# Taiwan Comics: History, Status and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s

I-yun Lee

Translated by Timeea Cosobea

STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Taiwan Comics:

## History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s

*I-yun Lee*

Translation from Mandarin Chinese by *Timeea Cosobea*

STOCKHOLM
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Published by
Stockholm University Press
Stockholm University
SE-106 91 Stockholm
Sweden
www.stockholmuniversitypress.se

Text © I-yun Lee 2024
License CC BY-NC
ORCID: I-yun Lee: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9022-8388

Supporting Agency (funding): National Science and Technology Council of Taiwan

First published 2024
Cover Illustration: Jelly Huang, *Taiwan Comics*, 2024 (Detail)
Reproduced by permission of the artist
Cover designed by Tom Grady

Stockholm Studies in Media Arts Japan (SMAJ) ISSN: 2004-1292
Series number: 3

ISBN (Paperback): 978-91-7635-251-9
ISBN (PDF): 978-91-7635-252-6
ISBN (EPUB): 978-91-7635-253-3
ISBN (Mobi): 978-91-7635-254-0

DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0) License (unless stated otherwise within the content of the work). To view a copy of this license, visit https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/ or send a letter to Creative Commons, 444 Castro Street, Suite 900, Mountain View, California, 94041, USA. This license allows for copying and distributing the work, providing author attribution is clearly stated and that you are not using the material for commercial purposes.

Suggested citation:
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

To read the free, open access version of this book online, visit https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp or scan this QR code with your mobile device.

# Stockholm Studies in Media Arts Japan

*Stockholm Studies in Media Arts Japan* (SMAJ, ISSN 2004-1292) is a peer-reviewed series of monographs and edited volumes published by Stockholm University Press.

SMAJ strives to provide a multidisciplinary forum for research on media and arts associated with Japan, prioritizing investigations of forms, formats, materialities, and creative practices. The scope of subjects is broad, including texts, performances, and artefacts of various times and social positions in a variety of local and transnational cultures.

It is the ambition of SMAJ to place equally high demands on the academic quality of the manuscripts it accepts as those applied by refereed international journals and academic publishers of a similar orientation. SMAJ accepts manuscripts in English.

## Editorial Board


- Jaqueline Berndt, Professor, Japanese Culture, Stockholm University, Sweden (*Chairperson*)
- Cecilia Björck, Associate Professor, Music Education, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
- Patrick W. Galbraith, Associate Professor, Cultural Anthropology, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan
- Irena Hayter, Associate Professor, Japanese Studies, University of Leeds, United Kingdom
- Minori Ishida, Professor, Film and Animation Studies, Niigata University, Japan
- Ylva Lindberg, Professor, School of Education and Communication, Jönköping University, Sweden
- Trond Lundemo, Professor, Film Studies, Stockholm University, Sweden
- Laura Moretti, Professor, Japanese Literature, Cambridge University, United Kingdom

- Rebecca Marcella Suter, Associate Professor, Comparative Literature, University of Oslo, Norway
- Lukas R.A. Wilde, Associate Professor, Department of Art and Media Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway

## Titles in the series

1. Galbraith, P.W. (2021). *The Ethics of Affect: Lines and Life in a Tokyo Neighborhood*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. https://doi.org/10.16993/bbn
2. Santiago Iglesias, J.A. & Soler Baena, A. (Eds.) (2021). *Anime Studies: Media-Specific Approaches to Neon Genesis Evangelion*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. https://doi.org/10.16993/bbp
3. Lee, I-yun. (2024). *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp

# Peer Review Policies

Stockholm University Press ensures that all book publications are peer-reviewed. Each proposal submitted to the Press will be sent to a dedicated Editorial Board of experts in the subject area for evaluation. The full manuscript will be reviewed by chapter or as a whole by at least two external and independent experts.

A complete description of Stockholm University Press' peer-review policies can be found on the website: http://www.stockholmuniversitypress.se/site/peer-review-policies/

The Editorial Board of *Stockholm Studies in Media Arts Japan* used an external single-blind peer-review procedure while evaluating this book proposal to maintain the authors' integrity and the book's academic merit. The book manuscript was assessed with a single-blind peer-review process. The Board expresses its sincere gratitude to all researchers involved in this project. The author of the introductory chapter of this book stepped down momentarily from her role as Chair of the Editorial Board during the book review process to avoid a conflict of interest.

## Recognition for reviewers

Stockholm University Press and the Editorial Board would like to send a special and warm thank you to the reviewers who contributed to the editing of this book.

The manuscript was reviewed by the following experts:

- Dr. Nick Stember, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark
  ORCiD: https://orcid.org/0009-0001-7263-8359
- Dr. Lucas R.A. Wilde, Department of Art and Media Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim, Norway
  ORCiD: https://orcid.org/0009-0002-3826-9382

*This book is dedicated to my parents.*
這本書獻給我的父母

# Contents

Acknowledgments xi
Notes on Romanization and Manuscript Style xiii
Introduction 1

1. Graphic storytelling in modern comics and postwar manga 9
   1.1 Sequential art and character-driven narratives 10
   1.2 "Cinematic" comics and the visual grammar of postwar manga 22
   Chapter summary 39
2. Manga in Taiwan 1930s–1980s 41
   2.1 Comics in prewar Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule 45
   2.2 Rental bookstores: manga circulation in postwar Taiwan 62
   2.3 Rental manga: Taiwan-Japan relations in obscurity 79
   Chapter summary 114
3. Status and capital: comics in Taiwan 117
   3.1 Pierre Bourdieu on struggles about status and capital 118
   3.2 The comics censorship system 128
   3.3 Hypersensitivity about "Japan" 137
   3.4 The resurgence of manga and the acknowledgment of comics 154
   Chapter summary 172
4. Politics in the cultural field: Taiwan comics 1940s–1960s 177
   4.1 Politicized culture 177
   4.2 Magazines: on the margins of the cultural field 197
   4.3 Rental bookstores and stalls: lacking cultural capital 205
   4.4 Exchange between political and cultural capital 211
   Chapter summary 227
5. "History" in Taiwan comics (1945–1990) 229
   5.1 Recognizable past and constructed history 229

5.2 Official history, historical narratives, and costume dramas 231
5.3 The imagined “China” of pre-1976 Taiwan comics 236
5.4 Stimuli from abroad and disembodied historical imagery 245
Chapter summary 259

Coda 263

References 267

Organizational Sources 287
(a) Archival Documents 287
(b) Newspaper Articles 293

List of Romanizations 299
Comics Creators (Taiwan) 299
Periodicals (Taiwan) 301
Publishers (Taiwan) 302

Glossary 303

Chronology 307

List of Figures and Tables 309

Index 319

# Acknowledgments

Publishing a book like this requires a lot of effort from many parties, especially if English has not been the primary language in the author's academic career. Thus, this book would not have been possible without Professor Jaqueline Berndt, translator Timeea Cosobea, and the generous support from the National Science and Technology Council of Taiwan (國家科學與技術委員會), for which I am deeply grateful.

I also thank the interviewees, who have shared their knowledge and experience with me: Mr. Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠), Mr. Chi Hou-po (紀厚博), Mr. Saika Tadahiro (雜賀忠宏), and Mr. Tsai Kun-lin (蔡坤霖), who unfortunately passed away before the release of this book. Ms. Wei Ming-wen (魏明雯) of the National Academy for Education Research provided invaluable help concerning the era of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation. Ms. Watanabe Tomoko (渡邊朝子) of the Kyoto International Manga Museum kindly aided my search for historical manga materials from the prewar decades up to and including the 1970s. My friend Jelly Huang (黃佳莉), a comics artist who has collaborated with me for many years, created several illustrations for this book. In addition, I have to thank Chiu Chien-hua (邱芊樺), Lin Kuan-yu (林冠瑜), and Yen Yu-chih (顏堉至) for their assistance in searching data and Lin Hui-an (林蕙安) for organizing them. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the importance of Pi-dan (皮蛋) and Mochi (麻糬), who have accompanied me along the way.

My highest gratitude, however, goes to my father, Lee Yung-chi (李永熾), who has been my mentor for a long time and gave me many astute suggestions while working on this book.

# Notes on Romanization and Manuscript Style

East Asian names are indicated in the local order, that is, surname preceding first name without separation by a comma except in the References. Romanization of Chinese and Japanese words is kept to a minimum, up to and including the reference lists. Chinese or Sino-Japanese characters are added to facilitate readability, usually more often than upon first mention. Chinese and Japanese words are not indicated in uppercase, including the romanized indication of Japanese books and article titles, except for proper nouns.

The word "comics" is used with the "s" even in words like comics artist, and it is combined with a singular verb. In manga studies, book and magazine titles are italicized, while serial titles in such magazines are indicated in quotation marks ("…"). This is also applied to the titles of Taiwanese comics wherever possible.

The in-text citations fall into two categories: authored book and article publications, including cartoons and comics, listed under "References," and anonymous "Organizational Sources," which include archival documents and newspaper articles. The latter are indicated in the author-date parentheses by their italicized name. For technical reasons, the tables in Chapter 1 appear as Figures.

## Note on Mandarin Chinese Romanization

While pinyin was adopted as the official Mandarin romanization system in Taiwan in 2009, it coexists with many alternative romanization systems, ranging from Taiwanese Hokkien romanization (pe̍h-ōe-jī) that occasionally combines with Mandarin and remnant postal office transliterations to Tongyin, Gwoyeu Romatzyh, and Wade-Giles, with the latter still reasonably common. Wherever an established transliteration for any given name existed, it was preserved, regardless of the consistency of the romanization system. Preference is given to Wade-Giles when romanizing people's names in accordance with the predominant custom in Taiwan. The surname is placed before the given name, and the first letter in the second character of the given name is indicated

in lowercase. The names of magazines, publishing houses, and so on appear in English translations, accompanied by the original version in Chinese characters. Furthermore, no tone diacritics have been used, neither for pinyin nor for Wade-Giles.

## Note on Romanization of Japanese

Japanese words are transcribed according to the modified Hepburn system. Extended Japanese vowels are marked by a macron, except for specific proper names (like Kodansha) and widely known place names (like Kyoto). Newspapers are indicated using the company's preferred spelling (for example, *Tokyo Shimbun* instead of *Tokyo Shinbun*). Anglicisms in globally renowned magazine titles, such as *Shōnen Jump*, are given in the English spelling. The ending -s that marks the plural form in English is omitted in the case of Japanese words. Translated genre names like girls comics, ladies comics, boys love, etc., are given without apostrophes to highlight their status as proper names.

# Introduction

Both academic and popular comics criticism have been strongly inclined towards national or regional cultural frameworks. Consequently, American comics, Franco-Belgian *bande dessinée*, and Japanese manga have been highlighted as the major comics cultures concerning markets, media formats, and styles. However, in recent years, processes of globalization and digitalization undermined the discursive preference for allegedly homogeneous comics cultures, and comics cultures that were characterized by hybridity even before the advent of the Internet have come to the fore. Taiwan is a significant case in point.

Since the 1970s, the Taiwanese comics market has been visibly predominated by Japanese manga. This resulted from a strict comics censorship system (1966–87) that aimed at expelling manga but paradoxically paved the way for open manga piracy from 1976 onward. Thus, Taiwanese artists and readers grew familiar with the visual grammar of manga as developed by Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫) and his followers in postwar Japan. Already in 1950s Taiwan, this type of graphic storytelling had spread through hand-traced manga adaptations distributed via magazines and rental bookstores. Yet, as these adaptations often appeared under a Taiwanese name, readers did not identify the comics they consumed as initially Japanese. Between the late 1970s and the introduction of the new copyright law in 1992, cost-effective manga reprints in Chinese translation, now clearly recognizable as Japanese, flooded the market and delighted Taiwanese readers, but at the same time, they also impeded the development of local comics production.

Exchanges with manga had begun decades earlier when Taiwan was exposed to Japanese media under colonial rule (1895–1945). In the 1930s, Taiwanese artists joined their Japanese colleagues and

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 1–7. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.a.
License: CC BY-NC 4.0

published cartoons and comic strips in newspapers. Some had taken correspondence courses in "manga" (the one-panel and four-panel formats prevalent at the time). In the early 1940s, locally created cartoons were commissioned even by the colonial administration, for example, the *Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects* (皇民奉公会). Meanwhile, in mainland China, woodcut artists who were connected to the military created anti-Japanese caricatures. After 1945, some continued serving the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT). When the KMT retreated to Taiwan after its defeat in the civil war against the Chinese Communist Party, local Taiwanese artists, who had hoped that the collapse of the Japanese Empire would liberate them from colonial rule and reunite them with their compatriots in mainland China, found themselves subjected to a sort of recolonization. In accordance with the KMT's claim to represent China as a whole and the related positioning of Taiwan as one province of this country, China-centric policies that involved a new hierarchy among Han Chinese due to "provincial status" were implemented. Comics artists, too, fell into those who came from outside the province of Taiwan and those who were native to it. Throughout this book, the terms "mainlanders" (外省人) and "islanders" (本省人) are used to designate them.

During the martial law era (1949–87), the KMT government facilitated its claim to be the legitimate representative of China by enforcing de-Japanization, ranging from the ban on Japanese-language use to the suppression of local collective memory.[1] The related cultural policy, culminating in the so-called comics review system, rendered manga influx obscure. Consequently, Taiwan's artists and readers interacted with Japanese comics to an extent that complicates categorization along national-cultural lines: pirated manga were perceived not as foreign but as domestic comics while engendering an affinity with manga-specific ways of graphic storytelling that would pay off later when imports became recognizable. To accommodate such complexity, this monograph is titled "Taiwan Comics" rather than "Taiwanese Comics." It addresses comics published in Taiwan and created by prewar Taiwan-based Japanese as well as by postwar (Han-)Chinese Taiwanese regardless of their provincial origin; it includes pirated as well as licensed manga translations, ranging from the hand-traced adaptations by Taiwanese artists published under Taiwanese names in the 1960s and early 1970s, to the non-licensed direct reprints that flourished between 1976 and 1992, and ultimately the genuine Japanese productions that were

1 See, for example, Heylen 2011.

officially authorized by their creators under the new copyright law of 1992.

In line with contemporary local custom, the original manuscript of this book designates "comics" in Mandarin Chinese with the same composite of two characters that is also used in Japanese: 漫畫 (pronounced *manhua* in Chinese, *manga* in Japanese, and *manhwa* in Korean). This term sets itself apart from the KMT's official name for graphic narratives serialized in magazines or published in book format: *lianhuan tuhua* (連環圖畫). Elsewhere romanized as *manhua*, this book deliberately uses the word "comics." As an umbrella term, it refers to the dynamic and character-driven graphic narratives that are the central focus of this book: multi-panel "story comics" as they are named below, following the Japanese name *story-manga* (物語漫画). Occasionally, "comics" also encompasses other narrative formats, namely, single-panel caricatures, newspaper comic strips, and *lianhuanhua* (連環畫), "linked pictures" that originated from Shanghai and appeared in horizontally shaped palm-sized booklets with usually only one framed image per page and captions placed outside of the frame. In both Taiwan and mainland China (PRC), all types of comics were officially subsumed under that name from the 1950s onward, occasionally also using the term *lianhuan manhua* (Takeda 2017, 53). Meanwhile, the word *manga* is used in this book to designate Japanese comics.

In Japan, *manga* has been the umbrella term for all formats of cartoons and comics since the early 20th century, historical contingency notwithstanding. The word entered the Chinese language in the mid-1920s as *manhua*.[2] Needless to say, its semantic scope differed between Japan and China and, in the postwar era, also between mainland China and Taiwan. Until the 1980s, *manhua* was not necessarily associated with entertaining graphic narratives in Chinese but rather with political cartoons, ink-brushed drawings, or woodcut graphics. Apart from those connotations, the implication of "Chineseness" prevented the use of the romanized word *manhua* in this book. Using *manhua* for Taiwan comics runs the risk of obscuring their heterogeneity in a way that connotes the KMT's China-centric cultural policy under martial law, and precisely this would subvert this monograph's fundamental emphasis on the specific identity of Taiwan. Admittedly, national-cultural particularization may also apply to the use of the word *manga*. However, what cultural identity is for Taiwan has been highly controversial in

[2] See Crespi 2020 for a study of pictorials, cartoons, and graphic narratives in prewar Shanghai. See also Bevan 2016.

political terms, and this places the romanization of *manhua* at a much different weight than *manga*. Under martial law, the locally specific modernity of Taiwan had been absent from official China-centric history. As a counterreaction, there have been tendencies to "nationalize" or "indigenize" (本土化) Taiwan from the 1990s onward. Taiwan's comics culture was affected both ways (see Zemanek 2017, 2020).

This monograph foregrounds comics as graphic narratives in pre-digital Taiwan. It approaches their hybridity from a media-historical perspective, tracing the intricate relationship between transcultural while situated forms and socio-cultural contents against the backdrop of changes in comics' cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. That is to say, comics are treated here as a media rather than an art form. The main focus is on widely shared stylistic devices, technical conventions, artists' and editors' interpersonal networks, publication formats, and distribution channels. The emphasis on cultural, symbolic, and economic capital allows going beyond simplistic binaries and also considering hierarchies within: be it the status gap according to provincial status, which could be thwarted by class, or the "high vs. low" dichotomy with comics, and popular culture in the broader sense, representing the latter pole, which could be intersected by the status of different publication venues and distribution channels. Thus, this monograph methodologically triangulates cultural sociology, media history, and comics studies.

The first two chapters of this book conceptualize comics. However, rather than leaning on the Anglophone field of comics studies and its latest output, the book references Japanese manga studies and Mandarin Chinese research, up to and including translated editions of Scott McCloud and Thierry Groensteen's works. This is mainly due to two facts: first, the author's own "habitus" regarding comics, just like that of many fellow Taiwanese, has been fundamentally informed by reading manga, and second, the research on which this monograph is based was conducted in Taiwan and Japan. In 2007, the author defended her Japanese-language Ph.D. thesis on collective memory in Japan and Taiwan, which used comics as one of its example cases, at the University of Tokyo. In 2012, she published the monograph, *The Genealogy of Transformation, Symbols, and Signification: Cultural Studies of Comics* (變形、象徵與符號化的系譜：漫畫的文化研究). Shortly after, she assumed an academic position dedicated to Taiwan's cultural history at National Chengchi University, Taipei, where she is a professor today. In consultation with the translator, it was decided to keep the cited references in their translated form but add relevant English titles, primarily in the footnotes.

Chapter 1 lays out the concept of comics that sets the benchmark in the following historical investigation. It introduces "non-cinematic" and "cinematic" types of graphic narratives as two ideal-typical lineages. The latter is represented by what the book calls the postwar visual grammar of manga, which developed sophisticated techniques to convey visual movement and to affectively involve the reader through close-ups and characters' facial expressions, mimetic words (i.e., sound effects), pictorial runes (for example, speed lines), and "atmospheric" panels that do not drive the plot. With respect to the latter, theoretical propositions by philosophers Hermann Schmitz, Gernot Böhme, and Sasaki Ken'ichi (佐々木健一) are considered, while the spatiotemporality of modern comics is conceptualized in reference to film studies and the semiology of Roland Barthes, as well as the representative comics-studies works by Thierry Groensteen and Scott McCloud.

Chapter 2 shifts the focus to Taiwan. It reconstructs the genealogy of Taiwan comics, tracing the evolution of the media form from the period of Japanese colonial rule to the eve of the new censorship system, that is, from the 1930s to the 1960s. Special attention is paid to the blending of text and image by means of "transdiegetic devices" (Exner 2022), such as speech balloons, mimetic words, and pictorial runes, and to the accentuation of characters' emotions. This is closely related to the distribution channels of different types of comics, i.e., the media in the narrow sense, and the workings of manga as a largely invisible undercurrent of Taiwan's comics culture.

The second half of the book concerns itself with history. It refrains from drawing a diachronic line (as practiced by the official history under martial law); instead, the same issues pertaining to the history of Taiwan comics are revisited from different angles in a cyclical manner. Symbolic power and status are central to the historical analysis in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 originated from the author's master's thesis, which was completed in 1996 and published later as a monograph under the title *Reading Comics* (讀漫畫). Leaning on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of fields as well as types of capital and their exchangeability, these two chapters investigate how comics were subsumed to the government's China-centric ideology, which included erasing "Japan" from collective memory, and how they gradually became established in the cultural field by accumulating economic capital. Taiwan's comics saw three periods of high economic capital: in the 1960s, the late 1970s, and early 1980s, and from the late 1980s to the mid-1990s. But only during the last period was economic capital successfully exchanged for cultural capital, so that comics gained a firm position in the

cultural field. Thus, the history of Taiwan comics indicates that under authoritarian conditions, even high economic capital can be dismantled by political power at any time and cannot be exchanged for cultural capital without freedom of speech. Finally, Bourdieu's concept of habitus explains readers' intimacy with manga. In the 1960s, people still had physical memories of the Japanese colonial period, and many were familiar with the layouts of prewar manga. Readers of the 1970s and 1980s had been raised on manga without any Japanese clues, but this time, it was the post-war grammar of manga inaugurated by Tezuka. Literacy is a result of learning, and once it has been acquired and etched into the human body, it shows persistence and is resistant to change. This may also explain why it is difficult for non-mangaesque comics to get accepted in Taiwan.

