Image and History: A Taiwanese Village Under the Japanese Rule

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Chun-rong Yeh*

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the historical photographs during Taiwan's "Japanese Era" (1895-1945) collected by the late Mr. Chen Chunmu陳春木 (1909-2002) of Zuozhen左鎮, Tainan. In the "Japanese Era," few, if any, country folks in Tainan had cameras. Thus those photos were taken by studio-photographers hired by the Japanese rulers from afar. Since it was a big hassle and also costly to take these pictures, all the ones we are looking at were for glorifying the achievements by the Japanese colonists and none was about the daily life of the folks or about the adverse side of the administration. Mr. Chen Chunmu, with his long-term services at the local administration, had the opportunities to collect these photos.

This paper discusses a recent development in historical anthropology, and focuses on Marshall Sahlins and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney. I think it was an admirable innovative idea on Sahlins' part to have brought structure into historical studies. However, I do not think that history was

* Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica.
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simply composed of events. History is a dynamic process, should also include process and context. Thus I think that Sahlins overemphasizes the importance of structure and events meanwhile ignoring the process and context of history. Furthermore, I think the significance of historical agency should be emphasized. In historical process, historical agency includes not only historical figures, but also common people, mass media (newspaper, radios, etc), and social institutions (schools, governmental agencies, etc.), for they all play different parts in historical process.

Key words: Historical anthropology, Tainan, Japanese era, structure, events

I. Introduction

Four years ago I came upon Mr. Chen Chunmu's life-long collection of photographs. Mr. Chen was a typical folk scholar who had collected various forms of written records (especially newspaper clippings) and photographs since the Japanese colonial period and had contributed many articles for publication. Now his life-long collection has become the most important documents for studying the local history of Zuozhen, a mountainous township in Tainan County.

After graduating from common school (*kōgakkō*公学校，primary school for the colonized) in 1926, Mr. Chen Chunmu was employed as a clerk at the *Baojia*保甲 (*hokō* in Japanese) Office at Cailiao菜寮 Village and later doubled as the chief of the local *sōtei dan* 壯丁団 (able-bodied militia). [1]Finally he joined the service of the Zuozhen Township Office 左鎮庄役場. After the World War II he stayed on at the township office and retired in 1963 from the position of chief of household registration. Thanks to his long-term employment as a petty bureaucrat, he had the opportunities to access so many official photographs.

During the "Japanese Era" 日本時代 [the Japanese colonial period in local parlance] and through a long period after the war, the majority of Taiwanese had no cameras. Thus the bulk of the photos in Mr. Chen Chunmu's collection were from official sources. Since there

[1] *Baojia*保甲, a traditional Chinese community self-policing organization (Takekoshi 1907: 150-151; Chou 1990: 19)。

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was no photo studio at Zuozhen during the "Japanese Era," only on important occasions was a photographer hired from a studio in Xinhua新化, which is about 15 km from Zuozhen, by officials.

Due to the high cost and inconveniences, the official photographs certainly did not include segments from daily life but were about achievements deemed "positive" in the ideation system of the Japanese rulers, such as the reviewing of the *sōtei dan*壯丁団, road constructions, graduation ceremonies, etc. Thus all segments from daily life or what the Japanese considered negative were excluded. The most conspicuous case was the Yu Qingfang余清芳 incident of 1915. Quite a few people from Neizhuang內庄, Muguang睦光, and Gangzilin岡仔林 villages in Zuozhen Township had participated. Afterwards the Japanese conducted extensive manhunts around Zuozhen and many were implicated. The number of the locals who were executed, either summarily or after trial, at the Cailiao Police Box菜寮派出所 might have reached more than two hundreds. This was the most wretched incident in Zuozhen's history, yet the Japanese did not leave a single picture.

Not only pictures, but also newspapers---what scholars now rely on as "histories"---were the same. Since Zuozhen was a small rural township, there was no reporter stationed there. Thus unless there were significant incidents, reporters from Xinhua or Tainan would come only sporadically. The visits by reporters were similar to the visits by high officials. They mainly called upon the police boxes, the township office, and the school to inquire about the recent happenings. The photos the reporters attained, which were provided by the officials, were all self-advertisements of the officials' achievements, such as the Japanese speech contests 国語演習會, *sōtei dan* drills壯丁団操演, the issuing of Shinto talismans神宮大麻頒布, etc. Thus the local news in various newspapers then was virtually all cut out from the same "template."

Since journalists need news, the rural ruling class thus gets the opportunities to "create" news and history. In other words, they are the "authors" of history. Thanks to such interdependence, the ruling class everywhere maintains cordial relationship with reporters. On major holidays (such as the New Year Day or the emperor's birthday天長節) reporters would visit various local offices to solicit donations from the local chiefs and newspapers would print the names and titles of the contributors in framed blocks. Since there were so many office chiefs and renowned businessmen who contributed voluntarily or by coercion, newspapers had to put out special pages to accommodate such listings.

With such a background, we can understand that the pictures we see and the newspapers

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we read now are the most important source for reconstructing history. They resemble rites that are performed one after another. Like the "theatre state" in Bali described by Clifford Geertz (1980), rituals are not only forms but also contents. Rituals themselves are the goals of the state. Although such rituals partially reflect the history of Zuozhen, the photos or news stories on which scholars depend for the construction of history, were pretty lopsided and biased. They were even the results of fabrications and screenings by the local bosses (and journalists) under the domination of the Japanese Empire, for they had the power to decide what to be photographed and/or printed in the newspapers. With such a background and understanding, I think history is not only partial but also biased.

The most valuable significance of these photos lies in that they have preserved a partial history of Zuozhen and enable us to see segments of Zuozhen in the past. However, regrettably the time, localities, and themes included are quite limited. And what more regrettable is that since most of the photos were taken for the administration, aspects of daily lives are not included. How do we know about the Japanese Colonization in Taiwan through these photos and newspaper reports of rural townships? What aspects can historical anthropology provide to help us thoroughly understand the history of Taiwan during Japanese Colonial Age? The questions above are what this article tries to answer.

II. Historical Anthropology

In the traditional division of labor among academics, historians study the past via written documents and lay emphasis on the history of their own culture. Thus, illiterate societies become people with only myth but no history (Wolf 1982; Ohnuki-Tierney 1990:2), and the literate societies call the past with written records "historical periods" and the long eras without written records "prehistory." Prehistory and the past without written records are left to be studied by archaeologists and anthropologists. Thus, traditionally anthropologists study illiterate societies, namely the societies that historians deem without history.

In the historical studies in anthropology, various perspectives or schools have appeared in the past decades, such as the outlook from political economy (Wolf 1982; Mintz 1974, 1985; Roseberry 1989; Schneider and Rapp 1995 etc.), the study of colonial experiences (Cohn 1987, 1996; Comaroff and Comaroff 1991, 1997; Axel 2002 etc.), cultural history (Geertz 1980), the contact of the world system and local cultures (Biersack 1991) and so on, which have all borne great fruits. I think among the various writings on historical

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anthropology, Sahlins' study of "the structure and the event" and Ohnuki-Tierney's orientation in symbolic anthropology deserve our particular attention since their studies not only have made theoretical contributions but also are closely related to the subject being discussed here.

Structure and Event

Sahlins sees culture as meaningfully ordered (1985: ix). He starts the introduction to his book, *Islands of History* (1985), by saying that "[h]istory is culturally ordered, differently so in different societies, according to meaningful schemes of things. The converse is also true: cultural schemes are historically ordered" (ibid: vii). This passage is the core of Sahlins' thinking: culture determines history and conversely history also determines culture. In other words, there is no universal history of the world, but only different histories created by different cultures. His series of writings can be seen as the expounding on this core idea.

Sahlins' study is based on the three core concepts: the event, the structure, and the structure of the conjuncture. Like many western historians, Sahlins sees history as the combinations of events. Therefore, events play a very important role in his study. It can be said that because there are events so there is history, and virtually all those events are impacts brought upon by western colonialism or capitalism, [2] or in his own words that the event is "induced yet indigenously orchestrated" (1985: viii). He thinks that only by grasping the local cultural structure can we understand the meaning of events.

I think the greatest innovation of Sahlins is his bringing culture (structure) into historical study. Besides the event and the structure, the structure of the conjuncture is "a third term" (ibid.: xiv), meaning the "practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context" (ibid.) and "a set of historical relationships that at once reproduce the traditional cultural categories and give them new values out of the pragmatic context" (ibid.: 125). Namely the happening of an event is the practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific cultural context. Viewing as a whole, his concern is the change in cultural structure caused by (external) events.

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[2] Sahlins originally considered the event as a relation between a happening and a structure (1985: xiv, 153), but later says the event has to be a "difference" that makes a difference (1991: 45), otherwise it isn't an event.

