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Pro-colonial or Postcolonial? Appropriation of Japanese Colonial Heritage in Present-day Taiwan

Yoshihisa AMAE

Abstract: Since the end of World War II, the Kuomintang (KMT) (Guomindang) government has erased all traces of Japanese rule from public space, deeming them "poisonous" to the people in Taiwan. This frenzy, often termed "de-Japanization" or *qu Ribenhua* in Chinese, included the destruction and alteration of Japanese structures. Yet, with democratization in the 1990s, the Japanese past has been revisited, and many Japanese structures have been reconstructed and preserved. This paper examines the social phenomenon of preserving Japanese heritage in present-day Taiwan. It mainly investigates religious/ spiritual architecture, such as Shinto shrines and martial arts halls (*Butokuden*), war monuments and Japanese statues and busts. A close investigation of these monuments finds that many of them are not restored and preserved in their original form but in a deformed/ transformed one. This finding leads the paper to conclude that the phenomenon is a postcolonial endeavour, rather than being "pro-colonial", and that the preservation of Japanese heritage contributes to the construction and consolidation of a Taiwan-centric historiography in which Taiwan is imagined as multicultural and hybrid.

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Keywords: Taiwan, Japan, postcoloniality, collective memory, Japanese colonial heritage, historic preservation

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"…if they keep quiet, the stones will cry out"
Luke 19:40 (New International Version)

"[T]he stones can be trained to tell other stories or fall silent…"
(Johnson 1994: 198)

Introduction

Figure 1: The Second Generation Yanshui School Shrine

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

A Shinto shrine once again stands in the school compound (see Figure 1). In 2010, the Tainan County Government and Council of Cultural Affairs (CCA), Taiwan's de facto ministry of culture, spent 1.68 million TWD to rebuild the Yanshui School Shrine (*Liberty Times* 2008). The original shrine was built in 1940 as a part of the *Kōminka* (皇民化, *huangminhua*) movement (1937-1945), a campaign by the Japanese colonizers that aimed to turn the Taiwanese into imperial subjects. During this period, Taiwanese pupils were forced to attend local shrines on important

national holidays, as well as at the beginning and the end of every semester. Like Yanshui, many schools built small shrines within their compounds. The Yanshui Shrine is one of the only three remaining school shrines on the island today (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010). These architectural structures are an inalienable part of the collective memory of students who attended these schools. In Yanshui, students would bow toward the shrine every morning, and the Imperial Rescript on Education (教育勅語, *kyōikuchokugo* in Japanese) was ceremonially read in front of the shrine at the beginning of every semester. Students took graduation pictures in front of the shrine, together cleaned and weeded the area around the shrine, and even joyfully danced in front of the shrine during school events (Yanshui Elementary School 2008). After "retrocession", the handover of Taiwan to the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang (KMT) (Guomindang) regime following Japan's defeat in the Second World War, the authorities destroyed the structure and turned it into a Confucian temple in an attempt to obliterate the Japanese past from the minds and sights of the Taiwanese people. Nevertheless, the symbol of imperialism remains today a part of the built environment of Yanshui Township and an attraction for cultural tourism.

Although the story may sound bizarre to many, it is not an unusual scene in Taiwan. Since the late 1990s, Japanese structures and relic sites have been revisited, rediscovered and then reconstructed and preserved throughout the island (Taylor 2005). The revision to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化資產保存法, *Wenhua zichan baocun fa*) in 2000 allowed local governments to list them as "historic sites" (古蹟, *guji*) or "historic structures" (歷史建築, *lishi jianzhu*) and reconstruct them with financial help from the central government. This was a significant shift from the previous cultural policy of the KMT government that regarded only those sites associated with Han Chinese settlement in Taiwan worthy of preservation. Under KMT rule, Japanese buildings could not be considered *gujis* (Chen Yihan 2004: 83; Taylor 2005: 169) because they were not old enough and also not politically correct. Jeremy Taylor, an expert on East Asian social and cultural history, describes the recent change in attitudes, writing that suddenly "structures associated with Japanese colonialism were given the highest historical importance" and that "local government bodies throughout Taiwan have been busy excavating (literally) local Shinto shrines […] and the other architectural residua of these structures that survived postwar spoliation" (Taylor 2005: 170-171). Indeed, the figure is striking: As of January 2011, among the

1,626 items designated as historic assets, more than a half of them (850) belonged to the Japanese period (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010). Among them, only 17 items were designated as such before 1997. Today, there are numerous travel books and blogs on Japanese colonial heritage, in both Japanese and Chinese, and Japanese colonial buildings have become an important catalyst of cultural tourism, community-building and national identity construction.

"Pro-colonial" Historiography

What accounts for this cultural, social phenomenon of Japanese heritage preservation? Taylor explains it as part of newly emerging interpretations of the past in Taiwan: a creation of new history called *Taiwanshi* (台灣史, Taiwanese history), which evolved out of nativist Taiwanese nationalism in the 1970s (Taylor 2005: 166). In the 1990s, this movement became an antithesis to the historiography created by the KMT, which placed Taiwan in the orbit of 5,000 years of Chinese history. In the Taiwan-centric historiography, the half-century of Japanese colonial rule that was previously considered a "national stigma" by the KMT was given a new, positive interpretation. In *Renshi Taiwan* (認識台灣, *Getting to Know Taiwan*), a new history textbook for junior high school students introduced in 1997, the Japanese period is, for example, redefined as an era in which the island achieved modernity and prosperity (Guoli bianyiguan 1997). As a result of these developments, Taylor writes that the historic preservation and conservation of the Japanese relics is a manifestation of "pro-colonial historiography", with architectural structures serving as historical texts through which people understand the past (Taylor 2005: 68).

If the rediscovery of the Japanese past is indeed "pro-colonial", then authenticity should be an important element and priority in preservation work. Yet, as this paper will examine, there are many cases in which authenticity is given secondary consideration, or is completely disregarded. In fact, the heritage preservation work in Taiwan goes against the golden rule: "[I]t is better to preserve than to restore and better to restore than to reconstruct" (a maxim originated by French archaeologist A. N. Didron in 1839, quoted in Murtagh 2006: 4). The Yanshui School Shrine, introduced in the beginning of the paper, is a typical example. The reconstructed "shrine" appears a mixture of a Shinto shrine and a Confucian temple. Though the shrine gate and the stone lanterns were rebuilt and modelled after the original, the palace was renovated after the

Confucian temple and looks different from the original Shinto palace. Moreover, the decorations and carvings are newly added and unique. There is a wooden tablet carved with *Suihan sanyou* (歲寒三友, Three Friends of Winter (pine, bamboo, and plum)) above the door frame and a pair of engravings entitled "*Yuyue longmen*" (魚躍龍門, A Carp Jumping through the Dragon Gate) on each side of the door (see Figures 2 and 3). These designs are not Japanese, but Chinese. Moreover, while countless bamboo tablets imitating *ema* (wooden plaques for prayers and wishes sold at Shinto shrines) hang on the wall with innocent wishes made by students and visitors, the building has no formal religious or spiritual function (see Figure 4). The Imperial Rescript on Education, which was stored in the palace, is no longer there. Instead, at the inauguration ceremony of the shrine in 2008, graduating students put a time capsule inside which contained their written wishes (*Liberty Times* 2008). The explanation given on the signpost implies that the intention to retain both historical realities and cultural elements is deliberate. Its last line reads: "Although historic background of 'Shrine' conversion into a 'Confucian Temple' exists, both signify that the government in power at the time had placed importance on education." Here, the cultural representations of two contending regimes are neatly harmonized under the universal value of education.