As visual storytelling, comics were generally regarded as reading material for children with low educational value. Relegated to the fringes of the cultural field or even excluded from it, they provided only low cultural capital. But under martial law, anti-Japanese sentiment, or hypersensitivity against anything that appeared remotely "Japanese," played an equally crucial role, first related to the KMT's China-centric policy and then again after 1972, when the United States acknowledged the People's Republic of China at the expense of Taiwan, i.e., the Republic of China (ROC). With the comics censorship system at its center, Chapter 3 chronologically traces the exchange of cultural capital between comics artists, publishers, and the authorities, represented by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT). Chapter 4 looks into the different positions held by mainlanders and islanders, both Han Chinese, regarding publication venues (newspapers, magazines, and rental shops) and their respective cultural capital. This chapter highlights struggles within the cultural field in a discourse-analytical way, utilizing a plethora of archival files, government bulletins, and newspaper articles. These are listed as "Organizational Sources" as they lack personal author names.

Chapter 5 shifts the perspective from actors and publication venues to the media texts themselves, more precisely, their representational contents. Focusing on graphic history, it analyzes how representations of "Chineseness" in comics expose the ideology of the time and how closely popular culture and historiography were interrelated when a fictitious ancient China was to symbolize the common ethno-national tradition. The comics examples considered are examined concerning how narrative settings, motifs, and props afforded the recognizability of

"China" as promoted by the official China-centric history. Considering concepts such as store of lived experience, physical memory, and stocks of knowledge, for example, as proposed by Alfred Schutz, the chapter investigates how the "history" stock of collective and individual memory was filled with meanings that served the authorities, and how new ones came to be deposited there.

Overall, this monograph aims to close the gap in global comics studies regarding knowledge about Taiwan comics. Going beyond mere information, it presents an exemplary case of a complex, heterogeneous comics culture, which will hopefully attract the interest of scholars engaged in comics and manga studies, as well as East Asian studies.

# 1. Graphic storytelling in modern comics and postwar manga

The term “comics” has been used to designate a whole range of different things, stretching from a cartoony drawing style to sequential art and encompassing caricatures and cartoons, as well as short comic strips and long-format “graphic novels” (see Domsch et al., eds, 2020; Fawaz et al., eds, 2021; La Cour et al., eds, 2021; Ahmed, ed., 2023). Sociocultural settings and historical periods diversify the notion of comics significantly. From the perspective of Taiwan and considering the more or less invisible presence of Japanese manga in Taiwan’s comics culture, this book foregrounds comics as serialized graphic narratives and manga-informed ones at that.

It goes without saying that manga itself is anything but homogeneous. The notion of comics that underlies the historical investigation in the following chapters is modeled on the *story-manga* inaugurated by Tezuka Osamu around 1950 and innovated by female artists of *shōjo manga* (girls comics) about two decades later, which profoundly affected the formation of graphic narratives in Taiwan in the 1950s and again from the 1970s onward. For lack of a better term, it is called the visual grammar of postwar manga here. The use of the term “grammar” is motivated by the book’s fundamental orientation to examine Taiwan comics not as an art form but as a media, which implies foregrounding widely shared codes and conventions against exceptional creations that do not commit to the field of popular culture. To contextualize the visual grammar of postwar manga—rather than to reinforce the mythologization of Tezuka as the alleged “god of manga” or the cultural generalization of “Japanese comics”—this chapter introduces two ideal-typical lineages of comics that are equally modern: one that emulates the experience of stage plays and another one that appears

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 9–40. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.b.
License: CC BY-NC 4.0

"cinematic" in its emphasis on visual movement and its ways of spectator involvement. The first section outlines crucial aspects of "comics" before it shifts the focus to European examples of the pre-cinematic era, which arrived in Japan in the early twentieth century and formed the basis for the visual grammar of postwar manga. The second section elucidates the particularities of this grammar in comparison with American comics, which are represented by DC superhero narratives here in line with the popular notion of "American comics" in Taiwan and Japan.

## 1.1 Sequential art and character-driven narratives

This book's notion of comics is, first of all, an essentially graphic one: it privileges monochrome line drawings and their visual communication of affects by means of abstraction (or abbreviation), distortion, and exaggeration (see Molotiu 2020). The manga influx mentioned above makes itself felt here. Secondly, this book follows the widely shared definition of comics as sequential art, which presupposes bordered images, i.e., panels. Consequently, the question arises of which type of sequence takes center stage: in our case, one with short intervals between panels. The impression of movement such sequences convey depends as much on panel size and shape variations and inter-panel relations as on panel content. Are characters presented at full-body length, do their faces convey feelings, do they feature alone, and most importantly, are they breaching the panel frame? Aspects like these affect not only the interpretation of specific stories but also the status of the medium itself and the cultural capital that certain formats and genres can obtain, particularly under the conditions of an authoritarian regime. Staying within boxes (or regular panel grids) and slowing the pace, that is, regulating reader agency, also applies to the relation between word and image. Sequential art does not necessarily blend verbal and visual tracks, but the two may assume a different weight even if it does. Manga has gained renown for decidedly visual storytelling, which sometimes includes completely wordless sequences, whereas, in Taiwan, pirated manga editions were supplemented with captions as if visuals alone (or the reader's free imagination) could not be trusted. The third crucial feature pertains to the relationship between the reader and the characters. Comics, as understood in this book, are ultimately character-driven rather than event-driven narratives, and manga narratives, in particular, have attracted audiences with approachable, amiable characters. This type of comics elicits not observation but participation (from affective involvement to fan art and fan fiction) (see Miyamoto 2011).

Rodolphe Töpffer (1799–1846) is often argued to have prefigured many of the formal characteristics that comics would come to be known for (see Groensteen 2007, 8; Morita 2019, 247–303; Kunzle 2009). In the late 1820s, he began to create graphic narratives using pictorial sequences, and he published them in book format using autography, a lithographic technique that allowed for print runs up to 800 copies (Morita 2019, 307–13). Many of the above-listed criteria apply to his *littérature en estampes*, as he called his works. First of all, he employed an exaggerated and distorted, that is, cartoony drawing style whose linework suggests movement and temporality and makes the characters easy to read. Secondly, he divided his wide, horizontally stretched pages into panels, with almost every panel depicting a single moment in time or one scene. The content of these panels also suggests movement, for example, through the orientation of a character's limbs, which is conveyed by symbolic lines rather than a realistic depiction. While there is no variation in shot sizes and angles, the panel width varies slightly, suggesting the importance and duration of the depicted action within the constraints of a consistent height. Some panels are continuous, while others do not appear narratively interconnected, although they appear on the same page. For example, Töpffer's *Monsieur Bois* (1827) relates how the eponymous protagonist falls in love with a particular woman at first sight, leading to a series of absurd pursuits. There are scenes in which Monsieur Bois turns into a ghost or gallops on horseback through the mountains, all rendered in sequential images representing a long passage of time. The most crucial aspect, however, is that the temporal intervals between panels became shortened. For instance, in the scene in which Monsieur Bois is hanging from a snapping beam (**fig. 1-1**), he falls into a crowd that eventually catches him. This event is depicted in a single tier.

When Töpffer studied in Paris between 1819 and 1820, there was no railroad to his hometown of Geneva yet. Still, the compression of physical space and time facilitated by steam engines, railroads, and telegraphs, coupled with the rapid industrialization of Paris at the time clearly had a significant impact on the young artist-to-be and his later shortening of the intervals between panels. Admittedly, Töpffer placed captions beneath the images, separating visual and verbal tracks from each other. But his narratives were driven by characters with distinct personalities and easily recognizable expressions, who did not have to be identified by text or costume. This distinguished them from the protagonists of traditional folk tales centered around what was happening, where the focus was primarily on actions, events, and cause and

**Figure 1-1.** Rodolphe Töpffer, *Les amours de Mr. Vieux Bois*, Paris: 1860 (created in 1827, originally published in Geneva, 1837; 2nd Geneva ed., 1839), 10-11. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008412021/page/n7/mode/2up (last access: March 1, 2024). License: CC BY 4.0.

effect. Modern narratives like Töpffer's were organized around who was acting. Characters' lives are at the center of the entire plot, and readers would immerse themselves in their lives without the help of a narrator's verbal explanations.

Older forms of sequential art, such as Japanese illuminated handscrolls (絵巻), presented multiple points in time within the same picture, changed protagonists from frame to frame, and stretched the interval between images to the extent that the narrative could not be grasped without textual aid. In premodern times, images were used to tell stories, and thanks to oral mediation, multiple focal points and different time frames could easily coexist within the same picture plane. The continuity between images could easily become disjointed because there was a narrator who would fill in the necessary knowledge. Narratives were told, and books were read aloud. Without verbal explanation, the stories remained in a standby mode.

Under modern conditions, however, narratives are read by individuals in silence. This mode of reception gave rise to the distinction between narrated time and narrative time (or time of narration).[3] Traditionally, and even after the rise of the printing press, families would gather around the father or an educated son to listen to him read the newspaper, or people would gather at street corners to listen to the educated read the newspaper or the storytellers recite the text of a picture story (Maeda 1989, 158–59). The experience of narratives was communal and tied to the time of narration. While the concept of narrated time naturally existed within the stories themselves, it had not yet become independent from the act of following the narration. Japanese literary scholar Maeda Ai observes that reading in silence involves the interplay between a modern Self that has emancipated itself from the community and the rise of mass media in the 19th century. Reading became an internal interaction of the reader with the text and its author. In the case of comics, the readers themselves supplement the "blank" or indeterminate spaces between and within images rather than relying on the support of a narrator. Artists establish each panel as a space for the characters to live and act in; they select scenes from the linear narrated time and rearrange them as narrative time, leaning not only on visual but also on verbal elements and sound effects. Once freed from a cyclic and collectivist notion of time, individuals were able to take an observational stance and simultaneously engage with both narrative and narrated time as they read. While the upper classes in 19th century France were getting used to the concept of standardized linear time and the compression of space and time through means of transportation, this did not necessarily apply to the general public, especially those living outside urban areas. For them, Töpffer's works were probably less comprehensible than another type of graphic narrative, the *Imagerie d'Épinal* prints (**fig. 1-2**).

Still close to the traditional way of oral storytelling in view of pictures and therefore organizing their narratives around events and actions rather than empathetic characters, these prints told stories on a single sheet of paper through colorful illustrations. They consisted of up to twenty evenly divided panels, and the intervals between them became longer the longer the story. Furthermore, the panels displayed moments frozen in time rather than the continuous movements typical of *Monsieur Bois*, not to mention the fact that transitions from panel to panel happened not visually, but by means of dialogue. Text captions were placed beneath the images. Overall, they looked more like a collection of illustrations than comics. Illustrations, including one-panel

[3] For narratology, see Martinez and Scheffel 2006.

**Figure 1-2.** *Histoire du Petit Chaperon-Rouge* [Little Red Riding Hood], Fabrique de Pellerin, Imprimeur-libraire à Epinal [1843]. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département estampes et photographie. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41261604g (last access: March 1, 2024). License: CC BY 4.0.

cartoons, differ from comics as conceived within this book insofar as they effectively condense various focal points or moments of an event or theme into a single image while the continuity of time is conveyed by a text or narrator. That is, they include several units of time that require verbal or textual explanation. The intervals between them are not the major focus. Similar things can be said about William Hogarth's sequential engravings, such as *A Harlot's Progress* (1731).

Apart from combining text and image while keeping the two tracks separate, Töpffer's graphic narratives and the concurrent Épinal prints have in common that each image shows characters in full-body view, and each panel depicts one action through a wide shot. This inclination persisted until the 1930s when North American Disney and superhero comics began to introduce medium shots, just as Tezuka did in Japan in the late 1940s. However, the differences prevail. The Épinal prints refrain from exaggerated (i.e., cartoony) representation through line

drawings, and they do not suggest movement *within* the images as much as Töpffer's narratives. Furthermore, each Épinal panel featured all events and actions from a frontal perspective, as if they were happening on a stage with the audience sitting in the best seat of the house. The viewer would capture the actors' body language but not their subtle facial expressions.

Event-driven graphic narratives predominantly used long shots, in which characters appeared at full-body length, and extreme long shots, in which characters occupied less than three-quarters of the frame. This mode of representation mirrored the public distance experienced in theaters and the respective distance between the audience and the stage. While the influence of theater is hard to trace, the framing in "pre-cinematic" popular prints, illustrations, and satirical drawings suggests a selective affinity with the realm of the stage arts. There were no concepts for high-angle or low-angle shots or zooming in and out, as representation was modeled on performances that took place in a fixed space and were mainly watched from an unchanging frontal position.

This tradition continued well into the 20th century and to a type of graphic narrative that was ultimately replaced by Disney and later Tezuka. Whether in the US, prewar Japan, or Europe, the instantiations of this type shared the following characteristics. First, all panels exhibited a frontal, stage-like view without "camera" movement or changing angles. Second, each panel represented a single moment in one and the same physical place. As such, extra-long shots capturing the characters in full-body length predominated, whereas medium shots of the upper body were used only in exceptional cases. Third, almost every panel depicted one action only, mainly acts of speaking either to oneself or in dialogue. In other words, the story was not primarily told visually, but text and images operated in equal measure: the panel served as a stage, where the image provided the scene and the characters while the text performed the functions of "relay" and "anchoring" (Barthes 1964). Fourth, when a character moved from one scene to another, more than one panel was used to explain it, and the frames still contained text or self-talk (see panels no. 11, 20, and 21 in **fig. 1-3**) (Lee, I-yun 2012, 178–84). Fifth, the panels were rectangular and regularly sized. There was not much difference in the width of the gutters on the panels' top and bottom, left and right, so they did not yet have the effect of guiding the gaze as distinct from the early Superman comics, for instance, where the gutters on the left and right were slightly thinner than the ones

on the top and bottom. The sixth point is that these narratives already had recurring characters who were clearly identifiable by their names and visual attributes, but they still lacked subtle facial expressions.

There were, however, signs of a looming transition. The series *Norakuro* (のらくろ, 1931–41) by Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), for example, appears stage-like by and large, but it used simple momentum lines similar to contemporaneous Disney comics (see panels 12, 15, 16, and 18 of **fig. 1-3**), balloons to separate speech from the intradiegetic reality of the panel, and varied panel width and splash pages (**fig. 1-4**) in a way that is reminiscent of how Töpffer widened the horizontal dimension to indicate the passage of time. Characters rather than events drive Norakuro's narrative, but these characters feature mostly in full-body length in long or even extra-long shots, invoking a stage-like situation where the reader would observe but not interact.

In 1947, Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫) published his groundbreaking *New Treasure Island* (新宝島), which featured many wordless panels and panels representing movement through changing shot sizes and angles (**fig. 1-5, 1-6, 1-7**). At the time, this looked unprecedented, but in actuality, such "cinematic" devices had already been utilized by Shishido Sakō (宍戸左行) in his manga *Speed Tarō* (スピード太郎, 1930–34), together with diverse layouts, including long vertical panels instead of the conventional horizontal ones. Tezuka himself acknowledged Shishido's accomplishments and merged them with elements of American comics. Likewise interested in movement was Ōshiro Noboru (大城のぼる), who is remembered, first of all, for his graphic narrative *Train Journey* (汽車旅行, 1941) (Noguchi 2007, 16–18, 25).

Tezuka's *New Treasure Island* has been credited with introducing a "cinematic technique" into manga.[4] Before taking a closer look at such comics in the next section, the spatial proximity that facilitates character-driven narratives and, in extension, character intimacy shall be considered.

In *The Third Meaning* (*L'Obvie et l'Obtus*), Roland Barthes analyzed Sergei Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* and its montage editing, also considering the distance between the viewer and the events on screen. Initially, narrative film had been shot with a fixed camera, capturing scenes sequentially and piecing them together, much like a continuous painting. In contrast, *Battleship Potemkin* introduced extreme close-ups and interspersed them with a mix of long and medium shots, as exemplified by the famous *Odessa Steps* sequence. Although the film's

---

4 This term was introduced in the 1950s, according to Miwa (2014, 213).

**Figure 1-3.** Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), *Norakuro* (のらくろ). This 'dog-and-monkey fight' (or figuratively, bitter feud) was first published in the boys magazine *Shōnen Kurabu* (少年倶楽部) in 1932 (『のらくろ漫画集』. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1975, 82–83). Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center/Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 1-4.** Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), *Norakuro tosshintai* (Advance Troop), in 『のらくろ漫画集』, vol. 1. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1975, 12–13. The top right 39th panel is a long shot, the bottom left 48th and 49th panels depict the space and time of an artillery strike. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

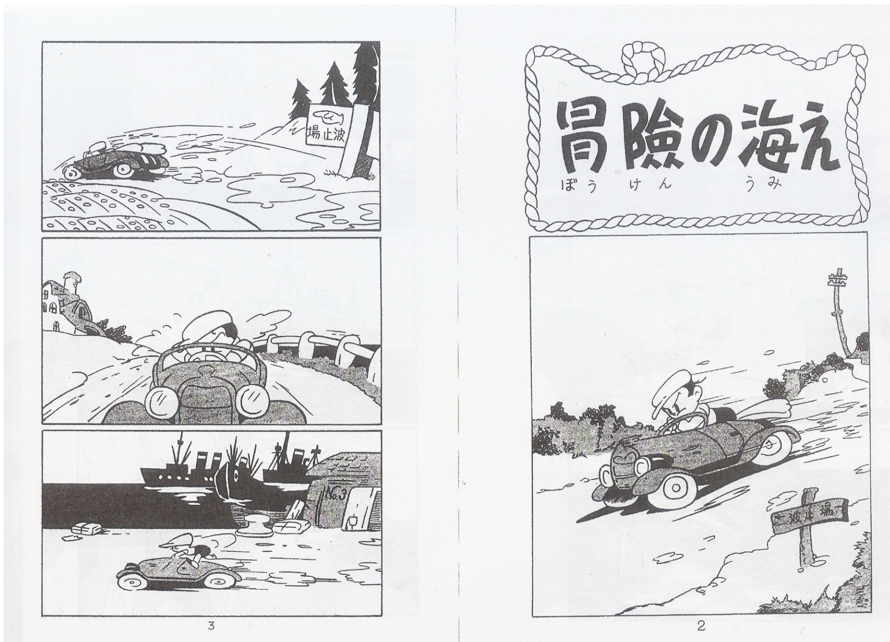
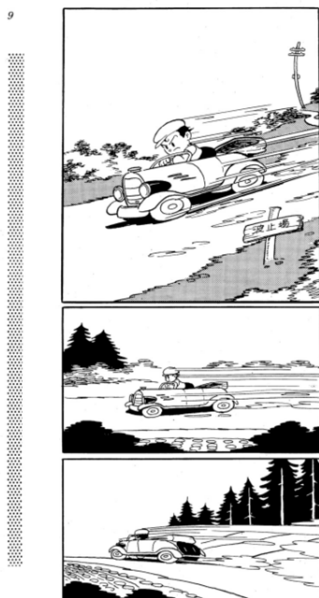
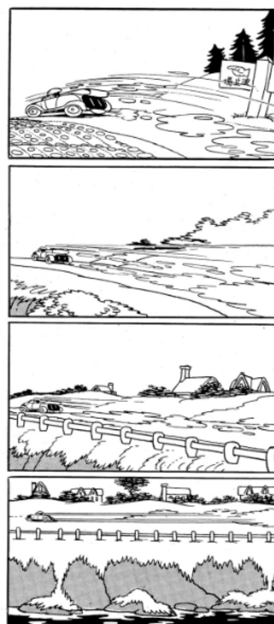



**Figure 1-5.** Purely visual storytelling at the beginning of Tezuka Osamu's *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』, 1947). Tokyo: Shogakukan Creative, 2009, 2–3. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0.

narrative revolved around events rather than specific characters, it visually created narrative time by capturing various instances from within the narrated time and continuously interrelating them through editing. Thus, it accomplished to involve the viewer in the on-screen events.

