Dadaocheng and the latter extended its activities to Báng-kah. With this exciting find, Huang went on to locate another screening event, "Motion Pictures at the Cross Theater" (十字館の活動寫真), which featured Thomas Edison's *The Spanish-American War* and other films at the Cross Theater in Taipei from September 8, 1899. In Huang's opinion, the screenings in Dadaocheng, Báng-kah, and the Cross Theater could be of the same film material. In other words, images showed during the "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" might include *The Spanish-American War,* and the "Western electric-lantern-shadowplay machine" might be the Vitascope by The Edison Manufacturing Company. Huang's research sheds new light on Taiwan's early film history. Yet, due to the lack of further evidence that confirms the connection between the screenings in Dadaocheng and the Cross Theater, it is difficult to prove Huang's theory.

Also researching early cinema through a close examination of colonial newspapers, film scholar Daw-Ming Lee further discusses the news items explored by Huang. Different from Huang, Lee questions the connection between Edison's Vitascope

---

[2] Huang Jen 黃仁 and Wang Wei 王唯, eds., *Taiwan dianying bannian shihua* 臺灣電影百年史話 [One Hundred Years of Taiwan Cinema]. Volume 1 (Taipei: Zhonghua yingpingren xiehui, 2004).

and the "Western electric-lantern-shadowplay machine."[3] Lee rethinks the materials from the perspective of divided Japanese and Taiwanese neighborhoods during the colonial period. The Cross Theater located at a Japanese neighborhood, the audience of which was unlikely to involve many local Taiwanese. On the contrary, the "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" screened in Taiwanese towns (Dadaocheng and Báng-kah) while its related coverage in the *Taiwan Daily News* seemingly targeted Chinese readers. Lee thus infers that there should be no connection between the Cross Theater's Edison films and the "Electric Lantern Shadowplay," despite both screenings covered by news reports in September 1899. Nevertheless, Lee agrees that the machine introduced in Dadaocheng and Báng-kah was a type of film projector. In Lee's revision of Huang's theory, "Western Drama, Grand Magic Lantern" and "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" should concern the same materials of screenings, which were different from the ones described in "Motion Pictures at the Cross Theater." With his new perspective on the materials, Lee follows a clue from "Western Drama, Grand Magic Lantern," which notes "Zhang Boju (Cantonese)" as the projectionist of the screening. Lee thereafter develops several hypotheses on interactions of film activities between colonial Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, China, and Indochina during the late nineteenth century. Yet, as Lee states, more evidence to support his hypotheses is yet to be found. To this point, theories on "Electric Lantern Shadowplay" again come to an impasse.

---

[3] Daw-Ming Lee 李道明, "Shijiu shiji mo dianyingren zai Taiwan, Xianggang, Riben, Zhongguo yu Zhongnanbandao jian de [keneng] liudong" 十九世紀末電影人在臺灣, 香港, 日本, 中國與中南半島間的 (可能) 流動 [The (Possible) Circulation of Movie Industry Professionals between Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, China and Indochina in the Late 19th Century], in Wong Ain-ling, ed., *Zhongguo dianying suyuan* 中國電影溯源 [Chinese Cinema: Tracing the Origins] (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011), 126–143.

To date, many questions concerning early cinema in colonial Taiwan—when, by whom, and how the first film screening took place—are far from resolution. Facts are limited and difficult to locate. The scarcity of film materials and historical evidence makes the subject a challenge to its researchers, not to mention that remaining records might as well be problematic, since collectable materials have to first survive from strict conditions of their time such as the censorship in colonial and postwar martial-law periods. For instance, the *Taiwan Daily News*—which published the "Electric Lantern Shadowplay"—was primarily Japanese-sponsored and thus seen by many as the megaphone of the colonial authority. Yet since this newspaper received stable financial and governmental support at its time, it was also the most long-lived press in colonial Taiwan and one of the richest cultural archives for postcolonial research. In spite of the challenges, however, it is still crucial to keep exploring colonial archives, as Guo-Juin Hong explains in his film historiography of Taiwan: "[T]he history of Taiwan has been in a transitional state for more than four hundred years. If the year 1945 [the end of colonial rule] indeed marked yet another transition, one has to ask from what to what. …To understand post-1945 Taiwan, one must begin by returning to the colonial archives, even when this endeavor is inevitably obscured by absences and gaps, muddled with much hearsay and authenticated by few extant materials."[4]

Besides the insufficiency of colonial archives, there is another challenge in configuring Taiwan's prewar film history, which concerns the dire circumstances to support a domestic film industry during the Japanese colonial period. A review of

[4] Guo-Juin Hong, *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 14–15.

previous scholarship shows that compared to works by Japanese filmmakers, records of locally made cinema seem to be sporadic and close to nonexistent. For instance, in her "Dancing Shadows of Film Exhibition: Taiwan and the Japanese Influence," Jeanne Deslandes states, "During Japanese rule, Taiwan never managed to set up an independent film industry."[5] Calling it the paradoxical condition in writing film history, Guo-Juin Hong, in his *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*, thus characterizes the history of cinema in colonial Taiwan as "film history without film." Nevertheless, in the same book, Hong provides important observations on three aspects of cinema at that time:

> [T]hree important aspects of Taiwan's cinema in the colonial period warrant further attention: the role of the *benzi* (commentators of silent films, the equivalent of Japanese cinema's *benshi*); traveling exhibitions; and imported films (from China, especially Shanghai, as well as from elsewhere around the globe).[6]

The culture of *benshi*, traveling exhibitions, and imported films are significant aspects of cinema in Taiwan's colonial context. What is more, I argue that these aspects were not merely pertinent to cinema but also deeply connected to the practice of magic lantern

---

[5] Jeanne Deslandes, "Dancing Shadows of Film Exhibition: Taiwan and the Japanese Influence," *Screening the Past* 11 (2000), accessed April 11, 2016: http://tlweb.latrobe.edu.au/humanities/screeningthepast/current/cc1100.html.

[6] Hong, *Taiwan Cinema*, 20.

shows, the culture compared with colonial Taiwan's early film screenings in "Electric Lantern Shadowplay."

All of the three aspects of cinema in colonial Taiwan mentioned in Hong's book had connections with the culture of magic lantern shows. The onsite narrator of projected images, called *benshi* (弁士) in Taiwan and Japan, already existed in magic lantern shows before the emergence of cinema.[7] Traveling exhibition was a convention of magic lantern practice. Moreover, in terms of imported films, the transnational network that made possible the border-crossing distribution of cinema had taken into shape since the circulation of magic lantern materials, although in Taiwan before 1945, Japanese colonialism played an imperative role in mediating related global circulations.[8] In this light, the history of cinema could be examined from the interconnections between the magic lantern shows and early film screenings.

The history of magic lantern activities could be read as a past life of cinema. In the European context, the practice of magic lantern shows establishes a modern screen culture that continues its significance in the age of motion pictures. Charles Musser, in his seminal article, "Toward a History of Screen Practice," identifies the magic lantern as an alternate beginning for cinema in screen history. Considering cinema an extension of the magic lantern through historical evidence, Musser notes, "A history of screen practice presents cinema as a continuation and transformation of magic lantern traditions in which

---

[7] Ryo Okubo, "The Magic Lantern Show and Its Spectators during Late Nineteenth-Century Japan: Control of Perception in Lantern Shows for Education and News Report of Sino-Japanese War," in *ICONICS* 11 (2014), 7–26.

[8] Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe, *Empire and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan on behalf of the British Film Institute, 2011).

showmen displayed images on screen, accompanying them with voice, music and sound effects."[9] Musser foregrounds the magic lantern show and its prefilm significance to academic attention by conceptualizing its practice as the tradition and continuity of, rather than a difference from, the technologically and culturally modern screen in the Euro-American "age of reason." Delving into relevant records from the seventeenth century, he observes the development of magic lantern shows with the emergence of early modern spectators who viewed the publicly screened, projected images as art instead of magic, "as life-like, not as life itself." According to Musser, the demystification of the screen established since magic lanterns became the foundation for later film practices, wherein the relationship between producer, image, and audience has remained unaltered. Musser's interpretation of magic lantern shows in modern screen culture opens up the perspective of modernity concerning cinema beyond films. The unaltered structure of early public screenings shared by magic lantern and cinema implies the similarities between the two to the eyes of modern spectators, which, provides an explanation to the comment in "Electric Lantern Shadowplay"—a possible reason why the screening of early motion pictures in colonial Taiwan was considered "not that new or interesting" when compared to magic lantern shows. In a shared context of the modern screen, not only motion pictures but also magic lanterns are the mediums of cinematic modernity.

---

[9] For instance, C. Francis Jenkins in *Animated Pictures* (1898): "The moving picture machine is simply a modified stereopticon or lantern." Also, Henry V. Hopwood in *Living Pictures* (1899): "A film for projecting a living picture is nothing more, after all, than a multiple lantern slide." See Charles Musser, "Toward A History of Screen Practice," *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 9.1 (1984): 59–69. In addition, the "showmen" described by Musser is equivalent to the *benshi* in Japanese context.

Also rethinking film history, Tom Gunning demonstrates evidence of "cinema of attractions" and unpacks an alternative early film practice before the establishment of classical cinema. Furthermore, in his reflections of early cinema, Gunning notes the importance of studying colonial film history, as "an interrogation into the way film has been understood thus far," since "the period of early cinema is also the period of intense colonization, and film plays a key role in this process."[10] As a validation of Gunning's remark, the history of early cinema in colonial Taiwan developed in a way alternative to "general" film histories. Different from the history of magic lantern shows in other locales of the would that had its own course of development before the emergence of cinema (in Japan, Europe, and North America, in particular), the magic lantern practice in colonial Taiwan was just slightly prior to, and existed along with, the burgeoning of film culture, due to the influence and mediation of Japanese colonialism on the island (1895–1945).

According to extant historical records, magic lantern shows and early film screenings had circulated to and developed in colonial Taiwan almost simultaneously, as their earliest records were both seen during the last five years of the nineteenth century. On one hand, in order to get a clear picture of the development of cinema in colonial Taiwan, it is imperative to understand the modes of presentation and history of circulation of magic lantern shows. On the other hand, particularly in colonial Taiwan, the relationship between magic lantern shows and cinema was not causal and linear. It was not so much the case that magic lantern shows "prepared the foundation for cinema"

---

[10] Tom Gunning, "Enigmas, Understanding, and Further Questions: Early Cinema Research in Its Second Decade Since Brighton," *Persistence of Vision* 9 (1991): 9.

(as in many visual histories of other locales of the world); instead, in colonial Taiwan the magic lanterns and motion pictures developed during the same period of time, and each medium influenced and reinforced the conception, presentation, and transfiguration of the other. In colonial Taiwan, the magic lantern shows were not only "pre-filmic" but also overlapped with the history of cinema in both the early and later periods of film practice.

Besides intersecting screen culture, early cinema, and the expansion of empires, the studies of magic lantern shows also intervening current scholarship in East Asian cinema and visual culture. Japanese magic lantern shows, from the phantasmagoric projection in Japanese arts and entertainment (*utsushi-e*, 写し絵) to the scientific, educational demonstration of modern pictures (*gentō-kai*, "幻燈會" in prewar Japanese *kanji*), have established an individual field for the research of modern visual culture and animation in Japan.[11] Developing in and intertwining with Japanese culture since the late Edo period around 1803, the magic lantern played a part in shaping the Japanese phantasmagoria, called *utsushi-e* (Figure 2.2). Kenji Iwamoto delineates such a history in his essential book entitled *Centuries of Magic Lantern in Japan: A History of Visual Culture on the Eve of Cinema*. In the book, Iwamoto parallels the western magic lantern history with the Japanese one. In Iwamoto's western section, he traces the early practice of magic lantern back to seventeenth-century Europe, where Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens allegedly invented a similar device; in another account, German Jesuit scholar

[11] For an archaeological research of the images, themes, history, and culture of Japanese magic lantern shows, see the publication by Waseda University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Shin'ichi Tsuchiya, et al., *Gentō suraido no hakubutsushi: purojekushon media no kōkogaku* 幻燈スライドの博物誌: プロジェクション・メディアの考古学 [A Comprehensive History of Lantern Slides: Archaeology of Projection and Media] (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015).

Athanasius Kircher introduced a technical model of lantern projections in his *The Great Art of Light and Shadow*. The development of magic lantern gave rise to the popularity of phantasmagoria in Europe during the late eighteenth century, which involved projecting images such as ghosts and skeletons in a theatrical setting.[12] Then, in the Japanese section, Iwamoto considers the exhibition of spine-chillers in Japanese *utsushi-e* (the theme of which often related to traditional Japanese tales and motifs) a similar practice to the bizarre and the irrational seen in early European phantasmagoria.

In Japan, the magic lantern shows is an advanced, modernized exhibition building on the foundation of traditional *utsushi-e*. The technical model that inspired Japan's modern magic lantern shows (*gentō-kai*) circulated to Japan during the early Meiji period of the mid-nineteenth century, and became an instrument of the Civilization and Enlightenment Movement (*bunmei kaika*). The magic lanterns, called *gentō* instead of *utsushi-e*, have since been associated less with uncanny optical attractions and more with the practice of scientific demonstration and education (Figure 2.3).[13] Ryo Okubo describes the popularity of magic lantern shows at that time, as the following, "The magic lantern became popular nationwide during the Meiji period, especially between the 1880s and the 1890s, and myriad lantern shows were held in schoolyards, playhouses, or temples and shrines. Its vast popularity was sometimes called 'lantern fever.'"[14]

---

[12] Paul Clee, *Before Hollywood: From Shadow Play to the Silver Screen* (New York: Clarion Books, 2005).

[13] Kenji Iwamoto 岩本憲児, *Gentō no seiki: eiga zenya no shikaku bunkashi* 幻燈の世紀 : 映画前夜の視覚文化史 [Centuries of Magic Lantern in Japan: A History of Visual Culture on the Eve of Cinema] (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2002).

[14] Okubo, "The Magic Lantern Show and Its Spectators during Late Nineteenth-Century Japan," 9.

Since the early Meiji period, Japan has had incorporated a diversity of magic lantern devices, imported or locally invented, for shows of public entertainment and education. Some devices can "move" the pictures not horizontally as the traditional ones, but carry a disc inserted within which multiple slides in round shape. During the exhibition, the showman (*benshi*-cum-projectionist) would roll the disc to show the movement of images while narrating the story to the audience. Such a practice is considered a precursor of Japanese animation and early motion pictures (Figure 2.4).

写し絵の風呂と種板

Figure 2.2 (Left). Japanese *utsushi-e* and wooden slides. Dated around late Edo period to early Meiji period. Collections of Waseda University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Tokyo, Japan.

Figure 2.3 (Right). Japanese *gentō* and slides of "foreign pictures." A model manufactured by Tsurubuchi Gento Store in Asakusa, Japan. Widely circulated during early Meiji period to Taishō period. Collections of Waseda University Tsubouchi Memorial Theatre Museum, Tokyo, Japan.

幻燈機とスライド

Figure 2.4 (Left). "Jean Schoenner Atlas Magic Lantern." A model of magic lantern device that has a disc with round-shaped slides. Manufatured by Jean Schoenner Company in Germany around the 1880s. Collection of Toy Film Museum, Kyoto, Japan.

From the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the culture of magic lantern shows was not only practiced in Japan and its extensive territories but also in other East Asian circles. The history of magic lantern culture in Chinese-speaking communities has been an emerging field in the studies of early Chinese cinema and modern visual culture as a means to revise extant research modalities and film historiography. For instance, Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, thoroughly researches historical archives and finds the fact that, besides *yingxi* (影戲, usually translated as "shadowplay"), there also existed a frequently used filmic terminology, *yinghua* (影畫, "photo pictures") in early film exhibitions, particularly seen in the descriptions of Hong Kong screenings between 1900 and 1924. Based on such a finding, Yeh reconsiders the traditional view that tends to understands *yingxi* as a term with theatrical implication and thus, "scholars have presumed and forged a link between early cinema and traditional artforms like shadow puppetry, or Peking opera. However, little evidence has been produced to link *yingxi* (motion pictures) with shadow puppetry, or Peking opera in term of production, exhibition and reception."[15] Questioning the traditional view, Yeh further infers *yinghua*

[15] Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, "Translating *Yingxi*: Chinese Film Genealogy and Early Cinema in Hong Kong," *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 9.1 (2015): 76–109.

as a term implying the pictorial feature from the practice of magic lantern shows, and through which destabilizes the connection between early film exhibitions and traditional Chinese shadowplays. By taking magic lantern shows into consideration, Yeh sees a diversity of origins in the early conception of cinema in the Chinese context.

The history of magic lantern shows plays a part in the divergent origins, practices, and conceptions of moving images by preceding and intersecting early cinema in the context of modern screen culture, while the circulation of modern screen culture, particularly the ones that took place in the non-Western locales of the world, was largely involved in a history concerning early cinema and colonialism. In such a context, the previously mentioned news account from colonial Taiwan, "Electric Lantern Shadowplay," was a historical evidence of complicated cultural phenomena that reveals forces of mediations in colonial visual culture, as it stored traces concerning transnational film circulations, early screenings, the perception of cinema and magic lantern shows, and what might have constructed the screen modernity in a colonial context. Following such a thread to examine the interconnection between early film screenings and magic lantern shows extends the scope of film history to investigations of early modern visual culture and unpacks an aspect of the cinema in colonial Taiwan. By including magic lantern shows in the picture, one might be able to rethink and expand the colonial film archive and then see, to revise Hong's words, a film history *beyond* film, a film history that exceeds the traditional territory of film practice.

The practice of magic lantern shows played an essential role in establishing the modern screen culture in colonial Taiwan, in a complex result of the expansion of, as well as the competition between, Japanese and Western empires. By engaging magic

lantern studies in the research of colonial film history, this chapter hopes to, on one hand, develop an alternative route to the uncertain film history in colonial Taiwan, and, on the other hand, contribute to the underexplored colonial legacies in early cinema. Situated on the multilayered cultural context of the transnational, the colonial, and the particular in the following sections, I discuss the connections, spectators, themes, and practices of magic lantern shows in colonial Taiwan to delineate the construction of cinematic modernity and its divergent representations at that time.

The Japanese Connection

As seen in existing materials, magic lantern shows have appeared in Taiwan since at least the Japanese colonial period, not only as a screening event but also a cultural phrase to learn and practice in Japanese language programs. "*Gentō-kai*," the Meiji conception of the magic lantern show, is a vocabulary word in *Instruction for Writing Letters and Documents: Applicable to Taiwan*.[16] According to historian Zhou Wan-Yao's research, *Instruction* was one of the several textbooks published by the Office of Governor-General in colonial Taiwan to supply an early modern model of education before the establishment of a formal public school system in 1898. Known as "National Language Learning Centers" across fourteen counties in Taiwan, these centers carried the goal of teaching the language and cultural spirit of Japan to the Taiwanese students, which

[16] "Dai go ka" 第五課 [Lesson Five], *Shotokubun kyōjusho: Taiwan tekiyō* 書牘文教授書: 臺湾適用 [Instruction for Writing Letters and Documents: Applicable to Taiwan] (Tokyo: Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu, 1897).

widely ranged in age from eight to thirty years old at that time.[17] Found in "Lesson Five" of the textbook, *gentō-kai* shows in a sample sentence: "*Konban no* ***gentō-kai*** *ni osasoi kudasai.*" (Please let me join you to the magic lantern show tonight.) In the textbook, the Japanese sample sentence is on the upper section of the page while the section below presents its Taiwanese and Chinese translations (Figure 2.5).

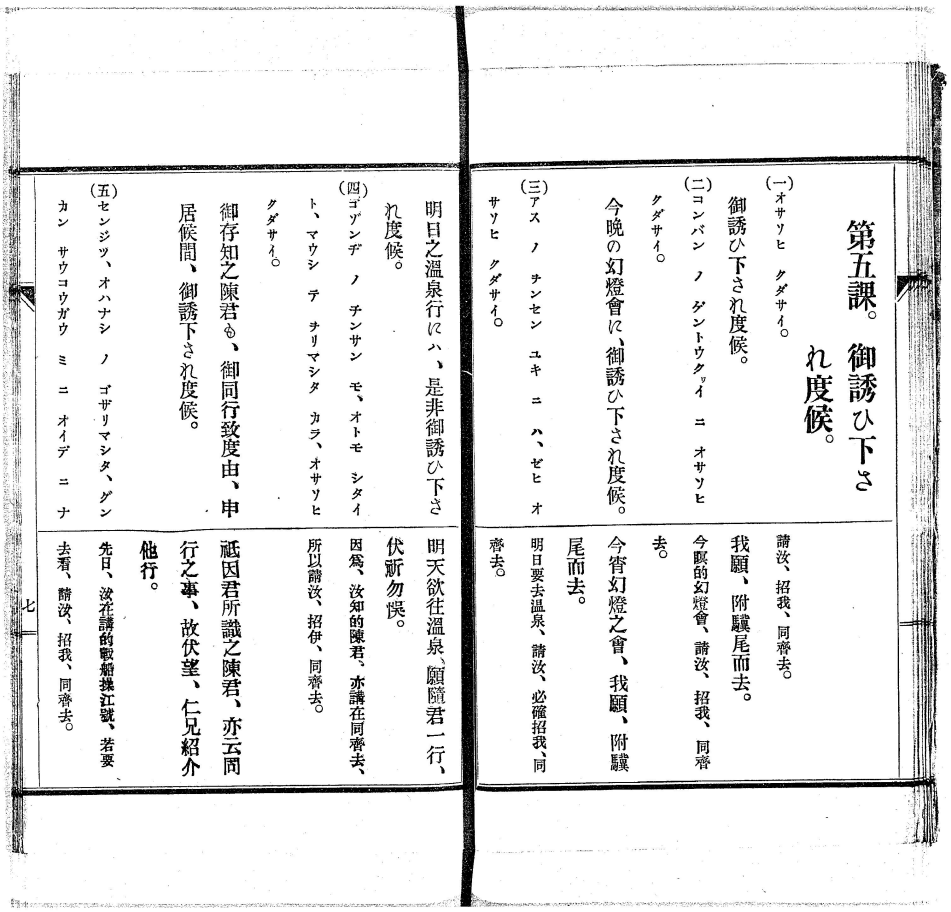


Figure 2.5. First page of "Lesson Five," *Instruction for Writing Letters and Documents: Applicable to Taiwan*. 1897.

[17] Wan-Yao Zhou 周婉窈, *Hai yang yu zhi min di Taiwan lun ji* 海洋與殖民地臺灣論集 [Essays on Maritime and Colonial Taiwan] (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2012).

A *gentō-kai* is a social event to participate with others, as suggested in the context of the aforementioned sample sentence in *Instruction*. Besides the aforementioned sentence that demonstrated the proper expression of invitation and social activities, there are also other sample sentences in "Lesson Five" that feature cultural specific vocabulary in a similar grammar structure. For instance, "visiting *onsen* (hot springs)" in the third sentence, and "seeing the *Sōkōgō* (a Chinese battleship used during the First Sino-Japanese War) in the fifth sentence. The choice of vocabulary in *Instruction* is not merely to promote language practice but also with a cultural purpose. Visiting hot springs has long been a cultural tradition in Japanese life, and seeing the *Sōkōgō*—a Qing battleship that was acquired by Japan during the First Sino-Japanese War—reminds readers of a warfare victory in Japanese history, the result of which made Taiwan Japan's first overseas colony. In such a context, *gentō-kai*, the term for magic lantern shows, represents a Japanese cultural concept in early modern education, signifying Taiwan's complex experiences of Japanese modernity.

The magic lantern show was both a representation of Japanese culture and a practice of modern science in colonial Taiwan. In 1929, an article introduced optical instruments under the concept of "common physics" in the *Journal of Taiwan Police Association*, a periodical issued by the Office of Governor-General. The author of the article, Hiroshi Nishimura, was a Japanese teacher at the Taipei First Girls' High School, the location of which was just around the corner from the Governor-General Building. Seemingly written for scientific education, the article explained the work of a magic

lantern device, alongside an illustration, as follows: “Coming from ‘S,’ the light source focuses on the first convex lens (L1) and illuminates on the painted glass slide (AB). Then, through the second convex lens (L2), a real image of that on the glass slide is formed on the screen, enlarged” (Figure 2.6). In addition to being a term embedded in Japanese culture, the magic lantern was also an optical concept in the realm of scientific knowledge to be learned in colonial Taiwan during the early twentieth century.

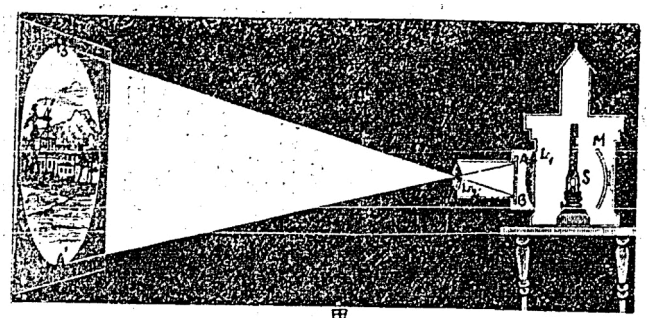


Figure 2.6. Illustration of the work of a magic lantern in *Journal of Taiwan Police Association*. 1929.

Yet in contrast to the Japanese term in language textbooks that was supposed to be practiced by the Taiwanese people, readers of Nishimura’s article were likely to be predominantly Japanese. Although some Taiwanese people might also read the *Journal of Taiwan Police Association* regardless of the publication’s focus on police professionalism, the social circles related to the article—those associated with the Taiwan Police Association and the Taipei First Girls’ High School—were primarily constructed by the Japanese people in Taiwan. As a publication by the Office of Governor-General, the *Journal of Taiwan Police Association* was an extension of the Japanese administration in colonial Taiwan.

Having more than educational purposes, magic lantern shows also appeared in divergent occasions in colonial Taiwan, sometimes as a form of entertainment. In 1903, a magic lantern show that took its audience on a virtual world tour was held at the Tansui Hall. Covered by the *Taiwan Daily News* under the title, "Monthly Gathering at the Tansui Hall," details of the show were reported as follows:

> Held at the Tansui Hall on the 25th [of July], the magic lantern show took Taipei as its starting point, departing from the Tansui Harbor, passing across Amoy to Hong Kong, Singapore, and all around the world. Traveled back to Yokohama from the United States of America, and visited the long-missed, nostalgic Tokyo. Then, completed the trip by returning to Taipei. All of the above were presented in photography with simple interpretations [from the *benshi*]. For only a bit more than two hours, thoughts of the spectators travelled around the globe. What continued to be presented during that evening was the new model of gramophone from the Hiruta Store, as an additional entertainment. The gathering adjourned at ten o'clock at night.[18]

Through the projection of photographic images and the *benshi*'s on-site narrative, the abovementioned magic lantern show took its spectators to cities all around the world within just one evening. Programmed to create virtual experiences through the images,

[18] My translation. "Tansui-kan getsurei-kai" 淡水館月例會 [Monthly Meeting at Tansui Hall], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (July, 28th, 1903): 5.

the *benshi*'s voice, and the sound and shape of a new gramophone, the show provided excitement and novelty in multimedia and audiovisual presentations. (In addition, it is worth noting that in the after-event news coverage, descriptions of the show were written in the style of the show to recreate the virtual experience of world travel; readers would not realize until the middle of the news passage that the introduced scenes were merely photo projections.) Introducing scenes of the local (Taipei), the unexplored, and the nostalgic (Tokyo), the magic lantern show seemed to have been organized particularly for the Japanese audiences in Taiwan.

The location of the show, the Tansui Hall (Figure 2.7)—originally a late Qing academy established in Taipei for classical Han scholars (known as *Dengying shuyuan* from 1880 to 1896)—was later remodeled to be a Japanese club and a public hall in the colonial period. The Tansui Hall had been a place for entertainment and cultural events attended by governmental officials and social elites, most of whom were Japanese.[19] In addition to magic lantern entertainment, some of the earliest motion pictures were also shown at the Tansui Hall, including the screening of the Lumière short films in 1900. From 1896 to 1906, the Tansui Hall was a site witnessing the transitional period of moving images in colonial Taiwan, as both magic lanterns and motion pictures could be screened at this venue within the same time period. Seemingly reminiscent of and an extension of Japanese social circles in colonial Taiwan, a great deal of the magic lantern shows were held at occasions of charity, photography appreciation, and club activities—although in these events, the participation of Taiwanese audiences was limited.

---

[19] Lung-yen Yeh 葉龍彥, *Taipei Ximenting dian ying shi, 1896–1997* 臺北西門町電影史, 1896–1997 [The Film History of *Ximenting* in Taipei, 1896–1997] (Taipei: Xingzhengyuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui: Guojia dianying ziliaoguan, 1997).

Figure 2.7. Tansui Hall. Image published on Ishikawa Gen'ichirō's *Taiwan meisho shashinchō* 台湾名所写真帖 (Pictures of Noted Places in Taiwan). 1899.

Modernizing the Colony

In colonial Taiwan, the magic lantern show audiences were a reflection of the divided social groups of the time. Shows held for the purposes of entertainment, hobby, or charity often took place at theaters or elite clubs attended by members of Japanese circles. On the other hand, there were also shows held for Taiwanese audiences, which represented the colonial administration's modern social edification projects. Primarily organized by the Office of Governor-General and its extensive organizations, local education, hygiene, and political propaganda were the frequent themes of the magic lantern shows for Taiwanese groups.

Within the Taiwanese audiences, there was another division between the Han communities and the indigenous people. The former, called by the colonial administrator as *hontō-jin* (本島人, inhabitants of the island), consisted of elementary school students, women, and local farmers and laborers who attended the shows in their neighborhoods; the latter, discriminatively classified as *ban-jin* (蕃人, savages), often arranged to attend

magic lantern shows during their sightseeing tours on the island. In colonial Taiwan, *hontō-jin* and *ban-jin* lived in separate districts with strict border control. Bringing the *ban-jin* from their mountain tribes to see other parts of Taiwan (and sometimes to travel to Japan) under the name of "sightseeing" was considered an effective cultural policy associated with the administrative authority's conception of civilizing the colony.[20] In addition, the magic lantern shows for indigenous tours, instead of being organized by cultural departments, were often arranged by the colonial police system and held at the *butokuden*, a Japanese martial arts training center managed by the police administration in various locales of the colony. For instance, on November 5th, 1904, an item in the *Taiwan Daily News*, "Mountain Savages and Magic Lantern Show," reported such a show in simple descriptions: "Last night, a magic lantern show was held at the *butokuden* for the Taidong savages who currently visited the Fuchū District [a Japanese neighborhood in Taipei]. There were also gramophones and music for them to experience."[21] Although there is no record of the images screened at that time, the show as a program on indigenous tours allowed the colonial administration to showcase Japanese modernity to a selected group of indigenous inhabitants. Moreover, during their viewing of the magic lantern show, the indigenous people were also exhibited to the public. The dichotomies between the savage and the civilized, the primitive and the modern, the tribal culture and the city culture, and the colonized and the ruler, were

---

[20] Zhengcheng Zheng 鄭政誠, *Renshi tazhe de tiankong: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan yuanzhumin de guanguang xinglü* 認識他者的天空: 日治時期臺灣原住民的觀光行旅 [The Sky of the Other: Indigenous People's Sightseeing Tours in Colonial Taiwan] (Taipei: Boyang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2005).

[21] "Nama-ban to gentō-kai" 生蕃と幻燈會 [Mountain Savages and Magic Lantern Show], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November, 5th, 1904): 5.