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Besides viewing history as the study of events, what Sahlins studies, like traditional historians, is virtually the history of political figures or heroic figures. For example, the impact of the contact between big shots such as Hawaii's Kamehameha and Captain Cook, the Maori leader Hone Heke and the British occupational forces, the war between the Bau and Rewa chiefs in Fiji (Sahlins 1991, 2004), and China's Qianlong乾隆 Emperor and the British envoy George Macartney. Sahlins says, "cultural categories of the history are represented by particular persons, objects, and acts, in the manner that Fijian lands are embodied in their ruling chiefs… For whatever happened to him happened to the kingdom" (1991: 82). This presentation gives the impression that what he studies is a homogeneous or simple society. Besides, the stories he discusses, such as the history of heroes, stranger-king, usurpation, etc. are all the history from above or the history of events created by political figures as in the traditional western history. Therefore, the common people still have no history. Also, such history of heroes further reinforces the past political history of kings and generals.

Most anthropologists would agree that Sahlins has established an outstanding structural anthropological paradigm in the field of historical anthropology. However, Sahlins' view has also aroused some dissenting criticisms (such as Friedman 1985, 1988; Strathern 1990; Obeyesekere 1992).[3] The historical anthropology of Sahlins is not only exclusively about the early contact between the west and non-western societies, but is also about the events

[3] One of the criticisms is that when some western historians and Braudel of the Annales School are trying hard to cast aside event, Sahlins resorts to the opposite course and "intends to recover event, action, change, and the world for structural analysis. Conversely, he intends to recover structural analysis for history (Biersack 1989: 85). Since there is history only because of events, consequently history is like a ship that arrived (Ortner 1984: 143). The view of history as the history of events is also criticized in the anthropological circle. Valerie, Sahlins' colleague in the study of Hawaiian history and culture, thinks in the case of Hawaii history is a process but not an event, and what complements to the structure is the process but not the event (Valeri 1991: 148). Strathern (1990) further criticizes that European scholars and anthropologists (she meant Sahlins) repeatedly use the concept of "event" and superimpose such an idea on the Hawaiians. In the analyses by Europeans and anthropologists, they consider the arrival of Europeans to Hawaii a significant historical event, but how do we know what the natives thought? Maybe they did not consider it an event at all (1990:26). Speaking in more basic terms, the Melanesians might not even have considered history as events but images. Furthermore, Rosaldo's study (1980) of the head-hunting custom of the Illongot in the Philippines also shows that different natives may have totally different views on history and on the past.

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of "distant encounters, South Sea incidents of the world system" (1985: viii) created by the invasion of the western powers armed with colonialism or capitalism and then using the structure of the local culture (or myth) to interpret the events created by the contact of foreign cultures. However, if all those events are history, then why in the structure of the conjuncture the response by the natives is myth in practice while the arrival of the westerns is rational in practice?

Dominant Symbols

American anthropologist Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney published the book *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms* in 2002 and in the next year adapted it into Japanese as *Nejimagerareta Sakura* (《ねじ曲げられた桜》The Crooked Cherry Blossoms, 被扭曲的櫻花, Ohnuki-Tierney 2003). It can be considered the latest representative work in historical anthropology from the perspective of symbolism.[4]

Toward the end of World War II, in the Pacific Theater the advance of American troops was like a hot knife cutting through butter and the Japanese Imperial Army kept on retreating. Japanese navy vice-admiral Ōnishi Takijirō大西瀧治郎proposed organizing volunteers to conduct suicide attacks and later developed the Kamikaze Corps神風特攻隊.[5] During the two years of 1944 and 1945, a total of more than three thousand Japanese were killed due to the suicide attacks by piloting airplanes or torpedoes (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002: 167; see also Chou 2003: 197).[6] In the past people usually thought the Kamikaze pilots were fanatic nationalists. However, in her study, Ohnuki-Tierney discovered that among the three thousand Kamikaze fighters, some one thousand were conscripted students (ibid.: 167).

From the end of the war until today, the letters and diaries of some of the killed student soldiers have been gradually published. Ohnuki-Tierney have collected five such books

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[4] The Japanese title derives from a quotation by Kant, which became widely known through the citation by Sir Isaiah Berlin's *The Crooked Timber of Humanity* (1959).

[5] In 1274 and 1281 Kubla Khan忽必烈 twice failed in his efforts to invade Japan thanks to typhoons, thus the name "Kamikaze," which means "divine wind," because the Japanese thought it was Emperor Jimmu's神武天皇 "Kamikaze" which helped repelled the invading Mongol troops.

[6] There are different estimates on how many Japanese were killed in suicide attacks during World War II. The number ranges from 2,000 plus to 5,000 plus.

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by five student soldiers (four airplane pilots and one torpedo pilot) and discovered that they came from prestigious Japanese universities and were Marxist, anarchist, idealist, or Christian. Some of them could read French, German, Russian and other languages besides Japanese and Chinese. They were well versed in western philosophy and literature, including the works of Nietzsche, Goethe, Descartes, Hegel, Durkheim, Rousseau, etc. Compared to western pilots, they were even more cosmopolitan (ibid.: 276). All these findings by Ohnuki-Tierney deviate from the traditional stereotype about Kamikaze fighters.

After learning the backgrounds of these student soldiers, Ohnuki-Tierney cannot but wonder why they would volunteer to die for the Japanese emperor when knowing Japan was about to be defeated, since they were the intellectual elites who had the training in higher education, were familiar with modern knowledge and trend of thought, and had no narrow provincial thinking? In order to understand the question, she tried to find answers in the Japanese symbolic system. She first explained how the Japanese military manipulated the domestic cultural symbols, namely the emperor system and the cherry blossoms. Since the rise of militarism, the Japanese military utilized aesthetics to instill the ideology that the Japanese emperor was a man-god on the one hand, and to embellish military actions on the other. They molded the cherry blossoms as an aesthetic symbol and encouraged young men to die for the emperor believing dying for the emperor was like the scattering of the cherry petals and was the biggest honor.

Ohnuki-Tierney first discussed how the Meiji regime and the Japanese military molded cherry blossoms to be the soul of the military. In the Meiji era, the military started to construct cherry blossoms as a political and military symbol and to instill the wretched aesthetics of the short blossoming of the cherry blossoms into the mind of warriors. Since the implementation of military draft in 1871, the same aesthetics is used to embellish military actions and the soldiers killed in action. The Japanese government propagated the ideology of cherry blossoms through popular songs, movies, poetry, and textbooks and extensively planted cherry trees throughout Japan. Under the manipulation of the military, cherry blossoms symbolize birth, death and rebirth (ibid.: 38). Flowers that have already bloomed carry with them the realization of their withering. The cherry blossoms became the soul of the military and the withering and scattering of the cherry petals became the symbol of the glorious battle death. Since life is short and temporary, one should shine like the cherry blossoms while living.

The military propagated that dying for the emperor was a time-honored tradition

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since Japan was founded and was also the highest glory. During this process, the falling on battlefield was like the falling of beautiful cherry petals. The soul returned to the Yasukuni Shrine靖国神社 in the home country to become an eternal deity to guard the nation. Thus when the World War II entered the final stage, the Japanese military took the extreme measure of the Kamikazes and even produced war-planes and human torpedoes for the purpose of suicide attacks. Such suicide planes and torpedoes were equipped with no escape devices and the only probable result for the pilots in battle was death. The pattern of cherry blossoms was painted on the planes and the Japanese named the model of the planes "*sakura*" 桜花(cherry blossoms) while the GIs called it *baka* ("fool" in Japanese). When a kamikaze pilot was heading for his final mission, a cherry petal was pinned on his fly jacket and those who were seeing him off were waving cherry branches (ibid.: 3, plate 6). When he finally died for his emperor, he was like a cheery petal falling to the ground.

Previous commentators always thought that since the militarists manipulated the symbolic meaning of cherry blossoms, students were made to volunteer to die for the emperor. Ohnuki-Tierney completely disagrees with such a view. Symbols are often considered as facilitating communication. However, she thinks the communication of symbol is an effective communication and a lack of communication at the same time. She calls this phenomenon *méconnaissance*. This is from Jacques Lacan's terminology and is used to express the state of non-communication when different meanings and interpretations were derived by different people on the same symbol or ritual (ibid: 3). The polysemy of Cherry blossoms as a symbol is an example.

Against the current paradigm led by Sahlins' study of the event and the structure which pervades historical anthropology, Ohnuki-Tierney does not utilize the concepts of event, structure, and myth-practice but opens up another path by resorting to symbolic anthropology and emphasizes what she wants to study: the concept of culture through time (1990; 2001; 2002: 17, 297), the historical process, and the historicized culture (2001: 214). In other words, she engages in the longer-term historical study instead of the study of a single event and she approaches it through symbolic anthropology. I think this is an effort that we should endorse.