Physical distance between individuals or groups, or proxemics, can indicate the degree of closeness in their relationship. Accordingly, Edward T. Hall (2011 [1970], 160–76) proposed four degrees of interpersonal distance, from closest to furthest away: intimate, personal, social, and public distance. Intimate distance refers to the closeness at which one can embrace the other person, whereas personal distance refers to the culturally defined minimum safe space that individuals maintain between themselves and others in non-contact situations. It means the distance at which one can see subtle facial expressions of a person and hear them speak at a moderate volume. Social distance, on the other hand, observes a "boundary of control," which may range from light physical contact to the point where touch is out of reach. Facial expressions cannot be grasped in detail, but the overall appearance of



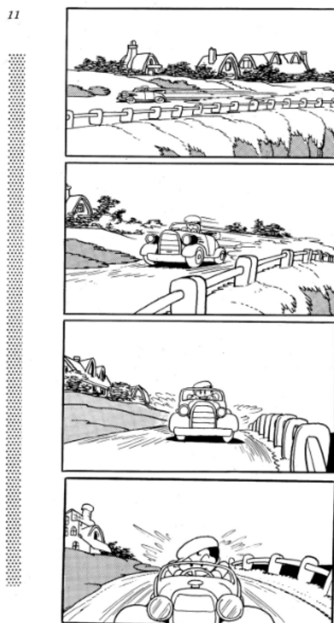




**Figure 1-6.** Tezuka Osamu, *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』). Tezuka Production 2015, 2–3. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0.

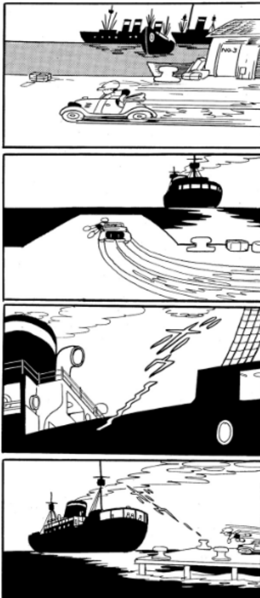


**Figure 1-7.** Tezuka Osamu, *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』). Tezuka Production 2015, 12-15. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0.

the other person can be generally discerned, including clothes, skin, and hair, and voices can be heard if raised to sufficient volume. Public distance, finally, refers to non-interference, that is, the minimum from which escape is possible at any time. When addressing an audience at a public event, the speaker is visible, but skin texture and facial expressions are not. To be heard, their voice has to be louder than in a casual conversation. While these distances may vary from culture to culture, the basic concepts remain the same.

In cinema, the image mediated by the lens, i.e., the frame, represents the distance at which a subject or scene is viewed (Giannetti 2003, 22–25, 87–93). Based on Hall's concepts of interpersonal distances, Gianetti developed a theory of proxemic patterns to discuss the psychological impact of shot sizes on film audiences. Close-ups that capture the area above the shoulders and extreme close-ups that focus almost exclusively on a face rarely provide information about the setting or spatial relations within it. Such shots, therefore, represent intimate distance. A medium shot, which frames the subject from above the knees, represents personal distance, which in society refers to a space where privacy can be maintained without being as exclusive as in the case of intimate distance. A long shot, where the whole body appears in the frame, corresponds to social distance, maintaining a professional boundary. If the subject occupies less than three-quarters of the frame, the long shot signifies public distance, which is formal and ceremonial and not centered on the expression of emotion.

A close-up shot allows viewers to feel a kind of intimacy with the characters. It can make the audience more prone to forming a connection with the characters as if the characters' emotions or concerns were their own. Conversely, it can elicit a sense of aversion if featuring a scary character, who may appear as encroaching on the viewer's personal space. In general, the experience of emotional distress becomes less likely the greater the distance between the camera lens and the captured subject. This corresponds to the idea of public distance with its emphasis on detachment. On the other hand, the closer the proximity to a subject, the more likely emotional experiences are (Gianetti 2003, 87–93). In sum, close-ups and extreme close-ups have the potential to intensify the audience's emotional immersion and enhance the impact of what is visible to them.

Before the advent of photographic technology, the experience of stage art was usually limited to the range of social and public distance,

with auditory perception prevailing and facial expressions remaining indiscernible. When attending performances in public squares, spectators could get physically closer to the actors and interact with the stage rather than staying mere onlookers—suffice to mention theater forms such as the Commedia dell'arte, Japanese *kyōgen, kabuki*, and *jōruri*, or Chinese storytelling with and without stringed instruments. In short, aesthetic experience was about listening and participating. This changed with the adoption of modern reading practices: readers came to individually interact with a written text, prioritizing the sense of vision and objectifying the Self as an Other vis-à-vis the text. No longer relying on an external third-party narrator, readers engaged in introspective dialogues with themselves through the text and interacted with the characters in a mutually subjective way rather than applying an observational stance that would correspond with the panoramic view of a long shot. The variations in cinematic angles, providing different perspectives, distances, and focal points, resonated with the modernized mode of viewership. Close-ups, however, changed the spatial relationship between characters and audience, constituting intimacy and turning spectators into participants.

## 1.2 "Cinematic" comics and the visual grammar of postwar manga

To carve out the particularities of what has come to be known as typical manga, a comparison among representative examples of "cinematic" comics has been conducted, with an emphasis on shot ratios (see **fig.** 1-8). Not at all intended to be exhaustive, the selected long-form graphic narratives include two DC superhero comics of different periods—*Superman* (1938) and *Batman: Year One* (Miller and Mazzucchelli, 1987)—and two Tezuka manga—*The New Treasure Island* (1947), which pioneered the use of montage techniques in comics (Tezuka 2009, 2–12), and *Princess Knight* (リボンの騎士, 1953),[5] purportedly the beginning of *shōjo manga*. These are juxtaposed, on the one hand, with the outstanding girls manga series *The Poe Clan* (ポーの一族, 1972) by Hagio Moto (萩尾望都) (Hagio 1988, 3–18), and on the other hand, with a series that clearly applied the visual grammar inaugurated by Tezuka, Yokoyama Mitsuteru's *Iron Man*

[5] First serialized in *Shōjo Club*, beginning in February 1953. Analyzed pages from Tezuka Osamu, "Futatsu no kokoro," *Ribon no kishi*, 14–20.

| Shots | Distance | *Norakuro* (1931) | *Superman* (1938) | Mickey Mouse (1940) | *New Treasure Island* (1947) | *Princess Knight* (1953) | *Iron Man No. 28* (1961) | *The Poe Clan* (1972) | *Batman: Year One* (1987) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Extra-long Shot | Public distance | 2 (0.91) | 3 (2.94) | 0 | 5 (18.52) | 1 (2.38) | 7 (7.53) | 1 (0.85) | 1 (0.77) |
| Long Shot | Social Distance | 20 (90.91) | 38 (37.25) | 9 (75) | 9 (33.33) | 36 (85.71) | 32 (34.41) | 17 (14.53) | 49 (37.98) |
| 3/4 Shot | | 0 | 23 (22.55) | 2 (16.67) | 3 (11.11) | 3 (7.14) | 13 (13.98) | 16 (13.68) | 12 (9.3) |
| Medium Shot | Personal Distance | 0 | 37 (36.27) | 1 (8.33) | 9 (33.33) | 0 | 33 (35.48) | 25 (21.37) | 24 (18.6) |
| Close-up | Intimate Distance | 0 | 1 (0.98) | 0 | 0 | 1 (2.38) | 4 (4.3) | 21 (17.95) | 21 (16.28) |
| Extreme Close-up | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 (3.7) | 1 (2.38) | 3 (3.23) | 27 (23.08) | 18 (13.95) |

| **Total number of panels** | 22 | 102 | 12 | 27 | 42 | 93 | 117 | 129 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Panels without Dialogue or Explanatory Text | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 (48.15) | 3 (7.14) | 24 (25.81) | 18 (15.38) | 3 (2.33) |
| Panels with Single Character (or parts) | 5 (22.27) | 8 (7.84) | 2 (16.67) | 14 (51.82) | 8 (19.05) | 35 (37.63) | 51 (43.59) | 49 (37.98) |
| Others | | | | | | | Illustrative 4 (3.4)<br>Inner Monologue 5 (4.27)<br>Dialogue + Flowers 1 (0.85) | all-black + text 1 (0.77) |

**Figure 1-8.** Ratio of Shot Types. Number (Percentage).

*No.* 28 (横山光輝「哲人28号」, 1961) (Yokoyama 2011, 2–21). Since American comics have a niche status in Taiwan with no formal ranking, their selection was based on characters with longstanding popularity in Taiwan—Superman and Batman—in addition to significant story events such as Batman's death.

In the US with its more developed film industry, Disney comics introduced panels with occasional medium shots earlier than manga did, as, for example, the Mickey Mouse serial in the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* (Sunday Comic Section only), October 13, 1940, proves. But while the emphasis was on exaggerated and easily readable facial expressions, long shots predominated and, thereby, public distance. Naturally, audiences did not feel like sharing the "here and now" with the characters. In 1938, when Japanese manga still preferred public-distance shots, *Superman* appeared in the US, and already the first issue employed five different types of shot sizes, ranging from close-ups to extremely long shots in addition to basic camera movements and zooms. 62.44% of the shots consisted of public or social distance, 36.27% of personal distance, and only 0.98% accounted for close-ups showing characters from an intimate side or rear view. Thus, even in closest proximity, the relationship between the reader and the character remained at a general level. In *Batman: Year One* (1987), 48.05% of the shots related to public or social distance and 18.6% to personal distance. Most notably, close-ups (16.28%) had a much higher percentage than in the first issue of *Superman*. Extreme close-ups increased to 13.95%, indicating that the distance between characters and readers had become smaller over the span of 49 years. But while the facial expressions are more pronounced, *Superman* still adhered to a realistic style, as distinct from Töpffer's exaggerated drawings. In essence, the *Superman* issue considered here retained the characteristics of older sequential art, which included an emphasis on public distance. This allowed for a stage-like viewing rather than a focus on facial expression.

Extreme close-ups stand out in Tezuka's *New Treasure Island*, but his "cinematic technique" cannot be attributed solely to variation in shot types. Likewise important are, first, the mixing of different shot types and the inclusion of panels that feature only one character; second, the emphasis on countenance or facial expressions; and third, the markedly visual storytelling that manifests in the use of a large number of wordless panels and onomatopoeia or mimetic words to relate non-verbal sounds. These three traits have been crucial to the visual grammar of postwar manga (Natsume 2013; 2020). They will be detailed below.

To begin with the mixing of shot sizes, the alternation of long shots and close-ups in adjacent panels appears to resemble a cinematic montage. At an intimate distance, viewers easily substitute themselves for the characters and enter the scene with them. Some panels may feature only a single character instead of two in interaction, ranging from extreme close-ups of eyes or lips to long shots that show the character engaged in action and also scenes where the character is a distant figure embedded in a panoramic landscape. Versatile shot sizes help the viewer qualify the relationship between characters and between characters and themselves, and while doing so, getting immersed in the story.

According to **Figure 1-8**, in the *New Treasure Island*, single-character frames account for 51.82%, while in *Princess Knight*, they account for only 19.05%, and in *Iron Man No.28* for 37.63%. Clearly, the *New Treasure Island* was quite avant-garde at its time, Tezuka's initial version even more than the first printed edition released by Ikuei Publishing (育英出版) in Osaka in 1947 (writer and editor Sakai Shichima reportedly cut the original manuscript by sixty pages, which Tezuka reconstructed in 1984 for his Collected Works published by Kodansha). The now famous opening of the *New Treasure Island* shows the protagonist's car rushing to the harbor which stretches over eighteen panels in the 1984 edition, fourteen more than in the edition of 1947 (**fig. 1-6**). This culminates in a short sequence of panels that feature only one character each when the protagonist, Pete, runs into a small dog.

In his initial version, Tezuka used four panels to zoom out from a close-up of Pete's face to him driving the car. Then, using a dolly shot over the course of eleven panels, Tezuka moved from an extreme long shot to a long shot and finally to a frontal medium shot, allowing the reader to follow Pete as he crosses the area and approaches the river. The next four panels zoom directly into Pete's pupils, revealing the reflection of a little dog. The following four panels pull back to ultimately show an extreme close-up of the little dog, startled by the fact that it narrowly escaped a collision. What follows upon page turn is a frame with the little dog sitting at Pete's feet (**fig. 1-7**). In 1947, these panels had been omitted by the author-cum-editor Sakai Shichima. Nevertheless, panels featuring only one character accounted for 77.27%, and frames with no dialogue or text accounted for 68.18% in the first printed edition. By the time the girls manga *The Poe Clan* began serialization in 1972, this visual grammar had gained acceptance by artists, editors, and readers so that new forms of expression could come to the fore. Girls manga reclaimed illustration techniques, placed inner monologue

inside the images without enclosing it in thought balloons, and related feelings by means of floral designs.

Panels with single characters became an integral part of the visual grammar of postwar manga. In his analysis of attention units in comics, Neil Cohn categorized frames that show a single entity as "mono," and he observed that manga used more of them than American comics even in the 2000s (2010, 187–203). This substantiated the impression that manga has a preference for pars-pro-toto representations, an inclination to feature fragments of a scene rather than the whole scene in its entirety. Japanese manga manuals point out that a predominance of full to medium shots and horizontal angle frames makes pages look monotonous and reduces their potential impact; in cases of a regular layout, the panels' unvarying size and shape should be compensated by varying panel content, that is, shot sizes and angles, such as full-body shots, facial close-ups, high-angle and low-angle shots, and panoramic frames. Close-ups and pars-pro-toto shots are especially recommended (Amusement Media 2011, 152–53). Concerning the proportion of shot types, **Figure 1-8** indicates that pre-1950s manga, except for the *New Treasure Island*, had a high proportion of long shots without much variation, whereas *Iron Man No. 28* from the early 1960s and *Batman Year One* from late 1980s exhibited more variety while still relying mainly on medium and long shots. The biggest shot diversity existed in *shōjo manga*.

Except for girls comics like Hagio Moto's, the graphic narratives that feature in the comparative analysis introduced here match the type of comics on which Scott McCloud based his theory of panel transitions. As is widely known, McCloud proposed six categories based on panel content: (1) moment-to-moment, (2) action-to-action, (3) subject-to-subject, (4) scene-to-scene, (5) aspect-to-aspect, and (6) non-sequitur. The second type, action-to-action, refers to the breakdown of a single action into a chronological sequence, which can be further divided into occurrence and outcome. Regarding manga, McCloud noted that it tends to employ this second type instead of the third, subject-to-subject. As an example, he cites three panels from Tezuka's *Buddha* that feature a character aiming at a bird: arrows pass three birds → a boy nocks another arrow on the bow → one sweaty bird flies high, looking fearfully backward (McCloud 1994, 78). On closer inspection, this sequence seems to relate an event rather than several actions. Apparently, McCloud's second type (action-to-action) is limited

to the beginning and end of an action, as if complying with the Western orientation at an outcome or telos. According to him, American comics tend to focus on the straightforward unfolding of events, while "Eastern" (i.e., Japanese) comics prefer circular and labyrinthian paths. Manga narratives place more emphasis on presenting the here and now rather than on reaching the goal, and he relates this to the aesthetic concept of "interval": leaving space blank for a lingering effect (McCloud 1994, 82). Analytical tools, however, are not provided.

An example of McCloud's action-to-action category rendered in the visual grammar of Tezuka's manga could be the common scenario of two men fighting. The sequence would include moments of silence, sudden outbursts of action, single-character frames of each fighter inserted into a hand-to-hand combat scene, facial close-ups showing their feelings of fear, sadness, or anger, and furthermore, the emotional responses of the intradiegetic bystanders. At the end of the fight, a sword sweeps through, and everything goes quiet before—after a confession—one party suddenly falls down. Such an example suggests subdividing McCloud's second type into the four categories that appear in **Figure 1-9**: (2–1) action-to-action (same subject), (2–2) action-to-action (different subjects), (2–3) action-to-stillness, and (2–4) stillness-to-action (see Lee, I-yun 2012, 86–86).

These categories were used to analyze how actions are depicted in manga, focusing on action series that have been popular in both Japan and Taiwan since the 2000s, namely, *One Piece* (Oda 2001a, 5–57; 2001b, 7–25) and *Bleach* (Kubo 2001, 5–59; 2009, 7–25). They were compared to American superhero comics from the same period, specifically, the 2010 issues of *Final Crisis* (Morrison et al. 2010, 8–40)

| | Total Number of Panel Transitions | 2 Action-to-Action (same subject) | 2-1 Action-to-Action (different subjects) | 2-2 Action-to-Stillness | 2-3 Stillness-to-Action |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *One Piece*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 265 | 5 (6.58) | 21 (27.63) | 2 (2.63) | 2 (2.63) |
| *One Piece*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 80 | 8 (10) | 8 (10) | 1 (1.25) | 4 (5) |
| *Bleach*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 352 | 61 (17.33) | 28 (7.95) | 3 (0.85) | 9 (2.56) |
| *Bleach*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 80 | 5 (6.25) | 16 (20) | 5 (6.25) | 2 (2.5) |
| *Final Crisis*, vol. 1 | 121 | 27 (22.31) | 5 (4.13) | 0 | 1 (0.83) |
| *Superman Beyond* | 275 | 48 (17.45) | 10 (3.64) | 0 | 3 (1.09) |
| *Batman R.I.P.*, Part1 | 96 | 12 (12.5) | 0 | 0 | 1 (1.04) |
| *Batman R.I.P.*, Part 6 | 144 | 0 | 30 (20.83) | 8 (5.56) | 0 |

**Figure 1-9.** Panel Transitions in Post-2000 US American and Japanese Action Comics. Number (Percentage).

and *Batman: R.I.P.* (Morrison et al. 2010a, 1–30; 2010b, 131–63). **Figure 1-9** suggests that manga tends to alternate shots of different characters during action sequences, while this is rare in the analyzed American comics, except *Batman R.I.P.*, part 6. Cohn (2010, 2017) points out that the change of focus between panels is crucial to the continuity of images: the clash of weapons and the intercutting of characters should thus not be seen as isolated subject-to-subject transitions but as a continuous whole. McCloud (2014/2017) believes that Japanese manga series can be extended endlessly because they have dozens of panels at their disposal to express moods, something that does not equally apply to American superhero comics due to the difference in publication formats (manga magazine on the one hand, and comic books on the other). McCloud's categories, such as the action-to-action type, appear to apply mainly to American comics, where each panel tends to relate one moment in time within a continuous narrated time to reveal what is happening, while manga tends to dissect actions and put the emphasis not only on what happens but also how it happens visually. At the risk of overgeneralizing, it can be assumed that American comics have traditionally been inclined to adopt an external perspective, while the postwar grammar of Japanese manga has facilitated an immersive viewpoint that creates a space to be shared with the characters. *Batman R.I.P.*, part 6 seems to lean toward the latter, indicating the global impact of manga.

The shift from distant view to close-up and extreme close-up was one of the contributions by Tezuka and his contemporaries to postwar manga. **Figure 1-10** clearly shows that even after the 2000s, and despite increasing exchange between comics cultures, manga still used extreme

| | Percentage of Extreme Close-Ups | Average of the Percentage of Extreme Close-Ups |
|---|---|---|
| *One Piece*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 19.2 | |
| *One Piece*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 27.85 | |
| *One Piece*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 36.25 | |
| *One Piece*, vol. 60, epis. 1 | 18.98 | 26.69 |
| *Bleach*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 22.44 | |
| *Bleach*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 42.1 | |
| *Bleach*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 30 | |
| *Final Crisis* vol. 1 | 10.74 | |
| *Superman Beyond* | 13.45 | 14.47 |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part 1 | 9.38 | |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part 6 | 24.31 | |

**Figure 1-10.** Comparison of the Use of Close-ups in US American and Japanese Comics.

close-ups at a higher rate than American comics. Just as proximity augments the emotional impact in cinema (Giannetti 2003, 87–93), close-ups and extreme close-ups enhance the reader's emotional immersion in comics, which brings us to the second major characteristic of postwar manga: the importance of facial expression.

Arguably, the use of close-ups and extreme close-ups brings the audience closer to the characters and helps build an intimate relationship with them. In real-life interactions, people use their five senses to perceive the emotions of others at personal and intimate distances and react accordingly based on their "practical sense." When watching movies, they examine actors' faces in close-ups or extreme close-ups, as well as the explicit and implicit meanings in the scenes, using cognitive frameworks from daily life to determine similarities. The use of close-ups and extreme close-ups pulls the spatial position of the reader and the character from a public distance into a personal or even intimate one, especially in character-driven modern narratives. In comics, relationships with characters are built through internalized silent reading. Readers must have acquired a specific literacy to recognize and interpret highly codified non-photographic signs that comics, in general, and manga, in particular, employ. Often, they invoke stereotypes from everyday social life to make the characters' emotions recognizable.

Most comics apply the principles of physiognomy when determining the positions and angles of facial features to relate characters' expressions. However, if the representation consists of irregular lines and lots of shadows, even an extreme close-up may not adequately convey the intended meaning, as our coding system for objects prefers not to retain too many features. Moreover, without a social situation, identifying the pictured expression becomes like interpreting a sentence out of context. To compensate, Tezuka drafted a sign system for facial expressions in the 1950s (first published by Tezuka's own company, Mushi Productions, in 1969) (**fig. 1-11**).