The reuse of Japanese colonial architecture is quite common in postwar Taiwan. Major administrative buildings, such as the Presidential Office (formerly the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan), Judicial Yuan (formerly the Taibei High Court of Justice and District Court), and Control Yuan (formerly the Taibei Prefecture Government Office) are all structures from the colonial era. Moreover, train stations in Xinzhu, Taizhong and Tainan are from the same era as well. More recently, other colonial structures were renovated and transformed into museums. Examples include the National Literature Museum in Tainan (formerly the Tainan Prefecture Government Office); the Gaoxiong City History Museum (formerly Gaoxiong City Hall); the National Prison Museum (formerly Tainan prison, Jiayi); the Sugar Factory Museum (formerly the Qiaotou sugar factory); and the Hot Springs Museum (formerly the Beitou Public Bath) in Taibei. In addition, there are plenty of other colonial structures such as schools, banks, commercial buildings and private residences.

Figure 2 (left) and 3 (right): Chinese Carvings on the Shrine

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

This article investigates the reconstruction and appropriation of the Japanese past in present-day Taiwan as represented in colonial structures and artefacts. The structures examined in this paper are spiritual buildings, such as Shinto shrines, martial arts halls (武德殿, *Butokuden* in Japanese), war monuments, and bronze statues and busts of Japanese figures. Unlike the aforementioned buildings and industrial relics, these structures are more explicit reminders and symbols of Japanese imperialism. Therefore, a close examination of the ways in which they have been preserved shall help us understand the kind of historiography they are creating.

The paper first reviews the postwar deconstruction and alteration of the Japanese monuments, some of which were destroyed while others were altered to spread KMT propaganda. Like their Japanese predecessors, the Chinese nationalists exercised cultural hegemony in the public space to legitimatize their rule. The second part of the paper focuses on the reconstruction of the Japanese past through restoration and preservation of the Japanese structures, starting in the mid-1990s. A close look at the preservation work finds that the structures are hardly ever preserved or restored in their original form. Instead, many of them are

transformed into a new cultural production. Multiculturalism and hybridization of different cultures (i.e. Japanese, Chinese and sometimes Aboriginal as well as Occidental) are the themes that emerge from the research. This supports the findings from recent scholarship that views historic preservation, parks and museums as cultural representations of a new Taiwan, multicultural and hybrid (Allen 2007; Vickers 2008; Chiang 2010). The paper then examines the role of the preserved structures in postcolonial relations between Japan and Taiwan, as well as in Taiwanese national identity-building. At the end, the paper revisits the idea of viewing preservation of Japanese heritage as "pro-colonial historiography". My argument is that rediscovery of the Japanese past celebrates Taiwan's postcoloniality and locality (or nationality) rather than Japanese coloniality.

Figure 4: Bamboo Tablets on the Wall

Note: This particular one written in Japanese reads: "May Taiwan and Japan be friendly to each other forever".

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

Demolishing the Past: The Fate of Japanese Structures under the KMT

"If you do not like the past, change it" is a well-known quote by American historian William Burton. This is, in essence, what the KMT government did upon arriving in Taiwan. In its efforts to eliminate Japanese influence from the island (often described as "de-Japanization" – *qu Ribenhua* (去日本化), the KMT government switched the official language from Japanese to Mandarin Chinese and prohibited the use of the Japanese language as well as Taiwanese local languages in public. The Chinese authorities saw the Taiwanese populace as "enslaved" by Japanese thoughts (Huang 2006; Ho 2007). Public facilities such as parks, schools and roads were renamed after Republican spiritual leaders (namely Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian), the founder of the ROC, and Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), cities and provinces of Mainland China, and the Three Principles of the People – *minzu zhuyi* (民族主義, nationalism), *minquan zhuyi* (民權主義, democracy), and *minsheng zhuyi* (民生主義, democratic socialism) – as well as the teachings of the "Eight Morals" (八德, *bade*). Japanese statues and monuments occupying public spaces on the island were destroyed, defaced or altered. Statues of Japanese dignitaries were taken down and replaced by those of Sun and Chiang. During the Japanese period, colonialists built 68 shrines in the island, of which 38 were built after 1937 (Cai 1990, quoted in Zhou 2002: 41). Along with the Shinto shrines, martial arts halls appeared in major cities, especially in places where there were high concentrations of Japanese, to promote the Japanese Bushidō spirit through martial arts like Kendō and Judō. After retrocession, large-scale shrines were turned into martyrs' shrines or Confucian temples, while smaller ones were abandoned, if not destroyed, and left in ruins for many years. Martial arts halls, which were viewed as symbols of Japanese militarism, were also altered, abandoned and destroyed. As most of the *Butokudens* were located adjacent to public schools, some became school storage facilities or faculty housing following retrocession. The Japanese authorities erected memorials in places that bore historical or spiritual meaning to the colonialists. For example, they erected monuments in places where Japanese troops landed in their effort to conquer Taiwan in 1895. The sites where the Mudanshe Incident took place in 1874 were home to several monuments. The first Japanese monument in Taiwan was the gravestone of the Ryukyuans murdered by the Aboriginals in 1871 (Chen Yihan 2004: 85). General

Figure 5: The Stone Speaks a Different Tongue

Note: The prewar inscription 西鄉都督遺蹟記念碑 (*Saigō totoku yiseki kinenhi*, Memorial on the historic site of General Saigō) was changed into 澄清海宇還我河山 (*Chengqing haiyu huanwo heshan*, Clear the Oceans and the Skies, Return My Rivers and Mountains), Pingdong County.

Source: Cultural Affairs Bureau of Pingdong County 2009.

Saigō Jūdō erected it in 1874 during his expedition to punish the Taiwanese offenders. The figure to whom most monuments were dedicated was Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa, member of the Japanese imperial family and Lieutenant General of the Imperial Army. He alone claimed 38 monuments in Taiwan (Taiwan Sōtokufu Naiseikyoku 1935; Wu 2000: 274-275). In 1895, Kitashirakawa led the troops from Northern Taiwan, passing through Jilong (Keelung), Taibei, Miaoli, Zhanghua, Jiayi and Tainan. He died in Tainan after coming down with malaria during the expedition and was deified and enshrined in Shinto shrines in Taiwan as a protector of the island. Due to his affiliation with the royal family, all major battlefields and places he stayed overnight became sacred sites for the Empire during the *Kōminka* period. The visit of Crown Prince Hirohito (who later became Emperor Shōwa) in 1923 led to several more memorials. Imperial monuments were outnumbered by monuments that commemorated the loss of Japanese lives, individual and collective, natural and accidental. Several monuments were erected to commemorate the

death of thousands killed in the 1935 earthquake in the Xinzhu and Taizhong areas. Another stood in Wushe, Nantou County, where the Aboriginal uprisings in 1930 claimed 134 Japanese lives, including 60 children under the age of 13 (Satō 1931: 88-92). The Japanese also erected monuments in places where many construction workers lost their lives.