A contribution of Ohnuki-Tierney in this book is that she has examined the symbols as a tool for communications. For example, cherry blossoms are used to represent different meanings in different eras. When the militarists used cherry blossoms as a symbol of the souls of soldiers, the kamikaze student soldiers only saw it as a symbol of wretched beauty,

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symbolizing their short and tragic lives. At the Yasukuni Shrine靖国神社, originally the cherry trees were planted so that the beautiful blossoms would console the souls of fallen soldiers. However, later on the falling cherry petals represented the metamorphosed souls of the fallen soldiers (ibid.: 10, 260, 292). In the last chapter of the book when she discussed the concept of symbol, Ohnuki-Tierney thinks that a communicatory tool is as ineffective as effective as a symbol. She uses the word "*méconnaissance*" to explain the different understandings of the same symbol or ritual due to lack of communication (ibid.: 281-4).

III. Zuozhen under Japan

As the most important sources used to construct the history of Zuozhen during the Japanese colonial period, what kind of history do we observe from these photos and newspapers?

The Local Ruling Class

The local ruling class during the "Japanese Era" was constituted of the Japanese and the locals they employed. A local administrative unit such as Zuozhen Rural Township was primarily governed by the township office and the police boxes. At the beginning of the Japanese rule, 700 policemen were recruited from Japan to Taiwan in July 1895. At that time Zuozhen was still not an incorporated administrative unit and local governance was completely in the hands of the Japanese police. Even after the township office was established later, the police boxes were still in charge of the bulk of administrative affairs. Other than the regular police works such as the maintenance of public order, the pacification of bandits, and the ban on gambling, household registration, the registration of cattle, taxation, the requisition of coercive labor for the constructions of bridges and roads, and the inspection on the sanitary condition of the households and local environment were also in the hands of the police. The local police boxes also organized the *sōtei dan*壯丁団 and the *baojia*保甲 system to help, with no pay, and the police with many monitoring, patrolling, and administrative jobs. It amounts to put all the local young and middle-aged men under the direct command of the police. Since the policemen were closely bound up with people's life, they were omnipresent and like little tyrants in the countryside. Zuozhen had one police box派出所at Cailiao and another at Gangzilin岡仔林 during the "Japanese Era," each with

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at most two Japanese policemen, and sometimes just one Japanese police plus a Taiwanese assistant police.

The major task of the township office was originally for collecting taxes. Later on some of the police tasks were gradually transferred to the township office. The establishment of Zuozhen township office in 1920 listed but three positions (the township headman庄長, deputy headman助役, and bookkeeper會計役). In 1930 a clerk and an assistant clerk were added. Later an industrial assistant and a few assistant employees were hired.

There actually were few Japanese living in Zuozhen, for most of the township employees were locals and even the township headman was not necessarily Japanese. Thus in Zuozhen, thanks to the assistance by the police and the locally hired township office employees, only five Japanese could completely rule more than five thousand Taiwanese. When it came to the time to recruit military volunteers, the Japanese only needed to issue a piece of paper and thousands of Taiwanese would answer the call to march to battlefields. In contrast, the Nationalist regime on the Chinese Mainland then had to resort to rounding up conscripts.

Local Elites

Between 1895 when Japan took over Taiwan and 1920 when the township (gaishō街庄) system was implemented, Zuozhen was not an incorporated administrative unit. However, there were still a few locals who got employed as ward chiefs or government clerks. They were the first generation political figures from Zuozhen employed by the Japanese. They were all literate because they had attended the private one-room schools or Christian missionary schools.

Besides the police boxes and the township office, there were some Japanese employed by the school as principal and teachers, but the school was not a ruling organization. The most immediate function of the school is for training people to be literate so that they could be employed by the various offices or could become the local *baojia*保甲 officers. Like the millennial tradition of Han Chinese civil officials assisting the rulers--be they Han Chinese, Mongols, or Manchu--to administrate, it was taken for granted for the literati to assist the Japanese to administrate locally. These local “intelligentsia” not only helped the Japanese in routine local administration, but sometimes also gave speeches at the assemblies of the *sōtei dan*壯丁団, the Youth Corps, and the PTA associations to promote *kōminka* and to instill the

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Yamato Spirit. For instance, on Navy Day (May 27) in 1943, the Zuozhen Youth Corps held an assembly for showing gratitude to the navy volunteers. Four of the locals (names omitted) employed at the township office gave speeches to encourage members of the Youth Corps to volunteer for the armed forces. The titles of their speeches were: "Welcoming the Navy Special Volunteer System迎接海軍特別志願兵制度," "Awakening at Sea在海上覺醒," "The Coming Forward of the Taiwanese Youths本島青年的奮起," and "The Ambitions of the Zuozhen Youths左鎮庄青年的志氣" (*Taiwan Nippō*,臺灣日報May 30, 1943). Thus the peasants were organized under the *baojia*保甲) system, joined the *sōtei dan*壯丁団 (able-bodied militia Corps) and Youth Corps, constructed bridges and built roads, and finally "volunteered" to join the Japanese armed forces to die for the Japanese emperor. The myths instilled by the Japanese militarist regime on the one hand effectively ruled the region, and on the other hand gave local folks explanations of how the current situations, politics, and society operated.

Since the township system was implemented by the Japanese in Taiwan, with the establishment of modern schools, gradually more locals were employed by the administration. They worked at the local township office, the police boxes, the school, and the agricultural association. They were the local elites and were directly or indirectly involved in public affairs. They were the local ruling class, intelligentsia, and the white-collars. They dressed tidily and wore leather shoes to work and were distinct in appearance from the barefooted peasants donning wide-trimmed bamboo hats. They had newspapers to read and radio to listen to and naturally were better informed than the land-tillers. They were paid regular salaries. In many local affairs, these "employed" were in leading or even commanding position. They and the land-tillers were like two social classes.

In the social order taken for granted in a Confucianist society, the few literate helped the ruler rule. Thus although country folks might not have read the Confucian classics, such Confucian theory was internalized as part and parcel of their culture and the social structure was actually dominated by the cultural structure. Consequently in the process of practicing traditional culture both the rulers and the ruled are at peace with themselves.

During the between-and-betwixt period after Japan's defeat and the arrival of the Chinese Nationalist government, although those office employees in Zuozhen had nothing to do and no salaries to draw, they still came to the office to sip tea and chat until the deputy township headman from the "Japanese Era," Mu Yushan穆玉山, was appointed as the township headman by the Nationalist government and all the officers were allowed to

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retain their jobs. Although the Nationalist government had brought over a set of completely different ideology, namely to recover the Mainland and to wipe out the Commie Bandits, those who used to campaign for forced assimilation to Japanese are now promoting "Anti-Communist and Resisting Soviet反共抗俄." The official "national language" to be learned is switched from Japanese to Mandarin. Those who used to be sitting at the front row when taking group pictures are still sitting at the front row. From these examples, we can discern that as the employed ruling class, the local headmen under the Great Qing Empire were still the local rulers under the Japanese rule. The local headmen under the Japanese Empire were still the local rulers when the government was changed hands to the Chinese Nationalists.

The *Sōtei Dan* 壯丁団

Judging from the photos and newspaper clippings, during the half-century of Japanese domination, the *sōtei dan* (able-bodied militia Corps) and the *kōminka* movement (*huang min hua* 皇民化 imperialization, forced assimilation to Japanese imperial subjects) were the most outstanding incidents that actually affected the life of many country folks.

In 1895 the Qing Dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan. This was not what the Taiwanese wanted or expected. The Japanese used the force of the state to control Taiwan and organized her people into "the *sōtei dan*" and "the Youth Corps." These were also not what the Taiwanese were willing to participate. However, such external forces beyond the control of the Taiwanese people had become part of the Taiwan history after all. When we study the local history, other than the local cultural structure, we cannot but try to understand the relationships, backgrounds, and contexts between the locality and the past and the locality and the external world.

The sōtei dan and the Youth Corps were the most important mechanisms that the Japanese administration used to organize local men during the "Japanese Era." The *sōtei dan* was organized and commanded by the police box, while the Youth Corps by the township office. Since there were two police boxes in Zuozhen, one at Cailiao菜寮 and the other at Gangzilin岡仔林, there were two *sōtei dans*. The Cailiao *sōtei dan* had one chief, five deputy chiefs (i.e. one from each of the five neighborhoods), and 47 members (number of the members varied with the changes in population).

The *sōtei dan* was composed of men between the ages of 17 and 40. They were under the direction of the police to assist them in maintaining public order, the winter curfew,

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disaster rescues, and volunteer work. The members, deputy chief, and chief of the *sōtei dan* at Cailiao were basically chosen by the police. Individuals who were literate, with good moral character, and with strong physique were preferred.