Tezuka's system makes a compelling case for exploring how comics convey characters' emotions. The spectrum of tears, for example, ranges from a single one to a stream and even a gush of tears, each indicating different levels of intensity. The respective signs take verbal expressions such as "shedding tears," "crying," or "sobbing loudly" literally: while in reality, tears do not spray out like a fountain above one's head, their exaggerated visualization is undoubtedly highly persuasive.

Tezuka's symbols for facial expressions fall into internal and external variants. As for the internal ones, sweat drops, cross-popping

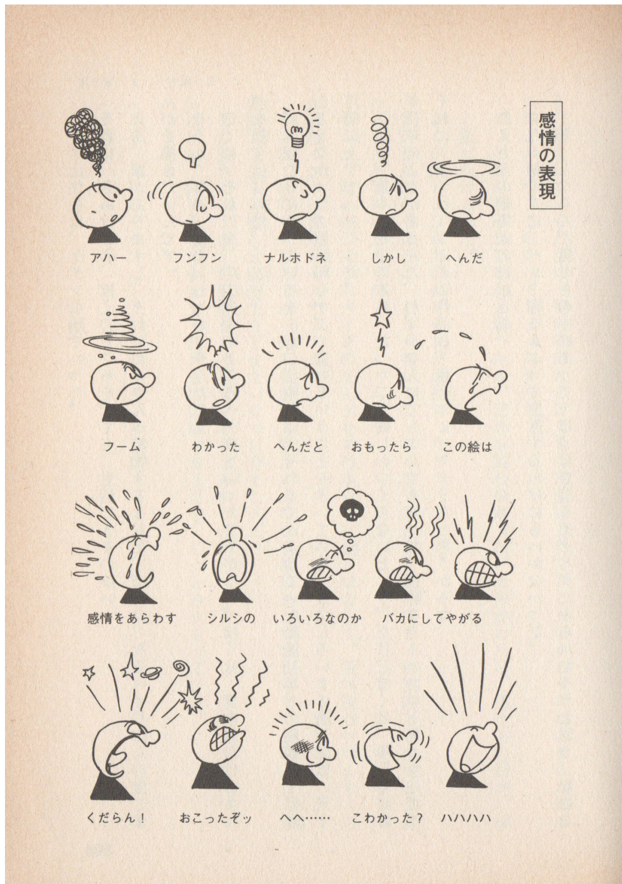



**Figure 1-11.** Tezuka's system of signs for facial expressions, in『手塚治虫のまんが専科』. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996, 103. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0.

veins, and hatching under the eyes or on the forehead (with straight and horizontal lines used for different meanings) may indicate embarrassment, anger, or somber mood. In the process of abstracting actual features into such symbolic representations, some emotional traits are exaggerated, while others are minimized or ignored altogether. After all, exclusion, selection, and contrast are general characteristics of comics' visual language.

As for the external aspects of the body, for example, a character with curved lines resembling smoke above the head is clearly "fuming with anger," swirling lines indicate that the character feels dizzy or disoriented, and lightning lines mark a character as being furious.

Curvy lines may also indicate that the body is trembling because of cold or anger, broken circular lines may be remnants of movements like in an afterimage, and in a similar way, broken lines around the head may appear when a character laughs until their head bobbles. The lines' density and boldness represent intensity.

This symbolic system helped audiences unfamiliar with character-driven narratives quickly decode facial expressions when reading comics shifted from a public to a personal distance. Once this had taken root, and especially with the rise of 1970s girls manga, Tezuka's codification gradually became confined to the humor genres, while the "interpretive communities" (Fish 1980, 332) in Japan shifted their preference to another way of relating characters' emotions, namely through atmosphere. In girls manga, for example, in Hayashi Eiko's *Mountain Child Maki* (林栄子「山の子マキ」,『なかよし』, 1960), black swirling lines inside the panels are used to indicate unease or floral designs fill the panel backgrounds, drawing on the language of flowers to create a particular affective atmosphere, as in Maki Miyako's *Waltz with Ribbons* (牧美也子「リボンのワルツ」『りぼん』, 1964). Sweat drops, exhalation symbols, and lines indicating body tremors were retained, albeit in a subdued form.

All these symbols are not just about displaying emotions but evoking them, and they do so by incorporating the flow of time into the panel: sweat has to be dripping down to form a drop of sweat. Otherwise, it would just be a bead of sweat; and breath is a bubble of air exhaled from the lungs rather than a condensed moment. German phenomenologist Hermann Schmitz coined a concept called the Impression of Movement (*Bewegungsanmutung*), which suggests that human sensory perception is induced or stimulated by the dynamic features of an object, including the melody and timbre of sound, or gestures and bodily movements (Schmitz 1986). One may, for example, feel uplifted by the rise of a melody or oppressed by a low ceiling. This Impression of Movement can be considered an abstract sensing of dynamics that shapes atmosphere. According to German philosopher Gernot Böhme, an atmosphere (*Atmosphäre*) is a perception, not just a collection but a fusion of sensations that trigger a *Spüren* from within the body, that is, a perception of the environment we are in, and a recognition of our state of affairs through our own emotions. This can be regarded as a state of communion between the subjective and the objective, a state in which the human being is simultaneously outside and inside the situation (see Böhme 2016).

An author may stop the narrative flow to describe a scene and provide a commentary or reflection on a certain moment. During such a "pause," the time of narration continues while the narrated time is temporarily put on halt. At this point, the reader has the leisure to "feel" the story instead of focusing on the unfolding events. In comics, panels are often expected to advance the plot through their progression, that is, to be"useful." But from the perspective of narrative time, "useless" panels, too, are crucial as they affect the pacing of the story and the shaping of atmosphere. This is precisely what McCloud's fifth category, "aspect-to-aspect," refers to: instances with only a little flow of time or none at all, where the focus shifts between different aspects within a shared diegetic space or a feeling. The point is not to show a succession of events but aspects of a place or an issue. McCloud notes that this technique has been especially prevalent in manga—in contrast to American comics.

One particularity of manga is the "useless" or "empty" panel that facilitates sharing a feeling or ambience. They are called "atmospheric" in Figure 1-12. Such panels do not relate to narrative events but create a mood or condense a conversation by featuring only the sky, the sea, leaves, flowers, or a speech balloon without a tail that would point to a specific speaker. Atmospheric panels are the most obvious example of a "pause," and they are especially used in girls manga. But not every unpeopled scene makes for an atmospheric panel. Depictions of a certain room or a certain village may just indicate a location and thereby contribute to the plot. Atmospheric panels vary, ranging from a complete blank to empty or blackened space in between images to panels featuring fallen leaves, an open book, or a character's view of a landscape. In essence, an atmospheric panel represents a pause in the

| | type 5: aspect-to-aspect | type 6: atmospheric panels | type 7: mimetics and impact lines |
|---|---|---|---|
| *One Piece*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 15 (5.66) | 0 | 1 (0.38) |
| *One Piece*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 2 (2.63) | 0 | 0 |
| *One Piece*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 14 (17.5) | 0 | 0 |
| *One Piece*, vol. 60, epis. 1 | 7 (5.15) | 0 | 0 |
| *Bleach*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 9 (2.56) | 0 | 8 (2.27) |
| *Bleach*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 (5.26) |
| *Bleach*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 (3.75) |
| *The Poe Clan*, epis. "Sleek Silver Hair" | 3 (2.56) | 10 (8.55) | 7 (5.6) including inner monologue |
| *Final Crisis* vol. 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Superman Beyond* | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part.1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

**Figure 1-12.** Atmospheric Panels in US American and Japanese Comics.

space-time continuum, which allows the reader to step out of the linear progression and let themselves in on the characters' feelings or the atmosphere of the moment. As such, the atmospheric panel can actually be related to Barthes' concept of a third, or "obtuse" meaning, where signification is deliberately delayed, allowing readers to engage their imagination and emotions (Barthes, 1985 [1970]).

Aspect-to-aspect panel transitions serve a similar purpose as atmospheric panels, namely, that of breaking free from the timeline of the story. Another way to transcend the plot without interrupting the narrated time is to let events occur in a different place at the same time, that is, in parallel. There is also the option of a panoramic frame, where elements are captured together while the narrated time continues, prompting the reader to split their attention among numerous objects before moving on to the next panel. But the same point in time can also be broken down into individual panels, as happens in aspect-to-aspect transitions. Then, the panel-inherent properties of enclosure and separation come to the fore, directing the reader's gaze to a specific element within that spatiotopic system (Groensteen 2007, 40–45). Japanese manga, with its emphasis on single-character frames and facial expressions, is clearly inclined to foreground the subject in the present moment. Combined with the leisure created by pauses, this allows readers to immerse themselves in the feelings and experiences of the characters to the point of bonding with them.

Manga's spatial rather than exclusively temporal orientation is evident not only in the fragmentation of time but also in the visualization of sound, which connects to the third major characteristic mentioned above. Regarding differences between silent films and talkies, French film scholar Michel Chion (2021) has pointed out that sound elements play the role of added value in cinema. Visual images are informed by sound, which emphasizes certain aspects and affects how viewers feel about them. Chion's argument is consistent with Böhme's concept of atmosphere, which states that sound is not only an auditory stimulus but also an emotion-inducing element related to bodily memory. Aided by sound, even media that prioritize vision, such as cinema, root the experience in the whole body.

In Japanese manga, the emphasis on sound manifests in various ways: on the one hand, by using mimetic words, and on the other hand, by suggesting volumes and qualities of sound through variations in the shape, outlines, and size of the speech balloons. As the plots of manga narratives became more complex, text was needed to move the story

along. In early comics, captions had been placed below the images, but in the 20th century, this changed to a dedicated space inside the panel. Speech balloons containing dialogue or inner thoughts have come to serve a "relay" function, whereas captions' explanatory text plays an "anchoring" role (to borrow Barthes' terms). The division between textual and visual space is clear. But words alone cannot convey the flow of time within the panel or capture its atmosphere. This is accomplished through mimetic words (mimetics for short) or onomatopoeia as they were traditionally conceptualized (see Delaborde 2024).

Mimetics emulate sound that exists in the natural world and then represent it symbolically, such as *bloom* or *bang* in English, *kyā-kyā* or *dokan* in Japanese. The Japanese language also has mimetic words that relate states or conditions, such as *beta-beta* for something that feels sticky or sweaty, *bisho-bisho* for the sensation of being drenched in heavy rain, or *fuwa-fuwa* for a soft and fluffy state. The linguistic peculiarities of mimetics, together with the graphic nature of the Japanese script, make it easy to transition from imitative sound (*gion*) to "sound metaphors" (*on'yu*), a neologism coined by Natsume Fusanosuke (1995, 126–27; 2022), that points to the visual form of the written word as the conveyor of a sound and meaning. In the two-dimensional visual world of manga, sound cannot be heard. But this does not mean that it cannot be felt. Due to synesthesia, that is, the interaction of the five senses in the body (as discussed by Schmitz and Böhme), sound can be perceived through other senses than hearing.

Mimetics were already common in prewar manga. For example, in 1936, Akashi Seiichi used *dofūn* rendered in large, bold syllabic characters to represent the sound of a car plunging into water (**fig. 1-13**, panel 2). The subsequent sound of the car sinking – *buku-buku-buku-buku* – is rendered in smaller, finer letters (panel 4). In addition, the four words, to be read from right to left, seem to suggest a decrease in sound volume while relating a time-lapse. This adds dynamics to the panel. After all, such a sound takes time.

Since Tezuka, mimetics have become increasingly prominent alongside dialogue. According to film scholar and manga critic Yomota Inuhiko, Yokoyama Mitsuteru used only fourteen types of onomatopoeia for a total of 23 instances in the first sixteen pages of *Iron Man no. 28*, volume 3 (1961), and there was hardly any variation within individual panels. Back then, the function of mimetics did not go beyond providing explanations and filling the panel space. But *Fist of the North Star* (北斗の拳) by writer Buronson (武論尊) and artist Hara Tetsuo

**Figure 1-13.** Akashi Seiichi (明石精一) and Kawahara Kuniwo (川原くにを), "New Manga Battle Plan" (新案漫畫合戰), *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), September 27, 1936, 4. License: CC BY 4.0.

(原哲夫) (1983–88) shows what had changed over the years: the first sixteen pages of volume 8 (1985) contained 53 different types of mimetics and a total of 61 instances with minimal redundancies (Yomota 1994, 99–106; see also Holt and Curtin 2022). Mimetic words even went across panel borders and became an integral part of the page composition. At the same time, the small *tsu* syllable (*sokuon*), linguistically used to mark a geminate consonant within a word, started to appear on its own, suggesting short, abrupt sounds, sudden interruptions, or surprise. Thus, mimetics worked together to form a self-contained world full of internal resonances.

The integration of sound made manga more dynamic. Even moments of silence have their mimetic expression: *shīn*. A panel without the mimetic word *shīn* may appear as just a corner of a scene or a fleeting moment but not as intentionally conveying silence in the literal sense. Conversely, the absence of text or mimetics does not necessarily mean silence, and silence does not necessarily bring the flow of time to a halt. Or, as Yomota puts it, manga overcomes silence through mimetics, which provides the panel with an impression of sound. Without this impression, readers would have difficulty interpreting the meaning of the panel, even more than if watching a silent movie. Yomota also points

out that mimetics are especially required whenever conflicts or eruptions are displayed (Yomota 1994, 92–98). In such instances, intangible things represented by mimetics or speech balloons often breach the panel frame to amplify the spectacle.

From the 1980s onward, manga mimetics went beyond the representation of literal meanings. Integrated into the art, they have come to represent a multitude of auditory volumes and qualities in a broad range of situations. They have enhanced manga's visuals and contributed to the diversification of individual styles. For example, in *ONE PIECE*, with its vibrant and stylized drawings, the mimetics often look cartoony. Loud voices are expressed by means of bold, roughly-edged characters with embedded dots. In contrast, *Bleach*, with its focus on intricate character designs, often renders mimetics in calligraphic strokes. While handwritten in manga, in American comics, mimetics traditionally appear in a comics-specific typeface: regular, bold letters that vary in thickness and a few other aspects. Their shape does not change much, but letters may be connected or words lengthened to convey the sharpness of a sound. Apparently, the primary forms of written text in American superhero comics have been speech balloons and narrative captions, while the use of onomatopoeia has been more or less confined to sounds of impact, laughter, or gunfire rather than mood or atmosphere. In other words, the primary function of text has been to "relay," followed by "anchoring" through captions, while mimetic signification or mood creation has been less common.

McCloud's classification does not highlight sound. In manga, sound representation goes beyond Barthes' functions of "relay" and "anchor," as it includes the creation of atmosphere: onomatopoeia and sound metaphors, or a combination of both, may occupy whole panels by themselves. Atmospheric panels can also be filled solely with "pictorial runes" (defined, for example, by Abbot and Forceville 2011). In general, pictorial runes operate as attention-grabbing devices that contribute to the overall atmosphere. They are used, among other things, to represent types of movement: dense parallel lines may represent rapid horizontal movement, while dense vertical lines may indicate rapid upward or downward moves; curved lines and arcs represent yet other types of movement. The density of the lines relates the speed, and their pointed end indicates its direction. Abstract representations of speed can also be achieved through splashes of water.

As outlined above, visual movement creates an atmosphere. However, it also extends the time of narration. It provides the reader with the

| | Number of Panels | Percentage of Panels |
|---|---|---|
| *One Piece*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 103 | 38.87 |
| *One Piece*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 61 | 80.26 |
| *One Piece*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 44 | 55 |
| *One Piece*, vol. 60, epis. 1 | 40 | 29.41 |
| *Bleach*, vol. 1, epis. 1 | 114 | 32.39 |
| *Bleach*, vol. 20, epis. 1 | 18 | 23.68 |
| *Bleach*, vol. 40, epis. 1 | 41 | 51.25 |
| *Final Crisis* vol. 1 | 0 | |
| *Superman Beyond* | 0 | 14.47 |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part.1 | 8 | 8.33 |
| *Batman R.I.P.* Part 6 | 21 | 21.88 |

**Figure 1-14.** Usage of Momentum Lines in US American Comics and Japanese Manga.

opportunity to not only "watch" the events but also "see" the characters' feelings, the sound of the action, and even the timbre of the scene. **Figure 1-14** shows the use ratios of momentum lines (効果線) in typical Japanese manga compared to some representative American comics. Evidently, manga uses this device more extensively, which again, along with the case of mimetics, indicates that manga is concerned with the generation of situational atmosphere at least as much as with straightforward storytelling.

In sum, "cinematic" techniques in comics pertaining to panel transition and sound are used in typical Japanese manga series to generate an impression of movement, to create a situational atmosphere on flat surfaces within and between the panels. By incorporating mimetics, lighting effects, and floral patterns, manga blends various senses and creates an experience that goes beyond mere visual observation. At the same time, enhanced dynamics extend the time of narrating an event, an action, or a scene. The attention is then not focused on the plot but on the narrative's "horizon" or "background." The interplay between plot advancement in the foreground and atmospheric "background" provides the reader with the opportunity to experience the characters' feelings, to "see" how action sounds, and even to imagine how it smells. As such, Japanese manga tends to privilege the atmosphere and the empathy it may evoke in the reader.

In contrast, American comics, at least the ones analyzed here, place a strong emphasis on sight and on the "foreground" of their narratives, from the arrangement of speech balloons to the focus on sound and movement. Content, as related to events or closure, tends to take precedence over attention to the process and the "background" of

the narrative, as appearing in atmospheric panels and "transdiegetic" elements.[6] Speech balloons, for example, do not change much according to context. In spatial terms, almost all dialogue is provided similarly, namely as text within the panel. With regard to panel transitions, the emphasis is on the presentation of events and actions rather than on how they feel. While manga actively uses pictorial runes to indicate movement, the analyzed American comics rarely included lines that were unrelated to the panel's visible subject. As a result, each panel appears like a frozen moment, and the relationship between panels is not about "how to move to the next panel" but rather about "having moved here." In this sense, American comics, from their realistic art style to their panel layout, are reminiscent of the sequential art of *Imagerie d'Épinal*. This also applies to the rarity of facial signs. If present at all, they usually vacillate between two extremes: too little or too much expressivity. According to Schmitz (1986, 123–90), feelings are as diffuse as atmosphere. When faced with the feelings of others, people rely less on emotional transference or inference but rather on direct bodily perception and on subtle sensations. When emotionally moved, they may develop resonance, thus recognizing the emotions of others in the atmosphere. This is also known as the spatiality of emotions (see Schmitz; Böhme 2016, 290–95). Manga's efforts to evoke atmosphere, for example, by means of facial symbols, are precisely about creating an emotional interconnection between readers and characters, whether those emotions are positive or negative.

Japanese philosopher Sasaki Ken'ichi (2010) believes that sensibility is a function of embodied memory triggered by stimuli. It is culturally specific, as culture is etched into the bodies of those who live it. Modern Western culture has focused on understanding the Self (or subject), by treating it as an object to be grasped. In this dichotomous view of the world, subjectivity meant controlling the object, not receiving it; nature was removed from the realm of human subjectivity and became itself an object to be controlled. This is what made Western-style sensibility typically regard art works as objects of focused consciousness, something which Sasaki calls one-point perspectival. In contrast, traditional Japanese sensibility is characterized by diffusion. Sasaki points out that the aesthetic experience of *haiku* poems, for example, involves a diffusion of consciousness into the entire space of the "scenery," a feeling of

---

[6] Elements that interconnect the intradiegetic space of the characters with the extradiegetic space of the reader, such as speech balloons, which are visible to the reader but invisible and intangible to the characters. See Exner 2022.

being embedded in it while interacting, among other things, with the moonlight. Here, "scenery" does not signify a landscape to be observed but rather the entirety of a space to be sensed. This can be called atmosphere. Unlike Western sensibility, which has traditionally referred to an obvious frame of consciousness, traditional Japanese sensibility fuses the immersed mental image with the situation, evoking traces of memory in the environment. According to Sasaki, the difference stems from the ways in which modern Western and traditional Japanese cultures perceived the world. The former maintained a certain distance, striving for a clear and distinct understanding, while the latter sought direct contact with the surroundings, something which Sasaki calls tactile sensibility.

Sasaki's analysis focuses on verbal and not visual media, but the intercultural differences that he highlights may be instructive regarding the ways in which Japanese manga and American comics operate. It is, however, important to note that there are different types of comics within each culture: some American comics look to the visual grammar of postwar manga, just as certain Japanese comics have been fascinated by American (and European) corporate styles. This chapter has attempted to outline cultural particularities in an ideal-typical way, prioritizing manga-typical characteristics—such as the role given to atmosphere as a form of perception that exists in the present moment or the evocation of feelings—features that have become part of Taiwan's comics culture over the years.

## Chapter summary

Comics are a product of modernization. As modernization progressed, temporal and spatial distances were compressed, which, in sequential art, took the form of shorter intervals between panels. As the focus of the narrative shifted from events to characters, the framing of images changed from long shots that provided a public distance to medium shots and, eventually, close-ups. "Cinematic" editing techniques have been crucial for the visual grammar of comics as a modern medium.