Figure 6 (left) and 7 (right): The Stone Speaks

Note: Figure 6 (left): The letter "光復紀念" (*Guangfu jinian*, Commemorating Glorious Recovery) appears on what was formerly a memorial of fallen Japanese soldiers (忠魂碑, *Chūkonhi*) in Pingdong Park. Figure 7 (right): Glorious Recovery of Taiwan Monument (台灣光復紀念碑, *Taiwan Guangfu jinianbei*) on the hill top of Tongxiao Park, Miaoli County. It used to be a monument celebrating Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905).

Source: Figure 6: © Yoshihisa Amae; Figure 7: *Epoch Times* 2006.

After retrocession, the Taiwanese government altered monuments celebrating Japanese imperialism, inscribing KMT political slogans such as *Guangfu* (光復, Glorious Recovery), *Kangri* (抗日, Anti-Japanese) and *Huan wo heshan* (還我河山, Return My Rivers and Mountains) on them (see Figures 5, 6 and 7). Yet, in reality, Japanese monuments were too numerous to be erased in one fell swoop, and it was not until Japan's recognition of communist China in 1972 that the government ordered

the "historical remains manifesting superiority of Japanese Imperialism" to be levelled (Johnson 1994: 209). At the time, Shinto shrines and monuments became easy targets for the KMT government and its cronies to vent their anger and frustration. All Japanese era names on structures and stones were changed into Chinese era names (民國, *Minguo*). Gravestones were exempt from the purge list, but the more conspicuous ones were nevertheless destroyed.

Reconstructing the Past: Revival of Japanese Structures since the mid-1990s

The KMT authorities may have somewhat succeeded in removing the Japanese structures from the face of the island. However, as mentioned earlier, they never completely removed them all. Even after the "second wave" of "de-Japanization" in the 1970s, parts of old structures, converted structures, or ruins remained present throughout Taiwan. These traces allowed story and memory to be revived, retold and rewritten as the rise of local identity in the 1990s triggered the public's desire to rediscover the history of the land. In the following section, we examine how these structures were reconstructed, preserved and even reused.

Shinto Shrines

Most Shinto shrines became martyrs' shrines after retrocession. With the exception of the former Taoyuan Shinto Shrine, which retained its original appearance, all others were destroyed and changed into Chinese-style buildings. Besides the one in Taoyuan, twelve other former Shinto shrines, as of January 2011, are registered by their respective local governments as historical assets (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010).

The former Tongxiao Shinto Shrine in Miaoli County presents a unique style of preservation. The shrine, built in 1937, was transformed into a martyrs' shrine after the war. It enshrined Koxinga and several other KMT generals. Yet, due to poor maintenance, the buildings decayed after many years. In 2002, Miaoli County designated the shrine a "historic structure", and renovation took place with the 1.7 million TWD which the county received from the CCA (Huang 2009a). The renovated shrine looks less like a Japanese shrine that it does like a Chinese-style temple with Minnan (Southern Fujian) features (see Figure 8). Moreover,

the roof is crowned with a KMT emblem. The Chinese flavour is blended with that of the Japanese, represented by the remnants of the Shinto shrine, such as the stone gate (*torii*) and the stone lanterns.

Figure 8: The Second Generation Tongxiao Shrine

Source: Huang 2009b.

The preservation and restoration of Japanese heritage is often initiated by local community groups. For instance, in Yuli, Hualian County, volunteers, young and old, from the local community launched a campaign to restore the old Shinto shrine set on the hill (*Liberty Times* 2009b). The shrine was built in 1928 but destroyed by the KMT government after retrocession. In the past, it was the centre of faith in the community, as local soldiers visited the shrine before their departure to the front lines, and villagers prayed for their safety (Pan 2006: 40). The remains of the shrine, which include the stone gates, pathways and side lanterns, were all covered with tall grass after having been abandoned for many decades. In 2008, Hualian County designated the shrine ruins a historic site, and incorporated the location into a bicycle route designed for tourists. The

group hopes to fully restore the structure with the financial help of the CCA (*Liberty Times* 2009b).

Figure 9 (left): The "Resurrected" Qiaotou Shrine lantern;
Figure 10 (right): The Prewar Stone Lion

Sources: © Yoshihisa Amae.

In Qiaotou, Gaoxiong County, where the shrine was built in 1931, the local community did not have to rely on aid from the central government to see part of the shrine restored. The shrine once existed outside the sugar refinery where housing for employees was concentrated. The area was transformed into an art village in 2001, hosting international art competitions. In 2005, Okamoto Mitsuhiro, a Japanese artist who attended the competition, spotted some remains of the shrine and was moved to undertake a project called "Rediscovering Shrine Zones". With the help of the local artists, Okamoto raised 150,000 TWD and restored a stone lantern in November 2005 (Kio-A-Thau Artist-in-Residence 2005; see Figure 9). The Kaohsiung (Gaoxiong) County Cultural Bureau made a poster which documented the whole project on the bulletin board in the compound. It was later removed after its colour faded due to sustained exposure to the sun. The stone lantern, along with a pair of

stone lions and a stone basin, serves as a witness to the history of the site once having been a Shinto shrine.

A new addition was made to the recovery of the shrine in 2006. This time, a Taiwanese artist built a *torii* made of steel pipe at the entrance of the art village (see Figure 11). The contemporary *torii* had a Chinese flavour, as Chinese writing on red boards appears on both pillars. It became the new landmark of the art village. Unfortunately, within less than two years, the artwork was knocked over by a crane truck which carelessly drove through the entrance, and thus no longer stands (Chen 2007).

Figure 11: A Steel Pipe *Torii*

Source: Taiwan Golden Sugarcane Film Festival Association 2007.

Some of the Shinto shrines went through several transformations. For example, in Jiayi, the Shinto shrine became a martyrs' shrine after the war (see Figure 12). Yet, many buildings retained their original outlook and some were renovated and reused. The shrine's administration office and *jiguan* (齋館, a place for fasting and preparing sacrifice before the

worship ceremony) were, for instance, used as military hospital facilities. When the property was returned to the city government in 1987, the buildings were designated a historic site and were named the Chiayi (Jiayi) City Historical Relic Museum (see Figure 13). The museum was opened in 2001 with exhibits on local celebrities, folk culture and historic events.

The main shrine palace, which enshrined nationalist war heroes after the war, burned down in 1994. Instead of repairing the shrine, the city government took the opportunity to build a 62-metre-high tower, of which only the first floor space is dedicated to the martyrs (see Figure 14). The round tower is shaped like a *shenmu* (神木, sacred tree) which once stood on Ali Mountain (see Figure 15), and it carries a motif of the "shooting down of the evil sun" from an Aboriginal myth. Local history tells that the site where the tower stands was once used as an altar for the Aborigines (Chen Wenqi 2004: 45). The tower space serves as an art gallery with a cafeteria on the top floor, from which visitors can enjoy the panoramic view of the city. By converting a Shinto shrine into a martyrs' shrine and then into a contemporary tower with multiple functions and an Aboriginal flavour, the city government has turned the area into a new landmark of the city.

Figure 12 (left): The entrance gate to the Martyrs' Shrine;
Figure 13 (right): The entrance gate of the Chiayi (Jiayi) City Historical Relic Museum

Note: Figure 12: see the Japanese-style stone lanterns on each side.
Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

Figure 14 (left): Chiayi (Jiayi) Tower;
Figure 15 (right): The "Sacred" Formosa Cypress on Ali Mountain

Sources: Figure 14: © Yoshihisa Amae; Figure 15: Chiayi Community Blog 2010.