The *sōtei dan* drilled once a month at the sports field of Zuozhen Common School, sometimes in the morning and sometimes in the afternoon. According to some corps members, the Japanese paid much attention to the cultivation of the Yamato Spirit. Therefore, other than the drills, members assembled at a classroom to hear the exhortatory lectures by the police or the chief Chen Chunmu. Sometimes lecturers were invited, for example school teacher Li Bingnan李炳楠 had talked about topics like "Do You Have the Self-Consciousness as a Japanese National?是否具有身為日本民的自覺" Furthermore, donations for recent significant happenings were often initiated.

The most important event for the *sōtei dan* was to participate in the annual year-end militia review of Xinhua County新化郡. Xinhua County had nine townships and 27 police boxes, thus 27 *sōtei dans*. The size of each *sōtei dan* depended on the size of its local population and varied from 27 people to over 140. Each December these 27 *sōtei dans* met at Xinhua Common School新化公学校 for the militia review. The best two represented Xinhua County to participate in the Tainan Prefecture台南州militia review held in February of the next year at Tainan Park. The best ranking that the Cailiao *sōtei dan* ever got was No. 3, thus they never had the chance to attend the Tainan Prefecture review台南州檢閱.

About half a month before the Xinhua County review新化郡檢閱, the *sōtei dan* started the militia drills. Each member had to bring his own lunch box to attend the drill at Zuozhen Common School. Although the commands were just a few, they were all in Japanese, with which not everybody was familiar. The drills, therefore, sometimes continued after dark. Chen Chunmu gave militia drill commands loud and clear and had won praise from corps members. However, he had also scolded and even harshly treated some members and made them feel humiliated before the group. Thus some people could not quite forgive him.

For the Xinhua County Review, the *sōtei dans* were assembled at Xinhua Common School before 7:00 a.m. The chief of Xinhua County, the township headmen in the county, and heads of the neighborhoods were all present to watch the review. After the Japanese national flag was raised, all made obeisance to the Imperial Palace (*kyujo yohai*宮城遙拜). Then champion from the previous year returned the championship flag and the review started. The program after lunch was first the march-past, followed by the critical comments, awarding of the championship flag to the new champion, the exhortatory lecture by the

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county chief, commending senior corps members (those who had participated for 15 or 20 years), lowering the national flag, and three shouts of hurrah to the Japanese emperor. All ended around 3:00 p.m.

Rearranging Taiwanese Temples寺廟整理

The Han Chinese in Taiwan have a set of religious belief which is usually called "Chinese folk belief." It synthesizes some concepts from both Buddhism and Daoism and becomes a religion prevalent among the Chinese folks. After coming with the Chinese immigration to Taiwan, except for few who were converted to Christianity some one hundred years ago, this "Chinese folk belief" has become the dominant religious belief among the Taiwanese.

Such worldview received quite a blow in the "Japanese Era," especially during the *kōminka* movement on the later stage. Japanese demanded the locals to rid off their deities from village temples and convert them into Shinto shrines and to rid off the deities and ancestors from the front halls of homes to be replaced by the paper amulets (*taima*大麻) from the Great Shrine of Ise伊勢神宮. This is an unprecedented impact and challenge to the deep-rooted world view in the folk beliefs of the Han Chinese. However, the demand was not equally pressed everywhere in Taiwan. For instance at the time when temples were "re-arranged," newspapers often reported how various places complied, e.g. to destroy the paper-burning furnace金爐廢止 at Beigang Chaotian-gong Temple北港朝天宮, at Jiali Jintang Temple佳里金唐殿 old statues of Buddha and hanging scrolls were burnt舊佛像及掛軸燒卻, at Dawan大灣 in Yongkang 永康 old ancestral tablets were burnt舊牌位燒卻, at Xuejia學甲 the Ciji-gong Temple慈濟宮was abolished, etc. At one place, the ancestral plates were even burnt along with night stools. But the Taiwanese still hung on to their beliefs (Inokawa 1990: 56). All these gave those townships which had not "rearranged" their temples demonstrations and "encouragement," and let them know how other places carried it out.

As for the Zuozhen region, since the Japanese and the local ruling class did not demand too strongly and had not carried out orders thoroughly, the movement of rearranging Taiwanese temples (*jibyo seiri*寺廟整理) and improving front halls was not successful. The Zuozhen township office once demanded that "private buddhas"私佛仔 should not be displayed on altars for worship and were subject to confiscation if caught. According to Mr. Chen Chunmu, Zuozhen township office did not resort to high-handed measures, but due to his duties, he had to punish the violators a little bit. The "deities" confiscated by Zuozhen

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township office was not burnt but stored in a warehouse and were claimed back by the various temples after the war (Ts'ai 1993: 32). Although students and members of the *sōtei dan* and the Youth Corps (*seinen dan*) had to pay tribute to the only Shinto shrine, Cailiao Shrine菜寮神社, in Zuozhen and clean its environment, few folks had gone worshiping voluntarily.[7]

Schools

Since the Qing dynasty, residents in Zuozhen were virtually all immigrants from elsewhere. In occupational classification, few were literati while the majority were "land-tillers" and merchants. At that time, the Qing administration had set up a one-room school in Feng-chui-ling風吹嶺, Zuozhen with about ten students and stipends for the teacher was paid by the government (Zeng 1956: 112). Some other villages also had private one-room schools. However, due to poverty, few of the land-tillers in Zuozhen could afford attending such schools.

In 1918 the Japanese started to set up the Gangzilin Branch School岡仔林分校of Damujiang Common School大目降公学校at Gangzilin of Zuozhen, and later a dispatch classroom was set up at Cailiao to provide the locals with the opportunity to get literate. Soon the common school graduate Mr. Chen Chunmu was hired as a *baojia* clerk保甲書記 in the 1920s. Then at some places there was a distinction between the elementary school and the common school. The elementary schools were for educating Japanese children, while the common schools were for Taiwanese kids. The budgets, qualification of tea chers, and facilities between the two were very different. Zuozhen is a hilly region, so few Japanese lived there (in 1925 there were 9 males and 6 females, and in 1935 there were 16 males and 8 females) and only a common school was established. As late as1933, only less than a third of the school age children in the entire Tainan Prefecture were attending school (*Tainan Shimpō*,臺南新報15 November 1934). In 1936 the schooling in Zuozhen was about the same and at 32.8% (there were 1,174 school age children, 385 were attending school and 789 were not. See: *Shinka-gun Yōran* [新化郡要覽*Handbook of Xinhua County*], 1937: 12). An

[7] The only exception I know was the mother of a volunteer soldier. She had occasionally prayed at the memorial or the Cailiao Shrine for the young Japanese pilots killed in an accident, hoping the Japanese spirits and deities could help her son's safe return.

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undated newspaper clipping I found reported that there were 580 members between the age of 16 and 30 of the Zuozhen Youth Corps. Among them were 430 illiterate people, or about 75%. Due to the gravity of illiteracy, it was decided that a basic Japanese conversation class would be offered between 7:00 and 9:30 p.m. every night for two months and the instructors were the school teachers, the chief and deputy chief of Youth Corps.

Generally speaking, the Taiwanese had bad impressions on the Japanese police. However, they cherished the memory of their Japanese teachers and often invited them to revisit Taiwan. For example, Principal Kawaguchi Chiyuki川口千之 and teacher Maruno Kun丸野勛 from the former Zuozhen Common School左鎮公学校and teacher Kokubu Renji国分廉二 of the Xinhua Agricultural School新化農業専修were deeply loved and esteemed by their students and had returned to Zuozhen a few times to visit friends and students. According to Mr.Yang Lianggui楊量貴, when he was studying at the common school, teachers made rounds among the families in after hours or on holidays, hoping parents would allow their children to attend school. However, most parents still kept their children, especially girls, at home to help with housework, so not many kids could be educated. In order to keep the students, some teachers would distribute crackers to the students to encourage them to show up the next day.

Objectively speaking, the foundation of Taiwan's modernization was laid down by the Japanese. In the parallel school system of elementary school/common society and first middle school一中/second middle school二中, differential treatments and discriminations indeed existed between the Japanese and Taiwanese. However, it is undeniable that modern school system provided everybody with the opportunity to learn reading. It is only that under the myth of the emperor as a man-god created by the militarist, school education became the propaganda tool for such a myth. For instance, every morning at the flag-raising ceremony, pupils stood in attention to listen to the principal's spiritual admonition on how they should die for the emperor and bowed to the imperial palace (i.e. toward northeast in the direction of Tokyo). On the four big holidays (the New Year, *Kigensetsu*紀元節on February 11, Hirohito's birthday天長節on April29, and Meiji's birthday明治節on November3) each year, there was the reading of *The Imperial Rescript on Education*教育勅語捧讀. Namely, after the national flag was raised in the morning, all heads lowered to wait in silence, and a teacher retrieved a plate from the metal cabinet in the office. On it was a copy of *The Imperial Rescript on Education* promulgated by Emperor Meiji in 1890. The teacher reverently and respectfully held the plate with both hands and stepped up to the podium where the principal

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was standing, and the principal cautiously picked up the *Rescript* and started to read aloud in measured pace. For as long as three minutes, students and teachers alike lowered their heads and listened intently. The scene was extremely solemn. The *Rescript* was also taught at school ethics class and pupils were asked to memorize it. Mr. Yang Zongde楊宗德 of Touqianxi頭前溪, Zuozhen can still recite from memory the *Rescript* in full today.