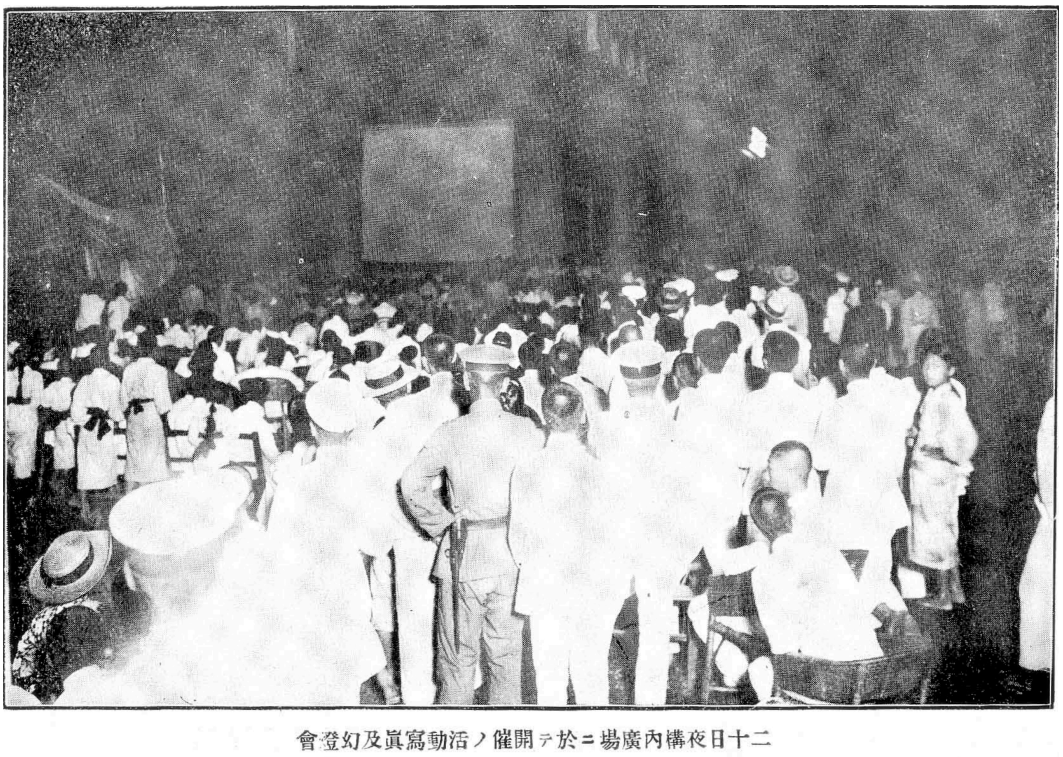
implied in such a setting of seeing and being seen during the magic lantern programs. These indigenous tours reaffirmed the efficacy of the colonial power.

In addition to their role in indigenous tourism as a means of colonial edification, magic lantern shows were also seen under a similar mission in local Han Taiwanese communities. Organized and named as magic lantern shows for common education, spiritual cultivation, infection prevention and epidemic control (malaria in particular), earthquake information and disaster relief, popularization of national language (Japanese), knowledge about modern agriculture, religious gatherings (especially with Christian missionaries), wartime mobilization, and so forth, such shows often took place at public spaces in Taiwanese neighborhoods, including but not limited to elementary schools for Taiwanese children, temples, hospitals, and regional community centers. The number of attendees at the shows, according to newspaper records, ranged from hundreds to thousands of people.[22] Members of the Association of Patriotic Women, the Japanese Red Cross and its local chapters, and community leaders often organized the shows. Appearing from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1920s, magic lantern shows contributed to the modern construction of the colony. These efforts were an extension of similar practices in modern Japan during the reigns of Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa emperors.

In 1915, a magic lantern show, alongside a screening of motion pictures, was held at the "Exhibition of Educational Materials at the Twentieth Anniversary of Japanese Administration." Among the display of sample textbooks and student works from language centers, elementary schools, professional training organizations, and libraries in

[22] My observation on related records in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* from 1899 to 1941.

Taiwan and other Japanese territories (and from other countries' colonies), the show gathered a huge group of people on site. The photo of this event was published in the *Journal of Taiwan Education* on July 30 of the same year (Figure 2.8). Captured from behind the audience members, whose facial expressions were invisible to the readers of the journal, this photo made the event's wide screen—the material destination of magic lantern and film projections—the largest item in its frame. Located at the exhibition as the result of colonial edification, the screen itself was also a scene of modern education. Regardless of the images it showed, the projection screen, as the focal point of the spectators' gaze, exhibited the power of cinematic modernity to inhabitants of the island and to their colonizers.



二十日夜構內廣場ニ於テ開催ノ活動寫眞及幻燈會

Figure 2.8. Photo of the screening event at the "Exhibition of Educational Materials at the Twentieth Anniversary of Japanese Administration." 1915.

Educational Lectures

During the 1910s, the practices of magic lantern shows and early motion pictures intersected in colonial Taiwan. The "popular educational lecture" (通俗教育講演會) organized by the Taiwan Education Society (臺灣教育會, "TES" hereafter) was one of the occasions that frequently incorporated and combined the practice of magic lantern shows and early film screenings in public programs. TES was an organization to promotion Japanese language and culture in colonial Taiwan, established in 1901 by colonial officials and non-governmental educators from Japan. The organization initiated the Department of Popular Education in 1913 to explore a diversity of means to "edify" the general public in the colony. Later, TES further established the Department of Motion Pictures to regularly organize magic lantern shows and film screenings in local communities across Taiwan. The news media, *Taiwan Daily News* in particular, often introduced such public screenings as "educational lectures." During these events, the *benshi* was the "lecturer," the showman who stood by the silver screen and interpreted the moving images to a public audience since the age of magic lantern shows.

Carrying the practice and tradition from magic lantern shows, the *benshi* continued to be an essential role in public film screenings, as a mediator between the screen contents and the popular audience. Also often considered a "translator," the mediation of *benshi* in early screen culture not only included the practice of transforming moving images into colloquial speeches but also, in the context of colonial Taiwan, involved a complicated process of language and cultural translation, the goal of which was to make Japanese and foreign cinema comprehensible to local Taiwanese film

viewers, during both the periods of silent cinema and sound cinema. Speaking as a film narrator and sometimes shifting his role to be the voice of film characters—during which his performance not always faithfully followed the original film script—the *benshi* was also an extension of the silver screen.

As a lecturer, mediator, and cultural translator between the silver screen and the public audience, the *benshi* in the "popular educational lectures" was expected to interpret the screen contents in a pedagogical manner. One of the earliest records on such lectures was a series of events arranged by the TES in Yilan (Gilan), northeastern Taiwan, reported by the *Taiwan Daily News* through several accounts in both Japanese and Chinese columns during December 1915. An account in Chinese, published on December 14th, introduced the dates and locations of such educational lectures that took the form of a combined screening of magic lantern slides and motion pictures.[23] According to the account, the screening events would take place at four elementary schools from the 13th to the 16th, and three of the venues were "Kōgakkō" (公學校), the schools specifically for Taiwanese children instead of Japanese ones. In follow-up reports on December 21st in Japanese column and in Chinese on the 22nd in the newspaper, the news accounts described the successfulness of the screenings by showing the high numbers of attendees in each location, and concluded the events with a comment on the effectiveness of employing moving images for colonial edification:

[23] "Yilan ting xia jiangyanhui" 宜蘭廳下講演會 [A Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (December 14th, 1915): 6.

> What these screenings have contributed to local cultivation was impressive. The events gave free entries to Taiwanese housewives, who actually make decisions in their families. Coming with curiosity, there were countless ones that joined their neighbors and friends to the screenings. They saw slides and progressive motion pictures about Japanese regions while hearing sincere, interesting explanations from the *benshi*. The screenings cleared up the public's misunderstandings and strengthened their faith with the authorities. Such events are worthy of great support. The Taiwan Education Society thus planned to gradually research into and enhance the subject matters of moving images….[24]

The screening lectures were mostly held at Taiwanese elementary schools, but not only school students but also their parents, particularly the "housewives" that held important roles in their families, were the targeted audience, the "popular public," of these educational lectures. The abovementioned account highlighted such an idea. Moreover, the account depicted the role of *benshi* as an attractive and authoritative mediator in the screening lectures, who worked in assistance of spreading educational, and in many cases propagandistic, messages that supported Japanese ideologies.

Besides the lantern slides and films imported from Japan and other foreign countries, some materials used in these lectures were made by the colonial administration

---

[24] My translation. "Seidai naru Kōen-kai Giranchō shita niokeru" 盛大なる講演會 宜蘭廳下に於ける [A Great Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (December 21st, 1915): 7. Also, "Yilan shengda jiangyanhui" 宜蘭盛大講演會 [A Great Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (December 22nd, 1915): 6.

and the TES. Furthermore, after the 1920s, in addition to the educational lectures held for common folks, there were also lectures and workshops training professional personnel for the preparation of the popular lectures. The various types of professional lectures included the ones to train projectionists and onsite personnel by teaching them proper ways of using magic lantern and film machines and safely operating the gas and electricity during the screenings. There were also some advanced workshops on filmmaking techniques. For instance, a "motion picture lecture" was held at the Governor-General's office building in 1922. Selecting twenty-seven educators from different regions in Taiwan, the lecture set its goal on training future filmmakers and projectionists.[25] Early motion picture screenings, combining and continuing the exhibition style of magic lantern shows, were a popular part of the colonial apparatus for the delivery of authoritative ideologies.

Although the colonial administration initiated and largely controlled the pedagogical employment of early screenings, other cultural forces also came into the scene and intervened the practice of popular educational lectures through motion pictures. The Mei-Tai Troupe (美臺團, "Mei-Tai" hereafter), a group that toured film screenings around Taiwan for local education, was a significant case. Different from the TES that served as a deliverer of governmental discourses, Mei-Tai, established by the Taiwan Cultural Association in 1926, was an intellectual group consisting of local Taiwanese elites who worked to promote Taiwanese culture and identity in the colony as a counter-discourse of Japanese ideologies. Operating in a way similar to the TES lectures and yet

[25] "Kyōin katsusha kōshū" 教員活寫講習 [Film Lectures for Educators], *Tainan shinpō* 臺南新報 [The Tainan News] (May 2nd, 1922).

focusing on the reinforcement of the subjectivity of Taiwanese people, Mei-Tai organized educational film screenings in major cities and rural areas in colonial Taiwan, and invited *benshi* to give lectures onsite. Different from the TES lectures often locating at governmental operated elementary schools, the Mei-Tai screenings made use of a variety of local gathering sites, including temple grounds. Mei-Tai's screening lectures often concerned political messages and the reconstruction of Taiwanese cultural identity, considered by some postcolonial historians as a potentially subversive site to Japanese colonialism.[26] Moreover, according to Guo-Juin Hong's observation, what distinguished Mei-Tai's lectures from others were not so much the screening materials but the discourses constructed through the group's local political practice under the name of enlightenment and education:

> Records did show that similar selections of film sources and genres were, nevertheless, a familiar part of other touring exhibitions at the time, especially when imports from China, and even Charlie Chaplin's films from Hollywood, would soon be added to the Troupe's program. In other words, it was not simply the types of films shown by the Mei-Tai Troupe

[26] Lung-Yen Yeh and Kuei-fen Chiu consider *benshi* a practice that was potentially subversive to the Japanese colonial control in Taiwan—since the *benshi* could communicate with local Taiwanese audience in their native language rather than in Japanese, there was a possibility for the *benshi* to perform on their own without following the original (censored) script. Guo-Juin Hong, questioning such a hypothesis, thinks the autonomy of *benshi* at that time was still limited. Lung-yen Yeh 葉龍彥, *Rizhi shichi Taiwan dianying shi* 日治時期臺灣電影史 [The History of Taiwanese Movies during the Japanese Colonization] (Taipei: Yushan, 1998). Kuei-fen Chiu, "The Question of Translation in Taiwanese Colonial Cinematic Space," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70.1 (2011): 77–97.

> that distinguished them from other practitioners; it was, much more importantly, how those films were exhibited with a nationalistic educational slant.[27]

According to news accounts from *Taiwan People's News*, a newspaper locally owned and published by the Taiwan Cultural Association, Mei-Tai's screening lectures often attracted hundreds to thousands of audience, which was similar to the number of attendees in the TES lectures reported by the *Taiwan Daily News*.[28] In addition, in related news on Mei-Tai lectures, the attendance of female audience was also underscored. For instance, in an account published on January 8th, 1929, the reporter concluded the successfulness of Mei-Tai screenings by addressing, "Half of the attendees were women, which was a good sign." With Mei-Tai's effort, since the late 1920s, the public screenings operated under the concept of "popular educational lectures" carried not only colonial propaganda but also a diversified, potentially subversive counter discourses.

Phantasmagoric Wars

It was not merely colonial Taiwan that experienced the magic lantern shows as a modern practice of education, entertainment, and charity. In the East Asian context, similar themes of magic lantern shows appeared in Japan, Shanghai, Hong Kong, and other locales during the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. As a

---

[27] Hong, *Taiwan Cinema*, 29.

[28] "Mei-Tai tuan yingju" 美臺團影劇 [The Film Screening of Mei-Tai Troupe], *Taiwan minbao* 臺灣民報 [Taiwan People's News] (January 8th, 1929): 6.

transnational visual culture, the magic lantern shows preexisted and influenced early film screenings in both Japanese and Chinese-speaking communities while developing regional specificities. Besides the abovementioned types, another theme of the magic lantern shows was also widely circulated in East Asian circles: images of the war, particularly the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). On some occasions, such representations of wartime images were perceived as sensational spectacles, especially in Japan and its extensive territories, where the war-themed shows also served as a platform to distribute national news and, sometimes, reinforce political propaganda. In colonial Taiwan, war was also a constant motif in the magic lantern shows and film screenings; it represented sensations, information, and propaganda. In the meantime, it revealed the subtle distance between the colonial spectators and their image providers from Japan.

In 1904, amid the Russo-Japanese War, a magic lantern show was held at the Fule Theater in Keelung, northern Taiwan. According to related news coverage, the show presented war-themed images, such as photography of sea battles and portraits of soldiers from both countries, in combination with "hundreds of new, fascinating images of other kinds."[29] The description "new and fascinating" was common in the advertisements of such war-themed magic lantern shows. Through a mix of war images and other interesting pictures, news and propaganda was delivered in programmed, sensational spectacles accentuated by instant narratives and performances from the *benshi*. In the early twentieth century, such presentations of magic lantern images and motion pictures

[29] "Nichirosensō gentō" 日露戰爭幻燈 [Magic Lantern Show on the Russo-Japanese War], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 15th, 1904): 5.

were frequent in the exhibition of early films or visual fairs. Newspaper reports at that time often described images of the war as the peak of the show.

Even after it ended, the Russo-Japanese War continued to be a theme in magic lantern shows. On September 12, 1905, a news account written in Chinese reported in great detail about a magic lantern show that took place at a Taiwanese elementary school in Hengchun, southern Taiwan. It described the spectators in colonial Taiwan as people with poor knowledge of the war who therefore had to be educated through magic lantern shows. According to the account, Mr. Yamakawa, a Japanese man from Japan's interior, carried a mission of enlightenment with the support of local authorities and social elites at that time. Mr. Yamakawa's magic lantern show ran for a month at the time of the news coverage; it began at 7 p.m. and ended at midnight, seven days a week. In its latter section, the news account reported the images, goals, and achievements of the show as follows:

> Despite the novel and diverse picture-projections—which were a visual pleasure to the audience—it was the Russo-Japanese War that caught people's minds and emotions, after all. In Japan, everyone already knew about the war. Yet people in rural coastal Hengchun were like frogs living at the bottom of a well. Not merely did the uneducated folks know nothing about the war, but even many elites were unaware of the news. This time, the magic lantern projected the land and sea battles between Russia and Japan. The viewers felt as though they had personally visited the very scenes and encountered situations through their own eyes and bodies.

> There was also an interpreter at the show who courteously explained in clear order the reasons why Japan won the war and Russia lost, as well as what the war means to the people in the country. Through such an experience, people's minds were greatly enlightened.[30]

Through the presentation of images and discourses of the Russo-Japanese War, the magic lantern show not only functioned as a bridge to amend the distance between Taiwan and Japan, but also as a setting to reinforce colonialism. Mr. Yamakawa exerted colonial power in the magic lantern show under the name of enlightenment, while the local authorities and social elites were facilitators of such a mission. People in colonial Taiwan, no matter their social status—and sometimes their racial origins—were generally considered "frogs living at the bottom of a well" and the target audience to be educated. Here, Taiwan's lack of knowledge regarding the Russo-Japanese War was not a sign of cultural difference, but rather an intellectual distance between the colonized and their colonizer. The magic lantern show was a medium created to enhance knowledge and reaffirm colonial power. In association with the lifelike, eye-catching war images during the show, a powerful Japan appeared in its phantasmagoric form, substantialized by the on-site interpreter through his courteous explanations.

Wartime discourses facilitated the development and revival of magic lantern shows in media stories of colonial Taiwan, bringing the linear historiography of mechanical vision, as well as the presumptions about old and new media, into question.

---

[30] My translation. "Daikai huandenghui" 大開幻燈會 [Grand Scale Magic Lantern Shows], *Kanbun Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 漢文臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News: Chinese Edition] (September, 12th, 1905): 4.

During the 1910s and early 1920s, the Pure Film Movement took place in Japan, signifying not only a more developed phase in film culture, but also the fade-out of magic lantern shows in Japan's media history. Yet in the 1940s, magic lantern shows seemed to make a comeback—at least in governmental discourses—with regard to the urgent need for, again, wartime propaganda at the dawn of the Pacific War (or in Japanese terms, the Greater East Asian War or the Total War). On March 12, 1941, a news account entitled "Use of Magic Lantern Resurged" appeared in the *Taiwan Daily News*.[31] According to the account, Japan's Ministry of Education proposed reviving the magic lantern as a more convenient and cheaper substitute for the insufficient film equipment in rural farming and fishing villages. Although the language used in the news piece was not directly war-related—it claimed the purpose of reenacting magic lanterns was "to disseminate scientific education and culture edification"—the shadow of the war was hard to ignore.

Two years later, in a report published in Taipei by the Imperial People Public Service Association—a propagandistic organization of wartime militarism in colonial Taiwan equivalent to the Imperial Rule Assistance Association in Japan during the same time period—"Magic Lantern Plates in Propaganda" was listed as an entry in the table of contents.[32] Such a revival of magic lanterns did not only take place in Taiwan but also in Japan, as seen in Washitani Hana's analysis: "*Gentō* experienced a full revival in the early 1940s for the purpose of the national mobilization propaganda during the total war

---

[31] "Gentō no riyō ga saigen" 幻燈の利用が再現 [Use of Magic Lantern Resurged], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 12th, 1941): 4.

[32] *Dai ni nen ni okeru kōmin hōkō undō no jisseki* 第二年に於ける皇民奉公運動の実績 [Imperial People Public Service Movement: Second-Year Report] (Taipei: Imperial People Public Service Association, 1943).

against the Allied Forces."[33] Although the war once again made Taiwan synchronize with its colonizer, the revival of the magic lantern may have had different meanings in the colony and not led to similar consequences, as it did in Japan. Washitani's research shows that postwar Japan still continued practicing magic lantern shows in social and educational movements. Yet in Taiwan, the culture was short-lived and gradually ended with the coming of another political regime (under the Chinese Nationalists) on the island in the postwar era.

"Modernity is one and multiple." In his article entitled "Magic Lantern, Dark Precursor of Animation," Thomas LaMarre makes such a comment when discussing Gilles Deleuze's conception of the ruptures and successions evoked in modern scientific revolution.[34] LaMarre's statement might find a new interpretation in the cinematic modernity manifested by the magic lantern shows in colonial Taiwan. Although frequently described as new and fascinating, the magic lantern shows were not merely an inspiring practice in screen culture or novel visual excitement (which was sometimes even considered "newer" than the motion pictures); they were also a modern medium for the exercise of colonial power. At the turn of the twentieth century in East Asia, colonial Taiwan in particular, cinematic modernity was both exciting and threatening and was experienced with the phantasmagoric construction of a powerful Japanese empire. The magic lantern show, as entertainment in Japanese cultural tradition, a scientific

---

[33] Hana Washitani, "The Revival of '*Gentou*' (magic lantern, filmstrips, slides) in Showa Period Japan: Focusing on Its Developments in the Media of Post-war Social Movements," *ICONICS* 11 (2014): 27–46.

[34] Thomas LaMarre, "Magic Lantern, Dark Precursor of Animation," *Animation* 6.2 (2011): 127–48.

demonstration of education, and a popular means of colonial propaganda, projected Japan as the image of a modern, philanthropic educator to the spectators in the colony—whether the viewers thought the same (or even found the entrance to see such an image) was out of discussion.

A side account should be provided at this point. Reminiscent of colonial Taiwan's news report "Electric Lantern Shadowplay (1899)," Japanese essayist Terada Torahiko (1878–1935) made the following comments in a 1932 publication regarding his first experience watching a film: "This is the sort of experience of 'not believing until you see it, but once you see it, you are surprised yet at the same time think it's not out of the ordinary.' Anyway, it seems I was not as surprised as the first time I saw magic lantern shows."[35] The reason why colonial Taiwan and Japan both made similar comments when comparing the modernity of cinema with magic lantern shows is curious, although it is difficult to find out who originally wrote the Chinese comment in colonial Taiwan. (Was this person familiar with Japanese magic lantern tradition, or did he experience the magic lantern shows in other contexts?) Considering the projection of lantern slides as an apparatus of power, the visual dominance of which was not merely intertwined with technological capacities but also colonial control at the time. The magic lantern shows in colonial Taiwan developed divergent meanings from those of Japan's despite the similarities. After all, the projection of colonial modernity and the shadows it left on the screen were the result of uneven relations between empires and their extensive territories. Seen through phantasmagoric images, the power of the empire has reified into affective

[35] Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925* (Berkeley: University of California, 2010).

and earthy consequences in reality, in terms of colonial legacy, as well as in terms of the one and multiple East Asian modernity.

Chapter 3

Reading *Eigaka* News: Colonial Actualities and Cinematic Adaptations

> "Film does not reveal the real in a moment of transparency, but rather that film is constituted by a set of discourses which (in the positions allowed to subject and object) produce a certain reality."
>
> Colin MacCabe, "Theory and Film: Principles of Realism and Pleasure"

In 1924, *Taiwan Daily News* reported the completion of a filming project on the everyday life of the Japanese empress. The film, entitled *The Imperial Family* (*Take no sonō* 竹の園生), was a project by Japan's Ministry of Education, made for the purpose of "building affinity between the imperial family and the people."[1] In addition to taking some daily scenes of Empress Teimei in Numazu, Shizuoka Prefecture, the film also includes footage of other imperial members. The news about such a film, telegrammed from Tokyo one day before its release in colonial Taiwan, circulated on a grand scale across various Japanese territories, and similar reports appeared in two major newspapers in Japan, *The Yomiuri Shinbun* and *The Asahi Shinbun*, around the same time period.[2] Related news accounts indicated that there would be national screenings of *The Imperial*

---

[1] "Kōgō heika no oseikatsu o eigaka shita" 皇后陛下の御生活を映畫化した [The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 7th, 1924): 2.

[2] "Eiga ni kashikoshi Kōgōmiya" 映画にかしこし皇后宮 (The Film on Her Majesty the Empress), *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞 [The Yomiuri News] (April 6th, 1924): 4. Also a similar news report in *Asahi Shimbun* 朝日新聞 [The Asahi News] (April 7th, 1924): 3.

Family taking place by the end of April in that year, accessible widely by educational associations, schools, and governmental institutions. Moreover, according to a document published by the Taiwan Governor-General Office six months before the news report, *The Imperial Family* was a work included in a series of governmental filming plans that aimed to produce "social-service motion pictures for touring exhibitions."[3] Although further records concerning the actual screenings of such films remained unknown, the existence of these projects revealed that "filmmaking" had become an official practice for Japanese imperial publicity and colonial governmentality in the 1920s.

During the second decade of the twentieth century, cinema emerged as a new media, permeating many realms of everyday life in colonial Taiwan. It gradually replaced the significance of magic lantern shows in screen culture and became a target of regulation in colonial cultural policies.[4] Correspondingly, more and more film-related terms and concepts entered news media and print culture, representing both an aspect of colonial modernity and a part of Taiwan's Japanese-language reading experience. The report on *The Imperial Family* in *Taiwan Daily News* also represented a case concerning new film terminologies. Entitled, "The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed" (皇后陛下の御生活を映畫化した), this news report was among the earliest records that used the new phrase "*eigaka*" in an article title in colonial Taiwan's

[3] A detailed description of the planned scenes in the film is found in *Shakai jigyō katsudō shashin junkai eiga setsumeisho* 社會事業活動寫真巡回映畫說明書 [The Instruction of social-service motion pictures for touring exhibitions] (Taipei: Taiwan nichinichi shinpō, 1923).

[4] Mamie Misawa 三澤真美惠, *Zhimindi xia de "yin mu:" Taiwan zongdufu dianying zhengce zhi yanjiu (1895–1942)* 殖民地下的「銀幕」：臺灣總督府電影政策之研究（1895–1942） [The Colonial Screen: A Research on the Film Policy of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General (1895–1942)] (Taipei: Qianwei, 2002).

Japanese press. Indicating the meaning of "filming," *eigaka* (映畫化) was a new Japanese compound of "*eiga*" and "*ka*." *Eiga* (映畫) was the noun of "film," and *ka* (化) was a verb-forming suffix (similar to "-ization") that changed the noun into an action, converting the word "film" to "filming."

The invention of the terminology *eigaka* and its standardization in the Japanese language during the early twentieth century reflected the emergence of cinema and the changes it brought to media culture at that time. Before "eiga" became one of the most frequently used terms for cinema, there was a period in which the Japanese language utilized many temporarily borrowed words for related concepts. During this period, the usage of film terms was not consistent, which indicated a fluid, uncertain state of social conceptions about early cinema. There were multiple ways to refer to the idea of motion pictures, and in some occasions, one phrase might stand for film or other kinds of moving images. For instance, *katsudō gentō* (活動幻燈; "moving magic lantern") might refer to either motion pictures or an advanced technology of magic lanterns, while *katsudō shashin* (活動寫真; "moving pictures") and *eiga* were both the terms for cinema. Compared to the manifold expressions of cinema in earlier periods, the emergence of "eigaka" in the 1920s suggested the stability of film practice in Japanese visual culture, when cinema was not merely an attraction to the eyes but also a comprehensible, controllable, and further-reproducible medium, commonly understood and referred as "eiga" in newspapers and other print media.

Beginning in the 1920s, *eigaka* became a standardized term in Japanese news media to introduce filmmaking projects, regardless of whether these projects were local, national, or foreign. In colonial Taiwan, the earliest news record in this regard was the

previously mentioned account, "The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed," published in *Taiwan Daily News* on April 7, 1924. Such a news report carried many layers of messages. First of all, the news suggested that cinema was considered an effective medium at that time for the governmental plan to "[build] affinity between the imperial family and the people." Second, the news itself was a means of publicity, which was as important as the filming project described by the news account. Through such a news account, a homey image of the imperial family was (about to be) presented, not only by the governmental filming project but also underscored by the contents of the newspaper account. Third, although there were no concrete records on where, when, and how the screenings of *The Imperial Family* would take place, the *eigaka* news had facilitated a level of propaganda in colonial Taiwan. Despite residing in the colony, the readers of *Taiwan Daily News* were included in the "national" scope of Japanese film circulation, as though they would also feel a sense of affinity with the imperial family after viewing *The Imperial Family*, and such a message was delivered by the *eigaka* news before the actual screening events. Last but not least, for postcolonial researchers, the existence of the *eigaka* accounts show the manifold employment of film and filmmaking in a bygone era, implying a more complicated social appropriation of cinema, beyond the messages contained remaining contemporary and locatable film materials.

From the early 1920s to the termination of the colonial era in 1945, *Taiwan Daily News* introduced a wide variety of filming projects via news reports with "*eigaka*" in their titles. The increasing accounts of *eigaka* in newspapers not only indicated the increasing quantity of filmmaking plans, but they also showed a diversified practice on

making subjects of concern into motion pictures. In descriptions and discourses on "filming," the term *eigaka* entailed the potential to render real-life occurrences or fictional works onto the silver screen. The terminology implies a broad sense of filming practice, including not only film adaptations of literary texts but also the actuality films (e.g., footage of real events, places, and things without an obvious argument or coherent narrative, exemplified by the style seen in early Lumière works), newsreels and documented scenes (such as *The Imperial Family*), and narrative films based on historical events, folktales, and popular stories. *Eigaka* was the cinematic reproduction and reformation of something drawn from reality, be it an event, a public figure's life story, a novel, a musical, or even a piece of information or an abstract concept. In film descriptions released *before* the films, the *eigaka* accounts gave hints to the newsreaders on "what to see" from the upcoming films, directing potential filmgoers to anticipate the film from a certain perspective, before the actual film viewing. (Again, taking the *eigaka* account on *The Imperial Family* as an example: the news suggested that the audience should expect a down-to-earth, homey image of the royal family from the footage of the empress's daily scenes.) Thus, the *eigaka* news in *Taiwan Daily News* revealed the prevailing perspectives concerning filmmaking and film adaptations, suggesting all at once the materials and contents featured by the filming machine; the proper, desirable subjects for public screening; and the selected information highlighted by the news media, the messages of which were presumably worthy of dissemination for public interest. While one would expect that *eigaka* should be strongly related to *eiga* (films), such film descriptions could deliver messages in the absence of film screenings. In this regard, the *eigaka* news was a kind of film discourse, articulating aspects of the educational,

entertaining, and propagandistic function of cinema to its targeted audiences through their everyday newspaper reading. Instead of merely announcing preliminary information about upcoming films, the *eigaka* accounts instantiated the seminal idea of a film in the viewer's mind before the actual film did its work, and therefore oriented the audience's expectations.

This chapter explores the conception and practice of *eigaka* by reviewing related accounts in *Taiwan Daily News*. Due to the close connection between *Taiwan Daily News* and the Japanese colonial administration (the Taiwan Governor-General Office), many of these *eigaka* accounts carried messages of colonial propaganda. In other words, the filming projects introduced in this newspaper were endorsed by, or at least acceptable to, the colonial ideologies. The interconnection between *eigaka* news and the colonial apparatus in Taiwan during the Japanese ruling period showed a relation between filmmaking and the making of colonial subjects. Nevertheless, there were still various types of *eigaka* news that represented a diversity of subject matters, styles, and discourses of film and filmmaking in colonial Taiwan. The following sections categorize extant *eigaka* news accounts in three major groups, based on the origins of filming projects: "foreign cinema," "Japanese cinema," and "Taiwan cinema." In general, the *eigaka* news on foreign cinema concerned the filming of world history, western knowledge, or adaptations of classical texts, as a means of modern cultivation to newsreaders and filmgoers, mostly published during the 1920s to early 1930s; while the news reports on Japanese cinema and Taiwan cinema were often occasions that expanded the influence of Japanese culture and reconstructed colonial identity politics, a great amount of which were published in the newspaper during the mid-1930s to the 1940s under circumstances

of wartime mobilization. Although roughly classified into three categories, the *eigaka* news can be further analyzed by dividing them into different film genres such as the actualities, documentaries, and narrative films, as well as into different, though sometimes overlapping purposes of filmmaking such as education, entertainment, advertisement, and propaganda. As a result, the ways in which *Taiwan Daily News* presented these *eigaka* accounts revealed how the public role of cinema was viewed and shaped at that time.

Reading Foreign Cinema

The introduction of foreign *eigaka* in *Taiwan Daily News* demonstrates the ways in which the colonial newspaper guided how its readers understood cinema made by other countries. Although using the term "eigaka" was used in news titles or contents, such articles did not always introduce filming projects; they could also promote screening events of finished films. Here, "eigaka" was more of a phrase emphasizing the subject matter of cinematic adaptation rather than describing the process of filmmaking. In such news accounts, reporters usually dedicated a major section of the article to a detailed plot summary with the information of film director, cast, shooting budget, style, and theme. Then reporters paralleled such a section with the function and significance of upcoming local screenings. The genres and styles of films introduced through these news accounts were varied, ranging from realistic representations seen in newsreels and documentaries, to the fanciful, cinematic adaptation of popular, fictional stories. The *eigaka* news of the former often featured the educational function of cinema while that of the latter highlighted the entertaining aspect of moving images, although sometimes the distinction

between education and entertainment blurred. For instance, an entertaining, sci-fi film might have been portrayed as material for educational screenings because it introduced new perspectives concerning science and modern knowledge at that time. In general, filming projects of science education and science fiction, historical and religious stories, and adventurous and fantasy tales were the kinds of cinema frequently imported and seen in related news accounts. Overall, the *eigaka* news on foreign cinema was at once an advertisement of screening events, a window to the world's film activities and aesthetics (though a significant amount were works by the Hollywood and European film studios), and an occasion for the audience to "read" the gist of a particular film through the lens of government-approved news.