Located on the side of the mountain, the Gaoxiong Shinto Shrine has provided the dead and living with a spectacular view of the harbour city since 1928. The Japanese shrine was also converted into a martyrs' shrine after the war. Yet the area is full of remnants of the Japanese shrine such as stone lions, lanterns and monuments. During the Japanese era, the building located next to the shrine was a storage facility where instruments for Shinto rituals were stored. In 1980, it was turned into the Historic Exhibition Hall of the Revolutionary Heroes, displaying historical materials related to Sun Yat-sen, the 1911 revolution, the KMT Northern Expedition, and the wars against the Japanese and the communists (Fan 2005: 155). In 2006, the exhibits were rearranged and opened as the War and Peace Memorial Museum. Compared to the previous exhibits, which focused only on the KMT soldiers and their war efforts, the new exhibits illuminated the history of wars in Taiwan and how they affected people's lives. In other words, the perspective of the exhibition shifted to become that of the local people in Taiwan, no longer that of the rulers. The paradigm shift redefined Taiwanese heroes. An excellent example that highlights this point is one of the exhibits, entitled "Commemorating Wars: Who left behind a good reputation?" The caption reads:

> Who is a "hero"? A brave man, or someone who protects his homeland? In the chaotic era of wars, who is worthy of remembrance? Are they the members of the "Taiwan Militia", "Southern Warriors", "Taiwan Youth Volunteers" or Taiwanese "Kamikaze Special Agents" who assisted the Japanese in the battle? How about the women who courageously protected their homeland during war time, or those people who survived the war and strived to live? Are they not worthy of being commemorated? (author's translation).

In the new memorial museum, the KMT war effort against the Japanese and the communists is not disregarded. Rather, it is appropriated into a Taiwan-centric historiography. The history of the site – once a Shinto shrine then erased by the KMT – is also reintroduced on the signpost in front of the museum, as well as on the display inside. Unfortunately, the museum has been closed to the public since the summer of 2008 due to "repairs". The Gaoxiong City Martyrs' Shrine and the former Gaoxiong Shinto Shrine site, including the museum as well as other remnants of the shrine such as stone lanterns and patriotic monuments, were designated "historic structure" in 2007 (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010).

Multiculturalism is one aspect often observed in the preservation of the Japanese structures. For example, the Japanese past and its flavour is visible in the Koxinga Shrine (延平郡王祠, *Yanping junwangci*) in Tainan. The shrine, which honours Koxinga, was the first shrine built by the Japanese in Taiwan. Koxinga, whose family ruled the island from 1662 to 1683, had a Japanese mother, a lineage that the Japanese colonizers did not hesitate to exploit. The Ming loyalist, who was determined to repel the Qing forces in the Chinese mainland (as demonstrated by the slogan "Overthrow the Qing, and Recover the Ming"), was also a useful figure for the KMT leaders in their ideological war with the communists. The shrine today exhibits artefacts from the past, including that of the Japanese era. Visitors can, for example, see an old Japanese *mikoshi* (a portable shrine that is used as a vehicle of a divine spirit during religious parades) that once belonged to the Japanese shrine (see Figure 16). The old artefacts are blended with new cultural products. Japanese-style *omamori* (amulets) and *ema* were being sold in the souvenir shop (see Figures 17 and 18).

Figure 16: A Japanese *mikoshi*

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

Figure 17 (left): Japanese-style *omamori*;
Figure 18 (right): *Ema* Hung in the Shrine's Courtyard

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

There is another *mikoshi* in a Daoist temple in Gangshan (a neighbourhood of Gaoxiong). This one has been preserved very differently from the one in Tainan. Originally belonging to the Gangshan Shinto Shrine,

built in 1935, the temple, which was erected at the site of where the shrine once stood, adopted the *mikoshi* as well as the stone lions. The *mikoshi* is gilded and, as the red cloth tied around the handles indicates, it is treated as a deity among other gods (see Figure 19). This is rather hard to comprehend considering that the temple was once destroyed by the Japanese authorities in 1937 in their *Kominka* efforts (Liu 2010: 35). The Gangshan *mikoshi* presents an excellent example of the hybridization feature in the preservation of Japanese heritage.

Figure 19: A Golden *mikoshi*

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

Butokuden (martial arts hall)

Today (as of January 2011), nine *Butokudens* are preserved on the island as historical assets (Council of Cultural Affairs 2010). The former symbols of Japanese imperialism are repurposed: Those in Zhanghua and Nantou serve as local history museums, one in Tainan is a gymnasium for a nearby elementary school, and the one in Xinhua (Tainan) is under

construction. The following looks at the *Butokudens* in Qishan and Gaoxiong in more detail.

The *Butokuden* in Qishan went through many transformations. Built in 1934, it was considered the most completely preserved of all *Butokudens* remaining on the island. The building, however, burned down in 1994 before it could be designated a historic site (Encyclopedia of Taiwan 2010; Figure 20). In 2001, the Ministry of the Interior spent 32 million TWD to repair the building. The second-generation *Butokuden* has a contemporary look, with a glass roof instead of the original black tile roof (Figure 21). The building was rented out to a private company, which turned it into a restaurant in 2002. The restaurant was, however, short-lived, and today it functions as a cultural centre. The new glass-roofed building is not very popular among the local cultural workers, who think it does a disservice to history. In fact, the glass roof turned out to be not so suitable for the hot tropical climate. In order to cut electricity costs, the centre is open only a few days a week during the summer (*NOWnews* 2003).

Figure 20 (left): The First Generation Qishan *Butokuden*
Figure 21 (right): The Second Generation Qishan *Butokuden*

Sources: Figure 20: Source: Qi n.d.; Figure 21: © Yoshihisa Amae.

The *Butokuden* in Gaoxiong was built in 1924. It was the headquarters of all the *Butokudens* that existed in local townships in Gaoxiong Prefecture and was the highest administrative organ among all the remaining *Butokudens* in Taiwan (Kaohsiung City Cultural Affairs Bureau 2003: 4).

After retrocession, this particular *Butokuden* was used as housing for teachers at a nearby elementary school, before being left unused for nearly 15 years. In 1999, the building was designated a historic site by the Gaoxiong City Government, which, since 2003, has spent a total of 15

million TWD to renovate the building (see Figure 22). The second-generation Gaoxiong *Butokuden* became the centre of martial arts culture in Gaoxiong. It is run today by the Gaoxiong Association for the Promotion of Kendō Culture, a private organization. Aside from the martial arts courses, Gaoxiong *Butokuden* offers to the public other culturally related courses such as Japanese flower arrangement, tea ceremonies, *shakuhachi* flute and yoga. The building, which is a fusion of Japanese and European Baroque styles, has become a new tourist spot since its opening in 2004. It is also a popular site for couples to take wedding photos.