In Japan, Tezuka introduced innovative devices such as single-character frames, wordless panel transitions, and "camera" movement. These innovations paved the way for a whole system of signs for facial expressions, a variety of mimetics, and an inclination to "break the panel frame," expanding the concept of manga from single panels to full pages and double-page spreads. The new visual grammar integrated

the passage of time into the panels themselves, amplifying the impression of movement. It made it possible to not necessarily adhere to sequential time and to reintroduce the five senses into a medium predominated by the sense of sight, for example, in the form of atmospheric (or "empty") panels.

It goes without saying that the fundamentally different modernities in the US (and Europe) and East Asia form the backdrop for the cultural particularities that comics in Taiwan and Japan exhibit.[7] Intellectual historian Maruyama Masao has suggested that the "old layer" of local tradition operated like a *basso ostinato*, or low-pitched sound in the process of Japan's modernization (1997 [1979]). When foreign ideas entered Japan, they were like high-pitched sounds that mixed with the lingering low-pitched sounds. In the wake of modernization based on Western models, the modern visual grammar of comics, as foreshadowed by Töpffer and the Épinal prints, was adopted in Japan. But even though rationalization and standardization were promoted from above, at a grassroots level, a culture that foregrounded the auditory and tactile senses persisted. Once mixed with the adopted visual grammar of modern comics, auditory perception and the flow of time were reintroduced into sequential art. This opened the door to the new grammar of postwar manga, a way of expression that spread to Taiwan and South Korea, forming the sphere of today's East Asian comics culture.

---

7 For a discussion of East Asian modernization, see, for example, Tominaga Ken'ichi 1996, 352–66.

# 2. Manga in Taiwan 1930s–1980s

From the mid-19th century to the early 20th century, humor magazines such as the British *Punch* and the US American *Puck* became very popular, using text and full-color political cartoons to satirize current events. In June 1874, a British cartoonist who stayed in Japan launched the biweekly *Japan Punch*. In 1877, a Japanese started the weekly magazine *Maru Maru Chinbun* (團團珍聞) in Tokyo (**fig. 2-1**). Modeled on the British *Punch*, it used cartoons to convey news and ridicule the government. Several similar magazines followed, including Tokyo's *Kibidango* (驥尾團子), Kyoto's *Gorakuta-Chinpō* (我樂多珍報), and Osaka's *Kokkei Shimbun* (滑稽新聞). The *Maru Maru Chinbun* included editorials, news, doodles, satirical pictures, and humorous poems. Initially, Western lithographic caricature predominated, but from the 1880s onward, Japanese ink-brush drawing and sequential art came to the fore (**fig. 2-2**).

Japan's first long-form graphic narrative was "A Man's Life" (人の一生) by author and cartoonist Okamoto Ippei (岡本一平), serialized in the daily newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞) in 1921. It featured sequential art (Ishiko, Junzō 1993, 16), but the bordered images, or panels, were clearly separated from the accompanying numbered text chunks (**fig. 2-3**). Although the artwork foregrounded stylized line drawing and cartoony distortion rather than detailed realist depictions suggesting volume and depth, the separation of text and image made the book edition look like an illustrated novel or what was known in Japan back then under the name of "picture story" (*emonogatari* 絵物語). The Japanese "picture story" was a magazine-based format of graphic narrative with bordered images that sometimes included dialogue in speech balloons not necessarily congruent with the dialogue in the prose text outside the panels (Berndt 2024, 551–54).

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 41–115. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.c. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

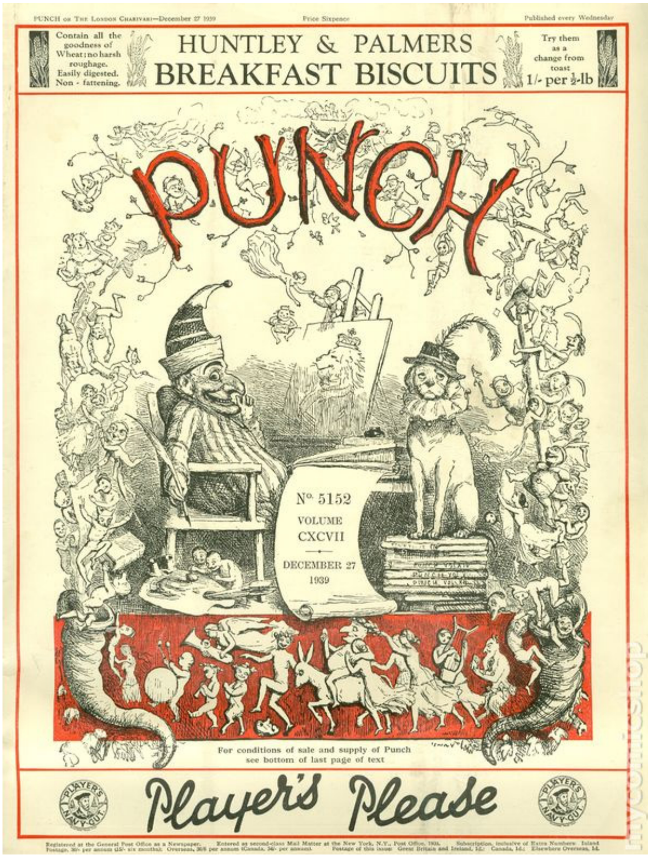



**Figure 2-1.** Left: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), no. 1, 1877. Right: The British *Punch* (1939). License: CC BY 4.0.

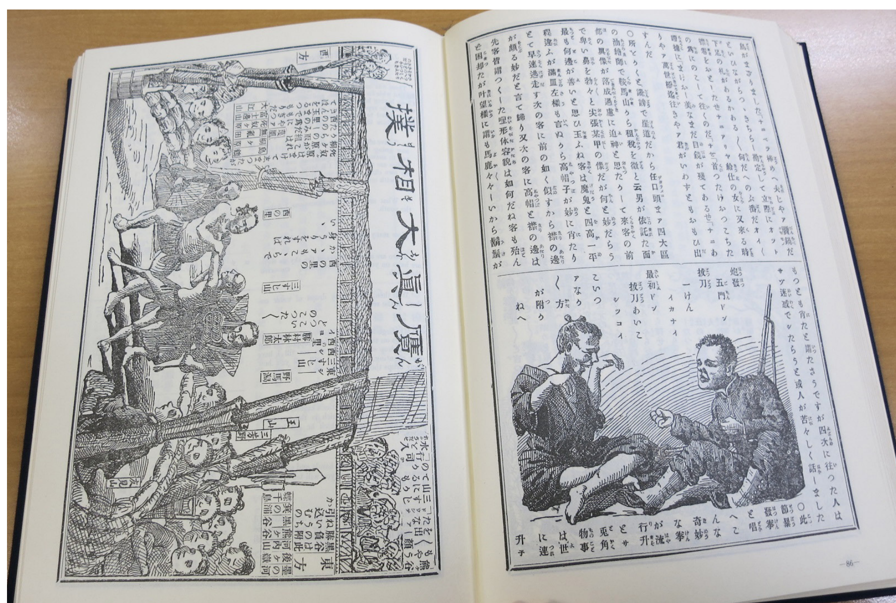


**Figure 2-2.** Top: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), April 28, 1887. Bottom: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), January 1889. Collection of Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters. License: CC BY 4.0.

At the end of 1922, Miyao Shigeo (宮尾しげを) began the serial *Manga Tarō* in the newspaper *Tokyo Maiyū Shinbun* (東京毎夕新聞), which arguably was Japan's earliest comics-like narrative for children. It, too, assumed the format of a "picture story" with external prose text

**Figure 2-3.** Okamoto Ippei (岡本一平), “A Man’s Life” (人の一生), in 『一平全集』. Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1929, 6–7. License: CC BY 4.0.

accompanying bordered images. Both external captions and internal dialogue appeared in the serial *Shō-chan’s Adventures* (正チャンの冒険) by artist Kabashima Katsuichi (樺島勝一) and writer Oda Shōsei (織田小星), a serialized narrative in comic-strip format that started in the tabloid *Asahi Graph*’s first issue in January 1923. Japanese manga researchers Takeuchi Osamu (竹内オサム) and Yonezawa Yoshihiro (米澤嘉博) regard it as the earliest example of using something like speech balloons (Takeuchi 2003, 136–37; Yonezawa 1996, 4). In view of the fact that later comics such as *Norakuro* (のらくろ) by Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡) employed speech balloons only, *Sho-chan’s Adventures* represents a transitional period in the development of manga.

In 1895, after the First Sino-Japanese War ended with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki between China and Japan, the Chinese Qing Dynasty ceded Taiwan to the Japanese Empire. Under Japanese rule and along with imperialist modernization, the visual grammar of satirical drawings and modern comics was brought over from Japan. For this reason, Taiwan comics are often regarded as strongly influenced by and resembling Japanese manga. Nevertheless, detailed investigations are rare.

## 2.1 Comics in prewar Taiwan under Japanese colonial rule

Before Taiwan became Japanese territory in 1895, it had its own publications that combined text and images – illustrated novels like *The Records of General Liu's Anti-Japanese War* (劉大將軍平倭戰記) and *The Real Account of the Taiwan War* (臺戰實記) – but not yet satirical drawings and modern comics. In 1905, a group of Japanese cartoonists led by Kitazawa Rakuten (北沢楽天) launched the magazine *Tokyo Puck* (東京パック), counting on the popularity of the American *Puck* in Japan's literary circles at the time. About ten years later, similar publications emerged in Taiwan, usually run by Japanese: *Taiwan Puck* (台灣潑克) on October 20, 1911, *Tetsuwan Puck* (鐵腕潑克) on September 12, 1912 (which lasted only two issues), and *Takasago Puck* (高砂潑克) in January 1916 (*Government-General of Taiwan News*, 1911/10/24; 1912/09/20; 1912/11/17; 1916/1/21). All of them were newspaper-style magazines that featured articles and full-color or two-color cartoons. Other periodicals used single-panel cartoons to report news or satirize current events. In 1916, the monthly *New Taiwan* (新臺灣) published a satirical drawing by Yanagida Kyūtarō (柳田久太郎) which depicted two demons at a city gate taking money from a cash box and giving it to courtesans (**fig. 2-4**). It satirized Taipei's inability to raise charitable funds at the time because the money went into the red-light district. Although the drawing was not in the Puck style, its linework and topical satire were suggestive of modern comics.

On January 1, 1921, the *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), which was under the direction of the Japanese Government-General, introduced a *Taiwan-Japan Comics* section (台日漫畫) that appeared three to four times per week. Kunishima Mizuma (國島水馬), a Japanese cartoonist located in Taiwan, served as editor-in-chief and one of the main contributors. In 1934, he left this job to create a cartoon history of Taiwan, covering the 44 years from 1895 to 1939. This resulted in a total of 4,400 full-color drawings, which were exhibited as originals throughout Taiwan in 1940 (see Sakano 2012). Kunishima inserted dialogue text into the images but did not use speech balloons (**fig. 2-5**), which allowed narrated time and narrating time to coexist in the act of reading, but a considerable amount of text remained outside the panels, like in the case of illustrations, and even when he had stopped using external captions, he still did not adopt speech balloons (see the top five panels of **fig. 2-6**). Consequently, Kunishima's 1921 comic strip lacked all the functions that speech balloons performed: separating text

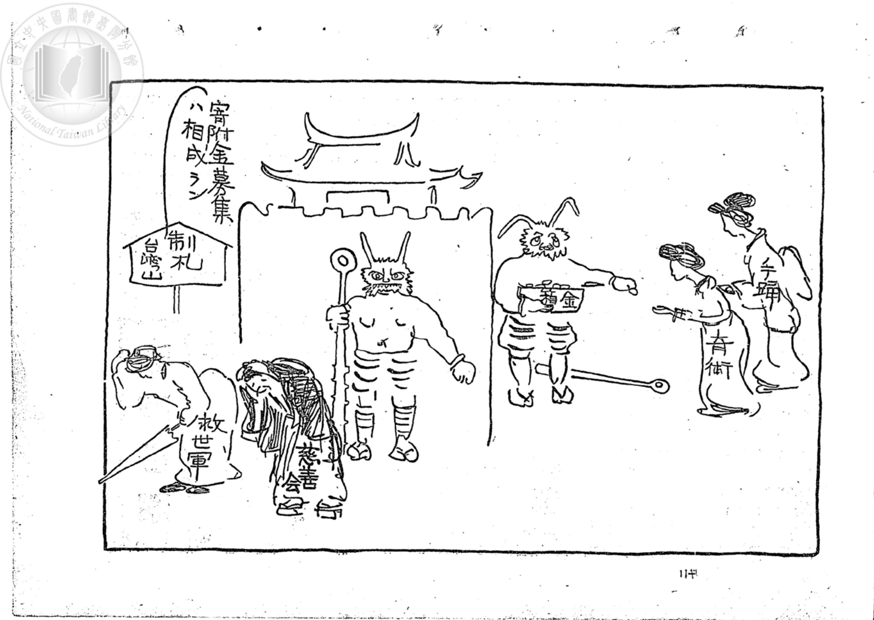



**Figure 2-4.** Yanagida Kyūtarō (柳田久太郎), "Money Collections prohibited!" (寄付金募集は相成ラン), *New Taiwan* (新臺灣), July 1916. Collection of Taiwan Library. License: CC BY 4.0.

病床漫畫　水馬子

◇馬の面に瘤　今年しや お馬の當り年と云ふので同僚から煽られ[illegible]から[illegible]顔を飴の様に溶けさせ何れ其中福の神が舞ひ込むだらうの當事は美事向ふからはづれて飛び込んだのは風の神に貧乏神四十度からの熱で汗だ[illegible]の神と云ふ[illegible]とう〳〵窒扶斯患者として臺北醫院に收容さるゝ事となつたのは午年と云ふので水馬が調子に乗りすぎ馬からはね落された[illegible]に馬面に瘤と云ふ仕末 いや



◇鰐を窒扶斯　抑も事の起りは柄にも無い風流氣を出して月見と洒落れたのが原因、ハックションの連發に出の神を走らせてアンチピリンを買はせにやつて見たが、一向效驗が無いのでとう〳〵お醫者様の御厄介になる處が[illegible]の様なアル〳〵が仲々とまらない、丁度六日目に『どうも窒扶斯らしいから臺北醫院へ』と宣告された丁度金槌で なぐられた様にガンとなつて[illegible]を窒扶斯で臺北醫院へ[illegible]つける其日には折惡くも秋季皇靈祭



◇[illegible]安宅の關　僕『診察を受たいのです』受付『今日は日曜です』僕『今日は火曜です』受付『休みの日は診察しません』僕『重症患者は見て呉れると聞いて來ました』受付『患者は何處に居ます』僕『僕です』受付『ヘエ貴君が[illegible]』僕『僕は窒扶斯患者です』受付『ウフ夫なら第二内科の方へ行て看護婦に話して下さい』と云ふので漸く關門通過の御許しが出たが思ひやりのない[illegible]の左衛門に出あつて疲れきつたので已を得ず[illegible]終ふ



**Figure 2-5.** Mizumako (alias Kunishima Mizuma) 水馬子 (國島水馬), "Hospital Bed Comics" (病床漫畫), *Taiwan Daily News* (臺灣日日新報), November 5, 1918, 8. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-6.** Top tier by Kunishima Mizuma (國島水馬), “Taiwan-Japan Comics” (台日漫畫), no.1, *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), January 1, 1921, 54. License: CC BY 4.0.

from imagery and thereby imposing a “masking effect” on the image, an illusion that confers imaginary depth to the panel’s interior; creating a white space inside the panel and thereby producing a contrast with its

rectangular frame; symbolizing the importance of a certain dialogue or sound by size and indicating its duration.[8]

Kunishima also worked for the *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* (台灣警察協會雜誌) (**fig. 2-7**), which was one of the main venues for comics in Taiwan under Japanese rule. It was launched on June 20, 1917, and was renamed the *Taiwan Police Times* (臺灣警察時報) on New Year's Day 1930. Kunishima may have been introduced there by Toyoshima Shunkichi (豊島舜吉), a writer and cartoonist affiliated with both police and literary circles. Toyoshima had published essays and illustrations in the *Taiwan Daily News* since around 1915, and some of his cartoons appeared on its *Taiwan-Japan Comics* page. He worked for the magazine of the Taiwan Police Association and promoted newcomers to the field of cartooning. In a retrospective article, Toyoshima likened earlier political cartoons to "bombs," easily transcending written discourse with their explosive ideas and bringing even prime ministers to make concessions to artists. This was exactly the type of cartoon that he aspired to. He regarded the proliferation of erotic cartoons in the 1930s and their inclusion in newspapers as a decline in the art form as a whole. Instead, the police magazine should feature excellent cartoons that "encourage virtue and punish evil" (see Toyoshima 1937).

The *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* promoted many young local cartoonists, such as Kobayashi Kōichi (小林孝一), Kyoshika (巨鹿), Shinbō (信坊), Fukunakasei [sic!] (福永生), Lu Shan-yu (綠珊畬), and Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁). Since most of these names were pseudonyms, it is currently difficult to identify who stood behind them, except for Hsu Ping-ting (1899–1977), a Taiwanese artist whose work circulated through the official channels during the time of Japanese colonial rule. In contrast, cartoonist Chen Ping-huang (陳炳煌) (pen name Chi Lung-sheng 雞籠生, 1903–2000) mostly published in Shanghai, for example, his first book, *Chi Lung-sheng Comics Collection* (雞籠生漫畫集, 1935), which consisted of essays accompanied by single-panel cartoons. As such, it does not fall within the scope of the comics lineage privileged in this book but rather belongs to the domain of black-and-white satirical drawings —suggesting some of the challenges of using terms like *manhua* interchangeably with *comics*.

Hsu Ping-ting was born in Xinfeng, Chiayi, in southern Taiwan, and became a police officer in the service of the Japanese administration while concurrently engaging in the Chinese literary circles as a

[8] Exner (2022) integrates speech balloons into "sound images" and conceptualizes them as a "transdiegetic device."

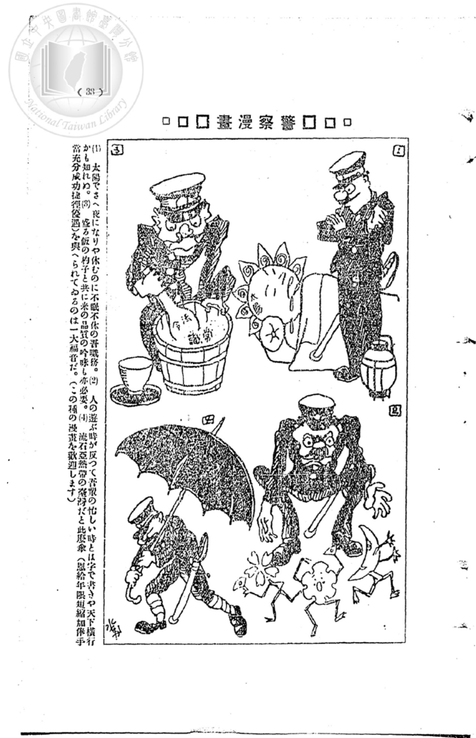



**Figure 2-7.** Kunishima Mizuma (國島水馬), "Police Comics" (警察漫畫), *Taiwan Police Association Journal* (臺灣警察協會雜誌), no. 81, February 25, 1924, 33. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-8.** Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁), "Winning Entry of a Literary Contest" (懸賞文藝當選發表), *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* (臺灣警察協會雜誌), no. 139, March 1, 1929, 300. License: CC BY 4.0.

writer. His first publications in the *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* were poems written in classical Chinese and prose texts in the local language, Taiwanese Hokkien, according to Tsai Hsui-mei (2014). In March 1929, he participated in the literature and art competition of the *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* in the cartoon category and won second and third place (**fig. 2-8**). This opened up a new career path for him. Most of his works were satirical drawings, but some featured panels with speech balloons (**fig. 2-9**).

In addition to drawing comics for the Japan-led police magazine, Hsu Ping-ting remained active in the Chinese literary scene. Beginning in 1931, he serialized his most representative work, the novel "Little Genie" (小封神), in the Chinese-language newspaper *369 Bulletin* (三六九小報) in Tainan. It was accompanied by a few pages of cartoons and illustrations (Hsu, no year, 152).