Science was a dominant theme among the foreign films imported to Taiwan at that time, introduced as a means of modern education in the colony through related *eigaka* accounts. In 1927, the office of *Taiwan Daily News* and the Taiwanese Chapter of Japan's Astronomy Club co-organized a series of screening events on a silent German film, *Wunder der Schöpfung* (also known as *Our Heavenly Bodies* in Anglophone circles, 1925). According to the news, this film, entitled in Japanese as *Uchū no kyōi* ("Wonders of the Universe"), would be shown in major cities in colonial Taiwan. Highlighting the educational function of the film, the news account promoted this film as "an *eigaka* of an astronomical textbook," and specifically listed the screening ticket prices for elementary and middle school students.[5] Moreover, acclaiming the film as an academic masterpiece

[5] "Sekai teki no mei eiga uchū no kyōi ichimei eigaka sareta tenmon kyōkasho iyoiyo Taiwan de kōkai" 世界的の名映畫 宇宙の驚異 一名映畫化された天文教科書 愈々臺灣で公開 [Famous Movie of the World, *Wonders of the Universe*, an *Eigaka* of astronomical textbook, Finally Comes to Taiwan for Public Viewing], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 23rd, 1927): 3.

by Universum Film (UFA), the news report concluded by suggesting the filmgoers feel amazed by the rich scientific contents of the film, which would ultimately inspire its audiences to believe that "nothing existed forever, except for those in the hall of arts and sciences." Similar news accounts in this regard introduced a broad scope of filmmaking, from biological topics such as "the first beat of a heart" documented by a medical association in the United States, to the cinematic adaptation of futuristic science fictions.[6] By using the term *eigaka* (filming), instead of simply *eiga* (film), to introduce the screenings of foreign cinema, such news reports exceeded their role as information deliverers for film events by carrying an additional excitement about filmmaking—excitement about the techniques of "eigaka," the cinematic capacity to create lifelike images and stories for abstract ideas and share those ideas on the public silver screen, transnationally.

Another common genre seen in the *eigaka* news on foreign cinema was the historical drama, among which the biographies of well-known religious figures were also frequently seen in related news accounts, particularly during the 1920s. Into the second decade of the twentieth century, cinema gradually replaced the significance of other moving images (such as the magic lanterns) in Taiwanese visual culture. It was also the time when the colonial administration in Taiwan changed its ruling method from military suppression to cultural assimilation and made cinema a controllable cultural medium for

---

[6] "H.G. Wells no jinrui yo doko he iyoiyo eigaka" H·G·ウエルスの人類よ何處へ愈々映畫化 [*Eigaka* of H.G. Wells' *The Invisible Man*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 7th, 1934): 3. "Eigaka sareta shinzō no saisho no kodō" 映畫化された心臟の最初の鼓動 [The First Beat of A Heart, *Eigaka* Finished], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 24th, 1940): 4.

political agendas.[7] Before the 1930s, the authorities and affiliated cultural agencies tended to promote the "realistic" representation of film works over other kinds of cinematic effects. The *eigaka* accounts on historical and religious dramas in *Taiwan Daily News* revealed such a tendency.

In 1926, *Taiwan Daily News* published an article introducing a new film on the biography of Gautama Buddha, entitled *The Light of Asia*, which was a filming project led by the British government and finished by the colonial Indian Governor-General Office.[8] Telegrammed from Tokyo, this news account introduced the upcoming screenings of *The Light of Asia* in Japan while providing no information on whether the film would be shown in Taiwan. Nevertheless, this *eigaka* news manifested a subtle similarity between the position of the Indian Governor-General Office (as the filmmaker) and that of the Taiwan Governor-General Office (as affiliated with the newsmaker), as both were colonial policymakers who followed the cultural direction of their dominant imperial forces.

This *eigaka* account had four sections. The first section introduced the filming project as a coproduction between India and the United Kingdom (while India made the

---

[7] E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977). Ramon Hawley Myers, et al, *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945* (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984). Murray A. Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999). Binghui Liao and Dewei Wang, eds, *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

[8] "Eigaka sareta shakuson ichidaiki 'tōa no hikari' eikoku indo seifu ga shiki nigatsu (chūjun nihon ni kuru" 映畫化された 釋尊一代記「東亞の光」 英國印度政府が指揮 二月中旬日本に來る [The Biography of Gautama Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, *Eigaka* by UK-Indo Government, Will Come to Japan in Mid-February], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 27th, 1926): 5. Produced in 1925, the film has an alternative title, *Prem Sanyas*.

film under the British order), which accomplished "an important humanities task" of circulating the life story of Gautama Buddha to the world. The second section provided information on the film's budget (three million Japanese Yen), the film distributor for related screenings in Japan (imported by a German film studio and assisted by Japan's Association of Buddhism), and the names of authoritative Buddhist scholars in Japan who would attend the film screening. The third section, subtitled "The Spirit of Buddha," explained the "proper" intervention of Japan's Association of Buddhism during the national screenings. In order to correctly present the ethos of Buddhism in the Japanese context, Japan's Association of Buddhism would review the film in advance and instruct on the proper method of screenings. In addition, this section also highlighted the "authentic" cinematic representation by mentioning the film's choice of cast and scenes. According to the news report, the actresses and actors of *The Light of Asia* were all Hindus. Moreover, there was a scene shot in the sacred place designated for preserving items that once belonged to Gautama Buddha. In the last section, the article provided major information about the leading cast and the length of the film (as a long, eight-thousand-foot narrative film).

Although the *eigaka* account already presented a great amount of information, what was untold or obscured by the article may have been just as important. According to some contemporary records, the filming of *The Light of Asia* was a transnational collaboration between the British-Indian crew from the Great Eastern Film Corporation and German filmmakers at Münchner Lichtspielkunst AG (Emelka), yet the colonial news report merely focused on the British-Indo cooperation. The *eigaka* news did not mention that the Hindu director of *The Light of Asia*, Himansu Rai (1892–1940), was an

Oxford graduate or that the co-director Franz Osten (1876–1956) was German; in addition, a majority of the film crew was from the German film studio Emelka. Furthermore, the content of *The Light of Asia* might not have been simply an authentic, divine representation of the spirit of Buddha, as interpreted by the *Taiwan Daily News*. There was a film review of *The Light of Asia* published in *The New York Times* around the same time period, which described the film from a very different perspective:

> Although the photography is poor, with peculiarly undesirable tinting, and the acting of little consequence, it is a picture that has some interesting episodes, particularly those depicting the pomp and ceremony of the potentates, the queer superstitions of the poor, the poetic passages, the rivalry for the hand of a Princess and the unfailing note of sincerity in all the scenes. […] Then there is a tournament which is quite absorbing, due chiefly to the exotic character of the events….[9]

In the film review by *The New York Times*, the religious elements in *The Light of Asia* had little to do with the ethos of Buddhism, but were altogether an exotic visual spectacle. The contrasting interpretations on *The Light of Asia* in *The New York Times* and *Taiwan Daily News* implied different cultural agendas. The *eigaka* account presented *The Light of Asia* as an authoritative, authentic religious film, made under a seemingly harmonious,

---

[9] Movie Review, "The Light of Asia (1925), The Screen," *The New York Times* (May 12th, 1928), accessed March 29th, 2013: http://movies.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9906E5DE173CE73ABC4A52DFB3668383639EDE.

collaborative relationship between the United Kingdom and its Indian colony. The British involvement in a directive role in the filming project (as described in news title and in the first section of the article) subtly paralleled with the instructive role of Japan's Association of Buddhism described in the news account. Moreover, near this *eigaka* account on the same page of the newspaper, there was another news report heralding the forthcoming religious departments and Buddhist lectures at Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University, which claimed to carry the mission of "redeeming the depraved character" that had arisen in Japan since the Meiji Restoration.[10] Given that there was no information on whether *The Light of Asia* would screen in colonial Taiwan, its *eigaka* account in *Taiwan Daily News* seemed published primarily to meet the interest and culture of Japan, which in the same manner underscored the empire's dominant role in cultural projects and their circulations in the colonial context.

On the other hand, the screenings of adventure and fantasy cinema were also frequently seen in the foreign *eigaka* accounts, particularly after the 1930s, when more and more films incorporated new sound technologies, through which one's film-viewing experience resembled more lively adventures. As cinematic adaptations of classical and popular stories, such films were much more an entertainment than a vehicle of modern education. In addition, the 1930s was also the time in which the modernization of colonial Taiwan reached a peak, when the commercial rule competed with the colonial rule and thus diversified the contents shown on the silver screen.

---

[10] "Jinshin no taihai wa shūkyōshin no sōshitsu karato shōrai wa shūkyō kōza o teidai no chūshin ni suru" 人心の頽廃は宗教心の喪失からと 將來は宗教講座を帝大の中心にする [The Decadence of Human Mind Is a Result of Losing Religious Spirit; Therefore Religious Lectures Will be a Focus in Imperial Universities], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 27th, 1926): 5.

An *eigaka* account published in 1934 represented such a phenomenon. In order to celebrate the establishment of a new office of the *Taiwan Daily News* in Tainan, southern Taiwan, managers of the newspaper chose to hold screenings of a German-French sound film, G. W. Pabst's *The Mistress of Atlantis*. Related news account promoted this film as an *eigaka* of an "enticing, mysterious" fiction by French popular novelist Pierre Benoît (1886–1962). The film, shot in the Sahara Desert and made into three different language versions to compete with the influential Hollywood cinema at that time, had its English version circulated to Taiwan during the abovementioned screenings. The reason why *Taiwan Daily News* chose this particular film to celebrate its new office was unclear. Yet according to the news account, *The Mistress of Atlantis* was a film considered astonishingly beautiful, which "mesmerized the cinephiles in our imperial city Tokyo."[11]

The first paragraph of the *eigaka* article contained three aspects of information: its captivating cinematic adaptation of Benoît's fiction, its positive reception in the Tokyo fan circles of foreign cinema, and its public screenings in major cities in southern Taiwan, which would be organized by the Tainan chapter of the *Taiwan Daily News*. Then, in the following four, long paragraphs, the news account provided a plot summary of the film, detailed from beginning to end. Finally, the article concluded with an abbreviated list of the film cast, showing major actresses and actors of the film. Moreover, there were two film images displayed by the news text, which both featured juxtapositions of grandly enlarged human figures and disproportionately small animals and travellers, suggesting

[11] "Director G. W. Pabst, 'Atlantis' honsha Tainan shikyoku rakusei kinen jōei" G·W·パブスト監督『アトアンテイド』本社臺南支局落成記念上映 [Director G. W. Pabst's *The Mistress of Atlantis*—A Screening to Celebrate the Establishment of the Tainan Chapter of Taiwan Daily News], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 29th, 1934): 3.

the surreal setup of *The Mistress of Atlantis*. The enticing traps of such a setting might appeal to the adventurous film characters and as well as the film viewers (Figure 3.1). The entire news account, including the images, occupied almost half a page of the newspaper. Since the news account already introduced many aspects of the film—including its comprehensive plot—it was as though what the filmgoers would experience during the actual screenings was the cinematic effect, the *eigaka* itself, a technique that successfully transformed the popular French fiction into an attractive, transnational screen practice. Besides *The Mistress of Atlantis*, there were other *eigaka* accounts written in similar structures. Film adaptions of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* were also among such cases, seen in local news reports that featured foreign studios' filmmaking projects on adventure and fantasy cinema.[12]

[12] "Eigaka sareta robinson crusoe shuen wa henry hull" 映畫化されるロビンソン·クルソー 主演はヘンリー·ハル [*Eigaka* of Robinson Crusoe—Starring Henry Hull], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 18th, 1934): 3. "Bu vandor eiga don quixote chaliapin shuen" 佛ヴアンドール映畫 ドンキホーテ ツヤリアヒン主演 [Don Quixote, A French Film by Nelson Vandor, Starring Feodor Chaliapin], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 11th, 1935): 3.

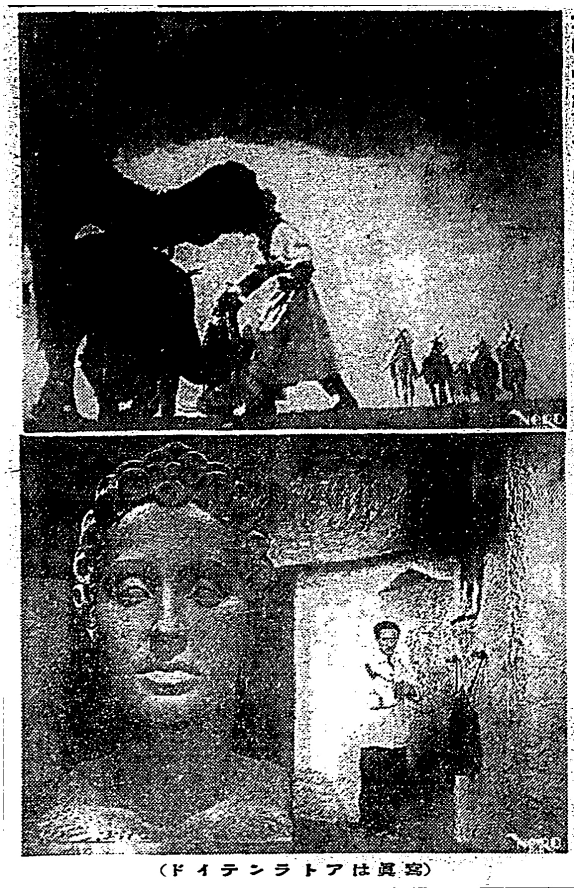


Figure 3.1. Image of *The Mistress of Atlantis* in *Taiwan Daily News*. April 29th, 1934. Page 3.

Inter/National Japanese Cinema

Different from the *eigaka* news on foreign cinema that often served as an advance notice for upcoming screening events in Taiwan, the articles on Japanese and Taiwanese cinema were announcements for future or ongoing filmmaking projects, which represented a literal, practical employment of the term *eigaka* in the news media. This section analyzes the *eigaka* accounts concerning Japanese cinema.

Taiwan Daily News introduced many Japanese filming projects during the entire colonial period, including government-made films such as *The Imperial Family* discussed

in the beginning of this chapter, cinematic adaptations of famous literary works such as Tokutomi Kenjirō's *Hototogisu* ("The Cuckoo") and Kunikida Doppo's *Shuchū nikki* ("The Diary of a Drunkard"), and some actuality films and documentaries made for "cultivating the modern character of Japanese new generations."[13] Such news accounts, on one hand, reflected the development of Japanese film history. For instance, in the 1930s, there were more and more filming projects concerning the incorporation of sound in cinema, such as the *eigaka* of "the radio calisthenics exercises."[14] On the other hand, many *eigaka* accounts on Japanese filming projects carried a political or cultural agenda, through which Japanese culture and the (positive) image of Japan were depicted, deployed, and accentuated, even though some of the films were not screened in Taiwan but were only described through the *eigaka* accounts in *Taiwan Daily News*. Moreover, through these *eigaka* accounts, the definition of Japanese cinema and what it might mean to the Taiwanese people (from a governmental perspective) were articulated.

According to the *eigaka* accounts, "people of Japan" and "Japanese character" were the key concepts associated with Japanese cinema. The former was a frequent

---

[13] "Kako jusonenkan ni watari sono jidaiteki hensen o miru fukyū no meisaku 'Hototogisu' shochiku dewa yondome no eigaka" 過去十數年間に亙りその時代的變遷を見る不朽の名作『不如歸』松竹では四度目の映畫化 [*Hototogisu*, An Everlasting Masterpiece Depicting the Changes of Time over the Past Decades, Fourth *Eigaka* by Shochiku Studio], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 6th, 1932): 3. "Kunikida doppo no shuchū nikki ichiei de eigaka" 國木田獨步の酒中日記 一映で映畫化 [*Eigaka* of Kunikida Doppo's *The Diary of a Drunkard* by Ichiei], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November 18th, 1934): 3. "Shōka kyōkasho no ijin no eigaka" 小學教科書の偉人を映畫化 [*Eigaka* of Great People in Elementary Textbooks], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 23rd, 1932): 3.

[14] "Shinkō kinema ga rajio taisō o eigaka" 新興キネマがラジオ體操を映畫化 [*Eigaka* of the New Radio Calisthenics Exercises], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 14th, 1932): 3.

description for the production of "films for Japanese people" (*kokumin eiga* 國民映畫), the target audience, which included the Taiwanese people; the latter was not only relevant to *kokumin eiga* but also to the filming projects made for an international audience. In general, there were more Japanese films made for international occasions in the early 1930s than in the 1940s, while during the 1940s, Japanese filmmaking targeted its audience among the "imperial subjects"—people in Japan, colonies, and controlled territories—which manifested the role of cinema as a medium for wartime propaganda at that time.

The *eigaka* accounts on internationally distributed Japanese cinema presented a practice of making Japanese images through filmmaking. How to properly capture "Japanese character" in cinema was a theme commonly discussed in these news articles. Since the newsreaders of *Taiwan Daily News* were located in Taiwan (as a "*gaichi*;" overseas territories) instead of in Japan (the "*naichi*;" the mainland), the Taiwanese were not always or not fully considered "Japanese," and the publication of such news articles carried considerable pedagogical and propagandistic implications.

On February 3rd, 1934, the *Taiwan Daily News* published an article entitled "*Eigaka* of the Beautiful National Character of We *Yamato* People for the Exhibition in International Film Festival."[15] "Yamato," originally referring to a political district around Nara and the influence of the imperial family there, became a quasi-racial category for the dominant ethnic group of Japan during the modern formation of the imperial nation,

[15] "Waga yamato minzoku no 'yūbi na kokuminsei' kore o eigaka shite kokusai eiga biten e shutchin" わが大和民族の「優美な國民性」これを映畫化して 國際映畫美展へ出陳 [*Eigaka* of the Beautiful National Character of We Yamato People for the Exhibition in International Film Festival], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 3rd, 1934): 3.

and eventually a common term roughly indicating "an entirely united Japanese ethnic group" that suggested a representation of Japanese national character with a certain level of racial hybridity—although the indigenous groups such as the Ainu and the Okinawan, and people in the colonies such as the Taiwanese and Koreans, were not included in the category of Yamato people in most situations.[16]

This *eigaka* account announced a governmental filming project for the Second Venice International Film Festival in 1934. In order to provide a "correct" image of Japan at the film festival, the government's Moving Picture Association and officials from Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a meeting at noon on January 29th, with the participation of three major Japanese film companies, *Nikkatsu* (日活株式会社), *Shōchiku* (松竹株式会社), and *Shinkō Kinema* (新興キネマ). According to the news report, during the meeting, each party agreed to contribute to new filmmaking projects specifically designed for the Venice International Film Festival. The film companies, with a clear consensus about working in a united effort, planned to make eight to ten films with the following aims: First, the ultimate goal was to introduce the national character of modern Japan to the entire world and to correct the misapprehension that the Japanese were war hawks. Second, in order to do so, the films would focus on manifesting "the beautiful character of Japanese people," the "Emperor's soul as the orthodoxy of the nation," and "Japan's breathtaking scenery, such as purple mountains and clear streams." Third, all of the films would be made as talkies and shot by the best film studios, directors, and actors, as a professional statement by the Japanese film

[16] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

industry. The filmmaking guidelines in this account showed how the policymakers planned to employ film mediums to present a positive image of Japan to the world, and the key elements considered for the construction of positive cinematic images included: people (modern men with a beautiful ethnic character, who had no interest in creating wars), land (spectacular natural environment), and technology (capability of making sound cinema). The news presented the human, industrial, and technological works behind the silver screen, and its depiction of the meticulous guidelines and collaborative effort of the filming process was itself a part of the filmmaking. With the publicly circulated news descriptions, a part of the film that carried clear ideas and images was thus presented to the Taiwanese newsreaders—despite there being no records on related screenings in colonial Taiwan.

The abovementioned news account was an announcement of a governmental filmmaking project that targeted an international audience. The news article stated that the project planned to "introduce modern Japan to the entire world." The films being made were thus both national and international: national as films of national character and international as films specifically explaining the "misapprehension" of Japan to the international film viewers. Considering the international reception an influential factor in filmmaking directions was not uncommon in the production of Japanese cinema at that time, and there was a historical reason behind the scenes. The 1930s was the period of mature film industries in Japanese film history, and it was also the time when Japan aggressively invaded other countries while it felt anxious about being isolated in the international society. After Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931, Japan was condemned by international associations and yet chose to withdraw from the League of

Nations in 1933 in protest of the condemnation. In *The Imperial Screen*, Peter B. High discusses the connection between such a national anxiety and the production of Japanese cinema:

> Having staked out an isolated position in the eyes of the world, the Japanese government and military became more sensitive than ever to the manner in which the world perceived them. "Hostile Propaganda," generated by the foreign press and cinema, became an object of anxiety.[17]

The ultimate goal of transforming Japan's war-like image, as indicated in the *eigaka* account above, was of urgent concern to Japan during the period. Consequently, the reception of international audiences was an important factor in Japan's national filmmaking projects. Film scholar Misawa Mamie has a similar observation. According to her book, *Zhimindi xia de yingmu* (The Colonial Screen), during the 1930s, Japanese cinema, including some projects made about Taiwan, "was not merely made for viewers who were 'the subjects of Japan,' but also was considered to be an apparatus representing the inner image of Japan to the world outside."[18]

Another case can be found in a news account on June 28th, 1937, entitled "*Madame Butterfly*, a National Essence Edition by Konoe-shi, *Eigaka* Soon in the United

---

[17] Peter B. High, *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years' War, 1931-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 51.

[18] Misawa, *Zhimindi xia de "yin mu,"* 71–73.

States."[19] This account announced that, in order to change the negative and untrue image of the Japanese people depicted in the original *Madame Butterfly* (opera) and introduce the real Japan to the world, Japanese composer Konoe Hidetaka had produced a new version of *Madame Butterfly* with traditional Japanese music. Moreover, Konoe had contacted some Hollywood friends during his world tour a year prior, and they had committed to making the Japanese *Madame Butterfly* into a film. Enunciating the filmmaker's intention to make a "nationally quintessential" *Madame Butterfly*, the *eigaka* account was itself a statement about Japanese identity. Revealed by the changing conceptions of the national and the international in film practice and discourses, the *eigaka* accounts presented the ways in which "filmmaking" was considered an effective means of reconstructing the image of the Japanese empire during its aggressive extension.

The Japanese government's view on cinema underwent a major shift from the 1930s to the 1940s. While the government had effectively endorsed projects of filmmaking and anticipated a worldwide audience for Japanese national cinema in the 1930s, the spectators of Japan's 1940s films were conceived of as "subjects of the Empire of Japan" due to the necessity of producing wartime propaganda. After a decade of careful cinematic construction of the image of a peace-loving Japan, the nation began fighting the Second Sino-Japanese War on July 7th, 1937, and went on to attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941. Beginning from the late 1930s, the entire Japanese empire entered the system of wartime mobilization. With this turn of events, Japan's national

[19] "'Chōchō fujin' no kokusui han Konoe shi no te de kansei chikaku beikoku de eigaka" 「蝶々夫人」の國粋版 近衛子の手で完成 近く米國で映畫化 [Madame Butterfly, a National Essence Edition by Konoe-shi, Eigaka Soon in the United States], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (June 28th, 1937): 7.

filming plans were not so much directed toward an international audience, but instead targeted on its own Japanese and colonial spectators. During this period, filmmaking had a close relationship with wartime propaganda, and the *eigaka* accounts in *Taiwan Daily News* clearly reflected such a transition.

One of the most prominent cases in this regard was the *eigaka* of "Songs of Japanese People" produced by the Ministry of Education. A related account published on January 12th, 1939, detailed the Ministry's plan to adapt six national songs in support of "the new national cinema." The six songs were "Dawn of the Continent," "Nature of Japan," "Life of the National People in the Countryside," "Natural Life," "Japanese Women," and "Song of the Ocean."[20] Although the song titles employed many natural images, as though all were peaceful and free from threats, the songs indeed carried meanings for wartime propaganda. For instance, "Dawn of the Continent" was a song depicting Japan's invasion of China as a sacred order from the Heaven. Reading against the non-aggressive, natural imageries, the themes of these songs could also suggest that the land, the ocean, the countryside, the mothers and daughters, and the Heaven of Japanese territory were all elements deployed in service of the wartime regime. In addition, children played a crucial part in wartime mobilization. Two months later, a follow-up article confirmed the Ministry's plan and positively stated that the filming of

[20] "Monbushō ga shinkokuminka o eigaka" 文部省が新國民歌を映畫化 [The *Eigaka* of New National Songs By the Ministry of Education], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 12th, 1939): 4. The titles of the songs are: "Tairiku no reimei" 大陸の黎明 [Dawn of the Continent], "nihon no shizen" 日本の自然 [Nature of Japan], "nōson kokumin seikatsu" 農村國民生活 [Life of the National People in the Countryside], "shizen no seikatsu" 自然の生活 [Natural Life], "nihon josei" 日本女性 [Japanese Women], and "kaiyō no uta" 海洋の歌 [Song of the Ocean].

the songs would make a great contribution to the nation, as those films would help broadly promote the national songs in elementary schools and high schools.[21]

In addition to the *eigaka* of the acoustic patriotism, the government also planned to create films highlighting wartime achievements, as well as the ways in which ordinary people established their virtue as patriotic national subjects who supported the wartime efforts and the state order. An *eigaka* account used the phrase "*eigaka* of battle achievements" to introduce Yamamoto Kajirō's (1902–1974) *The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malay*. Produced by Toho Company, the film would be screened nationwide on the "memorial day" of the Greater East Asia War (December 8th, 1942, a year after the beginning of the Pacific War) as a vivid representation of the wartime spirit.[22] Differing from the previous period in which the production of Japanese cinema was directed at an international audience, the targeted film viewers after the late 1930s were the newsreaders of *eigaka* accounts, who were considered the subjects of the Japanese empire.

Filming Taiwan

During the agitated period of wartime mobilization, filming projects reported by the *Taiwan Daily News* not only included the abovementioned accounts concerning general Japanese spectators but also the ones that specifically addressed Taiwanese audiences.

---

[21] "'Nihon kokuminka' no eigaka kettei" 「日本國民歌」の映畫化が決定 [Confirmation of the *Eigaka* of Japanese National Songs], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 10th, 1939): 4.

[22] "Shinjuwan mareioki kaisen tai senka o toho de eigaka" 真珠灣、馬來沖海戰 大戰果を東寶で映畫化 [*The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malay*, Toho's *Eigaka* of Big Achievement From War], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 17th, 1942): 4.

The *eigaka* of the *Hōkō* Movement (Public-Service Movement), reported on November 5th, 1942, was an instance.[23] The *Hōkō* Movement was the second phase of the *Kōminka* movement, and *Kōminka* was a demanding cultural policy to rapidly Japanize the colonial Taiwanese between 1936 to 1945, the influence of which included setting restrictions on the usage of non-Japanese languages in public (the cancellation of "Chinese column" in the *Taiwan Daily News* in 1937 was a case in this regard), replacing Taiwanese names with Japanese ones, familiarizing the Taiwanese with the Japanese anthem "Kimigayo," and establishing Japanese religious symbols in the public and interior spaces in colonial Taiwan. Building on the foundation of the *Kōminka* movement, the *Hōkō* Movement began in 1941. Considering the Taiwanese a (potential) member of the Japanese ethnicity, the *Hōkō* Movement mobilized Taiwanese people to contribute to the war by complying with wartime regulations, by participating in back assistance, and ultimately, by enlisting as a "volunteer soldier" after 1942.

Reported on November 5th, 1942, the *eigaka* of the *Hōkō* Movement was at the center of the newspaper page. According to the news description, it was a local filmmaking project that planned to document the practice of *Hōkō* Movement in To-en, a northern region in Taiwan. The same news page reported many other practices of *Hōkō* Movement in various regions and communities such as Rato, Giran, Mako, and Tainan, and locales of indigenous tribes such as Sintiku.[24] However, the one about the filming

---

[23] "*Hōkō* undō o eigaka kōhō to-en gun shikai no kito" 奉公運動を映畫化 皇奉桃園郡支會で企圖 [The *Eigaka* of *Hōkō* Movement, Plan of Kōmin Hōkō Association, To-en Branch], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November 5th, 1942): 4.

[24] I use the Japanese pronunciation to refer to the names of these regions. The original Chinese characters are: To-en 桃園 (Taoyuan), Rato 羅東 (Luodong), Giran 宜蘭 (Yilan), Mako 馬公 (Magong), Tainan 臺南 (Tainan), Sintiku 新竹 (Xinzhu).

project had the largest characters in its title. Since To-en was not a major city in colonial Taiwan (and the news also emphasized To-en's local character instead of its significance as a representative region in Taiwan), what the news editors intended to highlight through the central position and larger character of this account seemed to be the film project (Figure 3.2). Among many cultural activities, the cinematic mediation was singled out and magnified as an effective means of wartime mobilization.

Figure 3.2. "The *Eigaka* of *Hōkō* Movement, Plan of the Kōmin Hōkō Association, To-en Branch." *Taiwan Daily News* (November 5th, 1942): 4. Compared to other articles on the *Hōkō* Movement, the title of this account was printed in larger characters. (Circle added.)

Wartime propaganda was the pervasive theme in film productions in colonial Taiwan during the 1940s. Imbuing moving images with a discourse of "becoming Japanese," the filmmaking "made" and reminded its audience to be subjects of the Japanese empire. Such filmmaking not only concerned documentaries and newsreels but also cinematic adaptations of literature and popular tales. Since "becoming Japanese" was an urgent demand, interracial plots were constantly seen in related works. The filming of *Mrs. Chen* ("Chen fujin" 陳夫人) and *Sayon's Bell* ("Sayon no kane" サヨンの鐘) were two evident cases.

The eigaka account concerning *Mrs. Chen* was published on October 15th, 1941, in *Taiwan Daily News*.[25] *Mrs. Chen* was a novel that won Second Place in Japan's Greater East Asia Literary Award (First Year). The author, Shōji Sōichi (1906–1961), was a Japanese writer who grew up in colonial Taiwan and attended elementary school and middle schools in Tainan between 1912 and 1924, before returning to Japan and studying English Literature at Keio University. The novel depicts a Japanese country girl's ("Tamako") love marriage with a Taiwanese intellectual ("Qingwen Chen"), who studied Law at Tokyo Imperial University when he met Tamako in a church gathering. Divided into two parts, "Part One" of the novel portrays Chen's big Taiwanese family from Tamako's point of view, a subplot that includes another interracial marriage between Chen's brother and an indigenous girl from a mountain tribe in rural Taiwan. The Second Part of the novel focuses on Chen and Tamako's daughter and the future of the Chen family. Their daughter, Seiko, who experienced an identity crisis (as neither a

[25] "'Chen fujin' eigaka" 「陳夫人」映畫化 [*Eigaka* of *Mrs. Chen*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (October 15th, 1941): 4.

Japanese nor a Taiwanese) when growing up, constantly seeks a culture in which to fit herself. At the end of the novel, the Japanese administration buys out the pineapple factory owned by the Chen family, and thus Chen, Tamako, and their daughter decide to move to Southeast Asia to start a new life and business there. The ending of the novel echoed with the prevailing Japanese policy on "Southward Expansion," of which colonial Taiwan was considered the "base" for the expansion of the Japanese empire in Southeast Asia during the Second World War. The intermarriage between Japanese and Taiwanese people was also an idea advocated by the colonial administration during the cultural trend of "becoming Japanese" under wartime mobilization. Although Shōji's novel was much more complicated than the ideological slogans, the *eigaka* account of the filmmaking project simply highlighted the significance of intermarriage as a key feature of the film. According to the account, it was the Shōchiku Ōfuna Studio (松竹大船撮影所) that took the task of filming under the guidance of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General. Yet no remaining records concerned such a production. Nevertheless, the ideological message of the film had been delivered through the *eigaka* account.

Entitled, "The *Eigaka* of *Sayon's Bell*," in 1941, the *Taiwan Daily News* announced the cinematic adaption of "Sayon's Bell" サヨンの鐘, a widely circulated tale portraying an accidentally missing indigenous girl in a patriotic light.[26] "Sayon" was the name of a real person, a seventeen-year-old girl who lived in an Atayal tribe in colonial Taiwan. She accidentally fell into a creek and went missing while helping carry the luggage for a Japanese officer who was then on his way to serve for Japan during the

[26] "Sayon no kane o eigaka" サヨンの鐘を映畫化 [The *Eigaka* of *Sayon's Bell*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (October 22nd, 1941): 3.

war. In 1938, the news media covered the disappearance of Sayon as a simple accident, but the authorities later turned Sayon into a heroine of Japanese patriotism. Glorifying Sayon's accident, some accounts even mentioned that Sayon "held in her hand a Japanese flag" when she fell into the creek. The colonial administrator, following the construction of the patriotic narrative, sent a memorial bell to Sayon's tribe. Thereafter, the disappearance of Sayon (who presumably died) was known as a noble sacrifice for wartime Japan. Encouraged by the Japanese administration, the narrative of patriotic Sayon became a popular motif in literature, drama, paintings, popular songs, cinema, textbooks, and many more arts and cultural works.

The indigenous, Atayal background of Sayon played a significant role in the wide attention that her story attracted. Discriminated against as a "savage" (*ban-jin*) instead of Han Taiwanese (*hontō-jin*), the indigenous tribes and their culture were in a special category during the entire Japanese colonial period. Considering the indigenous communities a potentially uncontrollable threat to colonial management, the Japanese administrators ruled the tribal areas differently from, and much more harshly than, the management in Han Taiwanese neighborhoods. To resist, on October 27th, 1930, a Seediq tribe attacked the administrator's community during the sports day of a Japanese elementary school, killing more than a hundred Japanese people, including some children who attended the school event. The Japanese authorities responded to the incident with a grand-scale military action, sending a contingent that consisted of two-thousand and five-hundred soldiers and armed policemen to the Seediq tribes and dropping mustard gas bombs on the mountainous area where the rebels hid. The rebellion was quelled, resulting

in the death of more than six-hundred Seediq people.[27] Called the "Musha Incident" in colonial history, the Seediq rebellion and the massacre that followed became a source of anxiety to the Japanese authorities and an influence to their indigenous policies during the colonial period.