The obeisance to the distant Imperial Palace皇居(宮城)遙拜and the solemn reading of *The Imperial Rescript on Education* were aiming at cultivating everybody's loyalty to the Japanese emperor (*chukun*忠君) and his empire and engraining the spirit of devotion to the emperor and absolute obedience from childhood on. After the war, following the advice from the U.S. military, the reading of *The Imperial Rescript on Education* was completely abolished in 1948.

Furthermore, each office and school had to reverently receive a copy of the emperor's "august photograph" (*go-shin'ei*御真影，an Imperial portrait) with big ceremony and fanfare, which was often noted by newspapers. Since the portrait of the emperor was so precious, it was usually locked up in a metal cabinet behind or by the desk of the officer in charge. Every morning when government employees were signing in for work at the desk of the boss, they had to bow first whether the boss was in or not. Actually they were not bowing to the boss but to the cabinet that contained the "august photograph" of Emperor Hirohito裕仁 (for schools there was also a copy of *The Imperial Rescript on Education* in the cabinet). The same rite was performed again when signing off from work in late afternoon. Besides, whenever the phrase "His Majesty"陛下 was heard one had to stand in attention. When the same phrase was written, a blank had to be preceded or a new line started. After the war, the Taiwanese were still going through the same experience, only the august party had now become someone else.

Newspapers

In order to effectively instill the ruler's myths of Japan as a divine state and the unbroken succession of the Japanese emperors for effective administration, the implementation by officials besides school education were needed. Under the technological condition then, newspapers and radio were the most effective administrative and propaganda tools. Although we cannot hear the broadcasting from that time now, we can still read the newspapers.

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In his classic work *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson discusses that "nationality" was possible because of the interaction between capitalism and printing (1991: 46). When discussing the printed matter as merchandise, his emphasis is on the importance of the publication of books. When he discusses the colonial administration by colonial governments, he emphasizes the importance of population census, maps, and museums (1991: 163). As for the Japanese experience in ruling Taiwan, the Japanese indeed had conducted quite a few times of population census, printed many maps, and established several museums. However, I think Anderson has missed newspaper as a ruling tool for ideological propaganda.

In the "Japanese Era," in order to effectively rule Taiwan, other than the most important and direct channel of transmitting official documents from superiors to subordinates, newspapers and radio were the most important tools that the rulers used to communicate information. As I mentioned in the "Introduction," there existed a fish-versus-water-like reciprocal relationship between newspapers and the local ruling class. Since reporters only came once in a while to "make rounds" among the various offices in the township, chiefs of those offices provided journalists with information about recent activities. Thus what appeared in the newspapers were virtually all stories about the instruction of the Japanese language国語講習, the issuing of Shinto talisman (*taima*)神龕大麻頒佈, or drills of the *sōtei dan*. Judging from the news clippings left behind by Mr.Chen Chunmu, what he read most frequently were two papers published in Tainan, namely *Tainan Shimpō* (lit. New Tainan News臺南新報) and *Taiwan Nippō* (lit. Taiwan Daily News臺灣日報). Whatever position the two papers took, all the "positive" stories virtually make the papers tools of the ruling class.

First of all, the newspapers portrayed the Japanese emperor as the most lofty ruler and the Taiwanese people as his "infant children天皇の赤子." Whenever he was mentioned, it was about people weeping in gratitude for his holy and boundless mercy. All stories about the emperor were on the front page. Each year on the New Year Day or the emperor's birthday, the picture of the emperor donning the uniform of the commander-in-chief would be published. When the emperor toured the Army Cadet School陸軍士官学校, pictures of the emperor viewing troops in military uniform and riding a white horse would be printed. Then when newspapers mentioned "the emperor," "the empress," "His Majesty," or "Her Majesty," a preceding blank had to be inserted or a new line had to be started. When "the crown prince" or "His Highness Crown Prince" was mentioned, a preceding blank was

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inserted. Furthermore, newspapers sometimes would print pictures of Hirohito裕仁sitting by a microscope (e.g . *Tainan Shimpō*, April 29, 1932) to portray him as a biologist. This is the propaganda power of newspaper which made everybody thought Hirohito was an accomplished biologist. Thanks to the power of the newspaper, everybody thought Emperor Hirohito was a peace-loving monarch, who loves biology, tennis, golf, and mahjong, but not war. He was driven to war because he was a puppet controlled by the militarists.[8]

Next, newspapers imperceptibly molded a political world constructed by the Japanese regime. Whatever the backgrounds of *Tainan Shimpō* and *Taiwan Nippō*, the image that the two newspapers imprinted on the readers was that Taiwan was a unit governed by the Taiwan Governor General and Japan was the state that ruled Taiwan. Thus the national affairs of Japan were naturally the front-page stories in Taiwan. Despite that the political events in Japan, such as the reshuffling of the cabinet, the emperor's viewing troops, Japan's domestic elections, etc., might neither have any direct bearing on Taiwan nor be of any concern to the Taiwanese, since they were on the front page, they imperceptibly declared Japan's sovereignty over Taiwan, as if daily reminders to the readers that Taiwan was a possession of Japan.

Other than the Japanese domestic news and news about Taiwan, news about Japan's war progress on the Chinese Mainland and about the Japan's puppet regimes in China were often reported. For example, we hardly ever saw pictures of Wang Jingwei汪精衛, head of the Japan-backed Nanking regime during the war, or that of Wang Kemin王克敏, Head of the North China Provisional Government華北臨時政府, in the Chinese newspapers, yet the photos and stories about them frequented the Japanese-language newspapers published in Taiwan. Take another example for instance, now few Taiwanese know who Xie Jieshi謝介石 was, yet in the "Japanese Era" he was a big shot who often appeared in newspapers. Xie was the foreigner minister of Manchu-kuo滿州国. Since he was a native of Xinchu新竹, his

[8] However, according to a recent study by the American scholar Herbert Bix (2000), Emperor Hirohito not only actively participated in state affairs but also had real grips of power. He was personally involved in commanding military operations in China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. He heard military reports everyday, discussed progresses of the war with military chiefs, and personally gave orders to instruct military operations. He was well aware of the bombing assassination of Marshall Chang Zuolin張作霖, the Nan Jing Massacre, and Japan's bio-chemical warfare, yet he demanded no investigations, which entails his tacit consent and encouragement for the military (Bix 2000: 338, 362).

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every visit to Japan or Taiwan was big news. As for international news, the most frequently reported were news about Japan's ally, the Nazi Germany. Thanks to the long-term reporting of such news, the Taiwanese readers were unconsciously led to a certain "imagined community" which was the political world ruled by the Japanese.

Furthermore, newspapers became the mouth-piece for the ruler. Although the orders or demands from the Japanese government to the various offices on different levels were mainly executed through the exchange of official documents, not all offices responded the same. Mr. Chen Chunmu's news clippings were mainly about Zuozhen, but if we go back to the newspapers from that time, we would see that news stories tacitly performed the function of setting examples. For example, when military volunteers were recruited, there were stories about how various places enthusiastically responded in the paper everyday, and it was reported that those who could get enlisted were so grateful to the imperial mercy. On September 23, 1943, the Taiwan Governor General and the Taiwan Army Headquarters announced that draft would be implemented in Taiwan. For many days in a row, all headlines in newspapers declared that it was the highest honor, that it was the long-cherished wish of the Taiwanese, and that the holy mercy was boundless, etc. There was even an exalted councilor from the Governor General's Office named Lin who wrote an essay in newspaper and claimed that the imperial mercy moved people only to tears. Then when the Japanese troops captured Taiyuan太原in China's Shanxi山西Province, the papers reported how various places celebrated, e.g. some places held lantern parade and others held carnival competition. All these set examples on what to do, so the next time when the Japanese Imperial Army captured Hankou漢口, the industrial center in central China, we saw that lantern parade was held in Zuozhen (Fig.1).