Figure 22 (left): Gaoxiong *Butokuden*
Figure 23 (right): *Shimenawa* and *Osaisenbako*

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

The decoration of the new *Butokuden* is quite unique. The building is designed much like a Shinto shrine. There are *shimenawa* (ritual ropes which separate the divine areas from the secular areas) at every entrance, and an *osaisenbako* (offering box) is placed in front of the main entrance in order for visitors to have a quasi-Japanese religious experience and offer their prayers and wishes (see Figure 23). Shinto religious items such as *omamori* and *ema* are sold at the site. Countless *ema*, like those in a Japanese shrine, are tied on a rope which goes around the large banyan tree in front of the main entrance (see Figures 24 and 25). The artefacts displayed inside the building are also quite interesting: There is a *kamidana* (Shinto altar) in the alcove, along with a samurai sword, a Japanese drum and a complete set of Japanese samurai armor. The small space is full of

items that represent Japanese martial arts culture, and it serves as a small cultural museum. The institution contributes to the promotion of cultural exchange between Taiwan and Japan; many Japanese martial arts practitioners and art performers have visited Gaoxiong on several occasions since its opening in 2005. The Gaoxiong *Butokuden* has hosted the annual International Cities Kendō Competition since 2007 (*Epoch Times* 2007).

Figure 24 and 25: *Ema* around the Banyan tree

Source: © Yoshihisa Amae.

War Monuments

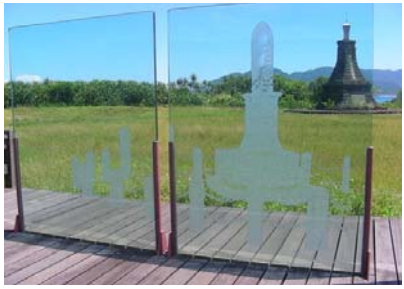
Taiwanese efforts to preserve Japanese heritage include even war monuments, objects of KMT wrath in the postwar period. Since 2000, many stone monuments have been revisited, restored and preserved. Yet, the ways in which they are restored and preserved are quite diverse.

In 2001, local residents found an abandoned stone monument in the backyard of the Old Jiayi City Government Building. It was a forgotten monument to the late Prince Kitashirakawa, with an inscription that read "北白川宮能久親王殿下御遺跡所" (Historic Site of the His Highness Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa). The monument is one of 38 erected by the Japanese authorities to commemorate the visit of the prince. It was erected in 1933 and designated by the colonial government a historic site in 1935 (Wu 2000: 274). The Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Jiayi City Government first considered displaying the recovered monument in the front yard of the Chiayi (Jiayi) City Historical Relic Museum, but eventually housed it in the Stone Museum in Jiayi City. The museum re-erected the monument and placed a plate in front of it explaining its history

(*Liberty Times* 2009c). A similar incident occurred in Yongjing, Zhanghua, where Kitashirakawa stayed for three nights during his expedition (it has been said that he was injured in the battle of Zhanghua). In 1934, colonial authorities erected a monument commemorating the visit. The monument, about two metres high, was placed on a large stone base with stairs leading up to it. The area around the monument became a park with a small shrine and a grassy area. It was a popular site during the *Kōminka* period and many photographs from the era can be readily found today. The monument was taken down after the war, and the site was destroyed. However, the owner of Yusan palace, a Qing dynasty building where the prince stayed, hid the monument and saved it from ruin. Around 2007 the owner then restored the monument in front of the house (Chen 2008).

The Kitashirakawa monument in Jilong was defaced following the war and was then neglected for many years. The original monument was erected in 1933 at the site where the Qing government's customs building once stood. The Western-style building served as a headquarters for Kitashirakawa's troops, and the prince stayed there for six days (Inagaki 1937; Reprinted 2010: 382). The monument was designated a historic structure in 2003, and the area was cleaned and rearranged in 2005. Instead of recovering the original inscription, an explanation of the monument is given on the signposts built at the entrance of the memorial. A similar approach was taken in the preservation of another Kitashirakawa monument in Yanliao (Taibei County). The monument, built in 1897, commemorates the first landing of the Japanese troops in Taiwan in May 1895. Kitashirakawa set up his headquarters at this site. This was the first of the 38 monuments erected in the island, and thus one of the first six sites that the colonial authorities designated a historic site in 1933 (Wu 2000: 274). The original memorial used an artillery shell confiscated from the Qing military (see Figure 26). The monument was destroyed not long after retrocession. In 1975, the KMT government built a new anti-Japanese monument at the site. Today, the postwar monument is preserved while the original monument is re-created through the design on glass plates that are sporadically placed around it (see Figure 27). Short explanations of the monument and Kitashirakawa are provided on the plate as well. The memorial now serves as a seaside park and is run by a private company. There is a Minnan-style entrance gate to the park. As the postwar monument was built only in 1975, it is not designated a historic structure.

Figure 26 (left): The Original Monument
Figure 27 (right): Seeing the Present through the Past



Sources: Figure 26: Taiwan Sōtokufu Naiseikyoku 1935: 70; Figure 27: Yahoo Taiwan 2007.

There are three monuments dedicated to the late Prince Fushimi Sadanaru (1858-1923), who led troops from Jiayi in the 1895 expedition. He was the head of the Fushimi imperial family and a field commander in the Imperial Army. The Japanese colonial government designated all three of them national historic sites in 1941, and since then they have become important sites for imperial education. The first one, in Budai, Jiayi County, was built in 1936 and commemorates the landing of Fushimi's troops. Visitors from near and far came to see the monument, and students from the nearby elementary school paid respects on the first and the last day of class, as well as on important national celebrations (Zeng 2003: 167). The monument, four metres tall, was taken down after the war and remained missing until 2002, when it was unearthed and re-erected (see Figures 28 and 29). The resurrected monument remains "sacred", yet nothing like what the Japanese colonialists originally intended. The monument is tied with a red cloth, which is an indication of divinity in Taiwan's popular religion, and a little unassuming shrine was built in the small compound to pacify the souls of the fallen soldiers in the battle. Such arrangements were made by a local resident who believed that a series of mishaps which occurred within his family after the war were caused by unhappy Japanese ghosts (Zeng 2003: 167).

Figure 28 (left): Salvaging the Monument
Figure 29 (right): A Monument Commemorating the Landing of Prince Sadanaru

Note: Figure 29: Notice the red cloth.
Sources: Figure 28: National Tainan Living Art Center, n.d; Figure 29: © Yoshihisa Amae.

The second monument honouring Fushimi stands in Yanshui. After landing in Budai, Fushimi and his troops advanced to Yanshui, and Bajiaolou, an impressive octagonal two-storey Chinese building, became Fushimi's headquarters. In 1941, the Japanese authorities designated the place a historic site and built a memorial hall in 1942 honouring the late prince. A large monument (2.5 metres tall) was then erected in 1943 within the compound to commemorate the prince's stay. Locals remember the appearance of two stone-carved imperial crests above the backdoor entrance to the hall, in front of which they would take off their hats and bow (Tu et al. 2009: 220). After retrocession, the monument was covered with cement to hide the inscription. Some suggested it be pulled down and destroyed, but these plans never came to fruition. The covered section was rediscovered after years of erosion. The building and the monument were then designated historic structures in 2003 (Tu et al. 2009: 220). In 2008, the Jiayi County Government designated the monument in Budai a historic structure (Council of Cultural Affairs

2010). The third monument was erected in 1932 in Tainan, where Fushimi stayed for 47 days (Wu 2000: 99). The monument was later moved to and displayed in a local museum. It was then relocated to the National Taiwan History Museum in Tainan when the local museum reopened as a Hakka cultural museum in 2010.

Figure 30: Commemorating the Landing of Japanese Troops on the Penghu Islands

Note: A prewar postcard n.d.

Source: Penghu County Historical Relics Association (2010).