Roughly two years after the Musha Incident, in 1932, the *Taiwan Daily News* published a brief film review of *Selfless Gohō* ("Gijin Gohō" 義人吳鳳).[28] *Selfless Gohō* was a cinematic adaptation of a popular tale depicting a late Qing governmental official, Gohō, who devoted his time, fortune, and finally his own life to managing the indigenous tribes. The story ended with Gohō intentionally letting the indigenous people "accidentally" kill him, with the purpose of teaching the indigenous tribes to end their headhunting tradition. Since Gohō was a Han governmental official, an alleged figure during the late Qing period before Japanese administration in Taiwan, his identity carried many symbolic meanings. On one hand, the tale of Gohō reflected the vision of a harmonious relationship between the Han Taiwanese and the indigenous groups. On the other hand, it suggested a selfless image of the administrators, which referred to a positive portrayal of the role of Japanese officers in indigenous tribes—implying what they would do to the tribes was limited to educating and modernizing the indigenous culture—despite these officials having no connection with Gohō, the hero of an artificial

---

[27] Li Yongchi 李永熾, *Buqu de shanyue: Wushe shijian* 不屈的山嶽：霧社事件 [The Unshakable Mountain: Musha Incident] (Taipei: Jindai zhongguo chubanshe, 1977). Also see Nakagawa Kōichi 中川浩一 and Wakamori Tamio 和歌森民男, eds, *Musha jiken: Taiwan Takasagozoku no hōki* 霧社事件：台湾高砂族の蜂起 [Musha Incident: The Upspring of Taiwanese Indigenous People] (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980).

[28] "'Gijin gohō' o miru sunao ni eigaka sareta gohō no shōgai" 『義人呉鳳』を観る素直に 映畫化 された呉鳳の生涯 [Seeing *Selfless Gohō*, A Straightforward *Eigaka* of Gohō's Life Story], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (August 21st, 1932): 3.

narrative that took place more than a hundred years before the Japanese administration. Before the 1930s, the Japanese authorities had picked up the tale of Gohō and promoted the narrative through colonial textbooks and other cultural mediums during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Received attention again in 1932, the filmmaking project on Gohō was at once a result of the development of cinematic culture and a practice of Japan's indigenous management in response to the Musha massacre. According to the review in *Taiwan Daily News*, *Selfless Gohō* was a "straightforward" film adaptation that properly carried the necessary traits of "educational cinema." Although a film review, this news account also included the term "eigaka" in its title, providing information about the film crew and plots to the newsreaders and promoting the screenings of *Selfless Gohō* in Taipei at that time.

Following the filming of the Gohō tale, in 1937 *Taiwan Daily News* reported another *eigaka* account about indigenous culture. The film in planning, entitled *Alishan Savages* ("Ari-yama ban" 阿里山蕃), was a work depicting the history and later Japanese management of an indigenous tribe on Ali Mountain in southern Taiwan, the time frame of which stretched back to two hundred years prior and then moving on all the way to the contemporary 1930s. With the involvement of the Taiwan Police Association, the authorities planned to make *Alishan Savages* with actors from real indigenous peoples and policemen of the area. Moreover, according to the *eigaka* account, it was believed that after the completion of the film, *Alishan Savages* would become an important historical source that recorded the details and development of Japan's management in the indigenous tribal areas. The news report had an extremely long title: "The Film, *Alishan Savages*: *Eigaka* by the Police Association on Our Island's Indigenous Management and

Its Development—A Record from Two Hundred Years Ago to the Contemporary; Believed to be a Historical Source for Future Generations for Good."[29] Such an *eigaka* account revealed the colonial authorities' excitement about the filming project, as they believed that the project would be an innovative representation of Japanese achievement in managing Taiwanese indigenous communities. Although no further records on whether the film project was completed exist, the *eigaka* itself has been an historical record on the employment of cinema in colonial indigenous policies.

Finally, in 1941, *Sayon's Bell* became a topic in *eigaka* accounts in colonial newspapers as at once a representation of colonial indigenous management, a propagandistic work under wartime mobilization, and an interracial plot reconstructed by cinematic images. As mentioned previously, "Sayon's Bell" was a popular tale seen in many different forms of cultural production, and these works tended to emphasize Sayon's indigenous feature. Japanese artist Shiotsuki Tōho's (1886–1954) oil painting on "Sayon's Bell" was such a case (Figure 3.3). Exploiting shades of yellow, the painting was a realignment of bright colors including orange, brown, yellow, and white, as though the entire work was about to burn. It showed no water-related imageries connecting the painting with Sayon's drowning accident, but instead depicted her story in a passionate tone, seemingly acting as a reminder of Sayon's "patriotism" while obscuring her death. The bright colors were statements on Sayon's ethnicity (as an indigenous person, she was

[29] "Eiga 'alishanban' hontō liban no enkaku o keisatsu kyōkai de eigaka ni hyaku nen mai kara gendai made shūroku nagaku kōsei no shiryō ni" 映畫"阿里山蕃" 本島理蕃の沿革を警察協會で映畫化 二百年前から現代まで收錄 永く後世の史料に [The Film, Alishan Savages: *Eigaka* by the Police Association on Our Island's Indigenous Management and Its Development—A Record from Two Hundred Years Ago to the Contemporary; Believed to be a Historical Source for Future Generations for Good], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 9th, 1937): 5.

"browner" than her background), her hometown (the shades of yellow in the background might be a reference to colonial Taiwan, which was constantly promoted in Japanese discourses as a tropical, passionate, southern island filled with sunlight, as compared to northern, "mainland Japan"), and the native nature of Sayon's character (seen as a "savage," the color of Sayon, including her indigenous clothes, was similar to that of the native soil). Moreover, Shiotsuki Tōho's painting showed an uncanny combination of Sayon and her memorial bell. In the painting, Sayon was holding and staring at the bell, the symbolic item that honored her "sacrifice" for the Japanese empire. The color of the bell was identical to that of Sayon's skin color, as though it was by nature a part of her, or vice versa, as though she was a spirit answering the call from the bell; either interpretation could be read in the light of propagandistic patriotism.

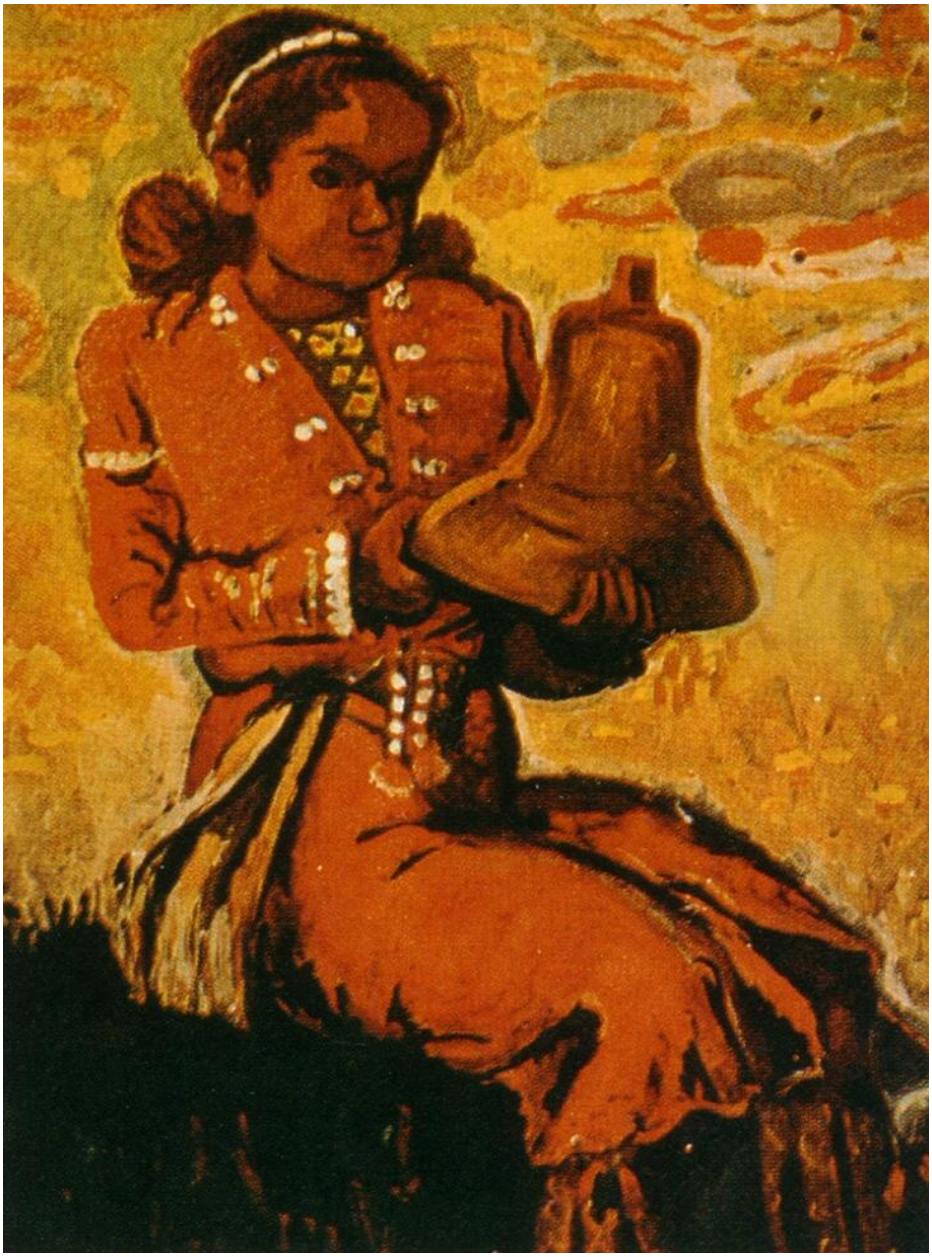


Figure 3.3. Shiotsuki Tōho's oil painting, "Sayon's Bell" (1939).

Different from Shiotsuki's oil painting that was filled with bright colors, the cinematic adaptation of *Sayon's Bell* resulted in a black-and-white film. In the film, Sayon's ethnic feature was only seen from the style of her clothes, while her physical appearance was replaced by a familiar face in wartime popular culture—Ri Kōran (or Li Xianglan 李香蘭, 1920–2014), also widely known as Yamaguchi Yoshiko (山口淑子), or Shirley Yamaguchi in postwar media (Figure 3.4). Born in China and developing her acting career mainly with Manchukuo Film Association before 1944, Ri did not reveal her Japanese identity until Japan lost the Second World War. Before then, she was known as a Chinese star in the wartime film and music industries. No extant records explain why the Chinese-Japanese Ri became the face of Taiwanese indigenous Sayon on the silver screen, but a possible reason might be that *Sayon's Bell* targeted its audience transnationally, and thus the filming project selected a star with border-crossing appeal. According the *eigaka* account, besides colonial Taiwan, the authorities also planned to screen *Sayon's Bell* in other Japanese-controlled territories such as colonial Korea, Manchuria, and occupied regions in China, as a model representation of Taiwan's successful *Kōminka* movement.[30] Wartime propaganda, to this end, brought in an imagined transnational audience to the filming plans of colonial Taiwan.

[30] "Sayon no kane o eigaka" サヨンの鐘を映畫化 [The *Eigaka* of *Sayon's Bell*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (October 22nd, 1941): 3.

Figure 3.4. An image from the film, *Sayon's Bell*. Directed by Hiroshi Shimizu and coproduced by Shōchiku Studio, Manchukuo Film Association, and the Taiwan Office of Governor-General. Released in1943. Played by Ri Kōran, "Sayon" was the figure at the right of the picture.

"Taiwan shōkai:" The Precursor of *Eigaka* News

The practice of "filming" had begun long before "eigaka" became a standard terminology in news media. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the article on *The Imperial Family* by *Taiwan Daily News* in 1924 might be the earliest news account in Taiwan that employed the term "eigaka" to mean filming (referring to both filmmaking and film adaptations). Yet, before then, "projects of filming" had been a recurrent topic reported by newspapers as early as the first decade of the twentieth century when "eiga" was not yet a standard for cinema.

Toyojirō Takamatsu's actuality film, *Taiwan jikkyō shōkai* (臺灣實況紹介; "An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan," *Actual Taiwan* hereafter), was considered the earliest work on filming in Taiwan.[31] *Taiwan Daily News* closely reported the filming in 1907, from the initiation of the project, its stage of completion, to the public screenings of the film in Taiwan and Japan. Since *eiga* was not yet a common term for cinema at that time, related news reports often simply used the title "Taiwan shōkai katsudō shashin" (臺灣紹介活動寫真; "Motion Pictures for the Introduction of Taiwan"). The contents of these news reports were very similar to the later *eigaka* accounts, which might indicate their role as the precursors of *eigaka* news.

The news accounts on Takamatsu's *Actual Taiwan* were detailed and comprehensive, providing a close report of this filming project in three stages: 1) the initial plan of the filming, which was published in *Taiwan Daily News* on February 12th, 13th, 21st, 22nd, and 23rd, 1907; 2) the completion of filming, which was in the newspaper

[31] Takamatsu Toyojirō 高松豐次郎, *Taiwan jikkyō shōkai* 台湾実況紹介 [An Introduction to the Actual Conditions in Taiwan], 1907. Film lost.

on April 12th, 1907; and 3) the screenings of the finished film, which were in the news on May 12th, 14th, 15th, and 16th, 1907.[32] The first stage introduced the goal of the filming project and provided a detailed description of the selected locations to be filmed by Takamatsu. According to the news accounts, the goal of this project was to introduce Taiwan to the audience in Japan as a means to "correct" the general, false impression about Taiwan as an uncultivated place occupied by "savages" and "bandits." This filming project was believed to be able to present the positive, progressive images of "actual" Taiwan, which turned out to be a "model colony of the world" after Japan's modern construction, led by "the hardworking Japanese Governor-Generals and governmental officials of the present and past." Although related news accounts depicted the involvement of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General in a vague light, contemporary research shows that the filming project was not Takamatsu's own idea but rather a governmental plan, the ultimate goal of which was to exhibit a modern image of Taiwan as Japan's colonial achievement in the 1907 Tokyo Expo.[33]

The detailed introduction of Takamatsu's filming plan, published in several news accounts during February 1907, explained how the film would represent "modern" Taiwan. An essential concept in this regard was to make it a "railroad film." Scenes selected for filming were from various Taiwanese towns located along the newly built north-south railroad, which was 405 kilometers in total length and connected major

---

[32] These news reports all had similar titles that included the phrase, "Taiwan shōkai katsudō shashin" 臺灣紹介活動寫真 [Motion Pictures for the Introduction of Taiwan]. All related news accounts published on page 5 in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*.

[33] See Daw-Ming Lee, "Taiwan dianying shi di yi zhang" 臺灣電影史第一章 [The First Chapter of Taiwan Film History], *Film Appreciation Journal* (1995): 28–44. Also Lung-yen Yeh, *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan dianying shi*, 71–78.

counties of Taiwan, such as Keelung and Taipei in the north and Takao in the south. According to related news reports, in addition to the long shots and close-ups arranged for each scene, there were also some additional scenes to be taken from the window of the moving train on the new railroad. Such a railroad film was considered an embodiment of Japanese modern construction in colonial Taiwan.

The account published on February 22nd listed forty scenes to be included in the filming plan, with annotations under each scene explaining the film camera's movement. On "Taipei; No. 10: The Office Building of *Taiwan Daily News*," it annotated, "Taking a shot from the pedestrian to capture the moving automobiles that cross the Outer Seimon District." On "Taipei; No. 11: Hokutō Hot Spring," the annotation simply indicated, "Take a full shot." On "The Railroad and Other Department, No. 21: Qiaozitou Sugar Refinery," a longer description stated the following: "Taking from the train's window for a full shot of the factory and the sugar canes. Then, capture the movement of the factory machines and the process of sugar making." Although contemporary research often discusses *Actual Taiwan* as a documentary, its filming style described by these news accounts shared a clear affinity with the "actuality films" made during the period of early cinema, a famous work of which was "Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat" by The Lumière Brothers in 1895, which was also the kind of material that Takamatsu constantly used for his screening business in Taiwan at that time. The shots taken from the window of a moving train in *Actual Taiwan* was resonant of the actualities in early cinema. Slightly different from the documentaries in later periods of film history, a coherent narrative was not an essential or necessary element in the actuality films. Instead, the film machine's movement and its capacity for following, capturing, and representing moving images

were the most important concerns at that time. The ways *Taiwan Daily News* reported the filming of *Actual Taiwan* represented such features. What Takamatsu practiced at that time was close to the idea of actuality cinema. Since *Actual Taiwan* has been lost, related news accounts in this context were among the very few pieces of evidence that revealed the images arranged for the film. Inferred from that, Takamatsu's filming of *Actual Taiwan* might have been indeed constructed from the style of actualities.

News accounts on Takamatsu's filming project consisted of a major proportion that meticulously described the scenes in the film, during both the pre-filming stage and screening stage. Contemporary film scholar Daw-Ming Lee counted the finished scenes reported in related news accounts and classified them into five categories: "Taipei" (twenty scenes); "The Indigenous Communities" (five scenes); "The Japanese Conquering Taiwanese Indigenous People" (nineteen scenes); "Railroad Travel and Local Sightseeing" (sixty-seven scenes); and finally, "Keelung Harbor and Kinsan District" (nine scenes).[34] A closer reading of these news accounts reveals a tendency to juxtapose traditional, local cultural scenes with Japanese modern constructions in *Actual Taiwan*. Moreover, in the news, the reporter often compared the scenes with people's lives and culture in Japan. For instance, an account published on May 12th listed the scenes in a section of the film as the following: "The Actual Scene of Picking Tealeaves in Oolong Tea Fields," "A Full Shot of the Hat Factory in Daikō District," "Taichū Permanent Barracks," "The Iron Bridge Above the Ujitsu Creek," and "The Grand-Scale Dolls in the Religious Festival in Shōka." Besides presenting these scenes in a semi-modern, semi-exotic light, the news account also annotated and commented on each

[34] Daw-Ming Lee, "Taiwan dianying shi di yi zhang," 40–41.

scene, for instance, by comparing the images of Taiwanese tea-picking girls with Japanese women, or by mentioning the foreign-good stores in Ginza, Tokyo in a comment about the hat factory in Taiwan's Daikō District. Similar to later *eigaka* accounts, the news on Takamatsu's Taiwan filming project also consisted of detailed information regarding film contents and instructive narratives.

The completed *Actual Taiwan* was a 20,000-foot motion picture that showed two hundred and six shots of more than a hundred places in colonial Taiwan. Extant records showed that the film had been screened in Taiwan, Osaka, and the Tokyo Expo in 1907.[35] Film historian Lung-Yen Yeh compared related news reports before and after the filming project, and found that some scenes originally stated in Takamatsu's plan were not included in the completed film.[36] He classifies these scenes in three categories: first, Japan's modern construction in rural areas around eastern Taiwan; second, the operation of a lottery system and related activities; and third, hospitals and modern medical practices in Taiwan. Yeh infers the reason that those scenes were not shown (presumably cut out) in the final version of the film was that they were not "positive" images of Japan (or not positive enough) and, thus, they conflicted with the original goal of the project. Following Yeh's observation, it was likely that, although *Actual Taiwan* was close to the style and genre of actuality films, a propagandistic discourse that supported the interest of the colonial administration was behind the work, and the "Taiwan shōkai" news accounts

---

[35] See note 80.

[36] Lung-yen Yeh, *Rizhi shichi Taiwan dianying shi* 日治時期臺灣電影史 [The History of Taiwanese Movies during the Japanese Colonization] (Taipei: Yushan, 1998).

on *Actual Taiwan* in *Taiwan Daily News* played a significant role in constantly reminding the newsreaders and film viewers of such a discourse.

Established since the case of *Actual Taiwan*, the close news reporting on filmmaking projects continued its style in the *eigaka* accounts emerging after the 1920s. Besides listing information about film credits, the *eigaka* news, as discussed in previous sections of this chapter, presented a detailed introduction of the goal, significance, and plotline of the film project, which often came along with a suggested perspective of film viewing. These features of the *eigaka* accounts were already seen in the comprehensive reports on the filming of *Actual Taiwan*.

On the other hand, after the practice of reporting *Actual Taiwan*, "Taiwan shōkai" (introduction of Taiwan) became an effective term constantly used in news reports and in the announcement of governmental projects. The completion of the news series "Taiwan shōkai katsudō shashin" inspired more "Taiwan shōkai" projects, not only in actuality films and later genres of cinema but also in other cultural mediums and practices such as postcards, magic lantern shows, photo albums, governmental promotions on railroad travels, international expos, and academic discussions.[37] Related news accounts often began with the introduction on the necessity of "introducing Taiwan" to the Japanese audience and spectators of the world. According to the narrative in the news, the goal of such "Taiwan shōkai" was to revise the general impression of a backward Taiwan and to show how the colony had advanced after Japan's modern construction, which seemed a

[37] For instance, "Taiwan shōkai no ehagaki hakkō" 臺灣紹介の繪葉書發行 [The Release of "Taiwan shōkai" Postcards], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (July 30th, 1908): 5. "Taiwan shōkai no ippō gentō junkai tai o soshiki seyo" 臺灣紹介の一法 幻燈巡回隊を組織せよ[Organization of Magic Lantern Tours for a Practice of "Taiwan shōkai"], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 16th, 1912): 3.

continuation of the discourse that had been established since *Actual Taiwan*. Such "Taiwan shōkai" was more than an introduction or advertisement of Taiwan. Repeated news narratives in this regard revised and reproduced a modern image of colonial Taiwan, along with some emphases on the island's "locality" through a Japanese lens, and by doing so, "Taiwan shōkai" became a phrase that constantly implied and reaffirmed the efficacy of Japanese colonial power.

Making Cinema through *Eigaka* News

Film culture has momentously permeated the public sphere in Taiwan since the Japanese colonial period. The cinema, emerging on the island after the establishment of print culture and before radio broadcasting, mediated colonial ideologies, not only by its techno-visual achievements on the silver screen but also through the concepts and terminologies it inspired in daily newspapers. Considering newspaper an effective, everyday public space that not only delivered but also constructed information and knowledge, the development of film terms in news accounts revealed an aspect of cinema discourse that was not necessarily represented in the film during screenings but clearly suggested by the printed texts concerning the "filming" process. The *eigaka* accounts were evidence in this regard. In a sense, the *eigaka* news not only described the information of filming, but it was also a kind of filmmaking, and the cinema it made through daily newspapers might have reached and influenced more audiences than the actual spectators in movie theaters. Moreover, the news of *eigaka* in a colonial context was not always simply about filmmaking, but rather, in most cases it was associated with consistent, sometimes blatant, ideological implications. In this regard, the filming process

described through the texts was also a practice of image making for the interest of the colonial administration.

On the other hand, the *eigaka* account was the result of many layers of translation. It was a translation between moving images and news texts, between different languages and cultural contexts (considering the information of foreign filmmaking and the selective interpretation of these films in local screenings), and between the colonizer and the colonized, as seen in the ways in which these news accounts reported Japanese cinema in Taiwan (while shifting categories between the national and the international to make a clear statement on "Japanese character") and the ways in which they announced the filming of Taiwanese images (which ultimately became a discursive translation of the modernity of the Japanese empire). These *eigaka* accounts "made cinema" by finding the language to describe filming projects and to deliver the gist of moving images in news phrases, within the process of which the reporter's interpretation sometimes overshadowed the original film information.

From the 1920s to 1940s, *eigaka*, alongside the development of cinema, emerged as a standardized terminology frequently used in the news media in colonial Taiwan. Indicating the meaning of "filming" and referring to both the process of filmmaking and cinematic adaptations, *eigaka* carried messages that conveyed more than the action of making moving images for the silver screen. It was also a means of "filmmaking" for the newsreaders. In the colonial context, "eigaka" further implied a positive reinforcement of colonial power through the making of cinema from Japanese perspectives. The description of filming "actualities" in *Taiwan Daily News* during the first decade of the twentieth century established the basic style for *eigaka* accounts, and since then,

filmmaking has played an essential role in mediating the images and cultural identities of colonial Taiwan.

Chapter 4

Listening to Vernacular Modernism: Film Culture and Popular Soundscape

In 1932, a Taiwanese song became exceptionally popular in the modern milieu of the colonial soundscape. Sensationally entitled, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood (*Taohua qixie ji* 桃花泣血記; "Peach Blossom" hereafter)," this song depicted a fictional tragic romance between a poor-born girl, Lim, and her lover, Teh-en, who came from a wealthy family. Believing only couples from equal social ranks would make a perfect match, Teh-en's mother disapproved of his marriage with Lim, and forced the lovers to part. Subsequently, Lim, the "peach girl" described in the song, passed away in desperation. Unfolded in a style similar to cautionary tales and ended with the expression frequently seen in Chinese linked-chapter novels, the song concluded with the following two verses:

文明社會新時代	In this new era of society's civilization,
戀愛自由即應該	Free love should not be a question
階級拘束是有害	Due to the harm of class restriction,
婚姻制度著大改	the rule of marriage needs great reformation
做人父母愛注意	Parents, heed the call!
舊式禮教著拋棄	Old-fashioned codes must fall

結果發生甚代誌　　What happens at the end of this tale?

請看桃花泣血記　　Please go see *The Peach Girl*[1]

The above are the ninth and tenth verses of the lyrics in "Peach Blossom." What preceded these two sections was a long narrative of eight verses on Lim and Teh-en's romance, from different social backgrounds of the two, the faith and challenges in their relationship, to the ultimate death of the peach girl. As though a lyrical version of cautionary tales, following the narrative of Lim and Teh-en's failed romance was a pedagogical warning, which underlined the urgency to reform traditional marriages—since, it was already a "new era of society's civilization." Then, abruptly, in the last two lines of the song, the focus shifted back to the storyline presented in the first eight verses, suggesting an ending plot after the withering of the peach girl. Similar to a traditional "end-of-chapter" teaser in linked-chapter novels, the closing words of "Peach Blossom" urged its audience to find out more of the story by moving forward—not to read a next chapter in any novel, but—to see a Chinese silent film, *The Peach Girl*, made by Lianhua Studio in Shanghai in 1931 and imported to Taiwan five months later. As a matter of fact, the Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" was a song tailor-made for the promotion and distribution of *The Peach Girl* in colonial Taiwan.[2]

---

[1] The English translation is worked together by Professor Steven Ridgely and me, in the style to reflect the patterns of rhymes in the song's original Taiwanese lyrics, as "AAAA, BBBB."

[2] In order to make distinctions between the Shanghai film and the Taiwanese song (which share the same Chinese title), in this chapter, I use the film's official English title, *The Peach Girl*, to refer to the film, and the Chinese translation, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood," when discussing the song.

Written in seven-character meter, a common form of song lyrics from traditional Taiwanese opera that constructed multiple verses of four seven-word rhymed lines, "Peach Blossom" had a fresh melody that sounded nothing like traditional tunes. Despite the imagery of suffering implied by the song title and the failed love story narrated through the lyrics, the music was not sorrowful at all, but instead built on a rhythm of celebration and cheerfulness.[3] As a promotional song for cinema, "Peach Blossom" had a brisk melody that captured the zeitgeist of the first half of the 1930s. Before the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) that redefined the social climate from popular modernism to propagandistic mobilization, the early and middle 1930s was a period when colonial Taiwan underwent a peak of multifaceted modernization.[4] It was the time when a vernacular city culture rose and returnee intellectuals began to show in their writings the comparison between *shimato* (島都; "island capital," Taipei) and *teito* (帝都; "imperial capital," Tokyo). It was the so-called, "new era of society's civilization," when advocators of free love magnanimously wrote their views into popular literature, song

---

[3] Taiwanese gramophone archivist Tai-Wei Lin's blog, "Taohua kaichu chunfeng 桃花開出春風" (Peach Blossom Flourishing Spring Breeze), provides an online recording file of the original gramophone record: http://blog.sina.com.tw/davide/article.php?pbgid=28994&entryid=572809 (Accessed May 10, 2016). The blog is recognized as a reliable archive for gramophone records and popular music culture in colonial Taiwan, and has been cited by many academic researchers.

[4] The 1930s, particularly between 1931 and 1937, were recognized as "the mature period" of modern literature and culture in colonial Taiwan. The modernization of the island reached a peak during that time period, before the launch of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 bringing another sea change to the colony. For a further examination of Taiwan's colonial modernity in the 1930s, see Fang-Ming Chen, *Zhimindi modeng: xiandaixing yu Taiwan shiguan* 殖民地摩登: 現代性與臺灣史觀 [Colonial Modernity: Historical and Literary Perspectives on Taiwan], (Taipei: Maitian chuban), 2004.

lyrics, and film scripts. It was a golden age of "Taiwanese pop" when the music developed into a genre to be consumed through gramophone records. It was a new phase of motion pictures when filmgoers were able to experience silent cinema, sound films, and *benshi* culture all at once. Moreover, it was the contested period of mass consumerism and identity politics, when imported Chinese cinema became both a fashion in popular culture and a resistance to Japanese colonialism.

Emerging at the intersection of music and film practice in the early 1930s, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood" significantly characterized the vernacular modernism and popular soundscape of its time. On one hand, the successfulness of this film-inspired song initiated a new era of Taiwanese records. On the other hand, the local music culture its provoked also became an inspiration for later filmmaking projects in colonial Taiwan. The intermediation between transnational gramophone culture and cinema was an essential theme of Taiwan's film history of the 1930s. In order to explore the relationships between music, film, and the ways the two media shaped the popular soundscape in colonial Taiwan, this chapter consists of the following three main sections in order: 1) A historical revisit to the production of "Peach Blossom" and the transnational mediations during the process; 2) Chinese modernity in the cinematic language of *The Peach Girl*; 3) Based on the foundation of 1) and 2), this section entails the ways in which "Peach Blossom" represented a sonic appropriation of vernacular modernism in the soundscape of colonial Taiwan.

Sounding *The Peach Girl*

Originally written for the screening of *The Peach Girl* in Taiwan, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood" accomplished far more than simply promoting a Chinese film. Although it was not the first recording of Taiwanese music in transnational gramophone industry, this work enjoyed unprecedented popularity in the colony, sometimes credited as "the first Taiwanese pop song" in postcolonial reflections.[5] Chen Junyu 陳君玉 (1906–1963), who briefly served as the director of the Literary-Cultural Department in the gramophone company, "Columbia Formosa," between 1933 and 1934, recalled the birth and success of "Peach Blossom" as follows:

> In 1932, *The Peach Girl* by Shanghai Lianhua Studio imported to screen in Taiwan. In order to promote the film, the distributor invited Zhan Tianma and Wang Yunfeng to make a theme song called "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood," advertised on the street with band performance and flyer distribution. To their surprise, the song reached a tremendous popularity within days. Then, it became the first album that enjoyed massive circulation. The distributor also earned a great profit from it…. Afterwards, making popular songs came to be the very profitable means of promoting cinema. It turned out to be the rule in film business. Fine when

[5] Before "Peach Blossom," the 1929 gramophone, "Oo-niau Tsìn-hîng-khik" 烏貓行進曲 (March of Black Cats, Nipponophone), was also categorized as a "popular song" in production records. Yet the song did not become popular at that time. When calling "Peach Blossom" "the first Taiwanese pop song," scholars often refer to the song's popularity instead of genre in gramophone records.

> the film already had a theme song. If not, distributors in Taiwan would create a song for the film.[6]

Chen not only underlined the role of "Peach Blossom" in colonial history but also indicated the ways in which the two media—popular music and cinema—reinforced the production, distribution, and reception of one another at that time.

Born at the beginning of the Japanese period in Taiwan, Wang Yunfeng 王雲峰 (1896–1969) was thirty-six years old when he wrote "Peach Blossom." Before then, he had studied music theories with a Japanese veteran musician in Tainan. From around seventeenth to nineteenth years old, he pursued education in Tokyo, focusing on orchestral music. In the early 1920s, Wang returned to Taiwan and worked in theaters in commercial districts such as Daitōtei (Dadaocheng) and Seimonchō (Ximending), as a violinist or a *benshi* performing during film screenings.[7] Wang was among the first generation of Taiwanese *benshi*, whose career established along with the development and professionalization of film culture.[8] Living most of his life in colonial Taiwan, he

---

[6] My translation. Junyu Chen 陳君玉, "Riju shiqi taiyu liuxingge gailu" 日據時期臺語流行歌概略 [A Brief Introduction of Taiwanese-Language Popular Songs in Japanese Colonial Taiwan], *Taibei wenwu* 4.2 (1955): 24–25. Also see Yunfeng Wang's own recollection, "Dianying, changpian, minjianyinyue" 電影, 唱片, 民間音樂 [Cinema, Records, Folk Music], *Taibei wenwu* 4.2 (1955): 77–79.