IV. Rethinking Historical Anthropology

After discussing the structural and symbolic studies in historical anthropology as represented by Sahlins and Ohnuki-Tierney, I think they each have his/her own distinctive contribution. I recognize that Sahlins has constructed a simple and elegant paradigm of the structure and the event, but I do not think history is necessarily constituted by events. Such paradigm elucidates the relationship between culture (the structure) and history (the event) and is particularly suitable for a heroic, from-up-to-down, myth oriented, and homogeneous society, especially one that had its first contact with western capitalism. Ohnuki-Tierney'

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Fig. 1. Lantern parade at Zuozhen to celebrate the Japanese Imperial Army's capturing of Hankou, Oct. 1938.

s study may apply to a society with distinct core symbols or dominant metaphors (Ohnuki-Tierney 1987; Fernandez 1990). But how do we come to understand a small town in the hills of Taiwan that was ruled by the Japanese for fifty years?

We have to understand that, different types of history—for example, political history, world history, intellectual history, etc—contain different goals, functions, and issues to be dealt with. There is no single theory that is applicable to all sorts of history. Speaking of the real situation, I do not think mechanically applying Sahlin's structural theory or Ohnuki-Tierney's "dominant symbol" could easily explain Japan's fifty years domination in Taiwan. Since each of their views has its merits and limitations, using their views on my own study may seem like cutting the feet to fit the shoes.

The traditional study of local history often treats the locality as a little screw in a larger frame without its own history. Like the studies by the World System scholars, all the various localities in the world have but the impact by the world system and the local reactions (Ortner

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1984: 143; Sahlins 1985: viii). When Sahlins chides Eric Wolf for "reducing the histories of non-European peoples to the history of global capitalism" (Asad 1993: 3), he tries to show that the early encounters between European and local peoples were "guided by the cultural logic of the local people concerned" (Asad 1993: 3). From the case of Zuozhen as described above, I would argue that under Japanese rule, the local peoples were "passive objects of their own history and not its authors"(Sahlins 1988: 2-3). Furthermore, in order to understand local history, we have to understand Japan's colonial context.

Japanese Colonial Context: Myth as a Cultural System

Anthropologists study culture and study the interaction between human beings and structure. Historical study, in simple terms, is the aspect of culture plus the extension in time. With the development in time and the practice of people, culture and history are constantly in the never-ending process of development, becoming, and regeneration. I consider all these factors the process. To me, the process and context includes both a temporal and spatial contexts, namely the relationships between a culture and the past and the external world, such as natural disasters, the intervention or non-intervention of external forces, the invasion of foreign powers or wars, the newly introduced technology, the forces of the state machine or the world system, etc.

Take the Japanese domination in Taiwan for instance, I think the context is the most important factor in understanding this segment of history. If we do not understand the context of how the Japanese ruled Taiwan---what I am talking about is not the beginning to end of the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894, but the myth of Japan as a divine nation and the unbroken succession of the Japanese emperors as the basis of ruling Taiwan---then we cannot understand what the Japanese did in Taiwan for fifty years. In Geertz' words, this myth was a cultural system. It led people's lives and provided the people with an explanation for inequality.

The French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss once classified human societies into two types: the history-oriented and "hot" western societies and the myth-oriented and "cold" non-western societies. Such a view entails the conception that human societies evolve from cold to hot while history replaces myth (for details see Ohnuki-Tierney 2001). Sahlins, nevertheless, considers myth the most important and fundamental structure in cultural structure (1981: 11). He says, "Hawaiian history often repeats itself, since only the second

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time is it an event. The first time it is myth" (1981: 9). "For the people of Hawaii Cook had been a myth before he was an event" (1985: 73). This presentation makes the extant mythical structure as if a never-changing printing template deeply and freshly engrained in the minds of the natives. However, reality may not like this at all. Since Sahlins says myth is the most fundamental, then there must be other less fundamental structures and only myth is more solid than other structures (Ohnuki- Tierney 1995: 227; 2001: 215).

The historical anthropology of Sahlins emphasizes mytho-praxis. Namely human beings confront external incidents via mythical structure and thus open up history. Such formulation is obviously not suitable to explain the history of the Japanese rule in Taiwan. The Japanese domination of Taiwan was actually built upon Japan's Divine Nation Theory日本神国論--namely the linked myths of Japan as a divine state, the unbroken succession of the emperors天皇萬世一系, the emperor as a man-god, and the State Shintoism above all other religions. Ohnuki-Tierney says this is myth replacing history but not history replacing myth as espoused by Lévi-Strauss (2002: 248). I think this is a counter example to Sahlins' mytho-praxis. Here it was not the Taiwanese who used a cultural (mythical) structure to interpret the Japanese invasion. On the contrary, it was the invaders who brought with them a set of myths as the basis for their dominance. In other words, during the fifty-years of Japanese domination in Taiwan (and the earlier stage of the Chinese Nationalist rule) myth was more dominant than other cultural systems (such as religion). Here we shall only use the example from the colonial period to elucidate.

In Japanese history the status of the emperor had its ups and downs. In feudal times, for some seven hundred years the emperor was but a nominal symbol and the shogun was the true ruler with real power. Troops of the court had fought ferociously with that of the shogunate幕府and the emperor was dethroned. However, the shogunate had not abolished the imperial system. Instead, another member from the imperial family was chosen as the emperor (Xia 2003: 82). In 1500 AD when Emperor Go-Kashiwabara後柏原天皇 succeeded, he had no funds for the enthroning rite and neither the shogunate nor other feudal lords were willing to subsidize him (Wang 2001: 97). The authority of the Tokugawa shogun was completely overriding that of the emperor. When negotiating with foreign envoys, the shogun often called himself "tycoon"大君 (head of the state) or even the King of Japan and completely ignored the existence of the emperor (Umesao 2001: 70). His power was not substantially different from that of the Chinese emperor (Xia 2003: 94). During the era of Tokugawa Ieyasu德川家康, the court was forbidden to involve in politics and could only

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perform some ceremonial functions (Masumi 1997: 3). The various generations of Tokugawa shoguns even stipulated how the emperor should carry himself, such as "no small talks, no keeping pets, and no kicking balls" (ibid. 102). The emperor virtually had no status or authority. It was only until the Meiji Era when the restorationists defeated the shogunate that the emperor became the leader of the state again. Since the emperor was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the military reported directly to the emperor, they bloated to be a humongous power uncontrollable by the civil government. In order to converge the solidarity of the nation, the military further re-created the myth of Japan as a divine nation and that the emperor as a man-god, etc. and used it as the justification for Japan's expansionism.

In Taiwan, the Japanese built Shinto shrines here and there. School students had to recite *The Imperial Rescript on Education* (*Kyōiku Chokugo*教育勅語) promulgated by Emperor Meiji. At the beginning of any official assembly, participants had first to make obeisance to the Imperial Palace (*kyujo yohai*宮城遙拜i.e. toward the direction of Tokyo) and the paper amulets or talisman (*taima*大麻) from the Ise Shrine (*Ise Jingu*伊勢神宮). Sometimes the Yasukuni Shrine靖国神社for the war dead was also included in such obeisance. The national anthem, *Kimi-ga-yo*君が代, was sung in unison, the imperial edict was read, and finally three hurrahs of "Long Live His Majesty" were shouted. The substance of the assembly was usually first an expression of gratitude to the imperial mercy and ended with picture taking, which are the photos we are seeing now. In other words, everything was centered about the mythical emperor and the indoctrination of common folks to be imperial subjects or children of the emperor.

The myths that Japan was a divine state and that the imperial line was unbroken for "ten thousand generations" was omnipresent and became a cultural system in Geertz' parlance. It was not only the guideline for the conducts of both officials and common folks but also the basis for comprehending the operation of the society. Therefore, I think among the factors of structure, process and context, and historical agency, process and context play the primary roles in the discussion of the history of Taiwan under Japanese domination. The actions that the Japanese took during those fifty years were but footnotes to that myth. On the other hand, if we do not understand such myth, we will not be able to comprehend why the Japanese

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ruled Taiwan in that way.

Structure and Agency

In Sahlins' "structure," he thinks the natives use the extant cultural structure to confront new events. Therefore in the study of historical anthropology, only with a good grasp of the native cultural structure can the meaning of a historical event be understood. I basically agree with Sahlins' view, especially in this era when all the "afterologists" (after Sahlins 1999: 404; 2000:11) are raising the standard of revolt one after another and chic terms like discourse, *habitus*, hegemony, power, ideology, narrative, etc. are constantly weeding through the old to bring forth the new, that the concept of culture has been constantly challenged and even threatened to be overthrown (e.g. Fox and King 2002). Sahlins' passion (1999; 2000: Introduction), like an old steed still aspiring to gallop in defending the concept of culture, is particularly moving to his readers. Besides, I think like the event's sharpening the meaning of the structure, the study of cultural structure is where the characteristic of historical anthropology could shine. Since there are no identical cultures in the world, there are no identical histories.