In 1938, the Niitaka Cartoon Group (新高漫畫集團) was formed around the Hsinchu area.[9] It was led by Wang Hwa (王花; real name Wang Chao-kung) and included Hung Chao-ming (洪朝[or 晁]明), Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲 – more on him in Chapter 4), and Chen Chia-peng (陳家鵬), but by 1942, its membership had expanded to Lin Heshi (林河世), Yang Shaoshi (楊少獅), Morikawa Gen'ichi (森川賢亥智), also known as Hachino Ken (蜂野劍), Lin Guizhang (林貴章), Guo Qixiang (郭啟祥), and Liang Tzu-i (梁梓義) (**fig. 2-10**) (*Taiwan Daily News*, 1942/10/16; 1943/05/02). Yeh Hung-chia and Chen Chia-peng had met through a correspondence course in Japanese offered by the Japan Cartoonist Society (日本漫画家協会), which Liang Tzu-i had also taken. The textbook for the course covered the concept and the history of comics, knowledge about print technology, and relevant laws; it also emphasized the need to be studious in daily life, develop humanistic qualities, and become socio-critical. The overall focus, however, was on technique, ranging from anatomical drawings to cartoony simplification. The section on movement introduced the use of momentum lines and the afterimage of footprints to express speed, as well as the direction of sweat drops to indicate a person's state and action. There was also a small section on perspective, which surveyed techniques to visually suggest depth.

**Figure 2-10** shows two works of course-participant Liang Tzu-i. The ink-brush sketch on the left depicts human figures with anatomical

[9] Derived from the Taipei bookstore with the Japanese name Niitaka-dō (新高堂), the group's Japanese name is used throughout this book, although it was changed to the Chinese reading (Shin-kao) after the war. Their main period of activity falls into the period of Japanese rule.

**Figure 2-9.** Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁), "Police Comics" (警察漫畫), *Taiwan Police Times* (臺灣警察時報), no. 215, October 1, 1933, 8. License: CC BY 4.0.

realism in a clear perspective. In contrast, the comic strip on the right dilutes the perspective and simplifies the elements, allowing viewers to locate the object in question immediately. Similar cases can be observed in **Figures 2-8** and **2-9** and later in children's comics. This indicates that the artists did not lack the ability to produce realistic sketches but rather that the focus of Japanese cartooning at the time was on highlighting cartoony characters through simplified outlines and backgrounds.

**Figure 2-10.** Artwork by Liang Tzu-i (梁梓義). Left: G-pen sketch (1943). Right: comic strip in *Novelty* (新新), January 1947. License: CC BY 4.0.

People in Taiwan familiarized themselves with the visual language of manga also through Japanese children's magazines that included comics, such as *Shōnen Club* (少年倶楽部), *Shōjo Club* (少女倶楽部), *Shōnen Shōjo Tankai* (少年少女譚海), and *KING* (キング), which were available in local bookstores. Taiwanese magazines, too, began to feature graphic narratives for children. For example, in the 1930s, when American child actress Shirley Temple was incredibly popular, the magazine *The World of Taiwanese Women* (臺灣婦人界) serialized "Ms. Temple's Visit to Japan" (テムプルちゃんの日本訪問) by Izaki Kazuo (イザキ・カズオ). **Figure 2-11** shows the use of a panning shot taken from a bird's-eye view across the first two panels, while text chunks still appear on the right side of the frames, although it is already 1936.

The appearance of speech balloons in Taiwan comics roughly coincided with *Shō-chan's Adventures*. For example, comics published in the *Taiwan Daily News* in 1923 (**fig. 2-12**) included not only such dialogue but also mimetic words—the sound of a cat scratching its cage in the two bottom-tier panels (*gaza-gaza*), the grunt of a boy playing ball in the bottom-right panel (*gau-gau*)—in addition to pictorial runes such as momentum lines and stars. But the comics begins at the top-left panel,

**Figure 2-11.** Izaki Kazuo (イザキ・カズオ), “Ms. Temple’s Visit to Japan” (テムプルちゃんの日本訪問), *The World of Taiwanese Women* (臺灣婦人界), June 16, 1936, 112. License: CC BY 4.0.

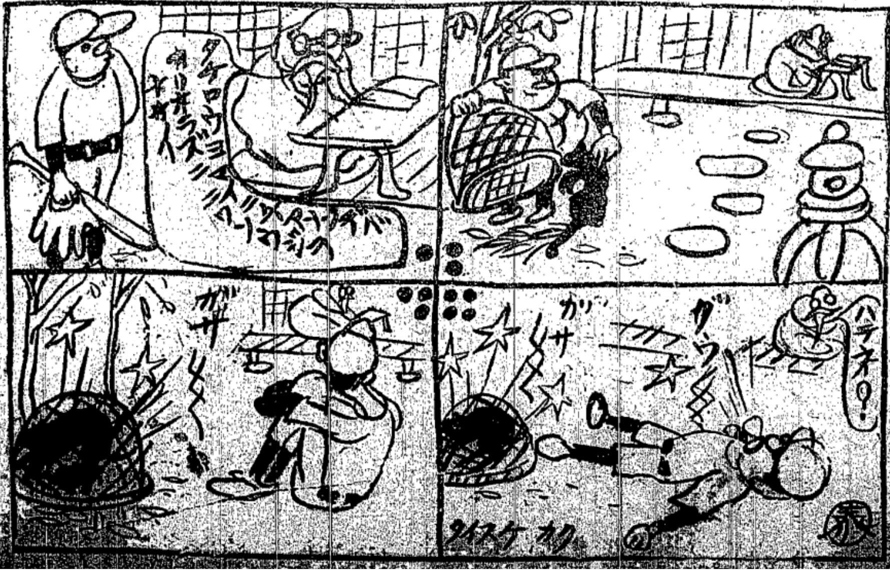


**Figure 2-12.** "Taiwan-Japan Comics" (台日漫畫), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), October 7, 1923, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-13.** Jimmy Swinnerton, "Little Jimmy" (チビのヂミー), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), April 24, 1933, 13. License: CC BY 4.0.

which differs from later Japanese manga and their departure from the top right, according to the Japanese reading direction. The use of speech balloons remained the exception until 1925; it became the norm only in the 1930s when the "picture story" format was on the retreat.

In the 1930s, the *Taiwan Daily News* began to serialize story comics in addition to its current affairs and daily-life cartoons. On April 24, 1933, a translation of *Little Jimmy* by Jimmy Swinnerton was started, although it did not indicate the artist's name (**fig. 2-13**). The strip demonstrated modern comics techniques, including the use of speech balloons.

On July 3, 1933, the *Taiwan Daily News* began the comic strip "Uncle Hamee of the Club" (クラブのハミーおじさん) by *Norakuro* creator Tagawa Suihō; it advertised toothpaste for a brand called Club. Subsequently, the evening edition of the *Taiwan Daily News* serialized the vertical four-panel strip "*Kankara Katchan*" (カンカラ勝ちゃん) about a boy called Katchan. It was placed in a special section on the newspaper's front page, and the first fifteen installments were contributed by renowned Japanese artists who all belonged to the Japan Association of Children's Comics Creators (日本兒童漫畫家協會), twelve in total. In addition to Tagawa, the lineup included Shimada Keizō (島田啓三), Akashi Seiichi (明石精一), Kawahara Kuniwo (川原くにを), and Sugita Santarō (杉田三太郎), among others. The "Katchan" series ended on March 17, 1934. Soon after, on March 23, 1934, six of the twelve involved artists began a new 20-episode omnibus series titled "Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun" (日の丸孫悟空), an adaptation of the *Journey to the West* featuring the characters Sanzang, Wukong, and Bajie.

According to an article on Taiwan's libraries in the Japanese-language *Taiwan Daily News* (1934/03/20), comics were the items most widely read among students aged 10 to 15–16. But the semantic scope of "comics" was quite broad, ranging from Tagawa's *Norakuro* to the "picture story" *The Three Musketeers in Boots* (長靴の三銃士) by Imoto Suimei and Makino Taisei (井元水明・牧野大誓), and the illustrated novel *Three Hundred Miles Across Enemy Lines* (敵中横断三百里) by author Yamanaka Minetarō (山中峯太郎) and artist Yanagawa Gōichi (梁川剛一). This novel, which told of Emperor Meiji's achievements, enjoyed exceptional popularity among the elementary and junior high school students who answered the survey. Most of them were Japanese nationals, apart from a few Taiwanese fluent in Japanese.

The 1930s saw the emergence of numerous pioneering techniques that would later characterize the grammar of Japan's postwar manga, for example: puffs of air from a fight (Swinterton 1933/05/01;

**Figure 2-14.** Dynamic momentum lines and symbols. Yoshimoto Sanpei (吉本三平), "Biyonta of Colis" (コリスのビヨンタ), no. 8, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 26, 1938, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

Imoto 1933/12/07), outwards blasts (Tagawa 1934/03/13; Nakano 1936/05/01), mimetic words (Swinnerton 1933/05/01; Kawahara, 1933/08/19; Sugita, 1933/11/03, 1933/11/07), momentum lines marking the direction of a movement (**fig. 2-14, 2-15**) (Swinnerton, 1933/05/08; Sugita, 1933/11/07; An, 1934/01/14; Imoto, 1934/07/26; Kawahara, 1936/02/07,1934/05/27; Akashi, 1934/07/08), impact lines or symbols indicating sound (Kawahara, 1933/08/19; Sugita, 1933/11/03; Tagawa 1934/03/01), speech without speech balloons (Kawamori, 1933/10/08; An, 1933/12/28; Shimada, 1936/01/12), emotion symbols (Shimada, 1934/01/21, 1934/01/23; Nakano, 1934/07/14), and even some instances of zoom-in (**fig. 2-15**) (Kawahara, 1934/05/24), characters, objects, or impact lines breaking panel borders (**fig. 2-16, 1-11**) (Kawamori, 1934/06/21b; Akashi, 1934/07/07; Akashi & Kawahara, 1936/09/27), and partial shots (such as hands or feet) representing the

**Figure 2-15.** Frontal depiction in the third panel, car collision with the dynamic momentum lines and symbols in the final panel. Kawahara Kuniwo (川原くにを), "Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun" (日の丸孫悟空), no. 51, in *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), May 24, 1934, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-16.** A character breaking the frame. Kawamori Hisao (河盛久夫), "Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun" (日の丸孫悟空), no. 71, in *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 21, 1934, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

whole of a character's body (Sugita, 1933/11/05; Imoto, 1934/05/12), along with zoom-outs (**fig. 2-17**) (Sugita 1933/11/12, 1933/11/23; Imoto, 1933/12/08, 1933/12/09; Kawahara, 1934/08/01) and extreme close-ups of a single character (**fig. 2-18**) (Sugita, 1933/11/12; Kawamori, 1934/04/12).

It should be noted, however, that during this period, panel borders remained in place as distinct from Tezuka's works of the late 1940s, which became known for completely breaking the frame. Furthermore, professional cartoonists of the 1930s also experimentally eliminated speech balloons altogether (**fig. 2-19**) or used sound lines instead (**fig. 2-20**).

The 1930s saw a significant boom in *kamishibai* (lit. paper theater 紙芝居).[10] This Japanese term refers to a unique form of storytelling in which a narrator sets up a wooden frame with a stack of illustrated cardboard panels; the narration progresses panel by panel while one is replaced with the next. The earliest known records of *kamishibai* date back to 1897, but it only began flourishing on the downtown street corners of Tokyo, Osaka, and other big cities in the late 1920s. This was largely due to the *Golden Bat* (黄金バット) series, originally scripted by Suzuki Ichirō (鈴木一郎) and illustrated by Nagamatsu Takeo (永松健夫).

*Kamishibai* stories captured the audience with bold cinematic compositions and surprising plot developments. Individuals from different backgrounds took on the role of storytellers. Still, a certain level of performance skills was needed to engage children and persuade them to buy the candies or snack bars that covered the costs of the complimentary performances. Used as a propaganda tool during the war, this form of storytelling enjoyed a brief revival afterward until the early 1950s, when television was introduced. Then, its artists moved into rental comics (貸本漫画) and later the animation industry. There, the method of using only a limited number of frames to tell a story joined forces with television to facilitate anime as based to a large extent on "limited animation," namely the use of only a few drawn frames per second (Yamamoto, 2000, 14, 24–26, 53–56, 137–38, 158).[11] The popularity of *kamishibai* suggests that children still lived in a predominantly auditory world even though literacy rates were high. Children reading sensational news from the newspaper's society pages or serialized newspaper novels to their families were no exception.

---

10 For introductions, see Orbaugh 2014; McGowan 2015.

11 See also Steinberg 2012.

**Figure 2-17.** A zoom-out effect. Imoto Suimei (井元水明), "*Kankara Katchan*" (カンカラ勝ちゃん), no. 105, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), December 8, 1933, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-18.** An extreme close-up of a single character. Sugita Santarō (杉田三太郎), "*Kankara Katchan*" (カンカラ勝ちゃん), no. 84, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), November 12, 1933, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-19.** Speech without speech bubbles. An Tai (安泰), "Excellency Bang-Bang" (ドンドン閣下), no. 101, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), May 31, 1936, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

In 1938, Japanese artist Shimada Keizō (島田啓三) wrote in the *Taiwan Daily News* about the wide-ranging popularity of comics among children from three- or four-year-olds to second or third-graders in junior high school. In book format, the price for manga ranged from 3 to 5 sen for inexpensive "red-covers" (*akahon* 赤本) to 1 or 2 yen for the higher-quality editions in Japan. (The Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* was priced at five sen in the 1930s, while a copy of *Taiwan Daily News* cost six sen and its evening edition 2 sen.) Shimada traced the cheap price of *akahon manga* back to their low quality, which resulted from the low pay that publishers enforced on artists. Some *akahon manga* targeted adults with direct adaptations of movie plots and content including erotica, animal abuse, murder, and prison scenes.

**Figure 2-20.** Replacing speech bubbles with vertical lines next to the text. Shimada Keizō (島田啓三), "Excellency Bang-Bang" (ドンドン閣下), no. 111, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 19, 1936, 1. License: CC BY 4.0.

Shimada bluntly stated that "the worst printing and the most inappropriate language are found mainly in publications from the Osaka area" and that "major *akahon* publishers in Tokyo seem to be indifferent to this situation, which is quite disappointing" (Shimada 1938). But comparing prewar *akahon manga* with those from their postwar boom period between 1948 and the early 1950s reveals that the expressive techniques were not significantly different from those used by 1930s artists such as Shimada. They all employed speech balloons and external captions in tandem, as distinct from Tezuka's *New Treasure Island*, which was also in the *akahon* format.

*Akahon* originally referred to a Japanese type of popular woodblock-printed booklets produced in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Classified according to the color of their covers, they were a subtype of entertaining graphic narratives called *kusazōshi* (草双紙).[12] Primarily intended for children and monochrome inside, *akahon manga* came to carry a derogatory meaning and a socially marginalized status. This was reinforced by their circulation through unofficial channels: rental bookstores, candy shops, and night markets, according to the memoirs of Tominaga Ryūnosuke (富永龍之助), who started selling *akahon manga* in Tokyo after the 1923 Kantō earthquake (Kōno & Tominaga 1991). These graphic narratives were initially "chrysanthemum-sized" (636mm x 939mm) and horizontally oriented right-to-left books (**fig. 2-21**), later complemented by publications in palm-size (**fig. 2-22**) and duodecimo format (788mm×1091mm) (**fig. 2-23**). All were thin booklets, and the prices printed on the back, such as 10 or 50 sen, were meant to be discounted.

Tominaga worked with Kōno Seiichi (河野清一), who had founded the publishing house Shōkōsha (省光社) in 1916 and who mailed his unsold *akahon manga* to Korea, Manchuria, and Taiwan through the bookseller Bandō Kyōgo (坂東恭吾). Bandō had arrived in Taiwan in 1930, just before the uprising of the Seediq people in the so-called Wushe Incident. Based on their recollections (Bandō 1991; Kōno & Tominaga 1991) as well as Shimada's article in the *Taiwan Daily News* (1938), it can be assumed that *akahon manga* had already entered Taiwan in the 1930s and gained a certain readership. Given their low price, simplicity, one-book-one-story format, and distribution locations, they were perhaps the most accessible type of comics for ordinary people at the time. But this remains hypothetical since *akahon manga* are extremely hard to find today because of their initial status as disposable reading matter.

## 2.2 Rental bookstores: manga circulation in postwar Taiwan

A crucial question in the study of popular media is how cultural products reach the hands of their consumers. High culture, endowed with "aura" and symbolic capital, adheres to mainstream values and the authorities, which facilitates its survival in the cultural field. In contrast, information and resources about popular culture are often less preserved. This applies in particular to Taiwan.

After Japan had surrendered on August 15, 1945, and the ROC government had assumed power on October 25, 1945, Taiwan was forced to change its language, which had, to a large extent, been Japanese. On

[12] See Moretti and Satō 2024; Kimura 2009.

**Figure 2-21.** Early postwar horizontal *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-22.** Inner pages of a palm-sized *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

March 1, 1946, the KMT government ordered all bookstores and stalls to self-check for publications containing "Japanese remnants," seal them and submit them for incineration. Failure to do so would result in severe punishment, and this prospect was reinforced by regular inspections. In July, Japanese-language telegrams were banned from coming in; in August, shops were forbidden to display signboards in Japanese; starting on October 25, all newspapers were Sinicized. From 1947 onward, the use of Japanese was forbidden in schools at all levels, for teachers and students both in and out of class; in 1948, Japanese music records were banned (*Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office Bulletin*,1946/03/01; 1946/06/14; 1946/08/08; 1946/08/10; 1947/09/06; 1948/03/03).

Between mid-1949 and mid-1950, comics that were similar to Japanese manga, for example, regarding their use of speech balloons, could still be seen in the children's sections of *China Daily* (中華日報) and *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報). After that, only Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽) was able to publish such comics in newspapers (see Chapter 4 for details). Newspapers more typically featured caricatures by foreigners, multipanel cartoons without speech balloons

**Figure 2-23.** Early postwar hardcover *akahon manga* in duodecimo format, published by Enoki Hōreikan (榎木法令館), Osaka. Cover (left) and spread (right). Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

(**fig. 2-24**), and graphic narratives in the form of *lianhuanhua* (**fig. 2-25**). The artists were in a transitional period between "picture story" and modern comics, as their later use of speech balloons suggests (**fig. 2-26**). The distribution channels of Japanese manga shifted to rental bookstores and children's magazines, but the scope and lifespan of the latter were rather limited, so the book-rental sector came to serve as the main distribution channel for manga and manga-like comics in Taiwan until it was replaced by smartphones from 2012 onward.

The rental sector allowed people to read publications for a fee without owning them. The status of rental bookstores in East Asia differed significantly from Europe, which was related to the status of the commodities they handled. Therefore, it is necessary to take a comparative look at the history of rental bookstores and see how their cultural status became intertwined with that of comics before turning to their importance for the popularization of graphic narratives.

The earliest records of the book-rental sector in Europe date back to the 13th century when vendors offered books for rent to university students in Paris. The earliest relevant records in Britain date from 1661. Although rental bookstores are also known as circulating or lending

**Figure 2-24.** Niu Ge (牛哥), "Uncle Niu Is Liberated" (解放了的牛伯伯), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 18, 1951, p. 4. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-25.** Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘), "Mulan" (花木蘭), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 16, 1951, p. 2. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0.

libraries in English, they are not the same as libraries. According to Taiwan's National Library Law, a library is an institution that collects, organizes, preserves, and produces book-related information to serve the public or specific groups without charging fees. In contrast, rental bookstores aim to make a profit by renting out their stock and, therefore, do not maintain a catalog. Furthermore, they usually stock only the newest and most popular works, as circulation is essential to the survival of their business.

However, the distinction between non-profit and for-profit libraries is a recent development. During the Middle Ages, European libraries were either private or ecclesiastical. It was not until the 15th century when the Renaissance emphasized the study of classical culture and the impact of the invention of the printing press began to be felt, that the trend to collect books began to flourish. From the 18th century onward, circulating or lending libraries appeared in towns centered around spas and resorts and later in big cities like London. Book-rental stores were among these amenities, often located on the high street to serve as social gathering hotspots. The so-called paid libraries were essentially rental bookstores. Consumers had to pay an initial membership fee and then a rental fee

**Figure 2-26.** Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘). Left: "Slapping the Table in Amazement" (拍案驚奇), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 21, 1951, p. 3. Right: "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" (土包子下江南), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), February 22, 1951, p. 4. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0.

each time they wanted a book. The mass production of novels and the development of rental bookstores were two sides of the same coin. Historical romances, which attracted female readers, played a significant role in driving the consumption of novels via rental bookstores (Campbell 2016, 23). The large-scale rental stores were often beautifully designed. This opulence endowed the practice of book-renting with a touch of high culture. As Shimizu Kazuyoshi points out, at least until the 18th century, rental bookstores in Britain mainly catered to the middle and upper classes and aimed to promote reading with a certain degree of cultural taste (Summers 1964, 83; Shimizu, Kazuyoshi 1994; Collins 1994).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the UK and the US had three main types of rental bookstores: specialized paid libraries, luxurious reading clubs, and commercial libraries in big cities that offered a large number of novels. But these stores had to cope with rapidly changing trends and, consequently, unrented stock. Coupled with the growth of public libraries, even large stores were forced to close in the 1930s (Lyons 2011, 147; Edelman 2001, 55). Book-rental peddlers began to roam the streets instead (Fessenden 2016). They were generally considered lacking in refinement.