[7] Ziwen Zhang 張子文, et al., *Taiwan lishi renwu xiaozhuan: Ming Qing ji Riju shiqi* 臺灣歷史人物小傳: 明清暨日據時期 [Brief Biographies of Historical Figures in Taiwan: From the Ming and Qing to the Japanese Occupation], (Taipei: Guojia tushuguan, 2003): 62.

[8] Zongming Xue 薛宗明, *Taiwan yinyue cidian* 臺灣音樂辭典 [Dictionary of Taiwanese Music] (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan gufen youxian gongsi, 2003), 65.

was an active participant in the film circles. Besides the screen narrator and songwriter, he had also been an actor and a business owner of films on the island. In 1937, Wang wrote the film score for *Wang chun feng* 望春風 (Longing for the Spring Breeze), one of the few films made in colonial Taiwan. Different from "Peach Blossom" that was a song inspired by cinema, "Longing for the Spring Breeze" was a film custom-made for a 1933 widespread song of the same title.[9] Making music for silent and sound films, Wang participated significantly in the history of cinema-inspired music, as well as in the history of music-inspired cinema after the success of "Peach Blossom."

The lyric writer of "Peach Blossom," Zhan Tianma 詹天馬 (dates unknown), was also a *benshi* and a celebrated cultural figure in Dadaocheng. Acclaimed as the best Taiwanese *benshi*, Zhan was a master of colloquial art. Local Taiwanese people called him "Taiwan's Musei," a reference to the prominent Japanese *benshi*, Tokugawa Musei (1894–1971). Zhan's performance as a *benshi* appealed to not only Taiwanese but also Japanese audiences, regardless of the language barrier. A Japanese moviegoer once commented, "He voiced in clear, clever rhythms. I know it was the high art of agility and sagacity, even though I do not speak Taiwanese at all."[10] Zhan was the organizer of Bali Film Company, the distributor of *The Peach Girl* and also an operator of the Eraku-za (Yongle Theater) that screened many Chinese films in colonial Taiwan. He also owned

---

[9] Made in 1937, the film, *Wang Chun Feng*, was made by "Daiichi eiga seisakujo" 第一映畫製作所 [First Motion Picture Studio], a Taiwanese owned film company, the owner of which was a *benshi* called Wu Xiyang 吳錫洋 (1917–?). Yet the film is lost.

[10] Kōichi Umino 海野幸一, "Shōwa shoki taipei no eiga kai" 昭和初期臺北の映画界 [Film World of Taipei in Early Showa Years], *Osaka Film Education*, a series publication from May 1981 to May 1982.

Tianma Teahouse, a modern music café where local intellectuals frequented. Compared to Wang Yunfeng, whose training involved a great deal of Japanese and Western music, Zhan Tianma had a classical voice that carried the traditions of street storytelling and historical drama.[11] The popularity of "Peach Blossom" was thus a result of harmonization between Zhan and Wang, through which the hybrid, popular elements of the old and the new concerted. Consequently, the song became an invigoration to the colonial soundscape, and thereafter provoked the collaboration and contestation of music and film culture.

In order to promote *The Peach Girl* to Taiwanese audiences, Bali Film Company hired music bands to play "Peach Blossom" on the street in Taipei while distributed flyers of the song lyrics. The song became popular in a short period of time. The success of "Peach Blossom" caught the attention of Kashiwano Seijirō (dates unknown), the president of Columbia Formosa. Noting its potentiality from the perspective of music business, Kashiwano went on to release "Peach Blossom" as a gramophone record (Figure 4.1), trademarked as a Columbia record manufactured by Nipponophone Co., Ltd, the home company of Columbia Formosa.

[11] Lung-Yen Yeh, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan 'changpian' shi" 日治時期臺灣「唱片」史 [The History of "Records" in Japanese Colonial Taiwan], *Taibei wenxian* 129 (1999): 49–86.

Figure 4.1. Label of the B-side of the record, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood." Distributor: Columbia Formosa, 1932.

Columbia Formosa released the song in the format of a ten-inch, 78 RPM, two-sided shellac record. Each side recorded three minutes of the song. A-side and B-side had identical melodies with different lyrics. Side A recorded verses one to five of the song, and verses six to ten were in Side B. Both sides presented a completed opening and ending melody, as though they could be listened separately. Yet, since it was a film theme song, an audience would have to play from A-side to B-side to follow the lyrics about the plotlines in correct order.

Production details of "Peach Blossom" were visible on the label of the record, appearing in golden texts upon a red background in two different languages. The English parts showed the record's company label ("Columbia" with a music note logo in a circle), recording system ("Viva-tonal Recording"), and manufacturer ("Made by Nipponophone Co. Ltd. Kawasaki, Japan"). The Chinese words indicated the genre ("film theme song" [*yingxi zhuti ge* 影戲主題歌]), song title that was same as the Chinese title of *The Peach Girl* ("[film] by Lianhua Film Company; *Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood*"), writers of the song ("Lyricist: Zhan Yianma; Songwriter: Wang Yunfeng; Composer: Okuyama Teikichi"), singer ("Chunchun" [純純]), and accompanied orchestra ("Columbia Symphony"). As represented through the record's bilingual label, different layers of transnational collaboration wove the reproduction of "Peach Blossom," including the coordination between personnel, funding, and technology across Taiwan, Japan, and the United States.

The record's maker, Columbia Formosa, was the Taipei branch of Nipponophone, a gramophone corporation also known as "Nippon Chikuonki Shōkai" (日本蓄音器商會; abbr. "Nitchiku"). Established in Japan since 1907 by an American businessman,

Frederick W. Horn (dates unknown), the original name of Nipponophone was "Japanese-American Phonograph Manufacturing Co., Ltd." ("Nichibei Chikuonki Seizō Kabushiki Gaisha;" 日米蓄音器製造株式會社; abbr. "Nichibei"). After developing its own factory and studio, "Nichibei" soon became the first company to manufacture single-sided records and gramophones in Japan. In 1910, due to the increase of the company's Japanese shares, "Nichibei" rebranded as Nipponophone. In November of the same year, Nipponophone set up an extension in Taipei. Since 1912, it turned to be the first company in Japan that had a centralized production and distribution system. A year later, the company began making double-sided records. In 1931, Nipponophone officially adopted the Columbia brand name and music note logo on its records, as a result of its affiliation with the American record label, Columbia Records.[12] Despite Nipponophone's American connections, the company engaged in a great effort to show its image with a Japanese essence. Not only appeared from its record's location of manufacture, "Nipponophone Co. Ltd. Kawasaki, Japan," but also subtly conveyed by the linguistic combination of the company's name: "Nipponophone." As a coined phrase-word consisted of "Nippon (日本, Japan)," "no (の, possessive particle of Japan)," "phone (phonograph production)" in

[12] Ying-fen Wang 王櫻芬, "Tingjian Taiwan: shilun gulunmeiya changpian zai Taiwan yingyue shi shang de yiyi" 聽見臺灣: 試論古倫美亞唱片在臺灣音樂史上的意義 [Hearing Taiwan: On Columbia Gramophone Records in Taiwan's Music History], *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 160 (2008): 169–196. Hye Eun Choi, "The Nipponophone Company and Record Consumption in Colonial Korea," *International Journal of Korean History* 20.1 (2015): 85–116. Xin-zhang Huang, *Chuanchang Taiwan xinsheng: riju shiqi de taiyu liuxingge* 傳唱臺灣心聲: 日據時期的臺語流行歌 [Singing Heartfelt Wishes of Taiwan: Taiwanese Pop Music during Japanese Occupation] (Taipei: Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City, 2009). Also see a brief history on the connection between Nipponophone and Columbia Records from the company's official website: http://columbia.jp/company/corporate/history/index.html.

order, *Nipponophone* had a close affinity to Japanese expression regardless of its Anglophone spelling.[13]

In 1925, Kashiwano Seijirō became the director of Nipponophone's Taipei office. In order to encourage the consumption of vinyl records in colonial Taiwan, Kashiwano developed new recording projects on Taiwanese music. Around 1930s, Kashiwano and Nipponophone jointly founded Columbia Formosa ("Taiwan Koromubia Hanbai Kabushiki Gaisha;" 臺灣コロムビア販賣株式會社). Since then, Columbia Formosa and Nipponophone worked together and became the largest manufacturer of Taiwan music in the industry, producing more than a thousand records by the end of the colonial period.[14] The Columbia label and its music note logo on "Peach Blossom" indicated that the record was among the higher priced line of Columbia Formosa, as the company also produced other lines of lower priced records in colonial Taiwan, such as "Formosan Eagle."[15] The division of lines showed the professionalization of Columbia Formosa. It also indicated the development of Taiwan's gramophone culture and record market, as related business runners would have to diversify products to meet the needs of a variety of consumers.

---

[13] Choi, "The Nipponophone Company and Record Consumption in Colonial Korea," 89–93.

[14] According to Ying-fen Wang's research, there were aroung 4,000 gramophone records produced in colonial Taiwan, among which one third were by Columbia Formosa and Nipponophone. "Luyin keji yu Taiwan yinyue—jinian yanjiu huigu" 錄音科技與臺灣音樂—近年研究回顧 [Recording Technology and Taiwan Music: A Reflection on Recent Studies], *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 178 (2012): 1–24.

[15] Ying-fen Wang, "Zuochu Taiwan wei: riben xuyinqi shanghui Taiwan changpian chanzhi celuo chutan" 作出臺灣味: 日本蓄音器商會臺灣唱片產製策略初探 [Sounding Taiwan: On Nipponophone's Strategies of Taiwanese Record Production], *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore* 182 (2013): 7–58.

Different from the record's head company that involved Japanese-American cooperation (in terms of funding and management), the recording of "Peach Blossom" and its final production relied on the coordination between Taiwan and Japan. Zhan Tianma and Wang Yunfeng originally made the song in Taiwan. To keep its appeal to the Taiwanese audience, Columbia Formosa also invited a Taiwanese star to record the song. The singer, Chunchun 純純 (Liu Qingxiang 劉清香 [1914–1943]), was a famous songstress in traditional Taiwanese opera at that time. Before singing for "Peach Blossom," she had already recorded several songs in traditional music genres with Columbia Formosa under her legal name, "Qingxiang." From 1926 to 1931, her recordings mostly took place in Columbia's Taipei studio. Yet beginning in 1932, more and more recordings were at the studio in Tokyo, including "Peach Blossom."[16] The shift of music genres played a role in such a transition. According to Wang Ying-fen's research, when it was a project concerning modern music that required the orchestration of Western-style bands and equipment, Columbia Formosa tended to travel the singers from Taiwan to Tokyo or Osaka for a better quality of recording, while most of the traditional music had to record in Taiwan. The division of music genres also reflected on the choice of singer's stage names. It was said that Liu, as a star in both genres since the successfulness of "Peach Blossom," would use the name, "Chunchun," to sing for modern pop songs while "Qingxiang" was the persona more with traditional operas.

The participation of Okuyama Teikichi 柏野正次郎 (1887–1956) as a composer of "Peach Blossom" represented another layer of Japan-Taiwan coordination. Okuyama rearranged the music written by Wang Yunfeng, turning it from a street performance into

[16] Ying-fen Wang, "Zuochu Taiwan wei, 34.

a studio presentation with the accompaniment of Columbia Symphony. Trained from Tokyo College of Music, Okuyama was a prolific tunesmith, the name of which frequently printed on the label of records in Japan, colonial Taiwan, and colonial Korea. In the golden age of gramophone records, he established the style of music arrangement for popular songs.[17] His works in Taiwanese records includes "Song of Taipei Residents" (Columbia Chorus, Nipponophone, 1920), "Our Taiwan" (Lin Shi Hao, Columbia Formosa, 1929), and many film songs.[18]

From street concerts to studio copies, the industrial reproduction of "Peach Blossom" came from layers of transnational, border-crossing mediations. As a music adaptation of cinema embodying the hybridity of colonial popular culture, the shellac record was at once an American-Japanese company's Taiwan product, a traditional singer's modern interpretation, and furthermore, a Taiwanese appropriation of Shanghai vernacular modernism. On the label of the record, important descriptions of the song were in Chinese (except for manufacturing information). Moreover, its choice of terms for the music genre, "film theme song," was *yingxi zhutige* (影戲主題歌) instead of *yinghua zhutige* (映畫主題歌). Although both terms stood for cinema and were used interchangeably in the colony at that time, *yingxi* was a Chinese-Taiwanese expression while *yinghua* (*eiga*) was a localized Japanese phrase. Despite its manufacturer's Japanese connection, the record chose to put *yingxi* on its label. After all, the music,

---

[17] Nichigai Asoshiētsu Kabushiki Gaisha, *Shinsen geinō jinbutsu jiten: Meiji-Heisei* 新撰芸能人物事典: 明治—平成 [A New Dictionary on Entertainers: From Meiji to Heisei] (Tokyo: Kinokuniya Shoten, 2010).

[18] Xue, *Taiwan yinyue cidian*, 313.

"Peach Blossom," was originally a promotion for *The Peach Girl*, the Chinese silent film from Shanghai.

Filming Chinese Modernity

In *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen*, film scholar Zhen Zhang historicizes early Shanghai cinema as an embodiment of "vernacular modernism," a theoretical term coined by Miriam Hansen in her research on classical Hollywood cinema as a popular form of modernism transculturally.[19] Considering cinema a modern universal language, a new Tower of Babel, and an alternative public sphere in the early twentieth century, Zhang follows the verbal and visual theorization of cinema as a global vernacular. Such a vernacular modernism did not represent highbrow culture but rather connected to "a mass media-based authorship and spectatorship."[20] Historicized by Zhang's research, Shanghai cinema, developed upon a semi-colonial city where old and new, foreign and local culture greatly intersected, epitomized Chinese vernacular modernism in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Although it was not among the case studies in Zhang's book, *The Peach Girl*, as a silent film by Shanghai Lianhua Studio in 1932, was a work not only born from the culture but also elaborated the Janus-faced modernism in the Chinese context. As introduced in the previous section, the film, although an import from China, played a significant role in the popular sonic and film culture in colonial Taiwan. Yet, to this date, the film is still insufficiently researched. Thus, this section presents a

---

[19] Miriam Bratu Hansen "The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism," *Modernism/modernity* 6.2 (1999): 59–77.

[20] Zhen Zhang, *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896–1937* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2.

close reading to *The Peach Girl* and particularly focuses on the issue of modernity and modernism it embodied at that time, in terms of the cinematic language delivered through the film plot, and also in terms of this film's role as a medium of Chinese modernity.

The Peach Girl portrayed the juxtaposition of modernity's playfulness, pain, and discontents in Chinese society through its cinematic language, despite the absence of sound in the film. As suggested by the plotline, what caused the ultimate death of the peach girl was the irreconcilability of the old and new beliefs in Chinese society, during the time when young adults began pursuing free love while their parents insisted on following the old-fashioned way to arrange marriages between equal social ranks. In the film, the character stuck with old beliefs is the mother of Teh-en, the landowner Mrs. King, who disapproves of her son and the peach girl's (Lim) marriage due to the fact that Lim's father is a tenant farmer working for the King family. As soon as Mrs. King's first appearance in the film, the English intertitle introduces her in the following words, "Mrs. King loves Teh-en, her only son, above all things, but not always in the wisest manner." Here, the English lines are much subtler than the Chinese ones. The original Chinese sentence describes Mrs. King's "not always in the wisest manner" as the following, "It is a shame that the way she loves her son is too far behind the era (可惜她的愛法太不合時代了)." Then, the following scene presents Teh-en and Lim as each other's play date when they first meet as children, while Mrs. King keeps interrupting the two to separate them. As a contrast to Mrs. King's behavior, the intertitle explains the friendly interaction between Teh-en and Lim in a sentence, "Class distinction does not exist among children." From the beginning, the film shapes Mrs. King an old-fashioned character that lives her life lagging far behind the modern era, whose stubbornness later becomes the major

obstacle of the peach girl's romance. In the subsequent scenes, Mrs. King not only disapproves of Teh-en and Lim's marriage when they grow up but goes further to prohibit Teh-en from visiting Lim when she is pregnant with his child. As a result, Lim is worried and becomes severely ill in desperation. In order to meet Lim for one last time before her death, Teh-en leaves home, with his words to Mrs. King, "Do you think your obstinacy in this case is justified, in view of your love for your son?" The film builds an analogy between obstinacy and the attitude of the old generation not only through its intertitles and plotlines but also the actress' performance. Representing the parent of the male protagonist in the film, Mrs. King almost always shakes her head in every action, seemingly implying that this character is dubious about everything around her and is afraid of accommodating changes in life. In the film, Mrs. King shows her obstinacy when it comes to find a good match for his son, while the acceptable one should come from a family equal to the King's, in terms of social class. Similar to Marguerite in *The Lady of the Camellias*, Lim is the tragic protagonist in *The Peach Girl* whose love and life are sacrificed to class discrimination in society, while *The Peach Girl* further establishes a direct, causal connection between the older generation's obstinacy and class discrimination. In other words, the film characterizes old attitudes as fetal harms to the future of new generations. The ailing of the peach girl is thus a painful consequence of losing the fight against tensions between old and new ideas in the time of transition.

The Peach Girl builds its plotline upon the conflicts between old and new generations, depicting the agony of modernity. The Chinese title, "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood," is descriptive of the sorrow and pain it outcries. Nevertheless, there are subplots of the film that capture the playfulness of modernity and the discontents it

derives. For instance, “The Annual Temple Fair,” a section in the middle of the film, illustrates such ideas when Lim is shocked to encounter the images of naked women while seeing a peepshow with Teh-en (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. The following eight images are from the peepshow scene in the film section, "The Annual Temple Fair," in order. (*The Peach Girl*. Directed by Bu Wancang. Shanghai: Shanghai Lianhua Studio, 1931.) Lim and Teh-en go to see the peepshow. Lim is shocked and discontinued when the images change from traditional drama figures to two naked women.

4.2.1

4.2.2

4.2.3

4.2.4

4.2.5

4.2.6

4.2.7

4.2.8

"The Annual Temple Fair" is a section presenting Lim and Teh-en's dating scenes. After the two have grown up, Teh-en falls in love with Lim during a trip to collect rent from Lim's family. The lovers go to a bustling temple fair in Lim's hometown. At the fair, they first stop by a peepshow. Also called the raree-show or the peephole theater, the peepshow is considered a street practice of early cinema. It presents a sequence of pictures projected inside a cabinet to the viewers who see the images from outside, through the peepholes on a wall of the cabinet. During the show, a vendor stands by the cabinet to move and change pictures for the viewers, sometimes with simultaneous oral storytelling. Such a show is an early technical model of cinema, since how it works involves the projection of moving images, the spectator, the closed space (within a cabinet or a box) that frames and screens the pictorial contents to be viewed, and the technician (an onsite vendor who works as a projectionist and a storyteller) to mediate the viewing process. What is played in a peepshow might contain exotic or even erotic images, and thus the show is also called "the western mirror" (*xiyang jing* 西洋鏡) or "pulling foreign pictures" (*la yangpian* 拉洋片) in the Chinese context. In addition, considered a trick to the eye, what the show presents to its viewers are illuminated shadows of moving images, lifelike and yet incorporeal, forming a visual narrative as something deliberate and delusional. In China, "the western mirror" is also a metaphor of deception; therefore the Chinese proverb, "dismantle the western mirror (*chaichuan xiyang jing* 拆穿西洋鏡)," which means seeing through and exposing a fraud. As a popular form of early modern visual culture that carries multifaceted implications, and as well as a mini-film within the film, the peepshow scene delivers many layers of messages.

In the scene of the peepshow, the film captures Lim's shocking experience in zooming lens, through a change of point of view between the spectators and characters. Beginning with the intertitle that says "The Annual Temple Fair," a transparent image of peepshow cabinet superimposes the text (*4.2.1*). After a sequence of shots showing the busy crowds at the fair, there comes a long shot of the peepshow stand surrounded by curious spectators. In the frame, a vendor moves and changes pictures displayed outside the cabinet. Then, Lim and Teh-en come into the scene. Lim shows her interest in the show and invite Teh-en to see with her (*4.2.2*). The scene fades out, replaced by a medium shot showing Lim and Teh-en leaning by the cabinet's peepholes (*4.2.3*). The next scene, as a change of point of view, presents the images seen from their eyes. They first see two painted traditional drama figures (*4.2.4*). Then, the picture moves horizontally to another one (*4.2.5*). The image in the frame becomes a drawing of two women, naked, standing at the opposite sides of a four-panel screen, the left one shows her entire back while the other reveals her front that is only semi-covered by the panel screen (*4.2.6*). After the two images, the lens shifts back to a medium shot of Lim and Teh-en by the peepshow cabinet. Here, the point of view changes back to third-person. Lim looks shocked and embarrassed. She pulls back and stops viewing (while Teh-en is still watching) (*4.2.7*). Lim then grabs Teh-eh's shoulder and waves her hands, asking Teh-eh to leave the place with her (*4.2.8*).

The cinematic language conveys the shock of Lim through a subtle mechanism of seeing and being seen. During the peepshow, the first image she sees is a drawing of two male figures in traditional drama costumes. Facing forward, the figures stand side by side on an abstract background, as displayed objects without an articulated perspective. Then,

similar to the presentation of a film, the image moves away and another scene comes into view. This time also two human figures, yet they are both female, naked, facing one another in a room. In the middle of the two is a four-panel screen, which might be a mirror metaphor: diagonally positioned by the "mirror," the two women are almost identical in hairstyle, body, and the way they lift their left hand. The woman at the right side of the picture sets her eyes on the woman on the left, slanted revealing her head and the upper part of her body from behind the panel screen, in the posture of a peeper—a peeper peeping on her mirrored image; a naked figure that is both the subject and object of seeing. Suggested by the scene, the peeper in the picture makes Lim a spectator of mirroring images through a "western mirror." Lim, as a peepshow peeper, thus has a perspective identical to the peeper in the picture. Would Lim's shock be a result of her uncomfortable feeling from seeing naked women displayed for public view? Or, does she find similarities between the mirroring images and the projection of herself, who is also peeping a mirror at that very moment? Given the fact that the device Lim peeps through is a "western mirror," that is, a Chinese metaphor of deception, to what extent is the naked women, as mirrored, mirrored images of Lim's unrevealed, gendered self, a dishonest illusion? To what extent are such mirroring perspectives uncanny, unfamiliar, and unlikely to be true, or rather, are seemingly familiar and too intimate? At the local temple fair in her neighborhood, Lim comes across unexpected scenes through a peepshow machine. What is capsulated in the machine is not something purely "new," but rather the unlikely coexistence of the unfamiliar and the intimate. As an inference of the scene, the subsequent tensions between costumed men and naked women, seeing and

being seen, mirrored images and the mirroring projection, altogether overwhelms Lim and halts her from viewing.

Also as a spectator of the peepshow, Teh-en is not as shocked as Lim when the image of naked women appears. He continues viewing the pictures until Lim asks him to leave the place with her. Teh-en and Lim's reactions to the images suggest the differences between the two. Compared to the country girl Lim, Teh-en, who grew up in the city, seems more comfortable with those "foreign pictures" in a modern peepshow machine. Also known as "pulling foreign pictures" in China, the peepshow, juxtaposing images of traditional drama figures and western painting styles to its spectators, becomes a site where modernity reveals its Janus-faced character. The unexpectedness of such modern experiences, on one hand, is appealing (according to Teh-en's reaction); on the other hand, however, the abruption between the old and the new is confusing and threatening (as embodied in Lim's shock). Although Lim and Teh-en both represent the new generation, the film establishes distinctions between the two. The peepshow scene elaborates and complicates the contrasts of old and new, through the oppositional characterization between Teh-en and Lim, as city gentlemen and country lady, rich and poor, calm and shocked, and modernity and tradition.[21]

Lim, the "peach girl" in the film, has a connection to classical Chinese culture. Peach blossom is a cultural trope in China, as explained in the beginning of the film's intertitle: "For ages in China, the tender color of the peach blossoms has been compared to that of human tear drops, for the peach tree speaks of love, of sorrow, and of tears." In

[21] Miriam Hansen discusses the country/city representations in Chinese cinema, see Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons: Shanghai Silent Film As Vernacular Modernism," *Film Quarterly* 54.1 (Autumn, 2000): 14–15.

addition, in the earlier section of the film, Lim's mother notices that baby Lim would stop crying whenever seeing the peach tree. She thus tells Lim, "This peach tree is going to be a symbol of your life. It will have beautiful blossoms, if you grow up to be good." When Lim turns to become a young adult, pregnant with Teh-en's child and yet not able to get married, in poverty and desperation, Lim's father gives her a hoe and asks her to uproot the peach tree for more firewood. The gone of the peach tree implies Lim's departure from traditional China; or, in her mother's point of view, what happens in Lim's life is no longer good and classical as considered in Chinese culture.

Different from Lim who represents the blooming and death of cultural China in the modern age, Teh-en is the character that constantly encounters direct conflicts of modernity against traditions. The film portrays Teh-en a city-born young man, who takes modern ideas for granted until his own romance is severely frustrated by his mother's old-fashioned thoughts. In the film, the peepshow images do not surprise Teh-en. Moreover, also at the temple fair, when Lim seems to be upset by an old fortuneteller, Teh-en tells her, "Why be sad! How can you believe in such superstitious nonsense? I will always love you; I will protect you from evil and harm." There is even a dating scene of the young couple in the woods, where Teh-en uses a camera to take pictures of Lim while he teaches Lim how to pose for the modern lens. Yet, when Mrs. King finds out that Teh-en does not obey her words to send Lim back to her country town but instead secretly hiding her in the city to continue their relationship, Mrs. King grounds Teh-en at the King's house and forbids him to meet with the pregnant Lim. Teh-en tries to leave the house but constantly fails because of his mother's surveillance. Not until Lim is dying does Teh-en finally challenge his mother directly and then runs away from home to see

Lim. Teh-en, seems to have a modern mind but is not free enough to act in the way he wishes (particularly in terms of fighting for free love against arranged marriage in the first place), is a complicated character representing the young generation's aspiration and incompetence in a transitional era.

On the other hand, from Lim's point of view, Teh-en, whose actions do not always match his words, also symbolizes the trap of modernity. Although the film portrays Lim and Teh-en as a pair of young adults who sincerely fall in love with each other, their relationship is not always free of dishonesty. After the country temple fair, Teh-en invites Lim to visit his home city. Mrs. King asks Teh-en to send Lim home when she realizes her son is getting romantically involved with Lim. Yet, Teh-en does not follow suit. Instead, he secretly arranges a place for Lim to continue her stay. Afterwards, when Lim tells Teh-en that she is pregnant with their baby, he lies to Lim by saying, "I forgot to tell you—mother has already approved of our marriage;" despite the fact that he also lies to his mother about having sent Lim back to the country, while knowing Mrs. King is in the middle of arranging his marriage with another rich city lady. In the film, there is an intertitle showed between Teh-en's two lies (first to his mother and then to Lim), satirizing in an empathetic light, "A man's life might be easily altered by circumstances." Teh-en's lies fall apart when Lim's mother is sick and dying and thus sends her father to get Lim home. Having a confront with Teh-en in front of Mrs. King about his promise of their marriage, Lim agonizingly shouts to him, "You are a deceiver, no more and no less!" "You are a deceiver, with a face like a human being but with a heart of a beast!" "You deceived me! You deceived me!" Teh-en, regardless of his good intentions, repeatedly called as a liar by Lim in that scene, is the character that mediates

the unreliability of modern romance and modernity, despite the attractive appearance of which, its promise might suddenly turn into a deception. This is also when another implication of Teh-en and Lim's peepshow date unfolds: the "western mirror" is dismantled when Lim finally sees through and exposes Teh-en's lies.

As a complicated character in the film, Teh-en is not only a struggling follower of modernity but also its image-maker. He teaches Lim how to pose for a camera in the country woods; in the later section of the film, when Teh-en dates Lim in the city, he decorates their secret place with photos of themselves and dresses Lim in fancy, modern gowns. When Lim's father finally meets Lim in the city, he reacts to Lim's new appearance in anger, "It is against my wishes to have my own daughter dressed thus; go and get back into those clothes in which you came." The words of Lim's father represent another aspect of modernity seen at that time: modernity is simply a new costume of one's true self, sometimes seemingly to be insincere or even inappropriate. In addition, the father's words are also a criticism of Teh-en's credibility. Although constantly depicted as a master of modern images, Teh-en fails to fulfill the plan he pictured for the romance with Lim. Later, Lim's father forces the confrontation between Lim, Teh-en, and Mrs. King. Lim, back in her country clothes in that scene, hysterically calls Teh-en the deceiver. Lim's change of clothes in the film synchronizes with Teh-en's change of character. It turns out that the modern image-maker is better at making promises then keeping them. By portraying him as a fighter for free love, a modern image-maker, and a deceiver, *The Peach Girl* complicates the character of Teh-en to represent the diverse aspects of modernity, including its pain, playfulness, and discontents.

Capturing Lim's shock and Teh-en's inconsistency, the peepshow scene in *The Peach Girl* not only elaborates issues of modernity through its connection with the film plot but also through its manifestation of cinematic apparatus. The scene articulates the technique and capacity of cinema by displaying early cinema (street peepshow) in a silent film (*The Peach Girl*) through the incorporation of different point of views, including the changing perspectives of the characters in the film, the painted figures in the peepshow cabinet, and the audiences of *The Peach Girl*. The cinema is a site mediating the older and the newer, the seeing of seeing (for instance, the film audience sees Lim seeing the naked figure's seeing), juxtaposition and distinction, shock and wonder, and rupture and continuity in the modern eye. Yet there is one aspect not communicated by the cinematic language of *The Peach Girl*: the sound; and through which, vernacular modernism finds a new development in colonial Taiwan.

"Sonic" Vernacular Modernism

The Peach Girl was the epitome of Chinese vernacular modernism; Columbia Formosa's "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood, " a local Taiwanese song originally made to promote the silent film, represented a sonic development of vernacular modernism in colonial Taiwan. The conception of vernacular modernism, according to Miriam Hansen in her description of classical Hollywood cinema, is pertinent to "a sensory-reflexive horizon for the experience of modernization and modernity."[22] In addition, such a concept is not only a characterization of Hollywood films between the late 1910s through the 1950s, but also applies elsewhere. Identifying Shanghai cinema of the 1920s and 30s

[22] Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 10.

as representing "a distinct brand," Hansen observes vernacular modernism through "the cultural manifestations of mass-produced, mass-mediated, and mass-consumed modernity." In her theorization, the aesthetics of this kind of modernism establishes beyond the intellectual practice and realizes in "a wide variety of discourses that both articulated and responded to economic, political, and social processes of modernization—fashion, design, advertising, architecture and urban environment, the changing fabric of everyday life, new forms of experience, interaction, and publicness."[23] Accordingly, besides cinema, music is also a cultural medium that invokes related experiences. The Taiwanese "Peach Blossom," a song that was both modernist and popular at its time, was inspired by cinema and further inspiring new gramophone and film culture in the colonial context, thus manifested another distinct case of vernacular modernism in a realm that had more sonic significance than the silent, cinematic *The Peach Girl*.

From silent film to gramophone record, the sonic turn of "Peach Blossom" seemed alternative and regionally particular, but it also deeply connected with the transnational sound culture in the 1930s. Representing a distinctive case of vernacular modernism at the convergence of sound and moving images, transnationalism, and popular discourses, Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" was born and shaped in the cultural fabric woven by three cultural forces: first, the transition from silent cinema to sound cinema in film culture; second, the global circulation and indigenization of Americanism, including the American labels in gramophone industries, and the appropriation of jazz music in Taiwanese popular songs; and third, the trope of "free love" in intermedial practice across music, cinema, and literature, which featured both intellectual and popular

[23] Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 11.

aspirations of the "modern" time. The three forces, both shaping and manifested by "Peach Blossom" and the new culture it inspired, were part and parcel of the sonic vernacular modernism in 1930s Taiwan. The following three sections scrutinize these cultural forces.