Sahlins himself also says, "Structure is processual" (1985: 77). In fact, there is no changeless cultures in the world and no what Bloch (1977: 288) calls "the timeless present." The Hawaiian culture, from myth to event, has endured countless changes. Moreover, from ancient times to the present, no culture could have but one unified set of structural pattern. On the contrary, every culture simultaneously has different and even conflicting structural patterns (cf. Valeri 1990). In any culture, the structure is multiple and ever- changing. In Bourdieu's words (1990: 53), there are structured structures and also structuring structures.

To the Taiwanese the biggest impact during the fifty years of the Japanese domination in Taiwan must have been on the politics and social structures, followed by the religious life. During the period of *kōminka* movement (皇民化運動forced assimilation or imperialization), although the Japanese aggressively promoted the Japanese-speaking families (*kokugo katei* 国語家庭national language families) and the Japanization of surnames and personal names (*kaiseimei*改姓名), such efforts had little effect on the majority of country folks who did not speak Japanese. In the following I shall carry the discussion from the social structure and worldview.

Sahlins stresses that culture is ordered that natives confront events by following the

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cultural structure (especially the mythical structure). This more or less overlooked the role of the historical agents, as if under the arrangement of structure whoever was Capitan Cook or whoever was the Hawaiian Chieftain had the same historical process. I do not think history was completely arranged by culture. We cannot ignore that due to the differences in the various conditions of culture, *habitus*, ability, personality, interests, and contingency, historical agents caused the different historical processes.

I do not completely agree with Sahlins' argument that history is arranged culturally. Such a view is basically sound. However, the result of the over-emphasis on structure seems to have ignored the forces of the historical agency and perceived the historical agency as products of the same mold who reacted uniformly according to the arrangements of the cultural structure. In fact, in daily life the historical agents confront life according to his culture, habits, personality, ability, interests, situations, etc.--whether we call it the theory of practice (Bourdieu 1990) or the sociologics (Sangren 2000). This is the real life that we cannot ignore. Because of the difference in individuality, each person makes different judgments and decisions. Thus individuals have different lots and histories have different projections and arrangements. For example, during the temple rearrangement in "the Japanese Era," some local officials were more actively collaborating the policy from above and burned the deity plates. Other local officials were more considerate for the people and turned a blind eye to the policy. Under the same Japanese domination, some Taiwanese opted to adopt Japanese names and others opted not to. Some Taiwanese volunteered for military service and others tried to avoid.

Were the Japanese emperor a different person, he might not have ordered the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor. Since history is a process and is the different result of the historical agents on different position responding to different situations, history has such results and arrangements as we now see.

Although Sahlins has also mentioned the historical agents, they don't seem to be his major concerns. Conversely, Ohnuki-Tierney has used long passages in her book to discuss the problem of the historical agents with profound philosophical implications, which is worth noting. The title of the Japanese edition of Ohnuki-Tierney's study of the Kamikazes is called *Nejimagerareta Sakura* [The crooked cherry blossoms], which, in my opinion, has a profound meaning. It is borrowed from a famous quotation by Kant, who thinks that "[o]ne cannot fashion something absolutely straight from wood which is as crooked as that of which man is made" (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002: 296; 2003: 36). The ideal society for Kant is like a

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forest made of upward growing trees. Each tree has enough freedom to develop vertically. In such an ideal society, each individual does not harm the society by his self-serving animal nature, but could enjoy the freedom as individual. The philosopher Isaiah Berlin also thinks there is nothing so straight in human life since the human nature was crooked after all. The ideas, demands, and goals of humans are originally pluralistic. However, the many totalitarian dictators in the twentieth century, such as Lenin, Hitler, and Pol Pot of Cambodia, all wanted to use political forces to mode people into a uniform utopia and brought forth tremendous disasters to the humankind.

Ohnuki-Tierney thinks that the allegory by Kant and Berlin is very suitable to signify the cherry blossoms twisted by the Japanese militarism. But she thinks that neither Kant nor Berlin has noticed the role of the historical agents, especially as many historical agents have inadvertently partaken the role of twisting the history. This view can show that in a small town like Zuozhen, as the important historical agents, the local ruling class and the journalists from afar had inadvertently reproduced the myth which was the basis for Japan's domination. As for the nameless ruled on the locality, they played trivial roles in the procession of history and were unknown even after volunteering to be killed in battle. From the history of the domination of the Taiwanese by the Japanese, overall speaking the Taiwanese people were indeed like the cherry blossoms twisted by the Japanese militarist administrators. However, as the details are concerned, the Japanese had brought a set of myths to rule Taiwan and utilized the local literati to form the core of local power. There were more or less local variations and I think such variations came from the differences in various local cultures and customs.

The Voiceless People

Gayatri Spivak (1988) once questioned, "Can the subaltern speak?" She did not hesitate to answer herself that "The subaltern cannot speak" (1988: 308). Actually it is not that country folks cannot speak but is that history sided with the powerful. When Spivak says, "The subaltern cannot speak," she of course does not mean the subaltern are mute. Neither does she mean that since the subaltern are at the bottom of society their voices cannot be heard. Her reflection is more profound than that. She thinks that when "First World" and postcolonial intellectuals "give" the voices of the subaltern folks, they might have inadvertently replicated the imperialist power relationships. Thus there is no possibility for

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the subaltern to articulate history in their own terms (cf. Hershatter 1997: 24- 25) and hence they cannot speak.

From what I discovered in the field, country folks in the "Japanese Era" were not only voiceless but also living sometimes under duress and humiliation. For instance, the Japanese police had paramount power over local people and could beat, torture, and detain them (Isomura 1998：31-32). Some might say one should be free from the police if he did no evil and had not stolen or gambled. However, reality was not like that. For example, there was a rich fellow in Zuozhen who might be a little stingy. When after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident蘆溝橋事變 and people were responding to the call for donation to the National Defense Funds, he was slow to respond and contributed relatively little. Then a newspaper had this to say about him, "[he] made almost no contribution but had secretly equipped with a radio. He is under the investigation by the Investigation Department of the Xinhua Police Station. The townsmen were very indignant about his behavior" (*Taiwan Nippō*, August 19, 1937). This put this rich fellow and his family under tremendous pressure. Another example would be coercive labor. During the "Japanese Era" country folks were often demanded to "do public work"做公工 (such as the construction and maintenance of roads and other public facilities). When "doing public work," each household had to provide one able-bodied adult, regardless of gender. Such laborers had to not only provide their own tools, but also bring their own meals. While working they were watched by a policeman holding a rattan stick. However, all were not equally strong and some might have been slightly ill. But if the policeman suspected anybody goofing off, the rattan stick would land on his body. Even if the policeman did not beat anybody, the humiliation of being shouted at and watched by the police with rattan stick while working is similar to living in a concentration camp.

Furthermore, after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident蘆溝橋事變, the Japanese started to recruit military volunteers. Policemen or the official in charge often put the concerned in great duress. The way they conducted the requisition was that they first picked a group of young men whom they think should volunteer and then called them up to an assembly. After some exhortatory lecture, they would then ask the group, "[t]hose who do not wish to volunteer step out!" Under such circumstances who dared to step out? Since nobody stepped out, all were considered volunteers. According to an informant, he was asked by a policeman to volunteer and dared not refuse, so he returned home to tell his father. The father then protested in public before some assembly and was arrested and jailed for a week in Xinhua. Another informant reported that a Japanese policeman repeatedly used both

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threats and inducements to try to get him enlisted, saying since he had three, four brothers at home, he should have no worries to devote his life to the nation. But he was not swayed. The policeman then slapped him a few times in great anger.

Not only the Japanese police would beat people. According to the majority of the informants, those Taiwanese around the Japanese, especially but not only the assistant policemen, were even worse and more violent.[9] They liked to take advantage of the power of their Japanese bosses to bully their own people. The locals call these Taiwanese "the three leggers"三腳仔 or "Japanese shit eaters." An informant relayed that he was once taken to the police box because he had slaughtered a pig without permission. The *baojia* clerk保甲書記 working at the police box not only scolded him but also hit his head. Since the beating happened at the police box, he dared say nothing. According to another informant, once a man was late for the *sōtei dan*壯丁団drill and was greeted by the chief with cuffs and kicks. He was so humiliated before his fellow villagers and almost had no face to greet people. Such incidents are the trifles not shown in pictures, not noted in newspapers, and not written into history. However, I think since what we are studying is culture, other than the voiceless, humiliation and duress were also part of the culture in the past.