There are two other Japanese war monuments preserved in Penghu. They were erected in 1922 and 1924, respectively, and commemorated the landing of the Japanese troops in 1895 (see Figure 30). In 1935 and 1941, respectively, the monuments were designated national historic sites by the colonial government. After retrocession, the KMT government changed the texts on the respective monuments to "抗戰勝利紀念碑" (*Kangzhan shenli jinianbei,* Victory in Anti[-Japanese] War Monument) and "台灣光復紀念碑" (*Taiwan gangfu jinianbei*, Taiwan Restoration Monument). While the former monument remained intact, the latter went through several changes. The stone monument fell from its decayed base some years later, and since then a shrine of an indigenous earth god (土

地公, *tudi gong*) has been built at the site (see Figure 31). The stone monument since then has stood rather awkwardly beside the shrine. After the Penghu County Government designated the monument a historic site in 2000, a new monument with the original inscription was built in 2004. The original stone with the postwar KMT inscription has been placed next to the new monument (see Figure 32). The Penghu County Government boasts that the monument is the oldest Japanese war monument in Taiwan, even though only the revised headstone (not its inscription) is original.

Figure 31 (left): A Shrine and the Taiwan Restoration Monument
Figure 32 (right): The Third Generation Monument

Sources: Figure 31: Chen 2009; Figure 32: Penghu County Tourism Association 2008.

Resurrecting the Dead: Japanese Statues and Busts

At the turn of the twenty-first century, statues and busts of prominent Japanese figures began to reappear on Taiwanese soil. While statues of Japanese dignitaries, both public and private, were taken down by the KMT government after retrocession, a few statues miraculously survived. Most notably are those of Hatta Yoichi in Tainan and Gotō Shinpei and Kodama Gentarō in Taibei. The former was hidden in a barn by local residents until 1981 to evade government confiscation (Cai 2000: 55-56). It has since then been returned to where it once belonged, on a small hill beside the water reservoir built by the Japanese engineers. Behind the statue stands the joint gravestone of Hatta and his wife. The site draws many admirers from Taiwan and Japan. The latter two statues, which were originally displayed in the entrance hall of the Museum of the Taiwan Governor's Office (today the National Taiwan Museum) during the

Japanese period, were hidden in the museum's basement by staff soon after the war (Katakura 2009: 48). In 2008, on the occasion of the museum's centennial, the two statues were brought out for display (Huang 2009a: 10). Since then, they have stood unassumingly in a corner on the third floor of the museum.

Table 1: Hsu's Japanese Busts

Figure	Location	Year	Contribution	Note
Hatta Yoichi 八田 與一	Hatta Memorial Museum, Wushantou Water Reservoir, Tainan County	2001	Construction of Chianan Canal and Wushantou Water Reservoir	Not to be confused with the prewar statue in the park area
Hatori Matao 羽鳥 又男	Fort Provintia, Tainan City	2002	Last Japanese mayor of Tainan; preservation of Fort Provintia	Another bust in Kaishan Temple
Hamano Yashirō 濱野 彌四郎	Sanshang, Tainan County	2005	Engineer of Tainan Water Supply System	Another bust on Chang Jung Christian University campus
Arai Kōkichirō 新井 耕吉郎	Sun Moon Lake, Nantou County	2008	"Father of Black Tea in Taiwan"	
Torii Nobuhei 鳥居 信平	Pingdong County	2009	Construction of an underground water reservoir	
Matsumoto Kanichirō 松本 幹一郎	Sun Moon Lake, Nantou County	2010	"Father of Electricity in Taiwan"	Bust was made by a young local artist; Chi Mei donated the plaque, which introduces the figure and his contribution

Source: Own compilation.

The new monuments are all busts. All except one were single-handedly erected by Hsu Wen-long (Xu Wenlong), founder of the Chi Mei Corporation. Hsu, born in 1928, is a great admirer of arts and music, as well as of Japanese culture. He acknowledges the contribution of the Japa-

nese policymakers and engineers in Taiwan's modernization, and has invested his time and money in commemorating and honouring them. Hsu has also donated bronze busts, which he made himself, to institutions that wish to honour these public figures (Hsu's collection: see Table 1, in chronological order).

Five of the six figures mentioned above are engineers. Some of these busts originally existed during the Japanese era, but were collected by the authorities during the war period to be scrapped for ammunition. For example, Hamano Yashirō's bust once stood at the entrance of the water purification facility in Shanshang, Tainan, but went missing during the war. Hsu donated a new bust in 2005 when the water supply system was designated a national heritage (Tainan County Government 2007: 4). It is said that the water supply system, designed and built by Hamano, provided clean drinking water in the region, improving the hygiene and longevity of the Taiwanese people. Hsu also made a bust of Torii Nobuhei, the Japanese engineer who constructed the underground water reservoir in Pingdong in 1923. The dam, which secured and provided water for drinking and agriculture to the local people throughout the year, is still in use today. The bust stands in a memorial museum near the dam. Hsu also donated one bust to National Pingdong Technological University and one to Torii's hometown in Shizuoka, Japan (Hirano 2009: 170). Today, Torii's contribution is introduced in a textbook for middle school students in Pingdong (Hirano 2009: 16). The restoration of the bust of Matsumoto Kanichirō was initiated by Lin Bing-yan, a retired Taiwanese engineer and amateur historian. Lin, who worked at the Taiwan Electric Company, the successor of the company Matsumoto was president of during the Japanese era, hired a local artist to make the statue, and the whole monument was completed with financial help from the Chi Mei Culture Foundation. According to Lin, the statue was built in 1940 after Matsumoto's death, but was confiscated during the war to produce munitions. The hydraulic power plant, which produced the largest amount of electricity in Asia at the time of its construction in the 1930s, was built during Matsumoto's term. Matsumoto, for this reason, is revered by many Taiwanese like Lin as the "Father of Electricity in Taiwan" (*Tokyō Shinbun* 2010: E8). Hatori Matao is the only figure among the six who is a government official. Hatori was the last Japanese mayor of Tainan City (1942-45). He is known for the preservation of cultural heritage in Tainan: He ordered the removal of a Shinto altar from the Confucius Temple, he won the consent of the Governor-General's Office to repair

Fort Provintia during the war, and he saved the bronze bell in Kaishan Temple (made in 1695, the oldest bell in Taiwan) from being scrapped for ammunition during the war (*China Times* 1992: 30; quoted in Nagoshi and Kusabiraki 1996: 166-167). Now, busts of Hatori donated by Hsu stand almost unnoticed inside Fort Provintia and Kaishan Temple.

The Social Functions of Colonial Heritage Preservation

Restoration and preservation of colonial structures are bridging memories between Japan and Taiwan. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, the colonial generation in Taiwan has begun to openly form social groups and conduct gatherings to cherish their past memories and relationships. There are, for example, school reunions, an association for former Japanese soldiers, and Kōzakai, a group of former youth labourers who worked in military facilities in Japan. Taiwanese students occasionally invite their Japanese teachers back to Taiwan or organize tours to Japan to meet them. Nostalgia brings back Taiwan-born Japanese to the island, and books have been published on their experiences (Miyamoto 2004). No one appreciates the preservation efforts of the Japanese structures in Taiwan more than these people, for the old buildings bring back memories from their childhood.