I. Diversified "Sound Cinema"

Making "talkies" was a global trend in film industries in the 1930s. Since the late 1920s, the knowledge of sound cinema had spread in colonial Taiwan. For instance, on February 1st, 1928, the *Taiwan Daily News* reported a series of screenings of Japanese sound films at Taipei's New World Theater (*Shinsekai-kan* 新世界館), which provided free entry for news reporters and educators. By briefly introducing the emergence of sound cinema in the United States, the news account described the screening materials as a Japanese achievement of catching up on the sound technology in the world's filmmaking.[24] Another news report followed on February 5th, calling that screening of sound motion pictures an "uncommon, grand-scale success" because it attracted not only adult audiences but also more than three thousand elementary and middle school students.[25] Later, during the first month of 1930, both the Japanese and Chinese columns in the *Taiwan Daily News* reported an American technical team's visit to Taiwan, whose purpose was to make sound newsreels of the colonial island and introduce Taiwanese

---

[24] "Hassei eiga zenbu nihon mono Shin Sekai-kan jōei" 發聲映畫 全部日本もの新世界館上映 [Sound Cinema, All Things Japanese, Screening at Shin Sekai Theater], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 1st, 1928): 5.

[25] "Hassei katsudō eiga dai seikyō" 發聲活動映畫大盛況 [A Great Success of Moving Sound Pictures], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 5th, 1928): 2.

culture to the world. According to the news, the team, consisting of two technicians and four assistants from the United States, had already finished seven months of work in Japan, and would spend another month and a half to document the sound and images of Taiwan.[26] By the early 1930s, sound cinema had become a known concept and an ongoing practice in Taiwan's film circles. More and more filmmaking projects incorporated sound technology after the mid-1930s, carried by not only the international filmmakers but also their domestic counterparts.[27] In addition, between 1937 and 1939, as a means to update information on the Second Sino-Japanese War, the *Taiwan Daily News* regularly produced its own "sound newsreels" and held public screenings with those materials.[28] Sound had become an essential element in the film culture of colonial Taiwan.

Imported Chinese cinema also played a role in diversifying Taiwan's experience with sound films. During its time making *The Peach Girl*, a silent film, the Shanghai Lianhua Film Studio was also experimenting with sound technologies in other film

---

[26] "Hontō fūbutsu no hassei eiga bei gishi kefu rai Tai" 本島風物の發聲映畫 米技師けふ來臺 [American Technicians Came to Taiwan to Make Sound Cinema on Taiwanese Scenes and Manners], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 17th, 1930): 7. Also seen in the newspaper's Chinese Section three days later: "Bendao fengqu zhi fasheng yinghua mei jishi lai Tai" 本島風物之發聲映畫美技師來臺, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (January 20th, 1930): 4.

[27] For instance, "guntai ya banjin mo shutsuen oogakari na hassei eiga Taiwan no rekishi deki hatten o kyakushoku" 軍隊や蕃人も出演大掛りな發聲映畫 臺灣の歴史的發展を脚色 [A Large-Scale Talkie Performed by Military Troops and the Indigenous People, A Drama of the Historical Development of Taiwan], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 20th, 1934): 7. Also seen in the newspaper's Chinese Section one day later: "Shezhi fasheng yinghua yi Taiwan lishi wei jiaose jundui fanren dengdeng canjia chuyan" 撮製發聲映畫以臺灣歷史爲脚色軍隊蕃人等ヨ參加出演 (May 21st, 1934): 8.

[28] The newsreels produced by the Office of Taiwan Daily News are promoted as "Tainichi nyūsu hassei eiga" 臺日ニユース 發聲映畫 [Sound Cinema by *Taiwan Daily News*] in the newspaper.

projects. Related records can be found from Lianhua's own publication, *The Film Magazine*. In 1931, to introduce the newly finished *The Peach Girl*, *The Film Magazine* published four articles examining the theme, shooting technology, and lens language of the film, in addition to the film advertisement and images on other pages.[29] In the same issue of the magazine, "making sound cinema" was another focus, discussed by various articles. For instance, an article entitled, "Comments on Chinese Sound Filmmaking," considering the transformation from silent to sound cinema a progressive development of filmmaking and a necessary direction for Chinese films to compete with foreign production, provided four pieces of advice to sound filmmakers in China, including "training actor's voice," "revising old operas for new performance," "carefully selecting scripts," and "arranging acts qualitatively rather than quantitatively to properly fit the new technology."[30] Speaking from a different perspective, another article entitled, "A Sincere Suggestion to the Sound Film Makers in Our Country," considering whether to make sound cinema an open question at that time, suggested that filmmakers properly consider the cultural and linguistic differences between China and the Anglophone world before immersing themselves in sound filmmaking.[31] Although the article writers had different points of view regarding sound cinema, they both took the emergence of sound

---

[29] See Lianhua's own publication, *Yingxi zazhi* 影戲雜誌 [The Film Magazine] 2.2 (1931).

[30] Yanling 延陵, "Shezhi yousheng guopian pingyi" 攝製有聲國片評議 [Comments on Chinese Sound Filmmaking], *Yingxi zazhi* 影戲雜誌 [The Film Magazine] 2.2 (1931): 25–26.

[31] Sanyi 三易, "Duiyu shezhi youshengpian zhongku" 對我國製有聲電影者忠告 [A Sincere Suggestion to the Sound Film Makers in Our Country], *Yingxi zazhi* 影戲雜誌 [The Film Magazine] 2.2 (1931): 34–35.

technology as a new challenge that required awareness in Chinese filmmaking, at the time when Lianhua released *The Peach Girl* as a silent film.

Also in 1931, before the release of *The Peach Girl*, another Chinese film by Lianhua Studio was imported into Taiwan: *Wild Flowers* (*Yecao xianhua* 野草閒花). Although a silent motion picture, the *Taiwan Daily News* introduced the film as a work of sound cinema.[32] This was because, during the screening of the film, a gramophone record (Figure 4.3) would also play simultaneously in the theater. Written by the film director Sun Yu (1900–1990) and his brother Sun Chengbi, the music of the record was a "film song" sung by the two protagonists. In the movie theater, the music had to appear at a designated time, matching the protagonists' two singing scenes. Produced in the transitional period from silent to sound films, the song accompanied *Wild Flowers* to provide a distinctive audiovisual experience to the moviegoers. Despite seemingly being a substitute to sound cinema, *Wild Flowers* and its gramophone record represented an alternative attempt to make the silent film "acoustical" to the audiences. While in colonial Taiwan, such "gramophone sounded silent films" and the talkies were diversified forms of sound cinema, both identified as "*hassei eiga*" (發聲映畫) in newspaper reports.

[32] "Shina hassei eiga 'yecao xianhua' (zen jūichi kan)" 支那發聲映畫 '野草閒花' (全十一卷) [Chinese Sound Film "Wild Flowers" (Eleven Reels in Total)], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (June 11th, 1931): 3.

Figure 4.3. Image of the gramophone cover, "Traveling Across Thousands of Miles to Look For My Brothers: Lyrics," the film song produced for *Wild Flowers*. Sung by Ruan Lingyu and Jin Yan. Produced by New Moon, 1931.

Entitled “Traveling Across Thousands of Miles to Look For My Brothers: Lyrics” (*Wanli xunxiong ci* 萬里尋兄詞; “Lyrics” hereafter), the song written for *Wild Flowers* was among the earliest film music in Chinese cinema. Besides adding an acoustic layer to the experience, the song also played a role in the plot of *Wild Flowers*, as a romantic connection between the two protagonists, Huang Yun (played by Jin Yan [1910–1983]) and Lilian (played by Ruan Linyu [1910–1935]), a rich man and a poor woman who fall in love despite unsupportive circumstances. According to the plotline, Yun is a young musician who writes an opera called “Traveling Across Thousands of Miles to Look For My Brothers” (the same as the film song). He teaches Lilian to sing for the opera in one scene of the film. Later, after the lovers break up under social pressures, Lilian sings the song again in a public performance, which reconnects her with Yun. Thereafter, Lilian and Yun’s romance finally comes to a happy ending in the film. Made to match the film’s plot, the gramophone record of “Lyrics” was an integrated part of *Wild Flowers*, as a theme song to the silent film.

The two Taiwanese *banshi*, Zhan Tianma and Wang Yunfeng, wrote “Peach Blossom” for *The Peach Girl* nine months after the screening of *Wild Flowers* in colonial Taiwan. Although no direct records show whether “Lyrics” might have played a part in inspiring “Peach Blossom,” the similarities between *Wild Flowers* and *The Peach Girl* are hard to ignore. First of all, the producers of *Wild Flowers* and *The Peach Girl* were both affiliated with the Shanghai Lianhua Film Studio. Second, both films had the same leading actor and actress (Jin Yan and Ruan Linyu), who played similar characters as on-screen couples. Third, both film plots depicted the social obstacles to “free love,” in which the romantic relationship consisted of two young people from unequal class

status—the man was born in a wealthy family while the woman came from the bottom of the society. In addition, the male protagonists both fought against their family's arranged marriage to pursue their own romance. Fourth, both *Wild Flowers* and *The Peach Girl* connected the image of their female protagonists (both played by Ruan Lingyu) with flowers. In *Wild Flowers*, Lilian sold flowers for a living before meeting Yun, while *The Peach Girl* portrayed Lim as an embodiment of the beauty and utopianism of the peach blossom in classical Chinese culture. Moreover, both films reminded viewers and critics of *The Lady of the Camellias* by Alexandre Dumas, *fils*, as a Chinese translation of the novel had been widely circulated in intellectual circles since the late Qing period.[33] Fifth, both *Wild Flowers* and *The Peach Girl* include a film within the film: the former performed an opera in the film plot and highlighted the in-film opera through onsite gramophone music, and the latter showed moving images in a "western mirror" within the cinematic frame; both films used cinema as a platform of multimedia presentations.

Since the screening of *The Peach Girl* in colonial Taiwan was only several months after importing *Wild Flowers*, it was possible that the Taiwanese distributors and *benshi* noticed the similarities between the two films and thus decided to also make a song for *The Peach Girl*, with the hope of catching the emerging trend of "sound cinema" at that time. Although different from "Lyrics" of *Wild Flowers*, "Peach Blossom" was not a song made to present with the screening of *The Peach Girl* but rather an acoustic "trailer" advertising the film before its screening, the idea of making a theme song for silent cinema was similar. The fact that the production of "Peach Blossom" involved two

[33] Lin Shu 林紓 (1852–1924) and Wang shouchang 王壽昌 (1864–1926), trans., *Bali chahua nu yishi* 巴黎茶花女遺事 [The True Tale of the Parisian Lady of the Camellias], first published in 1899.

Taiwanese *benshi* further represented the diversified roles of film workers and their multimedia engagement in the transitional period from silent to sound cinema. Moreover, the *benshi*, as masters of colloquial arts, were the practitioners to popularize film images in vernacularism. In a sense, "Peach Blossom," written in the local Taiwanese language for the promotion of a Shanghai cinema, was a song adding another acoustic, vernacular layer to vernacular modernism, the concept of which developed through multifaceted appropriations and reconstructions, signifying hybrid cultural aesthetics concerning Hollywood silent cinema, Shanghai modernity, and the popular vernacular born from the tensions between the colonial rule and market rule in Taiwan during the 1930s.

II. Indigenized Americanism

Besides new cultural policies and concepts that came with Japanese colonialism (such as the introduction and local production of *hassei eiga* discussed in the previous section), the transnational "market rule" in the 1930s was another essential aspect that shaped the sonic modernity in colonial Taiwan. Americanism, a significant layer in Hansen's theorization of vernacular modernism, was a force that exemplified the market rule more than the colonial rule in this context. Considering the globalization and localization of Americanism as a market-driven force "beyond the polarized labels of either a benign spreading of the American Dream or, respectively, systematic cultural imperialism," Hansen takes the appropriation of classical Hollywood cinema in Shanghai films during the 1920s and 1930s as an instance of vernacular modernism, which reflected at once the cultural hegemony of Americanism in that specific historical period, and the ways in which such industrially produced, mass-based vernacular culture "meant

different things to different people and publics."[34] From Hansen's point of view, the market-oriented Americanism became influential beyond formal imperial borders; as suggested by Victoria de Grazia, American cultural exports "were designed to go as far as the market would take them."[35] Although there was a direct Japanese engagement in the development of mass culture in colonial Taiwan while Americanism was not so much in the major discussion by historians, the influence of American culture on the island was traceable. Cinema and music were two realms in which Americanism was especially evident in the diversified modern experience of colonial Taiwan, particularly during the 1930s when the Japanese administration practiced its "softer" colonialism to make Taiwan an extension of modern Japan, which gave room for other capitalist forces and cultural commodities to participate in, if not compete with, the Japanese imperial control of the Taiwanese market at that time.[36]

Americanism was a capitalist force mediating Taiwan's gramophone culture. Columbia Formosa's American affiliation was one example, and the circulation and appropriation of American jazz in Taiwanese popular culture was another. Jazz music became a part of the modern sceneries in 1930s Taipei, prevailing in dance halls and local

---

[34] Hansen, "Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons," 12.

[35] Victoria de Grazia, "Americanism for Export," *Wedge* 7–8 (Winter–Spring 1985): 74–81.

[36] After the end of First World War, Japanese administration in colonial Taiwan followed a new ruling policy called "Extension of Inner Japan" ("naichi enchō shugi" 內地延長主義; seeing Taiwan and extensive territory of Japan and preparing the Taiwanese to become Japanese ultimately), taking the approach of cultural assimilation instead of military suppression to rule Taiwan. Reflecting such a direction, the governor-generals between 1919 and 1936 were from the system of "civil officials" (*bunkan* 文官) rather than the military ones (*bukan* 武官).

cafés. As a new social space replacing traditional teahouses and bars, the café was a venue for the consumption of early modern culture.[37] In a café, a guest—most often male—would be able to enjoy coffee; cigarettes; alcohol; the taste of western food and snacks; music from new imported gramophone machines; and the service of fashionably dressed waitresses, all while reading newspapers or gathering with friends. Xu Qiong'er (1912–1950), a Taiwanese writer, depicted such a culture in his short fiction, "Modern Sceneries of the Island Capital." In the fiction, the male protagonist wanders aimlessly on Taipei streets after work. Between eight and eleven in the evening, he rode the bus by himself; went to a dance hall and a café with a friend that he ran into on the street; and lastly visited a teahouse salon alone before catching the final bus home. During this night, he constantly uses the trope of jazz music to depict his state of mind and the city culture, especially when characterizing the loneliness or melancholia of modern Taipei:

> It is not possible to feel lonely and feel the jazz at the same moment—I long for jazz in loneliness, and long for loneliness after having jazz… The melancholic city entails the modern scenery of this island capital. With the sound of jazz around, the city hides itself behind the curtain woven by melancholia, tedium, and lies. The tragic city that environs tragedies entails the modern scenery of this island capital. Same as other places, there are excitement and progressiveness; there are energies. The great

[37] Ge Siming 戈思明, *Taiwan zaoqi kafei wenhua* 臺灣早期咖啡文化 [Early Taiwanese Coffee Culture] (Taipei: Guoli lishi bowuguan, 2008).

> tragedy gives birth to great solemnness. And what comes after the great solemnness is the fateful development.[38]

In Xu's fiction, jazz is a symbol of the disturbance and decadence of modernity, prevailing in Taipei city while mediating the sadness and aspirations of a Taiwanese man in the mid 1930s. The jazz culture and the excitement and anxiety it brought to the island's modern milieu also alerted the colonial police system. In 1932, an article entitled, "The Social Value of Jazz," published in the *Taiwan Police Times*, considered the popularization of jazz music to be a reflection of the psyche of the masses, as it is a temporary, stimulating entertainment for people's desperate and confusing lives.[39] Implied by the article, the emergence of jazz culture was both a fascination to city people and a potential social problem during the 1930s.

Jazz not only entered Taiwan as a sonic background of the modern city but also became an element in the production of popular music. According to Ying-Fen Wang's research, since the early 1930s, Columbia Formosa began to hire jazz bands for new recording projects on Taiwanese traditional music under the category of "popular tunes."[40] Here, the so-called "popular song" was more of a category shaped by the music industries than a description of music reception. The making of the popular song, at that

---

[38] My translation. Xu Qiong'er 徐瓊二, "Shimato no kindai fūkei" 島都の近代風景 [Modern Sceneries of the Island Capital], *Di yi xian* 第一線 [First Frontline] (1935): 112–118.

[39] Itai Erota 板井江呂太, "Jiazu no shakaideki kachi" ジャズの社会的価値 [The Social Value of Jazz], *Taiwan keisatsu jihō* 臺灣警察時報 [Taiwan Police News] (1932): 47–50.

[40] Ying-fen Wang, "Zuochu Taiwan wei," 33–34.

time, often involved a mixture of the local and the foreign styles in the melody, lyrics, or theme of the music—though whether the final product indeed became popular or not was another question. According to Chen Junyu's recollection, during the 1930s and 1940s, colonial Taiwan produced more than five hundred gramophone records featuring "Taiwanese popular music," but among them, only about thirty songs were well received by the audience.[41] Nevertheless, jazz was representative of the modern, popular sound at that time, as a key element in both the adaptation of music and the creation of original songs in Taiwan. For instance, the Formosan Eagle, a record label of Columbia Formosa, made a series of gramophone records that featured "popular tunes" in 1931. The music of these records was a mixture of Taiwanese and foreign melodies, and Zhou Yudang (dates unknown) was one of the music composers who arranged western style tunes into the vernacular tea-picking songs and traditional Taiwanese operas in these records. Serving as the leader of a jazz band at the First Dance Hall, Zhou was among the first generation of local musicians who promoted jazz music in Taiwan.[42]

Although ignored in previous research and oral histories, Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" by Wang Yunfeng in 1932 might also be an adaptation from American jazz. There seemed to be identical melodies in the theme tunes of Wang's "Peach Blossom" and the chorus in Earl Fuller's Famous Jazz Band's "Li'l Liza Jane," the latter of which

---

[41] Chen, "Riju shiqi taiyu liuxingge gailu," 29.

[42] Jinfu Gao 高金福, "Taiwan ni okeru jiazu no yurai to sono chichitaru shinten" 臺灣に於けるジャズの由来と其の遅々たる進展 [The Origin and Belated Development of Jazz in Taiwan], *Taiwan geijutsu shinpō* 臺灣藝術新報 [Taiwan Arts News] (May 9th, 1939): 24. According to Gao, it was around the 1930 that the jazz culture became popular and widely circulated in the cities of colonial Taiwan.

was recorded in New York in 1917 and released by Victor Talking Machine Company.[43] Such a connection was noted during a discussion of the preliminary draft of this chapter in Ronald Radano's music seminar in 2014.[44]

To many gramophone consumers in the United States and abroad, the 1917 Victor version of "Li'l Liza Jane" was the first taste of jazz. Yet the song had a longer history that involved many layers of transcultural circulation. Before Victor's recording, an earlier version of "Li'l Liza Jane" was published in 1916 by Sherman, Clay & Co in California. Furthermore, according to an oral history project called "Mississippi Narratives," the refrain and melodies of the song, "Oh, Lil' Liza, lil' Liza Jane," had been popularly circulated among the African Americans around Covington, Louisiana before the American Civil War, which might be a reason that the song was also known as "southern dialect" music.[45] In addition, the refrain of "Li'l Liza Jane" was almost identical to "Funga Alafia," a song for a welcome dance originating from West Africa, and a part of the song title, "Liza Jane," was a common female character name in minstrel shows. Thus, "Li'l Liza Jane," as the first taste of American jazz, embodied layers of sharing with features in African music and culture.

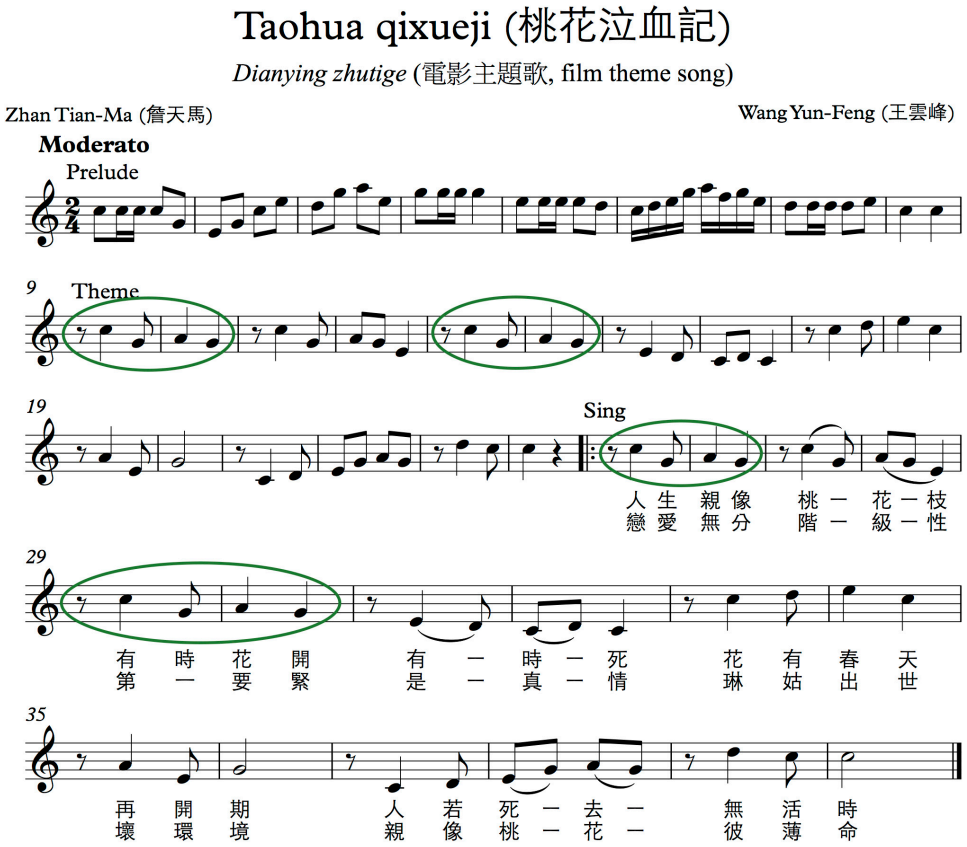
---

[43] The following two links provide audible references for "Peach Blossom" (1932) and "Li'l Liza Jane" (1917). "Li'l Liza Jane:" http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/6186/autoplay/true/. "Peach Blossom:" http://blog.sina.com.tw/davide/article.php?pbgid=28994&entryid=572809.

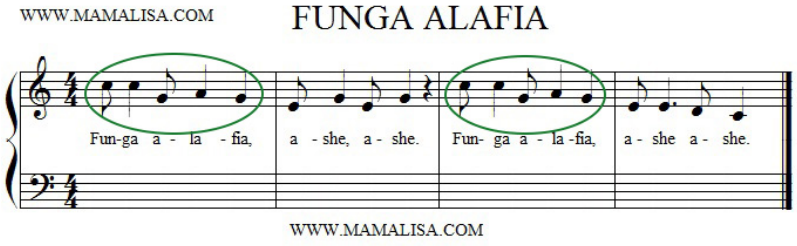
[44] During the seminar, Fritz Schenker, an ethnomusicologist who works on colonial Asia's jazz age, noticed the similarities and thus began my research on comparing the music transcriptions.

[45] Ann Allen Geoghegan and MSGenWeb Project, "Mississippi Slave Narratives from the WPA Records." See the transcription of oral narrative from Lucy Thurston: http://msgw.org/slaves/thurston-xslave.htm.

As indicated by the comparison of music scores (Figure 4.4), two bars of the theme tunes of "Peach Blossom" (*4.4.1*) were shared with the 1917 versions of "Li'l Liza Jane" (*4.4.2*), while the refrain of "Li'l Liza Jane" was very similar to the entire melody of "Funga Alafia" (*4.4.3*). Although there were different recordings of "Li'l Liza Jane" before the 1930s when Wang Yunfeng wrote "Peach Blossom," the 1917 Victor version was closest to the Taiwanese song because of the similarity between the performances of wind instruments in both songs. So far, no further records show how "Li'l Liza Jane" might have become an inspiration for Wang's "Peach Blossom," and yet a connection between the two songs seems to exist. If "Peach Blossom" was a result of the indigenization of Americanism in colonial Taiwan, such an indigenization must take a circuitous route that concerned intersections of jazz music, African culture, Japanese mediation, and the transnational reproduction of gramophone acoustics.

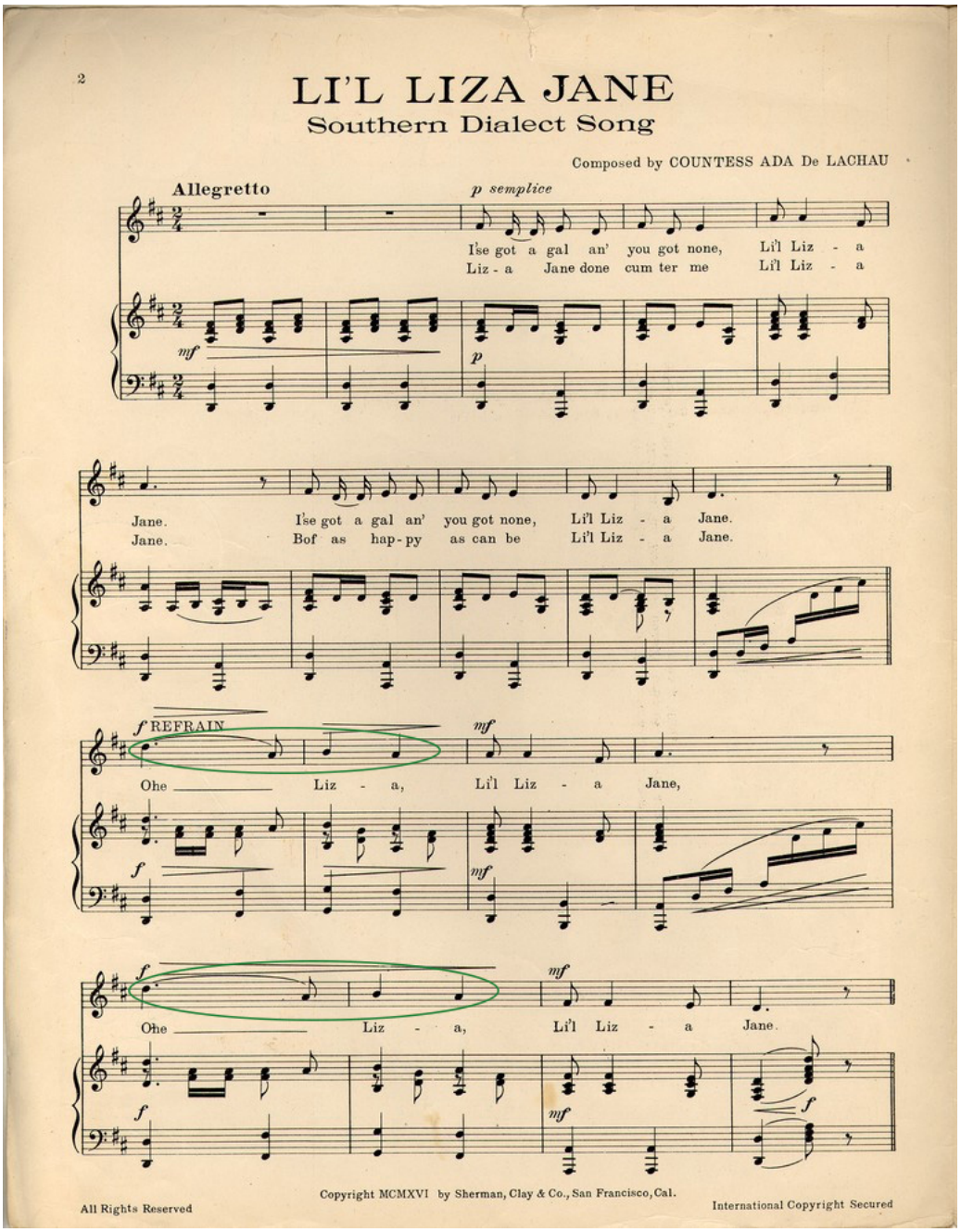


4.4.1. "Peach Blossom." Music transcription by Mei-Chen Chen.[46]



4.4.2. "Funga Alafia."

[46] Mei-Chen Chen, "Negotiating Change in Society and Music: Intertextuality, Female Roles, and Cultural Performance in Taiwan During Japanese Colonial Rule" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 2014), 100.



4.4.3. "Li'l Liza Jane."

Figure 4.4. The circled bars in three music transcriptions are nearly identical. "Peach Blossom" and "Funga Alafia" are in C Major, and "Li'l Liza Jane" is in D Major. (Circles on transcriptions added by me.)

Besides local appropriation of American jazz, there were also a significant number of Taiwanese popular songs that were adaptions or borrowings of Shanghai jazz, the melodies of which were mostly works by Li Jinhui (1891–1967), the so-called "father of Chinese popular music" at that time. According to Andrew Jones' description, Li was "a towering presence in the history of modern Chinese popular music."

> Between 1927 and 1936, Li pioneered a new and hugely influential brand of Sinified jazz music; recorded literally hundreds of "modern songs" for companies like Pathé-EMI, RCA-Victor, and Great China, composed screen songs for fifteen popular entertainment films, and even led the first all-Chinese jazz big band at an upscale Shanghai nightclub.[47]

Li rose during a rapidly developing period when film culture and popular music greatly reinforced each other. His "Sinified jazz" provided colonial Taiwan with an additional route to the modern acoustic, which was alternative to, if not directly against, the 1930s colonial modernity intervened by Japanese culture. Li's signified jazz was an indigenization of Americanism, and Taiwan's adaptation of Li's works was a further vernacularization. Overall, among the local adaptations of American and signified jazz culture, the Taiwanese lyrics—whether newly created for or a translation of the original works—represented a vernacular layer of the modern popular.

---

[47] Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 73.

The preceding discussion illuminated different ways that the transnational acoustic was appropriated in colonial Taiwan, some of which adapt American and other western-style orchestrations or melodies to create local popular songs, and some filling in Taiwanese lyrics to newly produced Shanghai music. The history of such cultural circulation and localization, on the one hand, indicated the global influence of American music; on the other hand, it also entailed the ways in which the audible, seemingly able to penetrate across borders, became the source of making distinctions and controllable categories for the interest of local appropriations. As in colonial Taiwan, "popular music" was not necessary popular but rather a modern production, a new music genre that emerged at the convergence of cinema and music; market rule and colonial control; and the indigenization of transnational media culture.

III. "Free Love" and the Modernity of Romance

The discourse of "free love," as manifested by "Peach Blossom," was a recurrent theme in the production of modern popular songs in colonial Taiwan. As interpreted in previous sections, *The Peach Girl* can be viewed through the peach girl's romance but also through the multifaceted experience of modernity in Chinese society. Yet in Zhan Tianma's lyrics, the romantic plot was picked up and singled out as the most important message of the film song. Moreover, the Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" obscured and almost transformed the sorrowful and tragic setting in *The Peach Girl*, replacing it with an opposite, celebrating version with repetitive, vigorous melodies. What was celebrated there, however, seemed not directly pertinent to the film, but instead the modern time, the "new era of society's civilization," while the death of the peach girl became a

pedagogical lesson that warned the "parents" and conducted them to abandon their "old-fashioned codes." The "old-fashioned codes" addressed here was a reference to the practice of arranged marriage in traditional Han-Chinese culture, seen as a major obstacle to "free love" and other modern discourses enthusiastically promoted by the new generations.

Love and romance not only appeared as popular themes for song lyrics but also became an intermedial trope across the acoustic, cinematic, and literary representations, which featured both intellectual and popular aspirations of the modern time. Since the 1920s, "free love" had become a modern discourse implying enlightenment and progressiveness among the circles of Taiwanese new intellectuals, the first generation of young adults in the colony who grew up receiving "modern education," a Western-Japanese education system that established its model since Japan's Meiji Restoration and deployed to Taiwan during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the colony, new knowledge and things modern implied meanings beyond the control of colonial system and further became an intellectual instrument to build discourses other than colonial ideologies, the result of which sometimes even became a source for anti-colonialism. The construction of "free love" as a modern discourse, as against the convention of "arranged marriages" among older generations, emerged from such a context.