Why is history this way? On the one hand the literati collaborated with the Japanese to rule the locals and merrily lined up with them when taking group pictures. On the other hand, the peasants not only had no voice but were prone to humiliation. I think this is the result of the choices that the historical agents made under cultural structure. The literati might choose to collaborate with the Japanese or stay home to till land. The illiterate could only meekly submit to oppression or drift with the tide due to the limitations of their abilities and qualifications and lacked the options in history. Even among the locals employed at the township office, some were enthusiastically assisting the Japanese rulers to carry out government affairs. Others remained passive. During the campaign for forced assimilation (*kōminka* movement皇民化運動), some eagerly changed their names to Japanese ones, some made the preparation but took a wait-and-see attitude, while others were indifferent. When it came to the recruitment of military porters募集軍夫and volunteer soldiers志願兵, some eagerly enlisted and even signed with their blood血書志願, some enlisted reluctantly, and others stubbornly resisted.

[9] Literature from that period, such as the short stories by Lai He賴和, often depicts how local police harassed common folks.

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Judging from the pictures of Zuozhen from that era, it can be said that history was completely on the side of those with power, since no power, no history. The bulk of the peasants were voiceless people in history. They were like raindrops falling on hot concrete in summer and immediately got all evaporated. They were not only voiceless but also oppressed. Judging from such results, what was portrayed through the eyes of the empire was a very biased and twisted history. How could there be such a history? I completely disagreed with Sahlins' assertion that history was determined by culture. If that were the case, then wouldn't historical agents become but chesses on the board, completely devoid of initiative? As the case of Taiwan shows, in the process of daily life, history was constituted by cultural structure joined by historical agents. Historical agents participate in social life daily, live under the cultural structure, and have their own and their class' *habitus*. In the historical process, each individual made his/ her own judgments and decisions based on the different conditions of his/ her ability, knowledge, personality, financial situation, religious belief, and contingency...etc. about the unfolding of the surrounding world. Thus among the literate, some chose to cooperate with the Japanese and others opted for opening stores or tilling land. Among the peasants, some eagerly volunteered for military service and others stubbornly resisted.

History and culture

Sahlins' main concern is the history of "structure and event." Based on the three concepts of structure, event, and structure of the conjuncture, he has constructed a research paradigm in historical anthropology. I think Sahlins' biggest contribution is to have brought structure into historical studies. Traditional historical studies are mainly engaged in the interpretation of the meaning of events. But to Shalins, if we do not understand the local cultural structure of the natives, there is no way we can understand the meaning of an event. He thinks history is arranged by culture and conversely culture is also arranged by history (1985: vii). The meaning of event can be understood only through structure, and only through event the meaning of structure can be manifested. However, Sahlins' focus is on the dialectic relationship between event and (cultural) structure. His study, therefore, can be seen as a cultural interpretation of historical events, or using native culture (structure) to interpret historical events.

Although I admire Sahlins' view very much, I do not completely agree. My view on

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culture is somewhat different from that of Sahlins'. Like Geertz, Sahlins considers culture as culture scheme (Sahlins 1985: 103, 147). In his studies of historical anthropology, he further emphasizes the importance of the structure of myth in culture scheme. All examples he listed are how natives apply the mythical structure to deal with incidents of foreign contact. However, from the instance of Taiwan, I do not think myth is that important and that it is the worldview which molds the native meaning system. I thus view culture as the world of meaning in the native cognition. The source of this world of meaning can be traced to the native worldview. Conversely, it is the native worldview which is expressed in the various aspects of the world of meaning.

Secondly, Sahlins considers history as event while I think history is the cultural past, including both event and the various aspects of daily life. I think history is the synchronic cultural concept added with temporal depth and historical dimension which is the historicization of culture, or in Ohnuki-Tierney's words, "culture through time" (1990; 2001; 2002: 17, 297), or what Valeri calls historical process. Ohnuki-Tierney's view on history is closer to mine and her study is closely related to Taiwan under Japanese occupation. Although I do not completely agree with her, for Taiwan did not have any outstanding symbol like cheery blossom or something else, her study is still a worthy reference.

Thirdly, I emphasize the importance of process and context. When we study the history of a society, we cannot ignore the temporal (historical) and spatial (geographic) contexts, and the forces internal or external to the society, such as natural disasters, foreign invasions, the state apparatus, and the relationship between the locality and external society. I call all these background process and context. In other words, we study not only events and history but also process and context. Process and context might be events or might only be happenings. Thus history includes the study of events and also of non-events. This view is quite close to Ohnuki-Tierney's "historicization of the concept of culture" (2001: 213) and can be considered as a historical interpretation of culture.

V. Conclusions

This study focuses on a collection of historical photos and newspapers of Zuozhen under Japanese occupation. At that time nobody in the rural Zuozhen Township had a camera and there was no studio in town. So to take a picture a professional photographer had to be hired from the studio in the faraway county seat in Xinhua新化. Thus the bulk of the photos

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were ceremonial records, namely scenes that the Japanese considered positive and worth recording. Conversely, there was not a single picture about events that deemed negative by the Japanese, such as the great man-hunt after the Yu Qingfang Incident. The newspapers were the same. Newspapers in the "Japanese Era" were mainly under the control of the Japanese; even local news other than the human interest stories was under strict control, not to mention political news. Accordingly virtually all reporting was about governmental affairs, such as the review of *sōtei dan*壯丁団檢閱, Japanese speech contests国語演習會, delegate elections協議員選舉, volunteer work奉仕作業, etc. Like the photos, all were about the "positive" achievements by the Japanese rulers. Both news stories and photos were records of the rulers and local officials with power in hand. The unfavorable side and the daily lives of the common people were nowhere to be seen.

In this study I view the history of that period as shown in this collection of photos from an anthropological perspective. I first review the studies by Marshall Sahlins and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, not only because their researches are theoretically inspiring but also because Ohnuki-Tierney's study on the Kamikaze Special Attack Force is pertinently related to this study. Her study has quite a few innovative ideas in anthropological theory. For example, she has in-depth analyses of the concepts of symbolic aesthetics, historical agents, and *méconnaissance*. The Taiwanese military volunteers under Japanese domination were similar. However, they were still different from the Kamikaze warriors after all. Besides, using the beauty of cherry blossom (and the misunderstanding on the aesthetics of cheery blossom) and patriotism to explain the volunteer deaths of people in the hundreds or even thousands seem to be an oversimplification and embellishment of reality.

I think the Japanese domination in Taiwan is very close to Sahlins' model (Taiwan overwhelmed by foreign colonial power). However, in this event, it was not the native but the invader who used myth to interpret the event. In Geertz' words, such a set of myths constitutes a cultural system, and that cultural system guides everybody's life and provides them with an explanation on social inequality. Under such myth, the Japanese not only effectively ruled Taiwan through the government system (the police box and township office), but also used newspapers, radio broadcast, and school education system as the mechanism to propagate the myth. In daily life, the Japanese regime aggressively pushed the campaign for forced assimilation (*kōminka* movement皇民化運動), demanding people to speak Japanese, worship Shinto talisman (*taima*奉齋大麻), and adopt Japanese names (*kaiseimei*改姓名). At every assembly, obeisance was made to the Imperial Palace皇居遙

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拜, the Japanese national anthem was sung, three hurrahs of "Long Live the Emperor!" was shouted三呼天皇陛下萬歲, and finally studio photographer was hired to take the group picture, so we now can get to see those rites in the past.

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圖像與歷史：一個日本統治下的臺灣村落

葉春榮

摘　要

本研究主要研究台南縣左鎮陳春木先生(1909-2002)蒐藏的日本時代的歷史照片。在日本時代，左鎮鄉下人幾乎沒有人擁有相機，所有的照片都是庄役場等公家單位請遠方的攝影師前來拍攝，陳春木先生在庄役場任職，因此他有機會蒐藏這些照片。當時攝影器才十分笨重，拍照非常昂貴，因此庄役場等單位所拍攝的並沒有日常生活照片，所有照片都以宣揚政績為主，而且經常與新聞記者配合，照片配合文字刊登在報上。

這樣的歷史照片雖然不夠全面，但也反應了部分的歷史，因為要不是有這些照片，我們對當時的歷史的了解只會更少。本文的目的在於以這些歷史照片所反應出來的歷史參與歷史人類學的討論，包括Marshall Sahlins的結構論與Ohnuki-Tierney的象徵論。本文認為Marshall Sahlins的主要貢獻在於把文化帶進歷史研究，然而從本文的證據看來，歷史不完全如同Sahlins所說的由事件所構成。本文認為歷史是一綿延不斷的過程，只有透過歷史脈絡的分析，我們才能瞭解歷史。其次，筆者也不同意Sahlins把歷史建夠在英雄人物之上的論述方式，似乎只有歷史人物才製造歷史。本文的資料顯示，除了當地的公家機關之外，包括報紙、電台、當地沒有聲音的百姓都參與了歷史過程。

關鍵詞：歷史人類學，台南，日本時代，結構，事件

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