Japanese buildings and monuments are also creating new bridges and memories between the people in Japan and Taiwan. For instance, Gaoxiong *Butokuden* sponsors an international Kendō competition every year in March, bringing together hundreds of participants from Taiwan, Japan, Korea, France and Israel (*Epoch Times* 2007). Yanshui elementary school invites students from Japan for cultural exchanges. The school shrine is a symbol of, as well as a catalyst for, bilateral friendship. The erection of the busts has brought family and descendents of the deceased to Taiwan. Torii's grandson, a professor of agricultural engineering at the University of Tokyo, was invited to attend the opening of the museum dedicated to the late Japanese engineer in 2005 (Hirano 2009: 168). He was previously unaware of his grandfather's contribution in Taiwan and was overwhelmed by the warm welcome he received. Hatori Naoyuki, son of the late Japanese mayor, and his family made a courtesy visit to the mayor of Tainan in May 2005. According to the report written by his daughter-in-law, they were shocked by the VIP treatment by the city government and the local media coverage (Hatori 2005). Besides the visit

to the city hall, they also visited Hsu Wen-long to thank him for the construction of the bust. Naoyuki also reunited with former Taiwanese classmates (Hatori 2005). Moreover, Chi Mei's donations of the busts to Japan have also been instrumental in the development of new relations. For example, in July 2009, a group from Pingdong, led by County Commissioner Cao Qi-hong, visited Torii's hometown in Shizuoka to attend the inauguration ceremony of the bust. At the ceremony, Cao praised the work of the late engineer and told the Japanese crowd that the people in Pingdong give thanks to Torii every time they drink water. After the ceremony, the group paid a visit to Torii's graveyard where they washed his gravestone with water from the reservoir in Pingdong which they had carried in a small plastic bottle (Hirano 2010: 1). It is not hard to imagine that such performances moved the Japanese host, as well as a wider audience as the news spread nationwide.

Stories like this are not few. In May 2010 the Tainan County Government appointed Takeda Tsuneyasu – a descendent of Prince Kitashirakawa – Tainan Culture and Tourism Ambassador to promote cultural relations and tourism between Japan and Taiwan (*Liberty Times* 2010: B6). In September 2010 Takeda led a tour of 53 countrymen to Tainan. They visited sites related to the Japanese period such as Wushantou Water Reservoir, Old Street in Xinhua and the Tainan *Butokuden* (*NOWnews* 2010). These sites, along with other colonial heritage sites, have become popular destinations for school trips for Japanese students in recent years.

Reconstructing a Colonial Legacy

It is worth mentioning that the contributions of these Japanese engineers in Taiwan were long forgotten in Japan, if they had ever been recognized at all. In postwar Japan, it was not politically acceptable to affirm the nation's colonial and imperial legacy. Thus, ironically, it was through Taiwanese political and business leaders like Lee Teng-hui (Li Denghui) and Hsu Wen-long that memories of the colonial past have been reconstructed. An excellent example of this is Hatta Yoichi. Hatta's story and contribution are now legend in Taiwan, where he is revered by many Taiwanese farmers as a god-like figure. Every year on 8 May, the anniversary of Hatta's death, Taiwanese make a pilgrimage to his statue, which is set on a small hill overlooking the Wushantou Reservoir. His popularity among the local residents even enticed the KMT President

Ma Ying-jeou (Ma Yingjiu) to attend the commemoration ceremony in 2008 and 2009. Descendents of Hatta also attend the service every year, accompanied by other Japanese guests. Moreover, it has become a popular tourist and educational site for Japanese visitors, young and old. Despite his legacy in Taiwan, Hatta was virtually unknown in his hometown of Kanazawa until Hsu donated a bust of Hatta to Kanazawa City in 2004. The late engineer induced a cultural and social phenomenon in Japan and Taiwan. Hatta was added to the "hall of fame" of great people in Kanazawa. An animated movie produced in Japan that chronicles his life came out in 2009 and was subsequently released in Taiwan. There is even a petition drive in Taiwan, with Japanese assistance, to register the reservoir and irrigation system Hatta constructed as an UNESCO world heritage site (*Liberty Times* 2009a).

Japanese Legacy Rejected

Historic memory is still highly contested in Taiwan, and not all Taiwanese welcome the re-evaluation of the Japanese past or preservation of its heritage. Many of those loyal to the Chinese nationalists have been particularly resistant. For example, in 2000, when the Taibei City Government restored a monument memorializing the 1896 murder of the six Japanese teachers in Zhishanyan (芝山巖), radical Chinese nationalists responded with graffiti. This caused the new Taibei City Government, led by the KMT Mayor Ma Ying-jeou, to consider relocating the monument to a museum (*Liberty Times* 2006). In 2007, a monument erected in the honour of Taiwanese-Japanese soldiers was found destroyed in Taibei. The monument, the only one of its kind in Northern Taiwan, was built inside a Zen temple in 1983 by a group of Japanese Buddhists (*Liberty Times* 2007). A similar incident occurred in Wulai (Taibei County), in which the Taibei County Government issued an order for the removal of a memorial to Aboriginal-Japanese soldiers. The monument was originally erected in 1992 by local Aboriginals who wished to commemorate the dead, as well as to let the people know the forgotten story of Aboriginal soldiers. It is estimated that about six to eight thousand Taiwanese Aboriginals joined the Japanese war effort as "volunteers"; nearly half of them died in the war. From Wulai Township, where the monument was erected, more than one hundred joined the army, and only a dozen returned home (*Nishi Nihon Shinbun* 2006). The memorial has since then become a place of worship for families, friends of the de-

ceased, and other veterans, including many Japanese (Nagoshi and Kusabiraki 1996: 72). However, in 2004 the monument "lost its ground" when the owner of the land went bankrupt. The news was reported in a Japanese newspaper, which resulted in a total of 32 million JPY being raised to save the monument. With this money, a new site was arranged by the Taibei County Government and a new memorial was constructed. The new monument features a statue of an Aboriginal warrior with a spear in his hand. The front of the stone base reads "靈安故鄉" (*Lingan guxiang*, May the Spirit rest in peace at home), signed by former President Lee Teng-hui. Eight other monuments built by the Japanese were added to the memorial. Yet, soon after the inauguration in 2006, pro-KMT media and legislators began to criticize the monument, calling it "distorting history" and "beautifying Japanese imperialism" (*China Times* 2006). This led Zhou Xiwei, the new KMT Taibei County Commissioner, to order the removal of the monuments. In the end, the county government agreed to allow the main monument to stay while the lesser Japanese monuments were removed.

Consolidating a Taiwanese Nation-ness

The preservation of Japanese heritage not only bridges the broken memories between Japan and Taiwan, but also mends discontinuous memories between prewar (colonial) and postwar (postcolonial) generations in Taiwan. For example, when the Shinto shrine ruins in Yuli were being restored, an 86-year-old man, who wed in front of the Japanese shrine in 1942, visited the volunteers to share his story (Kaneko 2009). A graduate student chose Shinto shrine relics as his thesis topic, documenting the historic memory of the survivors of the Japanese era in a film (Guo 2009). The film, presented in different locations on the island for public viewing in 2009, is also available for viewing on YouTube. Japanese colonial sites in Taiwan have recently become popular tourist destinations, catering to travellers who are keen to rediscover a neglected part of the island's past. New social-networking technologies have allowed enthusiasts to post their pictures and comments about Japanese colonial structures. Visiting the Japanese heritage sites around the island is a form of popular "secular pilgrimage" (Anderson 1991), which contributes to the construction of a nation-ness. Although they may be interpreted and read differently by different generations, Japanese colonial relics, as well as other historic relics, including the Chinese ones, are catalysts to the

construction and consolidation of a Taiwanese national identity because the very location of the events and memories that the structures celebrate is Taiwan.