For instance, in 1925, Zhang Wojun (1902–1955), a precursor of Taiwan's "new literature"—a concept roughly equated to and influenced by the May-Fourth Movement in modern China—published an article entitled "The Supreme Morality: Love" in *Taiwan People's News*, a non-governmental newspaper founded and operated by Taiwanese intellectuals. In the article, Zhang describes "love" as a progressive human character and

the supreme morality that emerged since the modern age. Here, Zhang has translated and transformed some ideas from Japanese literary critic Kuriyagawa Hakuson's *Modern Views on Love*, an influential book published three years before Zhang's article and inspired a new discourse called "love is the supreme principle" (*ren'ai shijō shugi* 恋愛至上主義) in Japan since then.[48] In the book, Kuriyagawa distinguished three different stages of the conception of "love": lusting love in ancient time, ascetic love during the Middle Age, and love as an integrated character in one's body and soul in the modern period. Based on such a progressionist point of view, Kuriyagawa advocates for "love marriage" and considers it the practice of an advanced nation and society. Zhang, extending Kuriyagawa's idea and rearticulating it as "love is the supreme morality" in Taiwanese context, also conceptualized love as a "new virtue" that evolved with the advanced humanity in modern time: "Alongside with the progression of humanity, the lust in love becomes purified, genuine, and poetic, and eventually love turns to be the supreme spirituality."[49] Zhang's article was just one among many that promoted "free love" and "love marriage" in colonial Taiwan since the 1920s. Embracing such a trend that considered love a modern discourse, Taiwanese new intellectuals agitatedly participated in related debates and wrote new fiction, drama, and other works that promoted the ideas of free love and love marriage. "Romance" thus became an intellectual trope that carried progressive ideas in literary works, popular music, and

[48] Kuriyagawa Hakuson 厨川白村, *Kindai no ren'aikan* 近代の恋愛観 [Modern Views on Love] (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1922).

[49] Zhang Wojun, "Zhishang zuigao daode: lianai" 至上最高道德—戀愛 [The Supreme Morality: Love], *Taiwan minbao* no. 75 (October 1925).

cinema, associating with the rise of early feminist consciousness and city culture (the "modern sceneries") in colonial Taiwan in the 1930s.

In the realm of popular music, Chen Junyu, the head of the Literary-Cultural Department at Columbia Formosa, also wrote song lyrics that deeply embodied the cultural trend of modern romance. "Dancing Era," the gramophone record released by Columbia Formosa in 1933, was such a work by Chen. Also sung by Chunchun (the singer of "Peach Blossom"), the song lyrics of "Dancing Era" celebrated "the era of civilization" and encouraged women and men to socially interact in the public, which clearly referred to the new dance culture with a romantic tone in jazz rhythms. Delivered from a female first-person point of view, "civilization" was a concept that repeatedly appeared in the lyrics accompanying the image of a modern girl who interacted with her male partner freely in the public: "I am a girl of civilization; my aspiring mind is up for the east, the west, the south, and the north, freely;" "What all I know is that in this era of civilization, interaction with men should be public; a pair of man and woman, lining together, dancing foxtrots—that's what I love most." Here, the "era of civilization" is associated with the concept of free women and their romantic interactions with men, in public, social settings. Although the lyrics in "Dancing Era" might "represent" less Chunchun's own voice than that of Chen Junyu's ideas (thinking of the intellectual's "representation" of third-world women as a problem raised by Gayatri C. Spivak), civilization, new era, free woman, and romantic interactions were evident, constitutive elements reinforcing one another in such a modern popular production.[50]

---

[50] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, eds., *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313.

The Production of Modern Soundscape

Taiwan's "Peach Blossom" was a sonic practice of vernacular modernism in the colonial context. As a popular remake of the romantic plots in a modern Shanghai film, the song gave sound and Taiwanese voices to the original silent moving images. The songwriters, Zhang Tianma and Wang Yunfeng, who were famous *benshi*, the masters of colloquial arts at that time, played an essential role in weaving together the song's narrative and melody. Their effort was at once a local expression and an intellectual aspiration, which resulted in the Taiwanese-language acoustic of vernacular modernism. Moreover, as a newly emerged category called "film theme song" in the colony's gramophone culture, "Peach Blossom" inspired many more transmedial practices between popular music and cinema. The song's significance was located at the intersection of transnational collaboration (manifested by the establishment of Columbia Formosa), the technological development of gramophone culture (considering the fact that "Peach Blossom" was a double-sided shellac record), and ultimately, the cinema, *The Peach Girl* from Shanghai.

In colonial Taiwan, Shanghai cinema was more than an imported entertainment on the silver screen. It was also a medium of Han-Chineseness, a symbol of repressed cultural identity within the Taiwanese community at that time. The Japanese administration noticed the potential threat of Chinese cinema to colonial control and thus created restrictions on the importation of Chinese films. Although the quantity of Chinese cinema was much lower than the Japanese and Hollywood films screened in Taiwan, Chinese films was still popular among the Taiwanese and further became a source for local fashion. Michael Baskett mentions such a phenomenon in *The Attractive Empire*:

> Taiwan became a lucrative exhibition market for Chinese films after 1924, and local Taiwanese audiences preferred Chinese-produced films to Japanese ones almost from the beginning…. Partially due to the popularity of Chinese films, it became a fashionable trend in Taiwan from the late 1920s to wear Chinese-style clothes. The problem, as the Japanese saw it, was deeper than either fashion or film. The Japanese feared that unless it was countered, the onslaught of Chinese culture would undermine the entire base of Japanese colonialism that Goto and other colonial administrators had established. In a roundtable discussion on the topic, Japanese film promoter Fuchigami Sansei commented on Taiwanese dress and acting Chinese: "These people are not Chinese, they are Japanese. Obviously we didn't force them to Japanize their dress, speech, or all matters of good taste in their everyday lives—we bestowed all of these things to them as a privilege."[51]

Japan's anxiety about imported Chinese cinema was evidence of the films' popular reception in colonial Taiwan. In this light, Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" and the cultural trend it inspired in gramophone production was not merely a consumption of transnational modernity but potentially a subtle resistance to Japanese colonialism. By writing and singing in Taiwanese language for film songs, people on the colonial island

---

[51] Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 18–19.

exercised an alternative cultural medium to express their voices and aspirations. The production of such songs and gramophone records was a modern practice that the colonial administration had fewer means to counteract. The celebration of "new age of civilization" and the freedom of love and marriage in these songs thus became an ambiguous gesture, as it was not rejecting Japanese-mediated modern construction but building narratives and discourses through non-Japanese mediums. Resisting colonialism through the production of modern popular songs, such a resistance—if it was—was romantic, reproducible, and commercial, practiced under the coat of transnational consumption.

Developing from Miriam Hansen's theory while shifting the focus from the filmic to the sonic, this chapter considered the production of Taiwanese "Peach Blossom" to be a distinctive case of vernacular modernism, manifested by the diversified role of film workers during the transitional period from silent to sound cinema, the indigenization of international gramophone industries, the popular trope of modern romance in intermedial cultural practices, and the appropriation of Chinese cinema in Taiwanese vernacular culture, as all at once modernist, popular, and a subtle means of local resistance to Japanese colonialism.

Chapter 5

Coda: The Media, The War, and Postcolonial "Filming Back"

> "Plenty of wild wired promises are already being made for all the infant media. What we need is a [b]ook that honors the dead and resuscitates the spiritual ancestors of today's mediated frenzy. A book to give its readership a deeper, paleontological perspective right in the dizzy midst of the digital revolution. We need a book about the failures of media, the collapses of media, the supercessions of media, the strangulations of media, a book detailing all the freakish and hideous media mistakes that we should know enough now not to repeat, a book about media that have died on the barbed wire of technological advance, media that didn't make it, martyred media, dead media."
>
> Bruce Sterling, "The Dead Media Project: A Modest Proposal and a Public Appeal"

During the final years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, Taiwan's film culture demonstrated the intersectionality of transnational magic lanterns shows and early screen modernity, the standardization of film concepts in Japanese newspapers, and the local appropriation of vernacular gramophone acoustics, all of which represented an intermedial aspect of what cinema was and could be in a colonial context. The development of such a film culture, as part of the world's film history and intertwining with yet also departing from the canonical artistic and industrial practice of cinema, created its own meanings, discourses, and modes of representations that have continued to influence Taiwanese culture in the postcolonial era.

Mediated by and reacting to Japanese colonialism, the culture of magic lantern shows and early film screenings burgeoned almost simultaneously in colonial Taiwan and posed strong pedagogical implications, as part of either the colonial apparatus (e.g., Japanese textbooks and colonial newspapers) constructed to modernize and Japanize the Taiwanese people or the sociopolitical practice of reconstructing Taiwanese identity and cultivating discourses counter to the colonial administration, as demonstrated in Mei-Tai screenings organized by the Taiwanese Cultural Association. By exhibiting pictorials and their movements to public audiences at theaters, schools, temples, hospitals, orphanages, governmental buildings, and state fairs and expositions, the silver screen became both a mediator and representation of colonial modernity in Taiwan.

The pedagogical use of photographic and moving images in Taiwan continued to dominate the establishment of the cinema after the 1920s, when daily news media introduced filmmaking projects—whether imported, Japanese, or concerning representations of Taiwan—as both an extension of reality and a process of reality making. As part of that trend, descriptions of filming (*eigaka*) in newspapers became instructions for how cinema was produced and (had to be) understood, in news accounts that regularly actualized motion pictures by thoroughly picturing, enclosing, fixing, and sometimes appropriating the content and ideas of cinema for newsreaders. As such, foreign films could be interpreted as a harmonious coproduction between empires and their colonial territories, Japanese films could be viewed as positive statements of national character seeking to promote Japan's image in international society, and films addressing Taiwan could at once revise alleged misimpressions of the colony while also reaffirm the power the colonial administration and its modern management. Other than

the entertaining attractions and artistic explorations of moving images, their pedagogical implications were particularly significant elements in the conception of cinema in colonial Taiwan.

Beginning in the early 1930s, the incorporation of mechanical sound became a new focus in film culture. During that period, sound mediated cinema not only in technological experiments in talkies, but also in the practices of writing film theme songs for cinema or playing prerecorded music from gramophone machines during the screenings of silent films. As a result, the contemporary Japanese term *hassei eiga* came to refer to a range of approaches of incorporating acoustics into filmmaking. Promoting the trend of sound cinema, the *Taiwan Daily News* regularly hosted a program that featured sound news films as an alternative means of delivering news during the initial years of military mobilization in the late 1930s, which became another instance of how film culture interfered in the forms and practices of news media. From another angle, the combination of sound and cinema also inspired new productions of vernacular and popular music in Taiwan's colonial gramophone industries. Such a modern vernacular emerged at the intersection of the colonial island's urban culture, indigenized American and Sinified jazz, intellectual aspirations toward the trope of modern time, and the popularity of Chinese cinema in Taiwanese circles as a potential medium of discourses counter to those constructed beyond the control of Japanese colonialism.

In the various intersections of cinema and other cultural media, *benshi*, or the narrators of motion pictures at public screenings, played a major role. The use of *benshi* emerged in magic lantern shows, and their significance continued into the age of cinema, in both the silent and sound film periods in colonial Taiwan, when they not only gave

sound to silent cinema, but also served as cultural translators that mediated Taiwanese audiences' appreciation of foreign and Japanese cinema. As masters of colloquial art and local stars in film business, *benshi* moreover participated in the early history of Taiwanese film music by creating vernacular lyrics and melodies for modern popular songs and thus bridged the cooperation of the cinema and gramophone industries.

Traces of other media are thus visible in Taiwan's colonial film history. Although some of them emerged earlier than cinema, these media were neither old nor obsolete, but rather alternative, vigorous mediations of the culture of cinema. In 1899, for instance, the magic lantern shows were addressed in a news report about one of the earliest film screenings in colonial Taiwan, which described cinema as "not that new or interesting" compared to magic lantern shows. Later, in the 1940s, due to the increasing urgency of wartime mobilization, Japanese authorities suggested using magic lantern shows as a substitute for propaganda films and newsreels in Taiwanese rural villages where appropriate film equipment was unavailable. Although magic lantern shows were commonly considered to be part of the prehistory of cinema in modern screen culture, in colonial Taiwan they intersected with film history in a nonlinear way. However, it was not necessarily the case that cinema was new and magic lanterns were old, as if a causal relationship existed between the media; instead, the two media cultures became intertwined in their practices and developed organically within the colonial fabric without any teleological order.

Other than magic lantern shows, this dissertation observes cinema in the living histories of other media such as print newspapers and gramophone records.[1] As an early conception of cinema and filmmaking, *eigaka* appeared in news accounts published by the colonial newspaper, *Taiwan Daily News*, which at the time was largely controlled by the colonial administration, specifically the Taiwan Office of Governor-General. News reports from the *Taiwan Daily News*, in both their written content and layout, therefore often complemented, if not directly amplified, Japanese authoritative discourses. In such circumstances, what cinema was in colonial Taiwan was inextricably mediated by colonial ideologies. Prior to *eigaka*, news accounts were reported in styles similar to *eigaka* and introduced film projects about Taiwan, many of which were titled Taiwan *shōkai*, and concerned not only cinematic documentations and adaptations, but also promoted an imperial vision of the colony and a particular way of understanding filmmaking while at once viewing colonial Taiwan and Taiwanese culture through a Japanese lens.

By contrast, gramophone records in colonial Taiwan represented a production mediated less by Japanese colonialism than transnational capital flows and local consumer culture. The making of film songs and popular music intersected with indigenized Americanism, Sinified jazz, and imported Chinese fashion, which ultimately opened up a vernacular space for Taiwanese voices. Such a development of popular music and gramophone culture in colonial Taiwan was not only influenced by cinema—

[1] I use "dead media" in reference to ideas recognized by Bruce Sterling in "The Dead Media Project: A Modest Proposal and a Public Appeal," available at http://www.deadmedia.org/modest-proposal.html. Yet I do not consider magic lanterns, print newspapers, and gramophones as dead media in this research; instead, they are the media that give living records to cinema in colonial Taiwan.

for instance, in the connection of the silent film *The Peach Girl* and the gramophone record "Peach Blossom"—but moreover revised film history, as in the popular 1933 song "Longing for the Spring Breeze" and the 1937 Taiwanese-made film of the same title that it inspired. That the gramophone machine played simultaneously with film screenings as an early practice of sound cinema also represented the intermediations and living histories between cinema and other media.

Film history in colonial Taiwan is thus one without film. A major reason for that paradox is that many films made during the period are now lost. In terms of preservation, film materials became more difficult to save than wooden or glass lantern slides, print texts, or gramophone records. After the Second World War ended, films made during Taiwan's Japanese colonial period, due to political changes and poor preserved conditions, vanished earlier than other media once considered to be older than cinema. In effect, revealing such a film history could revise the history and conception of old and new media. Ephemeral and fragile, colonial cinema perished prior to the fade-out of its filmic fragments enclosed in magic lantern slides, newspapers, and gramophone acoustics. In this study, cinema is close to the "dead media," and it was the activities of magic lanterns, print news, and gramophone materials that give life to the buried colonial cinema. On the one hand, such a film history without film locates and represents an extensive archive of cinema. On the other, it suggests a discourse counter to that of the linear, progressionist technological capacity of media history. Moreover, such a history intertwines cinema and the power of the visual, the technological, and the imperial, while at once involving missing subjects, dislocated identities, and unredeemed memories.

Wartime Mobilization

A trend of transnational circulation can be observed in the aspects of film and media culture explored in this dissertation. Despite a focus on the film history of colonial Taiwan, this dissertation has involved materials and discourses that range beyond the geographical boundaries of the topic. The deployment of magic lantern shows in colonial Taiwan had a specific Japanese connection; accounts of *eigaka* were often published with an international audience in mind, and the vernacular gramophone culture further developed amid competition among Chinese fashion, Americanism, and Japanese modernity on the colonial island. However, after the late 1930s, Japan's participation in the Second World War redirected that transnational flow, and after 1937, stricter film policies were imposed on the import of Chinese and foreign cinema. In 1942, new policies were enacted to legitimate the role of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General as an active instructor of film content.[2] That same year, according to film historian Mamie Misawa, cinema in colonial Taiwan officially became a controlled section for wartime mobilization.

After the 1940s, Taiwan's film culture and cinematic activities developed in a different direction. In 1943, the film *Sayon's Bell* was made under the collaboration between the Taiwan Office of Governor-General, Japan's Shōchiku Studio, and Manchuria's Manchukuo Film Association. Although seemingly a border-crossing production, all three locales—Taiwan, Japan, and Manchuria—had been included in Japan's conception of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in 1940. In the film, Chinese–Japanese star Ri Koran played the Taiwanese Atayal girl Sayon, who

[2] Mamie Misawa, *Zhimindi xia de "yin mu,"* 34–80.

wholeheartedly follows Japan's wartime policies and insists on speaking Japanese instead of native Atayal language to the children in her tribe. Eventually sacrificing herself for Japan's mighty war, Sayon thus completes the propagandistic narrative promulgated during wartime mobilization.

In such colonial circumstances, Taiwanese film workers had to demonstrate loyalty to a Japanese identity in their filmmaking. *Longing for the Spring Breeze*, allegedly the last Taiwanese-made film during the colonial period, was an instance (Figure 5.1). Although the original film is now lost, related newspaper records show that the making of the film, which was inspired by a popular Taiwanese song with the same title, began in May 1937 at First Motion Picture Studio, owned by the Taiwanese Wu Xiyang 吳錫洋. Hoping to create a Taiwanese film unlike previous Japanese-made Taiwan cinema, which had introduced Taiwan from a distant point of view, Wu insisted on employing a certain number of Taiwanese people for the film and on selecting a script, director, and actors and actresses from Taiwan, as well as film sites on the island.[3]

Longing for the Spring Breeze depicts the love triangle of a Taiwanese intellectual named Qingde, a Taiwanese courtesan Qiuyue, and an upper-class Japanese woman Eimi. Although Qingde and Qiuyue fall in love and become secretly engaged when they are younger, Qingde eventually leaves to study in Japan, while Qiuyue is sold to a brothel by her money-loving parents. The Japanese girl Eimi becomes fond of Qingde and decides to help the loving couple reunite. However, Qiuyue, in realizing Eimi's good intention and that Eimi would be the better fit for Qingde's life and career, eventually commits

[3] "Taiwan daiichi eiga seisakujo" 臺灣第一映畫製作所 [Taiwan First Motion Picture Studio], *Taiwan jiji shinpō* 臺灣時事新報 [Taiwan Times] (July 9, 1937): 13.

suicide to free her fiancé of the burden of their engagement and thereby marry Eimi. According to Wu's comments from September 1937, *Longing for the Spring Breeze* was a film made to represent the harmonious relationship between Japanese and Taiwanese people known as *Ni-Tai shinzen* 日臺親善, a propagandistic wartime slogan that promoted an amiable relationship between Japan and Taiwan. In the same commentary, Wu notes that the film "demonstrates a huge step forward of those 'new Japanese' in Taiwan; in other words, it shows the Japanization of Taiwanese women."[4] Other commentary at the time interpreted the film as a critique of the money-loving nature of Taiwanese people, represented by the tragic character of Qiuyue, whose suicide becomes a noble Japanized sacrifice. Yet, a closer reading might as readily interpret the melodramatic plot as a political allegory illustrating how Taiwanese people had had to abandon their identities in exchange for a closer relationship and brighter future with imperial Japan. After all, becoming Japanese at the time was by no means a choice, but instead a requirement. Yet, despite Wu's putative statement of loyalty to Japan, *Longing for the Spring Breeze* became the last Taiwanese-made film in colonial Taiwan.

[4] See Wu's comments in *Taiwan kōron* 臺灣公論 [Taiwan Public Views] 2.9 (1937): 20.

Figure 5.1. An introduction of the newly made talkie, *Longing for the Spring Breeze*, which contains rarely seen pictures related to the lost film. In the upper right is an still from the film, while in the bottom left is a photo of the film crew, in which the man in the black suit sitting in the middle is Wu Xiyang, owner of First Motion Picture Studio and initiator of the project. The column in the middle of the page displays an announcement of Wu's First Theater, which canceled all onsite Taiwanese film interpretations by *benshi* and replaced them with Japanese ones, in what amounted to an unambiguous gesture of compliance with the authority's policy of Japanization at the time (*Taiwan kōron* 2.7 [1937]: 21).

Of the very few filmmakers from Taiwan who chose to relocate themselves to China and begin new lives there, He Feiguang 何非光 (1913–1997) was born into a decent Taiwanese family in Taichung, Taiwan, and after briefly studying in Tokyo during 1927 and 1928 returned to Taiwan for financial and family-related reasons.[5] In 1931, He moved to Shanghai to study medicine, but later entered Shanghai's film circle and portrayed several antagonists in Chinese films such as *The Light of Maternal Instinct* (1933) and *Queen of Sports* (1934). As a Taiwanese person with Japanese connections in China, He was occasionally suspected as a potential traitor to China and suffered from distrust and discrimination. In Shanghai cinema, He was often assigned roles as a brutal, over-polite Japanese military officer or a cold, decadent, modern boy (Figure 5.2). According to Misawa's interview with He's former colleague, George Wang 王玨 (1918–2015), He's image as an antagonist "is not traditional such as those dirty hooligans or cunning scoundrels; he is a handsome antagonist in a well-pressed suit."[6]

[5] According to Mamie Misawa, He eventually returned to Taiwan without earning a degree in Japan due to the accidental death of one of his brothers and the failure of his family's business. A member of the anticolonial movement, He's brother had been placed under house arrest and continuous surveillance by Japanese authorities; the reasons for his death remain unclear and range from sickness to suicide. At the same time, He's family's rice mill business caved in 1928 due to high tax rates imposed by the colonial administration. Misawa infers that both issues ultimately made He become an anti-Japanese filmmaker; Mamie Misawa, *Zai "diguo" yu "zuguo" de jiafeng jian: rishi shiqi Taiwan dianyingren de jiaoshe yu kuajing* 在「帝國」與「祖國」的夾縫間: 日治時期臺灣電影人的交涉與跨境 [*Negotiation and Translocality Between "Empire" and "Motherland": Taiwanese Filmmakers During Japanese Rule*] (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2012).

[6] Misawa, *Zai "diguo" yu "zuguo" de jiafeng jian*, 276–280.

Figure 5.2. Image of He Feiguang as an evil mine owner in Southeast Asia, the antagonist in *The Light of Maternal Instinct* (Dir. Bu Wancang, Shanghai Lianhua Film Company, 1933).

Although He was briefly sent back to Taiwan in 1935 for not having a passport, he reentered China in 1937. During the Second World War, He relocated to Chongqing and directed several anti-Japanese films for China Film Company 中國電影製片廠, including *Light of East Asia* 東亞之光 in 1940, which used real Japanese wartime prisoners as actors. With such films, He delivered an anti-Japanese message, albeit not with any stark distinction between the in and outgroup, but from a border-crossing point of view prioritizing the humanity.

Until 1949, He worked as a director of anti-Japanese cinema. Following the establishment of People's Republic of China (PRC) by the Chinese Communist Party, while the Republic of China (ROC) relocated to Taiwan with Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party, He, as a Taiwanese person who had worked for the Nationalist Party during the war, was accused of being reactive to the new China and forced to terminate his film career. In 1959, the PRC issued He a bill of attainder and sentenced him to a reform-through-labor camp until 1961. Later, he and his family were persecuted during

China's Cultural Revolution, and He was imprisoned for eight months. In 1979, with the change of China's Taiwan policy, He's charges were dropped, yet not until 15 years later, in 1995, did the PRC allow him to attend public events as a filmmaker. In 1997, Taiwanese director Li Hsing and the Chinese Taipei Film Archive (currently Taiwan's National Film Center) finally found an opportunity to invite He back to Taiwan to participate in film conference addressing him and his works. However, two months before his homecoming trip, He died from a sudden heart attack at age 84. Since his reentry to China in wartime 1937, He had never made it back to Taiwan.

Postcolonial "Filming Back"

Colonization is an irreversible process that is not undone simply with the collapse of empires and the invisibility of its visual evidence. Colonial legacies become elements in the construction of memories, popular culture, and identity politics. What has constructed at the intersections of cinema and media culture could be a recurrent force intervening the perception of culture and history in both the colonial and postcolonial times.

In 2011, after more than half of a century since the Japanese-made *Sayon's Bell*, there finally came an Atayal film, *Finding Sayun*, reappropriated the Sayon narrative from a Taiwanese indigenous point of view. Directed by Laha Mebow (whose grandmother was a friend of Sayon in colonial Taiwan), *Finding Sayun* is a work intended to set in conversation with both Taiwan's colonial and contemporary discourses. Sayun in Atayal—or Sayon in the Japanese context—was a motif of devotional sacrifice for Imperial Japan in paintings, textbooks, popular songs, local performances, literature, and cinema in colonial Taiwan. By the end of the war, the late Atayal girl had evolved

into a patriotic heroine in wartime mobilization. Shimizu Hiroshi's *Sayon's Bell* (1943), and Zhou Lan-Ping's "Moonlight Serenade" 月光小夜曲 (a Mandarin song adapted from Watanabe Hamako's "The Bell of Sayon" [1941] in postcolonial 1962), serve as the two "pre-texts" in Laha Mebow's 2011 film.

Under a Different Moonlight: Finding Sayun is the complete Chinese title of Laha Mebow's film, which suggests disagreement with both the colonial *Sayon*—that is, the Japanese spelling of the Atayal *Sayun*—and the postwar "Moonlight." Written in 1962 during Taiwan's Kuomintang (KMT, or Chinese Nationalist) regime, "Moonlight Serenade" borrows the melody of "The Bell of Sayon" and transforms its lyrics into an entirely different song.[7] While "The Bell of Sayon" portrays the moment of Sayun's fatal fall in a positive light for Japanese militarism, "Moonlight Serenade" characterizes the sensitive mood of lovers under romantic moonlight. In "Moonlight Serenade," Sayun, her story, and the reference to Taiwan's Japanese period are excised from the lyrics. Moreover, the last line in the original 1941 song—"Ah...Sayon"—is replaced with "Ah...moonlight" in the 1962 version.[8] Laha Mebow's *Under a Different Moonlight: Finding Sayun*, thus reads as an attempt both to perform back to the intertextual context and to locate the Atayal Sayun, who was militarized and misappropriated during the Japanese period and who was later erased in postwar Taiwan by Chinese nationalists. The titular different moonlight here therefore becomes distanced from both "Moonlight Serenade" and *Sayon's Bell* via cinema.

---

[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xJo7OfQQe7s (Accessed February 28, 2015).

[8] http://www.uta-net.com/movie/95946/ (Accessed February 28, 2015).

Finding Sayun is a film with many Sayuns, nearly all of whom represent and exceed the oppositional image of the colonial Sayon. In the Japanese film, Sayon is a hardworking woman, who is continually shown taking care of the tribe's children and animals, and as well as a faithful lover, whose Atayal fiancé was educated in Japan yet who has returned, resolved to reform the tribe. Sayon is also an earnest follower of Japanese policies, who constantly asks tribal children to speak Japanese instead of Atayal, and a devoted patriot, who accidentally falls into a creek after insisting on seeing off the enlisted Japanese officer regardless of the storm. In reference to Sayun's fatal fall, Laha Mebow's film early on shows an Atayal workingman fall from a cliff. Yet, the death in *Finding Sayun* is by no means romantic or patriotic; it is simply tragic, mostly in tribute of the colonial Sayun's dangerous work in dismal circumstances. In the plot of *Finding Sayun*, there is a film crew from Beijing formed by a Taiwanese assistant director and two Chinese cameramen from the PRC. The crew plans to collect film material about the tale of Sayun, yet first—and also by accident—films the Atayal laborer's fall before their official introduction into the tribe. In the Japanese film, Sayon falls while carrying luggage for soldiers as they depart her tribe, while in Laha Mebow's version the tragic fall under opposite circumstances—namely, as outsiders carrying filmmaking equipment enter the Atayal tribe to ask about Sayun's stories.

Other oppositional revisions of the Japanese Sayon continue as Laha Mebow's narrative unfolds. After meeting the tribe, the Beijing film crew finds a young Atayal girl also named Sayun, who soon decides to break up with her boyfriend so that she can focus on studying for college admission exams. She is thus clearly less faithful to love than the Japanese Sayon, who instead supports her highly educated, Japan-returned fiancé. In

another subplot, a young Atayal man discovers that his friend is missing and thus sits by a creek despairing of his friend, only to see him return from a carefree adventure across the creek's waterfall. Here, Laha Mebow parodies Sayon's disappearance with the comic, lively return of a tribesman thought to have gone missing. In still another subplot, an elder tribesman claims that Sayon was his girlfriend, thereby unintentionally inspiring Taiwanese assistant director Xiaoru to join the homecoming journey with the elder and other young Atayals into the ancient Atayal tribe. To gather her film materials safely while mountain climbing, Xiaoru heeds the advice of a tribal boy by wearing a pair of traditional Atayal rain boots. Later, a translingual conversation involving Atayal, Taiwanese Hokkien, and Mandarin opens up among Xiaoru and the people of the tribe because of the boots. However, unlike the translingual demonstration of Suming's song performance, the translingualism employed in Laha Mebow's film is closer to a tender moment of mutual understanding. During the process of collecting material, Xiaoru experiences her own assimilation into Atayal culture. In a sense, the plot thus issues a counter-statement of the rhetoric of "becoming Japanese" in *Sayon's Bell*, though this time the Atayals can refuse to become others in front of the filming machine. And this time, instead of simply being an consumer of indigenous culture, this non-Atayal image taker-cum-story maker experiences a shift of her own character in the story. The story writes back on her.

In response to Hiroshi Shimizu's Japanese propaganda film *Sayon's Bell* (1943) and the popular Mandarin song "Moonlight Serenade" (1962), *Finding Sayun* represents Laha Mebow's intervention into both Japanese and Han Taiwanese deformations of an incident in indigenous history. Laha Mebow offers a counter-romance to both the

Japanese *Sayon's Bell* and the Mandarin "Moonlight Serenade," by "filming back" and deconstructing the romantic elements in propagandistically and commercially consumed "Sayon" (Figure 5.3).[9]

Figure 5.3. In Laha Mebow's *Finding Sayun*, Atayal boy Yugan turns his back on Xiaoru's camera when Xiaoru asks him to be a lead character in her film. Another representation of Laha Mebow's "filming back" to colonial discourses and the gazes from Japanese and Han-Taiwanese perspectives.

[9] Here, I coin the phrase "filming back" as in reference to John Thieme's argument on "writing back"—taking a classic text as a "departure point" and creating oppositional discourses against continually influential imperial narratives. John Thieme, *Postcolonial Con-Texts: Writing Back to the Canon* (New York: Continuum, 2001). Also see Helen Tiffin, "Post-Colonial Literatures and Counter-Discourse," *Kunapipi* 9.3 (1987): 17–38. Rebecca Weaver–Hightower, "Revising the Vanquished: Indigenous Perspectives on Colonial Encounters," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6.2 (Fall/Winter 2006): 84–102.

Bibliography

Works in English

Adorno, Theodor. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Albéra, François, and Maria Tortajada. *Cinema Beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010.

Allen, Joseph R. "Colonial Itineraries: Japanese Photography in Taiwan." Andrew D. Morris, ed. *Japanese Taiwan: Colonial Rule and its Contested Legacy*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015, 25–47.

----. "Picturing Gentlemen: Japanese Portrait Photography in Colonial Taiwan." Journal of Asian Studies (2014): 1009–1042.

Allen, Thomas. *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Auerbach, Jonathan. "McKinley at Home: How Early American Cinema Made News." *American Quarterly*, 51. 4 (1999): 797–832.

Bao, Weihong. *Fiery Cinema: The Emergence of An Affective Medium in China, 1915–1945*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015.

Baskett, Michael. *The Attractive Empire: Transnational Film Culture in Imperial Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Baughman, James L. *Same Time, Same Station: Creating American Television, 1948–1961*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

Bazin, André. Hugh Gray, trans. "The Ontology of the Photographic Image." *Film Quarterly* 13.4 (1960): 4–9.

Bazin, André. *What Is Cinema?* Vol. I and II. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*. Eds. Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin. Cambridge: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 2008.

Berman, Antoine. "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. New York: Routledge, 2004. 276-289.

Berry, Chris, ed. *Chinese Films in Focus II*. New York: BFI/Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Bhabha, Homi K. “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817.” *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 144–165.

----. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Bolter, J David, and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.

Bordwell, David. “Classical Hollywood Cinema: Narrational Principles and Procedures.” *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology: A Film Theory Reader*. Ed. Philip Rosen. New York: Columbia UP, 1986. 17-34.

----. *Narration in the Fiction Film*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Brown, Elspeth H. *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884–1929*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Casid, Jill H. *Scenes of Projection: Recasting the Enlightenment Subject*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

----. *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Cavell, Stanley. *The World Viewed: Reflections on the Ontology of Film*. New York: Viking Press, 1971.

Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Chiu, Kuei-fen. “The Question of Translation in Taiwanese Colonial Cinematic Space.” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70.1 (2011): 77–97.

Clee, Paul. *Before Hollywood: From Shadow Play to the Silver Screen*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990.

De Ferranti, Hugh, and Fumitaka Yamauchi, eds. *Colonial Modernity and East Asian Musics*. Berlin: VWB–Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2012.

Dixon, Robert. *Photography, Early Cinema and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley’s Synchronized Lecture Entertainments*. New York: Anthem Press, 2012.