In contrast, the book-rental business began quite early in China, with records noting the existence of bookstall markets in Luoyang in the 10th century. Joseph McDermott speculates that booksellers who regularly visited certain places for business would set up short-term book rental shops for their regular customers, and once these booksellers settled in larger towns, book rental probably became one of the services offered at bookstalls or bookshops. By the 15th century, bookstalls had become quite common. Their target customers were non-scholarly readers, and the types of books they carried included children's reading matter, moral tales, novels, historical fiction, and other types of "vulgar and miscellaneous" publications. In the early 19th century, there were both mobile and stationary book rental shops in Fuzhou, Guangdong, and Beijing. Some of these shops also sold stationeries and ritual paper money. In Guangdong, their main customers came from the lower class, being servants and laborers, who rented books for very short periods of time at low fees (McDermott 2009, 85–92).

Japan's book rental business dates back to the mid-17th century. At that time, bookstores essentially handled the entire supply chain, from publishing to distribution. Naturally, they also engaged in renting books. Chinese and Japanese works were carried to the residences of

the military aristocracy, where books on scholarly subjects were usually sold, while novels and other entertaining reading matter were rented out (Nagatomo 1997, 6–7, 21). Until the mid-1880s, Japan's rental bookstores operated mainly through itinerant sales. Even large rental stores employed staff to go from door to door, to tenement houses as well as samurai residences and the mansions of feudal lords. The 1890s saw several upscale stores catering to intellectuals appear, resembling the private libraries in England. The types of books available for rent included politics, law, economics, education, philosophy, history, biography, geography, physics, chemistry, arithmetic, accounting, economics, fantasy fiction, and translations from foreign languages. The most famous store was Irohaya, the only high-end book rental business to survive until 1931. Others who managed to stay in business until around 1910 catered primarily to the general public (Maeda 1993, 83–87; Nagatomo 1997, 22–43; Takano 2012, 18–19).

The brief history of the book-rental business shows that early British stores were leisurely consumption spaces for the middle and upper classes, whereas, by the 20th century, they had come to cater mainly to the common people. This, however, had been the standard in Japan and China. Although it cannot be denied that intellectuals, too, frequented these places, rental bookstores held a much lower social status than their British equivalents. In Japan, for example, they were often disparaged as "filthy" places that "lived off the yawn of others" (Maeda 1993, 85). In the postwar period, these stores were regarded as dens of ill-reputed reading matter like pulp fiction and comics (Takano 2012, 94–95).

In contrast, rental bookstores in Europe had at least once belonged to an upwardly mobile middle-class culture. But European stores, too, faced criticism for their lack of contribution to society, stemming partly from prejudice against their main offerings. In 18th and 19th centuries Britain, book-rental stores were denounced as "breeding grounds for talentless authors and undiscriminating readers" due to the mass production of novels. The novels they offered were widely perceived to be of poor quality and were believed to contribute to the degradation of society as "the evergreen tree of the devil's knowledge" (Shimizu, Kazuyoshi 1994, 73). Similarly, in Fuzhou, China, the popularity of handwritten serialized novels in the vernacular, particularly among female readers, led to the disparaging label "indecent lyrics and colorful words" around 1800. By the mid-1830s, Guangdong had rental stores primarily targeting male readers, and their books were considered "bad" novels by Western missionaries (McDermott 2009, 86; Shimizu, Kazuyoshi 1994, 73).

But whatever the label, these books were primarily composed of written text, even if some of them had illustrations (for example, the "embroidered novels" of the Ming and Qing dynasties with their portrait galleries of the characters at the beginning). Words require a certain level of literacy, which makes them symbolically higher in status than pictures (except, of course, artwork that displays aristocratic or religious status). If novels were already considered harmful, the situation was even worse for image-based publications such as comics, "picture stories," and *lianhuanhua*. Not to mention that in East Asia, the main distribution channel for manga and *lianhuanhua* was the rental sector. Consequently, the position of rental bookstores within the cultural fields of Japan and Taiwan is of great critical importance.

The rise of the book-rental business in Japan was closely related to the development of *kusazōshi* in the 18th and 19th centuries. As woodblock-printing technology spread, mass-produced illustrated reading matter aimed at commoners became increasingly popular. The publications included both practical books and entertaining fiction and were distributed through specialized shops as well as book-rental stores. At the time, booksellers played a dual role: they not only sought out new works but also acted as intermediaries between authors and readers, providing the publishers with feedback so that new books could be planned and authors even be asked to rewrite plots (Maeda 1993, 85; Ōkawa 1991, 511–28).

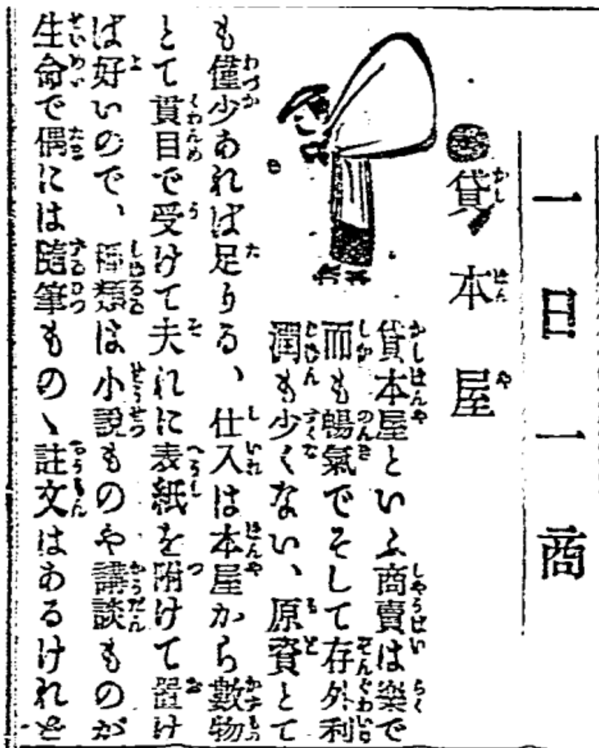
In the 1880s, stationery rental shops began to appear in Japan, often operating in conjunction with secondhand bookstores. When story comics gained popularity in the 1920s, along with satirical cartoons in newspapers and magazines, and interest in cheap reading material surged after the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, the new demand was met by *akahon manga*, which included imitations of popular comics serials like *Shō-chan's Adventures* (**fig. 2-27**). These *akahon manga* were sold not through regular bookstores but candy and snack shops, at night markets, and at festivals alongside toys, cards, and marbles. Their miniature versions were convenient items that people brought home as souvenirs, which again made them easily accessible to children.

In the 1930s, Nakamura Bookstore (中村書店), a publisher known first for its *akahon manga* and also for rental comics after WWII, released a series of 54 hardcover manga books (**fig. 2-28**) that were not intended to be toys and involved artists who were prominent in children's culture at the time, such as Shaka Bontarō (謝花凡太郎), Ōshiro Noboru (大城のぼる), Ishida Eisuke (石田英助), and Shinseki Aohana (新關青花). Clearly indicating their creators' names, these deluxe

**Figure 2-27.** Right: *Shō-chan's Adventures* (正ちゃんの冒険); left: copycat *akahon manga* editions. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-28.** Shaka Bontarō (謝花凡太郎), *Magic Little Aki* (魔法の明ちゃん), Nakamura Shoten, Tokyo, 1933. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

volumes were priced at 75 sen each, which was not cheap considering that a new elementary school teacher had a monthly salary of 44 to 55 yen. Many bookstores also offered them for rent.


一日一商

貸本屋

貸本屋といふ商賣は樂で而も陽氣でそして存外利潤も少くない、原資とても僅少あれば足りる、仕入は本屋から數物とて貫目で受けて夫れに表紙を附けて置けば好いので、種類は小說ものや講談ものが生命で偶には隨筆ものゝ註文はあるけれど

**Figure 2-29.** Image of itinerant book rental vendors in the early years of the Japanese colonial rule. "One Job Per Day" （一日一商), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), March 4, 1909, 5 (left, center, right). License: CC BY 4.0.

Japan-ruled Taiwan had its own book-rental sector. The *Taiwan Daily News* mentions it already in 1901, although without specification regarding stationary shops or mobile vendors. There were at least a few of the latter, as **Figure 2-29** indicates. A 1904 article reports on one Ōmura Eitarō (大村栄太郎), who ran a business in Jiufen Village, Keelung, that combined a book-rental service with an inn. By 1907, there were already seven or eight rental bookshops in Taipei, some of which specialized in book rental only and some of which ran other businesses as well. About 70% of the books available for rent were "storybooks" (講談本),[13] and the remaining 30% were novels. Notably absent were essays and military chronicles, as distinct from Japanese

[13] In Japan, this type of "storybook" initially referred to the practice of transcribing the contents of oral tales and publishing them in elaborately printed editions. Because it was based on spoken language, the text was simple and easy to understand and was sometimes classified as a "red-cover book" in Osaka. Prone to mass production, these "storybooks" became the book-rental industry's

rental bookstores. Most importantly, the books came mainly from Tokyo's Kōgyokudō (幸玉堂) and Osaka's Shinshindō (駸々堂), and the fact that they made reprinted content available for rent in one volume affected their reputation. Book-rental operators could start their business by investing a total of 40 to 60 yen. Customers had to pay a deposit based on the book's original price (30 to 50 sen); the rental fee for a week was five sen in 1907. Some operators with stationary shops had a monthly income of about 20 yen. Itinerant vendors who went around recommending books to customers could earn about 40 to 50 yen per month. The stationary shops saw more customers in the winter than in the summer, while it was the other way around for the mobile vendors.

In 1909, the *Taiwan Daily News* introduced book lenders in its business section. An article described their work as "relaxed and pleasant" with low start-up costs and "considerable profits"; inexpensive books could be purchased from bookstores, wrapped in a cover, and then put out for rent. The fee was five sen for three days (1909/03/04). The types of publications ranged from novels, "storybooks," essays, and heroic tales to local Taiwanese songbooks (歌仔冊). Books were also stocked according to customers' requests. A store could generally break even by circulating books among as few as ten customers. But taking into account costs such as damage to books, it was better to have about thirty regulars. However, if the rental bookstore had a stationary storefront, it would collect the rental fee in advance and require customers to pay a deposit based on the listed price of the book (Tsai, Sheng-chi 2009, 78). At the time, rental books were always wrapped in thick paper to prevent damage from multiple users, and the back of the cover often served as a rental record sheet until transparent book covers took over in the 1990s.

After WWII, Taiwan's book-rental sector flourished once again, including stationery stores and book stalls, as well as mobile vendors. Payment methods included both a deposit and a monthly fee for unlimited access (Yeh & Lin 2005, 43). In 1947, an article in *Taiwan New Life News* on the prosperity of Taipei's book stalls stated that the main products for rent were *lianhuanhua* booklets, commonly called "children's books" (小人書) in Chinese (Yang, Nai-fan 1947) (**fig. 2-25, 4-1, 5-1**). In the immediate postwar period, *lianhuanhua* booklets came to Taiwan first from Shanghai; from 1949 until the late 1960s, they were imported from Hong Kong (Tsai, Sheng-chi 2009).

---

mainstay and caused a decline in the demand for live storytelling. Eventually, popular novels by authors like Yoshikawa Eiji (吉川英治) upstaged them.

The earliest known example of a Chinese-language *lianhuanhua* by a Taiwanese artist is *Water Margin* (水滸傳). Published by Wang Chao-tsung (王朝宗) in November 1945, it still included Japanese captions.

These booklets appeared in various formats but usually maintained a one-image-per-page layout. The following genre categories prevailed:

1. Adaptations of folk tales, operas, vernacular novels, and historical fiction, such as *Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Water Margin, Romance of the Western Chamber*, and *Journey to the West*.
2. Adaptations of foreign literary works or movies, such as *One Thousand and One Nights, Tarzan Goes to America*, and *Tarzan Fights Bandits*.
3. Patriotic themes, such as Defending the Fatherland (保家鄉), Great Leaders (偉大的領袖), National Crisis, Family Revenge (國難家仇), Eight Years of Resistance (抗戰八年), and The Song Sisters (宋氏三姐妹).
4. Martial arts (*wuxia*) and supernatural themes, such as *Burning the Red Lotus Temple* (火燒紅蓮寺) and *Treasure Map* (天寶圖), which was the most popular category. (Tsai, Sheng-chi 2009, 72–6).

By the 1950s, the rental book industry had begun working with translated manga versions. Magazines containing manga, such as *Schoolmate* (學友), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), and *Good Friend* (良友), could be found on the shelves of rental bookstores, although they were mainly meant for sale. The 1960s was a Golden Age for Taiwan's rental comics, which included hand-traced adaptations of Japanese manga. Tsai Kun-lin (蔡焜霖), who once worked at Precious Gem (寶石出版社), remembers that in the 1950s, his firm released unaltered Japanese manga for circulation through rental bookstores, as did other publishers, such as Formosa (寶島) and Righteousness (正氣).[14] At that time, importing Japanese books required a permit from the Publication Department of the Ministry of the Interior (內政部出版處). In actuality, the permission depended on the reviewer's personal judgment. Therefore, when Tsai Kun-lin and Liao Wen-mu (廖文木) founded Wenchang (文昌出版社) in the 1960s, they wined and dined with the officials, gave them

[14] For Tsai's biography, see the English translation of the graphic novel by Yu (script) and Zhou (art) 2023–24.

"red envelopes" containing money, and took them dancing accompanied by girls in order to obtain a permit for manga imports (Lee, I-yun 2020b).

In this study, book-rental stores are regarded as informal and distinguished from regular bookstores and other formal or official channels. This is because, before the 2000s, the latter mostly sold publications with a certain status in the cultural field pertaining to literature, history, or practical use. Popular fiction was less common. Regular bookstores often had bright stationary storefronts in main streets or busy areas. On the other hand, informal venues were usually located in everyday places, on street corners, and in alleys. They ranged from newsstands to the early book boxes carried on the backs of peddlers, bicycles, or pushcarts using carbide lanterns to light the way (Tsai, Sheng-chi 2009, 80). Even if they later established a storefront, the entrance may well have been narrow and dimly lit, with a small sign or none at all. They may also have operated in conjunction with other types of businesses, for example grocery stores, hotels, or stationery shops near schools. As such, they were generally known only to local residents or to specific groups of consumers like comics readers. Unlike regular bookstores, the publications circulating in these informal or so-called underground venues were often not recognized by mainstream culture, and despite their popularity with the general public, they were relegated to the fringes of the cultural field or even excluded from it. These included comics and novels in the martial arts and romance genres.[15]

Rental bookstores have long been considered "crude, dark, and poorly ventilated places where children read intently and strain their eyes to the detriment of their eyesight and overall well-being" (*United Daily News*, 1966/07/12). Despite attempts by some intellectuals such as He Fan (何凡) to defend them as "convenient for readers" and worthy of consideration for educational outreach, they were deemed "lowbrow" because of their extensive collection of martial arts novels and *lianhuanhua* (He 1969). When Taiwanese society gradually liberalized in the late 1980s, numerous women's groups complained about

[15] Similar to comics, martial arts (*wuxia*) novels gained popularity in the late 1950s and 1960s and were serialized in newspapers, but their book editions were rarely seen in regular bookstores. Distribution channels for these books were newsstands, rental bookstores, and underground venues such as stationery stores near schools. At the same time, however, they developed into an important genre of popular literature, and they built up a strong economic power. Starting in the mid-1990s, they entered large chain bookstores such as Kingstone (金石堂) and Eslite (誠品書店) (Yeh & Lin 2005).

the "widespread availability of pornographic, violent comics" that were "almost devoid of educational value" and marked rental bookstores as places where children could easily access "eyesore comics" (*United Daily News*, 1987/02/09, 1987/02/10, 1990/10/02). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as Taiwan transitioned into a consumer society, rental bookstores underwent major changes (Li, Mien-min 1998, 71–75), offering brighter and more spacious interiors, as well as fancier book covers for comics. Nevertheless, they continued to be seen as places of low cultural capital, and not only because they allegedly served entertainment more than education. Depreciation was also due to the historical fact that the book-rental business had always been associated with commoners and low social status in East Asia. Furthermore, it was inextricably linked to the sensitive status of "things Japanese" in Taiwan, a topic to be discussed more deeply in Chapter 3.

Japanese manga had existed in Taiwan since the Japanese colonial period. Their presence was not only due to the study circles that people like Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲) and Wang Hwa (王花) of the Niitaka Cartoon Group organized; it also had roots in newspaper satirical cartoons and children's comics, which to some extent enjoyed a certain cultural status. But *akahon manga*, often considered puerile and lowbrow, had also entered Taiwan through the book-rental sector. With the strict implementation of comics censorship in 1966, many artists turned their back on the Taiwanese comics industry. Consequently, the rental book market turned to mechanical copies of Japanese manga after the lifting of the review system in 1975. Taiwanese productions of the 1980s often appeared manga-like, for example, in the eyes of the judges at the 73rd Annual Comics Competition held by the *China Times* in 1984. Their unanimous opinion of the entries was that they "still cannot escape the shadow of manga, whose influence on style still weighs significantly" (*China Times*, 1984/10/17). Post-1980 Taiwan comics were often thought to resemble manga, and it seems that in addition to a generational break with the comics of the 1960s, there was also an "intrinsic" one: they had actually manga-ized, a change that was accompanied by the stigmatizing anti-Japanese movement since the 1970s. But had Taiwan comics of the 1960s been unaffected by the grammar of Japanese manga in the first place? The Taiwan comics that emerged in the 1980s differed not only from those of the 1960s but also from their successors in the 1990s in that they did not circulate through the book rental channel. Thus, it is worthwhile to think further about the connection between the so-called Japanese flavor of Taiwan

comics and the symbolic meaning of "Japan," rental comics, and the culture of rental bookstores.

## 2.3 Rental manga: Taiwan-Japan relations in obscurity

After the war, *akahon manga* resurged in Japan. The *New Treasure Island* (1947), scripted by Sakai Shichima and drawn by Tezuka Osamu, was representative of the new popularity: it sold between 400,000 and 800,000 copies. But it also opened a new path for manga's visual grammar: cinematic framing, changes in perspective, wordless panels, panels with unexplained changes in position, switches to extreme close-ups of characters, and so on.

*Akahon manga* was characterized by poor paper quality and binding. Many did not indicate an author, publisher, or release date. Often, they copied well-known manga such as the newspaper serials *Shō-chan's Adventures* or *Sazae-san* (サザエさん) and not only once, as manuscripts were resold multiple times (Shimizu, Isao, 1989, 3–14, 67–84; Lee, I-yun 2020a). Not rarely, the same source content was released by different publishers with different titles and covers without adhering to the original order (see **fig. 2-30**, top). For example, a book would start right in the middle of a narrative, suddenly feature a copyright page, and then continue with yet another story (**fig. 2-30**, center); or after one story ended, there would be a change to a completely different genre in the middle (**fig. 2-30**, bottom). All of this made the status of *akahon manga* as either toys or books even more ambiguous. Although cheap *akahon manga* spread from Osaka to Kyoto, Nara, Tokyo, and all over Japan, their cultural status was generally lower than that of rental books.

A new form of rental bookstores appeared in 1950s Japan, especially in the Kansai (i.e., Western) region. Among them was Neo (霓虹書房), a chain established in 1948. In 1953, it expanded from West Japan to Tokyo, opening thirty stores in a row and thereby starting a highly competitive period. These new rental stores used a no-deposit method to attract customers. As long as one had an ID, books could be rented: it was a "trust-based membership lending system" (Hasegawa 2018, 16–17). Most popular were comics editions for rental stores, "storybooks," and novels, with occasional additions of magazines, sometimes even their latest issues (Takano 2012, 39–40, 47). Thus, rental bookstores facilitated postwar Japanese manga's growth and helped establish a broad readership.

**Figure 2-30.** Coarse mass-produced *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

In 1955, rental manga reached its peak. Published specifically for rental purposes, on durable paper, and with about 130 pages per volume, these books were purchased for 130 yen and rented out for 10 yen. At the time, the general readership did not consider collecting comics; reading was enough. In view of the fact that an *akahon manga* book cost between 40 and 60 yen, almost the same as an issue of the magazine *Manga Shōnen* (漫画少年) (Shimizu, Isao 1989, 10), renting comics for an equal or even cheaper amount appeared as a reasonable alternative. In 1956, the first major rental anthology of graphic narratives, *Kage* (影), was released. After 1957, these collections rejected the humorous elements originally associated with manga and increasingly published titles that advocated a realistic style. In 1959, Tatsumi Yoshihiro (辰巳ヨシヒロ) and some other rental artists founded the Gekiga Workshop (劇画工房) to counter Tezuka's highly codified mode of expression (Ishiko, Junzō et al. 1973). Over time, the two types of graphic narrative gradually merged, giving rise to the new genre of youth manga (青年マンガ) in the 1970s.