Conclusion: Revisiting Pro-colonial Historiography

The stones speak. The Japanese structures examined in this paper tell, however, not so much an old colonial story, but a new postcolonial one. Thus, labelling restoration and preservation of Japanese structures "pro-colonial" is somewhat problematic. First of all, while many who experienced Japanese rule retain nostalgic feelings about the Japanese era, it is a historic memory emphasized and modified as a result of their postwar experience. The horrific massacre of the Taiwanese elites in the "228 Incident" and decades of political oppression under martial law (1949-87) led them to re-evaluate the Japanese era (Ching 2001: 20; Ho 2007: 252-253). Still, most do not wish to return to a life under Japanese colonialism, which may have been decent but was still discriminatory (NHK 2009). In fact, while the modernization aspect of the Japanese era is often praised, hardly anyone commends the *Kominka* experience (Sakai 2010: 52). Thus, the "pro-colonial" discourse should be understood against the backdrop of the Taiwanese postwar experience. Second, if any appraisals of the Japanese era are considered "pro-colonial", then what about positive views of the postwar KMT rule? Many Taiwanese regard the postwar KMT rule as yet another "colonialism" or "internal colonization" (Li 2008). To them, the China-centric historiography and the preservation of Chinese heritage are equally "pro-colonial". In fact, some pro-independence scholars view Taiwan as having been under colonial rule for the past 400 years, various colonizers having been Dutch, Spanish, Koxinga, Qing, Japanese, and Chinese nationalists (Shi 1974; Jacobs 2010). Therefore, regarding any positive remarks on the Japanese past as "pro-colonial" is a product of the KMT's "de-Japanization" discourse. Third, postwar generations who never experienced Japanese rule appreciate Japanese heritage not because of the colonial reality or experience, but rather because of the aesthetics. Positive images of contemporary Japan also contribute to this attitude. To them, the preservation of Japanese heritage in Taiwan is "pro-Japan", but not "pro-colonial". Fourth, the Japanese structures are seen as pro-local (pro-Taiwan) rather than pro-colonial. The structures speak, celebrate and promote locality/ nationality rather than "coloniality". In fact, many

in Taiwan make little distinction between coloniality and locality. An amateur historian, Zeng Zhongyi writes:

> If somebody says preserving the relics of the colonial government is a shame, then what exactly are the things Taiwanese? They would be only the land, people, and natural things; the rest are all "symbols of imperial rule" (Zeng n.d.).

To people like Zeng, the colonial past is a local past, and to put a twist on a famous phrase by David Lowenthal (1985), the past *was* a foreign country, but it no longer *is*. Preservation of Japanese heritage is more "pro-Taiwan" than it is "pro-Japan", as the hybrid buildings are the cultural production of a postcolonial Taiwan. The preservation of Japanese structures could have been viewed as pro-colonial if more emphasis was given to restoring and reconstructing the original, even at the expense of postwar KMT revision. However, this study shows that this has not been the case, as postwar alteration has been preserved while the Japanese past has been rediscovered. Even the restoration of Japanese busts points to and celebrates Taiwan. Hsu Wen-long explains that the contribution of these Japanese nationals on Taiwan should be remembered regardless of their nationality (*Epoch Times* 2009).

At the same time, one must remember of the presence of memorials for anti-Japanese heroes (抗日英雄, *kangri yingxiong*) on the island. Most of the anti-Japanese monuments were built by KMT authorities to commemorate those who died in their resistance against Japanese rule. They include Mona Rudao and Yu Ching-fang, leaders of the Wushe Incident and the Ta-pa-ni (Xilai Temple) Incident, respectively. In Wushe, where Mona Rudao and his men rebelled against the Japanese, there is an impressive monument. In Tainan County, there are three monuments that commemorate Yu Ching-fang and other anti-Japanese fighters. One was built in 1977 and one in 1981, but the last one was built rather recently, in 2004. It was erected on a hiking trail on the mountain range in Nanhua, overlooking the area where the battles took place. In 2003, Tainan County built a Ta-pa-ni Memorial Park to commemorate the victims of this large 1915 uprising against the Japanese rulers. In addition, a memorial museum dedicated to Lin Kung-kang, a Taiwanese anti-Japanese hero, was opened in Tainan County in 2005 to promote local history and tourism. Such a phenomenon is observed concurrently with the preservation of Japanese heritage. This suggests that both Japanese heritage and anti-Japanese heritage are imagined as Taiwanese heritage. From the viewpoint of a multicultural Taiwan, there is no conflict between the

two. This is why the Tainan County Government can appoint the descendant of Prince Kitashikawa its cultural ambassador, while visitors from mainland China tour the Lin Kung-kang Memorial Museum to appreciate Lin's anti-Japanese efforts (Tainan Xinwen Wang 2005). Since political liberalization in the 1990s, being "anti-Japanese" (*kangri*) has come to be imagined as a "Taiwanese" experience, and not necessarily something common to all "Chinese". In other words, *kangri* martyrs are re-imagined as Taiwanese, rather than Chinese, heroes.

Moreover, the Japanese past and the preservation of its structures are consumed by the Taiwanese nationalists/ elites in order to deconstruct the China-centric historiography and to instead advance a Taiwan-centric historiography. This is why, for example, Hatta's work is compared to the Great Wall of China: The irrigation canal, 16,000 kilometres long in total, is often described as "more than six times larger than the Great Wall of China" (*Sankei Shinbun* 2003). The popular notion that "Taiwan would be a backwater along the lines of Hainan Island if it were not for Japanese colonial rule" (Cai 2000: 54) is another example of this.

While the China-centric historiography is being deconstructed, things of Chinese origin are not being destroyed but rather appropriated. As Marshall Johnson points out in his groundbreaking work on historic preservation, Taiwanese nationalism had no need to undo the entire time-space representational system of the Chinese nationalists (1994: 241) – it "moved right in", as even the consecrated military sites like the Erkunshen emplacement and the North Gate of the Taibei City Wall were appropriated into the Taiwanese national narrative. After all, both the dead and the stones need the living to tell their stories. This nationalism, which appropriated the Chinese relics, including the KMT heritage (Taylor 2009), has also been appropriating Japanese relics into Taiwanese national culture. "Taiwanization", as observed in historic preservation, is therefore not so much a decolonizing effort, but a postcolonial endeavour.

The stones have spoken: The restored and renovated Japanese structures celebrate a Taiwan that is multicultural and hybrid. The Japanese past, represented by relics and monuments, is an integral part of the Taiwanese past as well as present. The Orwellian battle over the past is, however, not yet over. With the advent of the KMT government in 2008, the China-centric historiography is creeping back into the public discourse. President Ma often refers to the people in Taiwan and mainland China as "descendents of the Yellow Emperor". Moreover, the new

members of the Committee on the High School History Curriculum are pushing to double the proportion of Chinese history in the high school history curriculum (*Taipei Times* 2010: 3). With a closer tie between Taiwan and mainland China through the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement and the frenzy of the centennial celebration of the ROC, contestation over the past is bound to continue.

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