Ekirch, A. Roger. *At Day’s Close: Night in Times Past*. New York: Norton, 2005.

Elsaesser, Thomas, and Adam Barker. *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*. London: BFI Pub, 1990.

Elsaesser, Thomas, and Malte Hagener. *Film Theory: An Introduction through the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 2010.

Elsaesser, Thomas. "The New Film History as Media Archaeology." *Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies* 14 (2004): 75–117.

Entman, Robert, *Democracy without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Fu, Poshek. "The Ambiguity of Entertainment: Chinese Cinema in Japanese-Occupied Shanghai, 1941 to 1945." *Cinema Journal* 37.1 (1997): 66–84.

Furstenau, Marc. *The Film Theory Reader: Debates and Arguments*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Gabriel, Teshome H. "Towards a Critical Theory of Third World Films." Jim Pines and Paul Willeman, eds. *Questions of Third Cinema*. London: British Film Institute, 1989. 30–52.

Gerow, Aaron Andrew. *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895–1925*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Ginoza, Naomi. *Dissonance to Affinity: An Ideological Analysis of Japanese Cinema in the 1930s*. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 2007.

Gitelman, Lisa. *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Goldsmith, Jack and Tim Wu. *Who Controls the Internet? Illusions of a Borderless World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Grieveson, Lee, and Colin MacCabe. *Empire and Film*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Guneratne, Anthony R, Wimal Dissanayake, and Sumita S Chakravarty. *Rethinking Third Cinema*. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Gunning, Tom, ed. *Early Cinema: From Origins to 1913*. New York: City University of New York, 1991.

Gunning, Tom. "'Primitive' Cinema: A Frame-up? Or the Trick's on Us." *Cinema Journal* 28. 2 (1989): 3–12.

----. “Enigmas, Understanding, and Further Questions: Early Cinema Research in Its Second Decade Since Brighton.” *Persistence of Vision* 9 (1991): 4–9.

----. “Phantasmagoria and the Manufacturing of Illusions and Wonder: Towards a Cultural Optics of the. Cinematic Apparatus.” Andre Gaudreault, et al. *The Cinema, A New Technology for the 20th Century*. Lausanne: Payot, 2004, 31–44.

----. “To Scan a Ghost: The Ontology of Mediated Vision.” *Gray Room* 26 (2007): 94–127.

Hansen, Miriam Bratu. “Fallen Women, Rising Stars, New Horizons: Shanghai Silent Film As Vernacular Modernism.” *Film Quarterly* 54.1 (Autumn, 2000): 10–22.

----. “The Mass Production of the Senses: Classical Cinema as Vernacular Modernism.” *Reinventing Film Studies*. Ed. Christine Gledhill and Linda Williams. London: Arnold, 2000. 332–50.

----. *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Hecht, Hermann, and Ann Hecht ed. Pre-cinema History: An Encyclopedia and Annotated Bibliography of the Moving Image before 1896. London: Bowker-Saur, 1993.

Heidegger, Martin. *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

High, Peter. *The Imperial Screen: Japanese Film Culture in the Fifteen Years’ War, 1931-1945*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003.

Hong, Guo-Juin. “Framing Time: New Women and the Cinematic Representation of Colonial Modernity in 1930s Shanghai.” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 15.3 (2007): 553–579.

----. *Taiwan Cinema: A Contested Nation on Screen*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Hsia, Chu-Joe. “Theorizing Colonial Architecture and Urbanism: Building Colonial Modernity in Taiwan.” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 3.2 (2002): 7–23.

Huang, Nicole. *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s*. Boston: Brill, 2005.

Hughes, Thomas Parke, Agatha C Hughes, Michael Thad Allen, and Gabrielle Hecht. *Technologies of Power: Essays in Honor of Thomas Parke Hughes and Agatha Chipley Hughes*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.

Huhtamo, Erkki, and Jussi Parikka. *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.

Jones, Andrew F. *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Kikuchi, Yūko. *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007.

Kittler, Friedrich. Winthrop-Young, Geoffrey, and Wutz, Michael, trans. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Kleinberg-Levin, David Michael. *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

LaMarre, Thomas, and Nae-hŭi Kang. *Impacts of Modernities*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004.

LaMarre, Thomas. "Magic Lantern, Dark Precursor of Animation." *Animation* 6.2 (2011): 127–48.

----. "The Tumor with A Human Face." *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and "Oriental" Aesthetics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2005, 86–102.

Lee, Daw-Ming. *Historical Dictionary of Taiwan Cinema*. Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2013.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Critique of everyday life*. New York: Verso, 1991.

Lenoir, Timothy. *Inscribing Science: Scientific Texts and The Materiality of Communication*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Lentz, Richard, and Karla K. Gower. *The Opinions of Mankind: Racial Issues, Press, and Propaganda in the Cold War*. Columbia: University of Missouri, 2010.

Leonard, Thomas C. *News For All: America's Coming-of-Age with the Press*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Li, Jie. "Phantasmagoric Manchukuo: Documentaries Produced by the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1932-1940." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 22.2 (2014): 329–369.

Liao, Binghui, and Dewei Wang, eds. *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895–1945: History, Culture, Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Lionnet, Françoise, and Shumei Shi. *Creolization of Theory*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Marra, Michael F. *A History of Modern Japanese Aesthetics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2001.

Mitchell, W.J.T. “Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture.” *Journal of Visual Culture* 1.2 (2002): 165-181.

Miyoshi, Masao, and Harry D. Harootunian. *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Moore, Rachel. *Savage Theory: Cinema as Modern Magic*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998.

Morris, Andrew D. *Japanese Taiwan: Colonial Rule and Its Contested Legacy*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

Musser, Charles. “Toward A History of Screen Practice.” *Quarterly Review of Film Studies* 9.1 (1984): 59–69.

Myers, Ramon Hawley, et al. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*. N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Okubo, Ryo. “The Magic Lantern Show and Its Spectators during Late Nineteenth-Century Japan: Control of Perception in Lantern Shows for Education and News Report of Sino-Japanese War.” *ICONICS* 11 (2014): 7–26.

Parikka, Jussi. *What is Media Archaeology?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.

Peterson, Jennifer. “The Knowledge Which Comes in Pictures: Educational Films and Early Cinema Audiences.” Gaudreault, André, et al. *A Companion to Early Cinema*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.

Ping-Hui Liao. “Print Culture and the Emergent Public Sphere in Colonial Taiwan, 1895–1945.” Ping-hui Liao and David Der-Wei Wang, eds. *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895-1945: History, Culture, Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006, 78–94.

Pomerance, Murray. *Cinema and Modernity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006.

Poole, Janet. *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

Radano, Ronald Michael, and Philip Vilas Bohlman. *Music and the Racial Imagination*. University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Radano, Ronald Michael, and Tejumola Olaniyan. *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2016.

Reeves, Nicholas. *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality*. London: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Ritchie, Donald. *A Hundred Years of Japanese Cinema: A Concise History*. New York: Kodansha International, 2001.

Rockett, Kevin, and John Hill. *National Cinemas and World Cinema*. Ireland: Four Courts, 2006.

Roeder, George. *The Censored War: American Visual Experience During World War Two*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Ronell, Avital. *The Telephone Book: Technology, Schizophrenia, Electric Speech*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. London: Sage, 2014.

Rossell, Deac. *Living Pictures: The Origins of the Movies*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Rubinstein, Murray A. *Taiwan: A New History*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.

Schröter, Jens. "Discourses and Models of Intermediality." *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 13.3 (2011). Web. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1790>.

Schwartz, Vanessa R., and Jeannene M. Przyblyski. *The Nineteenth-century Visual Culture Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Shirane, Seiji. *Mediated Empire: Colonial Taiwan in Japan's imperial expansion in South China and Southeast Asia, 1895–1945*. Diss. Princeton University, 2014.

Singer, Ben. *Melodrama and Modernity: Early Sensational Cinema and Its Contexts*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Sklar, Robert. *A World History of Film*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001.

Standish, Isolde. "Mediators of Modernity: 'Photo-interpreters' in Japanese Silent Cinema." *Oral Tradition* 20.1 (2005): 93–110.

Sterne, Jonathan. *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

Stole, Inger. *Advertising at War: Business, Consumers, and Government during the 1940s*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012.

Tatsumi, Takayuki, Jina Kim, and Zhen Zhang. *Three Asias: Japan, S. Korea, China*. Vashon Island: Paradoxa, 2010.

Thomas, John. *Evangelising the Nation: Religion and the Formation of Naga Political Identity*. New Delhi: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

Thompson, Emily. *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.

Tiffin, Helen. "Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse." *Kunapipi* 9 (1987): 17–34.

Toplin, Robert Brent. *Reel History: In Defense of Hollywood*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895–1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Turner, Fred. *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Vogl-Bienek, Ludwig, and Richard Crangle, eds. *Screen Culture and the Social Question, 1880-1914*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Wada-Marciano, Mitsuyo. *Nippon Modern: Japanese Cinema of the 1920s and 1930s*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Washitani, Hana. "The Revival of '*Gentou*' (magic lantern, filmstrips, slides) in Showa Period Japan: Focusing on Its Developments in the Media of Post-war Social Movements." *ICONICS* 11 (2014): 27–46.

Whissel, Kristen. *Picturing American Modernity: Traffic, Technology, and the Silent Cinema*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Wickramasinghe, Nora. *Metallic Modern: Everyday Machines in Colonial Sri Lanka*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2014.

Yeh, Emilie Yueh-yu. "Translating *Yingxi*: Chinese Film Genealogy and Early Cinema in Hong Kong." *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 9.1 (2015): 76–109.

Yip, June. *Envisioning Taiwan: Fiction, Cinema, and the Nation in the Cultural Imaginary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Zhang, Zhen. *An Amorous History of the Silver Screen: Shanghai Cinema, 1896–1937*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Zielinski, Siegfried. *The Deep Time of Media: Toward An Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006.

Works in Other Languages

Chen, Fang-Ming. *Zhimindi modeng: xiandaixing yu Taiwan shiguan* 殖民地摩登: 現代性與臺灣史觀 [Colonial Modernity: Historical and Literary Perspectives on Taiwan]. Taipei: Maitian chuban), 2004.

Chen, Fangming. *Taiwan xin wenxue shi* 臺灣新文學史 [A History of Modern Taiwanese Literature]. Taipei: Lianjing, 2011.

He, Lin. *Yinhai fuchen: He Feiguang huazhuan* 銀海浮沉: 何非光畫傳 [Delving into the Sea of Silver Screen: A Pictorial Biography of He Feiguang]. Taichung: Zhongshi wenhua ju, 2004.

Huang Mei-e. *Chongceng xiandaixing jingxiang: rizhi shidai Taiwan chuantong wenren de wenhua shiyu yu wenxue xiangxiang* 重層現代性鏡像：日治時代臺灣傳統文人的文化視域與文學想像 [Mirrors of Multiple Modernities: Cultural Visions and Literary Imagination of Traditional Taiwanese Literati under Japanese Rule]. Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2004.

Huang, Chien-yeh, ed. *Kua shiji Taiwan dianying shilu* 跨世紀臺灣電影實錄 [The Chronicle of Taiwan Cinema, 1898–2000]. Taipei: Caituan faren guojia dianying ziliao guan, 2005.

Huang, Dequan. *Zhongguo zaoqi dianying shishi kaozheng* 中國早期電影史事考證 [A Textual Research of Chinese Early Cinema]. Beijing: Zhongguo dianying chubanshe, 2012.

Huang, Jen, and Wang Wei, eds., *Taiwan dianying bannian shihua* 臺灣電影百年史話 [One Hundred Years of Taiwan Cinema]. Volume 1. Taipei: Zhonghua yingpingren xiehui, 2004.

Huang, Ying-zhe. *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan wenyi pinglun ji* 日治時期臺灣文藝評論集 [Major Texts of Taiwanese Literary Criticism: The Japanese Colonial Period, 1921–1945]. Vol. 1–4. Tainan: Guojia Taiwan wenxueguan choubeichu, 2006.

Iwamoto, Kenji. *Gentō no seiki: eiga zenya no shikaku bunkashi* 幻燈の世紀: 映画前夜の視覚文化史 [Centuries of Magic Lantern in Japan: A History of Visual Culture on the Eve of Cinema]. Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2002.

Lee, Daw-Ming. "Shijiu shiji mo dianyingren zai Taiwan, Xianggang, Riben, Zhongguo yu Zhongnanbandao jian de [keneng] liudong" 十九世紀末電影人在臺灣, 香港, 日本, 中國與中南半島間的 (可能) 流動 [The (Possible) Circulation of Movie Industry Professionals between Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, China and Indochina in the Late 19th Century]. Wong Ain-ling, ed. *Zhongguo dianying suyuan* 中國電影溯源 [Chinese Cinema: Tracing the Origins]. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011, 126–143.

----. "Taiwan dianying shi di yi zhang" 臺灣電影史第一章 [The First Chapter of Taiwan Film History]. *Film Appreciation Journal* (1995): 28–44.

Li, Tian-duo. *Taiwan dianying, shehui yu lishi* 臺灣電影，社會與歷史 [Taiwan Cinema, Society and History]. Taipei: Yatai, 1997.

Li, Yongchi. *Buqu de shanyue: Wushe shijian* 不屈的山嶽：霧社事件 [The Unshakable Mountain: Musha Incident]. Taipei: Jindai zhongguo chubanshe, 1977.

Lin, Bo-wei. *Taiwan wenhua xiehui cangsang* 臺灣文化協會滄桑 [The History of Taiwan Cultural Association]. Taichung: Taiyuan, 1993.

Lu, Shao-li. *Zhanshi Taiwan: quanli, kongjian yu zhimintongzhi de xingxiang biaoshu* 展示臺灣: 權力, 空間與殖民統治的形象表述 [Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space, and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule]. Taipei: Maitian, 2005.

Lu, Su-shang. Taiwan dianying xiju shi 臺灣電影戲劇史 [The History of Taiwan Cinema and Drama]. Taipei: Yin-Hua Publishing, 1961.

Misawa, Mamie, et al. *Denpa, den'ei, denshi : gendai Higashi Ajia no rensasuru media* 電波, 電影, 電視: 現代東アジアの連鎖するメディア [*Radio Wave, Cinema, and Television: Modern East Asian Transnational Media*]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2012.

Misawa, Mamie. *Zai "diguo" yu "zuguo" de jiafeng jian: rishi shiqi Taiwan dianyingren de jiaoshe yu kuajing* 在「帝國」與「祖國」的夾縫間：日治時期臺灣電影人的交涉與跨境 [Negotiation and Translocality between "Empire" and "Motherland": Taiwanese Filmmakers during Japanese Ruling Period]. Taipei: National Taiwan University, 2012.

----. *Zhimindi xia de "yin mu:" Taiwan zongdufu dianying zhengce zhi yanjiu (1895–1942)* 殖民地下的「銀幕」：臺灣總督府電影政策之研究（1895–1942） [The Colonial Screen: A Research on the Film Policy of the Taiwan Office of Governor-General (1895–1942)]. Taipei: Qianwei, 2002.

Nakagawa, Kōichi and Wakamori Tamio, eds. *Musha jiken: Taiwan Takasagozoku no hōki* 霧社事件：台湾高砂族の蜂起 [Musha Incident: The Upspring of Taiwanese Indigenous People. Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1980.

Shimomura, Sakujirō. *"Sayon no kane" kankei shiryōshū* 「サヨンの鐘」関係資料集 [An Anthology of *Sayon's Bell*]. Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2007.

Tang, Hongfeng. "Cong huandeng dao dianying: shijue xiandaixing de mailuo" 從幻燈到電影: 視覺現代性的脈絡 [From Lantern Slides to Cinema: In View of Visual Modernity]. *Communication & Society* 35 (2016): 185–213.

Tsuchiya, Shin'ichi, et al. *Gentō suraido no hakubutsushi: purojekushon media no kōkogaku* 幻燈スライドの博物誌: プロジェクション・メディアの考古学 [A Comprehensive History of Lantern Slides: Archaeology of Projection and Media]. Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2015.

Wan-Yao Zhou. *Hai yang yu zhi min di Taiwan lun ji* 海洋與殖民地臺灣論集 [Essays on Maritime and Colonial Taiwan]. Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2012.

Wang, Shouning. *Erzhan jiahou zuopai yinyue yingju dui Taiwan de yingxiang* 二戰前後左派音樂影劇對臺灣的影響 [The Influence of Leftist Music and Drama in Taiwan Around the Second World War]. Taipei: Tonsan Publications Inc., 2014.

Ye, Emilie Yue-yu. *Gesheng meiying: gequ xushi yu zhongwen dianying* (歌聲魅影: 歌曲敘事與中文電影 [Phantom of the Music: Song Narration and Chinese-Language Cinema]. Taipei: Yuanliu, 2000.

Yeh, Lung-yen. *Taipei Ximenting dian ying shi, 1896–1997* 臺北西門町電影史, 1896–1997 [The Film History of *Ximenting* in Taipei, 1896–1997]. Taipei: Xingzhengyuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui: Guojia dianying ziliaoguan, 1997.

----. *Rizhi shiqi Taiwan dianying shi* 日治時期臺灣電影史 [The History of Taiwanese Movies during the Japanese Colonization]. Taipei: Yushan, 1998.

Zhang Yan-Xian. "Taiwan wenhua xiehui de chengli yu fenlie" 臺灣文化協會的成立與分裂 (The Establishment and Disbandment of the Taiwan Cultural Association). Taiwanshi lunwen xunji 臺灣史論文集 (Selected Essays on Taiwan History). Taipei: Yushangshe, 1996.

Zhang, Huiyu. *Shijue xiandaixing: ershi shiji Zhongguo de zhuti chengxian* 視覺現代性: 二十世紀中國的主體呈現 [Visual Modernity: The Representation of the Chinese Subjects in the 20th Century]. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2012.

Zheng, Zhengcheng. *Renshi tazhe de tiankong: Rizhi shiqi Taiwan yuanzhumin de guanguang xinglü* 認識他者的天空: 日治時期臺灣原住民的觀光行旅 [The Sky of the Other: Indigenous People's Sightseeing Tours in Colonial Taiwan]. Taipei: Boyang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 2005.

Appendix I: Primary Sources

"'Chen fujin' eigaka"「陳夫人」映畫化 [*Eigaka* of *Mrs. Chen*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (October 15th, 1941): 4.

"'Chōchō fujin' no kokusui han Konoe shi no te de kansei chikaku beikoku de eigaka"「蝶々夫人」の國粋版 近衛子の手で完成 近く米國で映畫化 [Madame Butterfly, a National Essence Edition by Konoe-shi, Eigaka Soon in the United States], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (June 28th, 1937): 7.

"'Gijin gohō' o miru sunao ni eigaka sareta gohō no shōgai"『義人呉鳳』を觀る素直に 映畫化 された呉鳳の生涯 [Seeing *Selfless Gohō*, A Straightforward *Eigaka* of Gohō's Life Story], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (August 21st, 1932): 3.

"'Nihon kokuminka' no eigaka kettei"「日本國民歌」の映畫化が決定 [Confirmation of the *Eigaka* of Japanese National Songs], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 10th, 1939): 4.

"Bendao fengqu zhi fasheng yinghua mei jishi lai Tai" 本島風物之發聲映畫美技師來臺, *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (January 20th, 1930): 4.

"Dai go ka" 第五課 [Lesson Five], *Shotokubun kyōjusho: Taiwan tekiyō* 書牘文教授書: 臺湾適用 [Instruction for Writing Letters and Documents: Applicable to Taiwan] (Tokyo: Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseikyoku Gakumubu, 1897).

"Daikai huandenghui" 大開幻燈會 [Grand Scale Magic Lantern Shows], *Kanbun Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 漢文臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News: Chinese Edition] (September, 12th, 1905): 4.

"Diandeng yingxi" 電燈影戲 [Electric Lantern Shadowplay], in *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News], Chinese Section (September 5th, 1899), 4.

"Director G. W. Pabst, 'Atlantis' honsha Tainan shikyoku rakusei kinen jōei" G·W·パブスト監督『アトアンテイド』本社臺南支局落成記念上映 [Director G. W. Pabst's *The Mistress of Atlantis*—A Screening to Celebrate the Establishment of the Tainan Chapter of Taiwan Daily News], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 29th, 1934): 3.

"Eiga 'alishanban' hontō liban no enkaku o keisatsu kyōkai de eigaka ni hyaku nen mai kara gendai made shūroku nagaku kōsei no shiryō ni" 映畫"阿里山蕃" 本島理蕃の沿革を警察協會で映畫化 二百年前から現代まで收錄 永く後世の史料に [The Film, Alishan Savages: *Eigaka* by the Police Association on Our Island's Indigenous Management and Its Development—A Record from Two Hundred

Years Ago to the Contemporary; Believed to be a Historical Source for Future Generations for Good], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 9th, 1937): 5.

"Eiga ni kashikoshi Kōgōmiya" 映画にかしこし皇后宮 (The Film on Her Majesty the Empress), *Yomiuri Shimbun* 読売新聞 [The Yomiuri News] (April 6th, 1924): 4.

"Eigaka sareta robinson crusoe shuen wa henry hull" 映畫化されるロビンソン·クルソー 主演はヘンリー·ハル [*Eigaka* of Robinson Crusoe—Starring Henry Hull], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 18th, 1934): 3. "Bu vandor eiga don quixote chaliapin shuen" 佛ヴアンドール映畫 ドンキホーテ ツヤリアヒン主演 [Don Quixote, A French Film by Nelson Vandor, Starring Feodor Chaliapin], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 11th, 1935): 3.

"Eigaka sareta shakuson ichidaiki 'tōa no hikari' eikoku indo seifu ga shiki nigatsu (chūjun nihon ni kuru" 映畫化された 釋尊一代記「東亞の光」 英國印度政府が指揮 二月中旬日本に來る [The Biography of Gautama Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, *Eigaka* by UK-Indo Government, Will Come to Japan in Mid-February], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 27th, 1926): 5.

"Gentō no riyō ga saigen" 幻燈の利用が再現 [Use of Magic Lantern Resurged], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 12th, 1941): 4.

"guntai ya banjin mo shutsuen oogakari na hassei eiga Taiwan no rekishi deki hatten o kyakushoku" 軍隊や蕃人も出演大掛りな發聲映畫 臺灣の歷史的發展を脚色 [A Large-Scale Talkie Performed by Military Troops and the Indigenous People, A Drama of the Historical Development of Taiwan], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 20th, 1934): 7.

"H.G. Wells no jinrui yo doko he iyoiyo eigaka" H·G·ウエルスの人類よ何處へ愈々映畫化 [*Eigaka* of H.G. Wells' *The Invisible Man*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (March 7th, 1934): 3. "Eigaka sareta shinzō no saisho no kodō" 映畫化された 心臟の最初の鼓動 [The First Beat of A Heart, *Eigaka* Finished], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 24th, 1940): 4.

"Hassei eiga zenbu nihon mono Shin Sekai-kan jōei" 發聲映畫 全部日本もの新世界館上映 [Sound Cinema, All Things Japanese, Screening at Shin Sekai Theater], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 1st, 1928): 5.

"Hassei katsudō eiga dai seikyō" 發聲活動映畫大盛況 [A Great Success of Moving Sound Pictures], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 5th, 1928): 2.

"*Hōkō* undō o eigaka kōhō to-en gun shikai no kito" 奉公運動を映畫化 皇奉桃園郡支會で企圖 [The *Eigaka* of *Hōkō* Movement, Plan of Kōmin Hōkō Association, To-en Branch], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November 5th, 1942): 4.

"Hontō fūbutsu no hassei eiga bei gishi kefu rai Tai" 本島風物の發聲映畫 米技師けふ來臺 [American Technicians Came to Taiwan to Make Sound Cinema on Taiwanese Scenes and Manners], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 17th, 1930): 7.

"Jinshin no taihai wa shūkyōshin no sōshitsu karato shōrai wa shūkyō kōza o teidai no chūshin ni suru" 人心の頽廢は宗教心の喪失からと 將來は宗教講座を帝大の中心にする [The Decadence of Human Mind Is a Result of Losing Religious Spirit; Therefore Religious Lectures Will be a Focus in Imperial Universities], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 27th, 1926): 5.

"Kako jusonenkan ni watari sono jidaiteki hensen o miru fukyū no meisaku 'Hototogisu' shochiku dewa yondome no eigaka" 過去十數年間に亙りその時代的變遷を見る不朽の名作『不如歸』松竹では四度目の映畫化 [*Hototogisu*, An Everlasting Masterpiece Depicting the Changes of Time over the Past Decades, Fourth *Eigaka* by Shochiku Studio], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 6th, 1932): 3.

"Kōgō heika no oseikatsu o eigaka shita" 皇后陛下の御生活を映畫化した [The Daily Life of Her Majesty the Empress: *Eigaka* Completed], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 7th, 1924): 2.

"Kunikida doppo no shuchū nikki ichiei de eigaka" 國木田獨歩の酒中日記 一映で映畫化 [*Eigaka* of Kunikida Doppo's *The Diary of a Drunkard* by Ichiei], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November 18th, 1934): 3.

"Kyōin katsusha kōshū" 教員活寫講習 [Film Lectures for Educators], *Tainan shinpō* 臺南新報 [The Tainan News] (May 2nd, 1922).

"Mei-Tai tuan yingju" 美臺團影劇 [The Film Screening of Mei-Tai Troupe], *Taiwan minbao* 臺灣民報 [Taiwan People's News] (January 8th, 1929): 6.

"Monbushō ga shinkokuminka o eigaka" 文部省が新國民歌を映畫化 [The *Eigaka* of New National Songs By the Ministry of Education], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 12th, 1939): 4.

"Nama-ban to gentō-kai" 生蕃と幻燈會 [Mountain Savages and Magic Lantern Show], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (November, 5th, 1904): 5.

"Nichirosensō gentō" 日露戰爭幻燈 [Magic Lantern Show on the Russo-Japanese War], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 15th, 1904): 5.

"Sayon no kane o eigaka" サヨンの鐘を映畫化 [The *Eigaka* of *Sayon's Bell*], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (October 22nd, 1941): 3.

"Seidai naru Kōen-kai Giranchō shita niokeru" 盛大なる講演會 宜蘭廳下に於ける [A Great Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (December 21st, 1915): 7.

"Sekai teki no mei eiga uchū no kyōi ichimei eigaka sareta tenmon kyōkasho iyoiyo Taiwan de kōkai" 世界的の名映畫 宇宙の驚異 一名映畫化された天文教科書 愈々臺灣で公開 [Famous Movie of the World, *Wonders of the Universe*, an *Eigaka* of astronomical textbook, Finally Comes to Taiwan for Public Viewing], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 23rd, 1927): 3.

"Shezhi fasheng yinghua yi Taiwan lishi wei jiaose jundui fanren dengdeng canjia chuyan" 撮製發聲映畫 以臺灣歷史爲脚色軍隊蕃人等ヨ参加出演 (May 21st, 1934): 8.

"Shina hassei eiga 'yecao xianhua' (zen jūichi kan)" 支那發聲映畫 '野草閒花' (全十一卷) [Chinese Sound Film "Wild Flowers" (Eleven Reels in Total)], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (June 11th, 1931): 3.

"Shinjuwan mareioki kaisen tai senka o toho de eigaka" 真珠灣、馬來沖海戰 大戰果を東寶で映畫化 [*The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malay*, Toho's *Eigaka* of Big Achievement From War], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (May 17th, 1942): 4.

"Shinkō kinema ga rajio taisō o eigaka" 新興キネマがラジオ體操を映畫化 [*Eigaka* of the New Radio Calisthenics Exercises], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (September 14th, 1932): 3.

"Shōka kyōkasho no ijin no eigaka" 小學教科書の偉人を映畫化 [*Eigaka* of Great People in Elementary Textbooks], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (April 23rd, 1932): 3.

"Suzukuchi junnan shōkon-sai" 錫口殉難招魂祭 [Spiritism for the Lost Ones in Malysyakkaw]. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* 臺灣日日新報 [Taiwan Daily News] (March 31st, 1899), 2.

"Taiwan daiichi eiga seisakujo" 臺灣第一映畫製作所 [Taiwan First Motion Picture Studio], *Taiwan jiji shinpō* 臺灣時事新報 [Taiwan Times] (July 9, 1937): 13.

"Taiwan shōkai no ehagaki hakkō" 臺灣紹介の繪葉書發行 [The Release of "Taiwan shōkai" Postcards], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (July 30th, 1908): 5.

"Taiwan shōkai no ippō gentō junkai tai o soshiki seyo" 臺灣紹介の一法 幻燈巡回隊を組織せよ[Organization of Magic Lantern Tours for a Practice of "Taiwan shōkai"], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (January 16th, 1912): 3.

"Tansui-kan getsurei-kai" 淡水館月例會 [Monthly Meeting at Tansui Hall], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (July, 28th, 1903): 5.

"Waga yamato minzoku no 'yūbi na kokuminsei' kore o eigaka shite kokusai eiga biten e shutchin" わが大和民族の「優美な國民性」これを映畫化して 國際映畫美展へ出陳 [*Eigaka* of the Beautiful National Character of We Yamato People for the Exhibition in International Film Festival], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (February 3rd, 1934): 3.

"Yilan shengda jiangyanhui" 宜蘭盛大講演會 [A Great Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (December 22nd, 1915): 6.

"Yilan ting xia jiangyanhui" 宜蘭廳下講演會 [A Public Lecture in Yilan County], *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō*, Chinese Section (December 14th, 1915): 6.

Dai ni nen ni okeru kōmin hōkō undō no jisseki 第二年に於ける皇民奉公運動の実績 [Imperial People Public Service Movement: Second-Year Report] (Taipei: Imperial People Public Service Association, 1943).

Itai Erota, "Jiazu no shakaideki kachi" ジャズの社会的価値 [The Social Value of Jazz], *Taiwan keisatsu jihō* 臺灣警察時報 [Taiwan Police News] (1932): 47–50.

Jinfu Gao, "Taiwan ni okeru jiazu no yurai to sono chichitaru shinten" 臺灣に於けるジャズの由来と其の遅々たる進展 [The Origin and Belated Development of Jazz in Taiwan], *Taiwan geijutsu shinpō* 臺灣藝術新報 [Taiwan Arts News] (May 9th, 1939): 24.

Sanyi 三易, "Duiyu shezhi youshengpian zhongku" 對我國製有聲電影者忠告 [A Sincere Suggestion to the Sound Film Makers in Our Country], *Yingxi zazhi* 影戲雜誌 [The Film Magazine] 2.2 (1931): 34–35.

Shakai jigyō katsudō shashin junkai eiga setsumeisho 社會事業活動寫真巡回映畫說明書 [The Instruction of social-service motion pictures for touring exhibitions] (Taipei: Taiwan nichinichi shinpō, 1923).

Xu Qiong'er, "Shimato no kindai fūkei" 島都の近代風景 [Modern Sceneries of the Island Capital], *Di yi xian* 第一線 [First Frontline] (1935): 112–118.

Yanling, "Shezhi yousheng guopian pingyi" 攝製有聲國片評議 [Comments on Chinese Sound Filmmaking], *Yingxi zazhi* 影戲雜誌 [The Film Magazine] 2.2 (1931): 25–26.

Zhang Wojun, "Zhishang zuigao daode: lianai" 至上最高道德—戀愛 [The Supreme Morality: Love], *Taiwan minbao* no. 75 (October 1925).

Appendix II: Selected Magic Lantern Slide Images of Colonial Taiwan

A. Magic Lantern Slides Collection from University of Hawaii, Manoa[1]

<http://digicoll.manoa.hawaii.edu/lanternslides/index.php>

A.1. "Taiwanese Temple"

[1] The database does not provide exact dates or origins of the slide images. Yet based on my observation and Joseph Allen's reminder, some of the images seem came from colonial photo albums such as Ishikawa Gen'ichirō's *Taiwan meisho shashinchō* 台湾名所写真帖 (Pictures of Noted Places in Taiwan, 1899). Colors are tinted.

< http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/767093>

A.2. “Civil Givernor’s Official Residence”

A.3. “Wedding Clothes of the Locals”

B. Lantern Slides from the E. Raymond Wilson Collection (Swarthmore College Peace Collection)[2]

<http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/japanese>

B.1. "Formosa, Japan: Three Men with Railroad Carts, Sign Behind Them." The largest texts seem to be "Jitsugetsu-kan" 日月館 [Sun Moon Hall], a venue in Taiwan's tourist site, Sun Moon Lake. The texts are reversed since it is a photo image.

[2] The database does not provide exact dates or origins of the slide images. Yet most of the images are marked as hand-tinted photography between 1926 and 1927.

< http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/767093>

B.2. “Formosa, Japan: Formosan Family of Eight Posed Standing in Front of Building.” The family in the photo seems wearing a mixed style of clothes that involves the indigenous, Han-Taiwanese, and Japanese features.