The role of rental manga as a breeding ground for an entire genre is also evident in the history of Japan's girls comics (*shōjo manga*). Until the mid-1960s, most girls comics had been created by male artists and appeared often in the format of *akahon manga*, as there were not yet enough magazines providing comics specifically for young female readers. *Akahon manga* usually consisted of pages with only two or three panels, making it difficult to tell complex stories. In addition, the panels lacked variation to express pacing or advance the plot.

Sociologist Ishita Saeko (石田佐恵子) proposed four criteria for identifying *shōjo manga*: 1) works published in girls magazines and their trade paperback editions; 2) works by recognized girls-manga creators; 3) works targeted at young girls; 4) works that feature characters, themes, and style characteristic of the genre (Ishita 1992, 59–60). While in the 1950s, the second point still posed a certain challenge, in the 1960s, all four criteria were in place. But in the second half of the 1970s, contradictions between these criteria occurred, on the one hand, due to the diversification of magazines and the expansion of the readership; on the other hand, because artists began to experiment with a variety of themes: the world of *shōjo manga*, which had been rather closed with regard to creators, readers, and subjects, gradually opened up (according to Takahashi 2008). From the 1970s onward, this genre was no longer limited to female protagonists and girly stories but included narratives about male-male relationships (later labeled boys

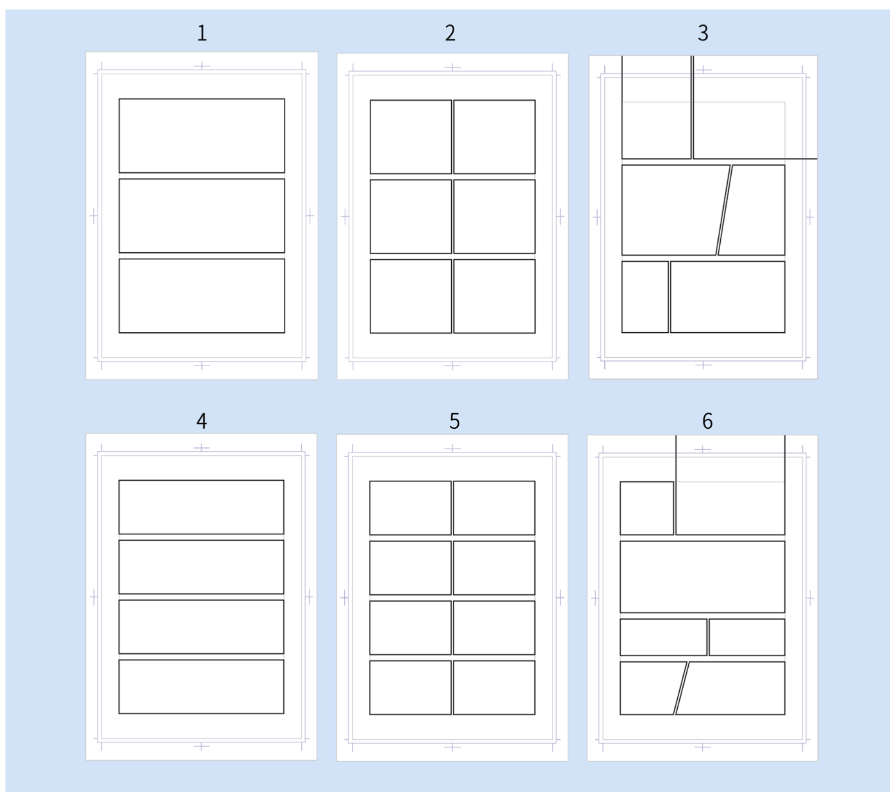



**Figure 2-31.** Panel layouts. Illustrated by Jelly Huang (黃佳莉). Printed with permission of the artist and licensed CC BY 4.0.

love, abbr. BL). Thus, stylistic characteristics of *shōjo manga*, especially the methods used to express atmosphere and feelings, became a more important distinguishing feature than the gender of the protagonists (Takahashi 2008, 117–18).

Prewar manga generally followed either a three-tier or four-tier layout, subdivided into six or eight panels (as shown in **fig. 2-31**: 1, 2, 4, 5). Sometimes, up to nine or ten panels were used to advance the plot of a magazine-based serial; sometimes, the layout was reduced to two tiers, for example, in the case of small-size *akahon* publications or later fan productions (*dōjinshi*). To infuse the storytelling with tension, postwar manga began to vary panel sizes (**fig. 2-31**: 3, 6), and to guide the reader's gaze by means of panel shape and panel content, for example, characters' orientation.

Japan's *akahon manga* had mostly followed a three-tier layout before 1945. Afterward, they assumed a duodecimo size with about ten panels

per page. The rental comics that became popular in the 1950s initially had layouts of up to eight or nine panels per page. In the 1960s, the three-tier layout returned, occasionally split into four panels (**fig. 2-32**, right), but in general, there was more page space available now. Works by the same artist differed according to media: magazine manga often had more panels than rental manga. This was partly due to the fact that rental manga offered the luxury of using a whole volume, and partly also to the higher cultural status ascribed to magazines which in the 1960s allowed artists to produce more elaborate artwork there (see **fig. 2-32**). Together, *akahon manga* and rental manga created a significantly vast readership. The mass production of publications in both formats provided a space for the cultivation, acceptance, and further transformation of new stylistic conventions that then thrived in manga magazines.

From the late 1950s onward, readers made it a habit to purchase magazines like *Manga Shōnen* (漫画少年,1947–55), *Shōnen Gahō* (少年画報,1950–71), *Nakayoshi* (なかよし, 1956–), *Weekly Shōnen Magazine* (週刊少年マガジン,1959–), and *Weekly Shōnen Sunday* (週刊少年サンデー, 1959–), which nurtured postwar artists. In the 1950s and early 1960s, the proportion of manga in magazines was not high. Covers usually featured photographic portraits, whereas manga illustrations started to take their place only in the mid-1960s. Magazines also often included giveaways or freebies, such as paper model sheets and booklets containing illustrated novels and comics. This Japanese approach was adopted by popular magazines in 1950s Taiwan, such as *Schoolmate* (學友) and *Oriental Youth* (東方少年).[16] For example, cartoonist Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹) began his career by illustrating a "picture story" that was attached to *Schoolmate*. Extra booklets were also an important venue for comics. For example, Tezuka's sci-fi short story "The Age of Great Floods" (大洪水時代), which appeared in the New Year's issue of *Oriental Youth* in 1957, had originally been a supplement to the Japanese magazine *Omoshiro Book* (おもしろブック) by Shueisha published in August 1955. Similarly, Tezuka's "The Green Cat" (緑猫), which appeared in *Oriental Youth* in March 1957, had been a supplement to *Omoshiro Book* in December 1956.

In the immediate postwar period, the popularity of Taiwan's rental bookstores rested on *lianhuanhua* booklets imported from Shanghai, but that had changed to Japanese manga by the late 1950s. **Figure 2-33** shows a rental comics published by Precious Gem (寶石出版社) in

[16] Taiwan's National Library holds 76 issues of *Oriental Youth*, released 1954–61; issues 1–6,1959, and 1–3, 1960, are missing.

**Figure 2-32.** Comparison of magazine manga (left) and rental manga (right) by the same artist, Tatsumi Yoshihiro (辰巳ヨシヒロ), in rental comics anthology *Mystery 62* (ミステリー62) vol. 1, Tokyo: Hope (ホープ書房) 1960. Left: "Snowy Elegy" (風花挽歌), in *Weekly Shōnen Magazine* (週刊少年マガジン), November 1, 1970. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-33.** Anon., *Searching for Mother Across Three Thousand Miles* (尋母三千里). Taipei: Precious Gem (寶石出版社), 1958. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0.

1958. Its coloring and paneling are similar to the Japanese rental and *akahon manga* shown in **Figure 2-34**, but different from the Chinese comics in **Figures 2-24** to **2-28**. What exactly the relationship between Taiwanese rental comics and Japanese manga was, both in terms of quantity and visual grammar, will be examined below.

In visual terms, the grammar of prewar comics predominated in the works of Japanese manga artists like Tagawa Suihō, *akahon manga* creators, mainlander cartoonists like Niu Ge (**fig. 2-24**) and Liang Yuming (**fig. 2-25, 2-26**), or local Taiwanese artists like Yeh Hung-chia (**fig. 2-36**), Chen Ting-kuo, and Heibai (黑白). That is to say, they all treated each frame like a stage to be faced frontally and depicted the characters therein mostly in medium or full shot size. Most panels featured characters in action, usually engaged in dialogue and thereby explaining the situation in the scene, and some panels depicted changes in position. The panels were equally divided, with no variation in size or shape.

It is, however, worth noting particularities. The *lianhuanhua* titled "Mulan" (花木蘭) serialized by Liang Yu-ming in *Picture Times*

**Figure 2-34.** Ōtomo Yoshiyasu (オオトモ・ヨシヤス), *The Girl without Shadow* (影のない少女). Tokyo: Nakamura Shoten, 1952. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-35.** An example of early postwar *akahon manga* in duodecimo format, published by Enoki Hōreikan (榎木法令館), Osaka, priced at 60 yen. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

(圖畫時報) is uniformly gridded (**fig. 2-25**), whereas "Slapping the Table in Amazement" (拍案驚奇) uses frames with external text as well as speech balloons within the frames (**fig. 2-26** left). "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" (土包子下江南) employs speech balloons exclusively (**fig. 2-26** right). In his 1949 "Uncle Niu is Liberated" (解放了的牛伯伯), Niu Ge incorporates dialogue into the panels but does not encircle it, using merely a line pointing at the speaker (**fig. 2-24**). In 1952, he collaborated with Li Ching-hung (李敬洪) to serialize "Love in the Countryside" (田園之戀) and "Love and Hate in the Ocean of Desire" (欲海情仇) in *United Daily News* (聯合報) in the *lianhuanhua* format, that is, with captions placed outside of the images. In a similar way, the very *lianhuanhua* techniques that had originated in Shanghai and spread to Taiwan featured in the series "Female Bandit" (女匪幹) begun by the editor of *New Life Comics* (新生漫畫), Hsia Wei-tu (夏緯圖) in July 1950, and also in "Mulan Poetry" (木蘭辭) started in April 1954, by Liu Cheng-chun (劉成鈞), who worked for the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (中國農村復興委員會). While mainlanders like them thus embraced the influence of

(47) (46) (39)

**Figure 2-36.** Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲), *Chu-ke Ssu-lang Battles the Demon Party*, 1 (諸葛四郎 大戰魔鬼黨1). Taipei: Yeh Hung-chia Publishing, 1978 [1958], 39, 46–47. Provided by Yeh Chia-lung (葉佳龍), the son of the artist. Used with permission from rightsholder. License: CC BY 4.0.

*lianhuanhua* for Chinese period pieces, islander cartoonists rarely chose that format. For example, Liu Hsing-chin, who often published in newspapers, rather employed the evenly divided frames, speech balloons, and codified character designs that had been typical of prewar manga.

After KMT-supported mainlanders had taken control of Taiwan's newspaper industry in 1950, islanders turned to publishing story comics in general magazines (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion). In 1953, the Schoolmate Bookstore (學友書局) founded the monthly magazine *Schoolmate* (學友), which included illustrated novels, folk tales, scientific articles, biographies of famous people, and comics. Among the comics were works by islander artist Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙), who used the pseudonym Yang Ming (羊鳴), such as "Little Grandpa Ye" (小八爺) and "The Diary of a Fallen Pirate" (海賊覆亡記), a story resembling the *Treasure Island* but featuring Tripitaka from *Journey to the West*, adapted by Chuan-chi (泉機) and Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國) (Chiu 2013, 44, 204–05). In 1954, Oriental Publishing House (東方出版社) launched the monthly *Oriental Youth* (東方少年) with similar content. It included comics by Chen Ting-kuo, such as "Master Kungming" (孔明先生), and novels illustrated by Chen Hai-hung, as well as hand-traced adaptations of Japanese and American series. *Schoolmate*, too, was supplemented by small toys or booklets with comics and illustrated novels, which again demonstrates the cultural affinity between Taiwan and Japan concerning the magazine concept.

Both *Schoolmate* and *Oriental Youth* entertained close relationships with intellectuals who had risen to prominence under Japanese rule. *Schoolmate* was founded by entrepreneur Pai Shan (白善) and published by Chen Kuang-hsi. The initial editor-in-chief was Peng Chen-chiu (彭震球), a mainlander who worked as a university professor and a writer. After 1955, the position was taken over by Wang Shih-lang (王詩琅), an author who had come to fame during the Japanese colonial period. Local cultural figures such as Huang Te-shih (黄得時) and Chen Chun-yu (陳君玉) had reportedly also served as editors-in-chief or contributors, alongside mainlander cartoonists such as Liao Wei-lin (廖未林) and Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘).

The predecessor of Oriental Publishing House was the renowned colonial-era Niitaka Bookstore in Taipei. After the war, when efforts were made to eradicate the "toxic remnants" of Japanese culture and build a new society based on democracy and science, a group of returnees from mainland China (*panshan*) and the Taiwanese gentry jointly organized the Taiwan Culture Promotion Association. In October 1945,

the then mayor of Taipei, You Mi-jian (游彌堅), a *panshan*, together with association member Lin Cheng-lu (林呈祿), an islander, and islander intellectuals like Liao Wen-yi (Thomas Liao 廖文毅), Huang Te-shih (黃得時), and Chen Feng-yuan (陳逢源), collectively took over Niitaka Bookstore and renamed it the Oriental Publishing House. At the time of the launch of *Oriental Youth*, the publisher was Hsu Nai-chang (許乃昌), a local Taiwanese who had once been the editor of the *Taiwan People's News* (台灣民報), and Lin Cheng-lu (林呈祿) served as the president. Editors and authors included islanders Yang Yun-ping (楊雲萍) and Hung Yen-chiu (洪炎秋). In 1957, after Hsu Nai-chang had left, the role of the publisher was taken over by Liao Da-gui (廖大貴), who had already collaborated with him from 1933 to 1937 (Chiu 2013, 44). Most of the magazine business was handled by his son Liao Hsueh-hui (廖學輝) and his close relative Liao Wen-mu (廖文木). Later, Liao Da-gui independently established the Oriental Youth Publishing House (東方少年出版社), which not only released the magazine of the same name but also comics and "picture stories" (Lee, I-yun 2020b). Japanese "picture stories" and Chinese *lianhuanhua* are similar in format—so much so that they even share the same translation into English (picture story)—but different in layout, a matter that goes beyond the constraints of this study. Mainlanders were initially inclined to horizontally oriented comics, possibly influenced by Shanghai *lianhuanhua*. Examples include "Uncle Niu Is Liberated" (解放了的牛伯伯), "Uncle Niu Playing Guerilla" (牛伯伯打游擊), and "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" (土包子下江南). Japanese manga appeared in both vertical and horizontal formats when it was still in its formative phase, but the vertical orientation came to predominate.

Taiwan's newspapers published primarily single-panel satirical cartoons and a few serial comic strips. These were the authorized, most visible types of comics together with those in general magazines, that had to be purchased at bookstores or subscribed to. But once readers had become aware of the rental-book channel, the volume of comics consumption exceeded the sum of the former two by far. Rental comics included works by Taiwanese artists and, even more so, Japanese manga. By the late 1950s, the proportion of hand-traced manga had surpassed that of *lianhuanhua* in the rental sector. Thus, a comics craze developed in 1960s Taiwan, which leaned on Japanese rental manga in a three-tier layout rather than the format of *lianhuanhua*.

In terms of layout and format, Chinese comics often separated the title header from the panels (**fig. 2-24, 2-26, 2-27**). In contrast, Japanese manga – ranging from prewar works by Tagawa Suihō, Hayashida

Tadashi, and others published in magazines (**fig. 2-37**), to *akahon manga* (**fig. 2-22, 2-23**) and rental manga – integrated the title header into a panel. Taiwanese magazine comics and rental comics (**fig. 2-33**) followed their layout.

**Figure 2-37.** Bottom: Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), "Private Norakuro" (のらくろ二等卒). Top: Hayashida Masashi (林田正), "Chinkichi's Adventures" (チン吉の冒険), *Shōnen Club* (少年倶楽部), November 1931. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

Regarding book design, the Japanese manga *The Girl Without Shadow* (影のない少女) (**fig. 2-34**), published by Nakamura Bookstore in 1952, had a red cover reminiscent of an *akahon* but also title headers reminiscent of rental manga; its table of contents, character gallery, and colored pages at the beginning resembled the 1960 rental anthology *Dream* (ゆめ) (**fig. 2-38**). Taiwan's rental comics (**fig. 2-33, 2-39**) exhibited the same format, which suggests that these comics had actually been imported from Japan and then reproduced locally.

The first generation of Taiwanese comics artists in the 1940s and 1950s, including Yeh Hung-chia and Chen Ting-kuo, had been educated during the Japanese colonial era, exposed to manga, and even received training in Japanese ways of cartooning. According to Pierre Bourdieu, habitus changes over time, but "early experiences carry special weight because the habitus tends to ensure its own constancy and its defense against change" (Bourdieu 1990, 60). Unsurprisingly, the works of cartoonists like Yeh Hung-chia adhered to a regular grid of six to eight panels before gradually shifting to a three-tier layout in the mid-1960s.

The plot of *story-manga* works became increasingly complex; each installment of a serial tended to effectively advance the narrative and dynamically convey the atmosphere. While *akahon manga* and magazine manga had gradually adopted an average layout of six or eight panels in the early 1950s, by the mid-1950s, magazine comics featured six, eight, or even ten panels, introducing variations in size and spatial arrangement to emphasize movement and atmosphere (**fig. 2-31**: 3, 6). By the 1960s, pages often had more than ten panels, and the paneling itself came to convey changes in rhythm, atmosphere, and art style. Rental manga, on the other hand, reduced the number of panels during the 1960s. A typical page often presented a three- or four-tier layout with variations (**fig. 2-40**). *Akahon manga* from the 1950s began with 24 pages but expanded to 62, 96, or over one hundred. Rental manga varied from 120 to 224 pages; sometimes, they were not even completed in one volume. This gave them plenty of space to advance the story – the panel layout did not have to be as tightly packed as in magazines. During the 1960s, the number of panels per page increased in magazines, while it went in the opposite direction in rental manga, which was probably related to the speed of publication on the one hand and the low cultural capital in the rental industry on the other (see Chapter 3 for details). However, as distinct from prewar productions, both magazine manga and rental manga featured panels that did not necessarily advance the plot.

**Figure 2-38.** Bottom: Kiuchi Chizuko (木内千鶴子). Center: Seijō Akiji (星城朗二). Top: Table of Contents and Frontispiece, *Yume* (ゆめ), no. 1, Tokyo: Wakagi Shobō (若木書房), no year. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-39.** The character gallery (left) includes a Japanese soldier in military uniform. Anon., *Seven Colored Gemstones* (七彩寶石) Taipei: Righteousness (正氣出版社), 1959. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0.

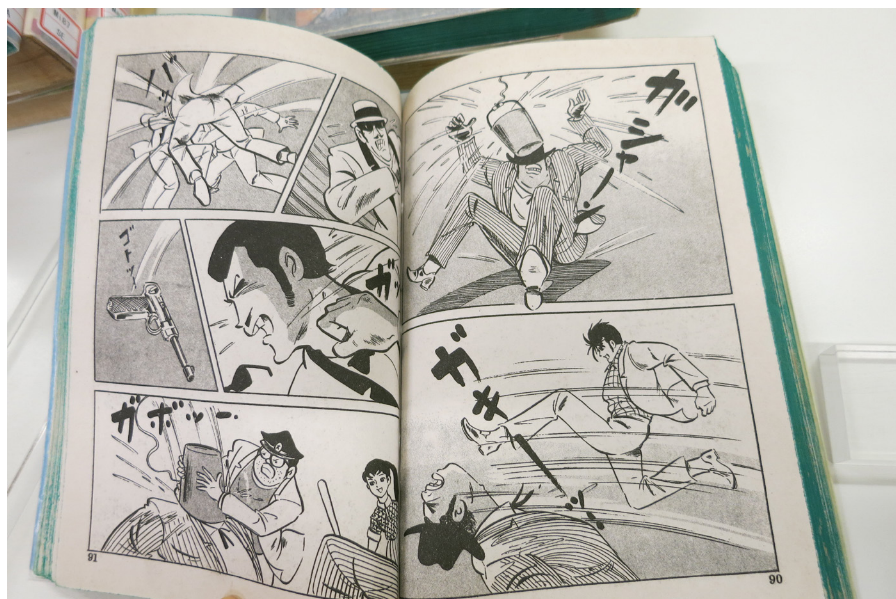



**Figure 2-40.** Typical paneling in Japanese rental manga. Yokoyama Masamichi (横山まさみち), *Gang of Thugs* (悪党ぞろい). Tokyo: Yokoyama Production, early 1960s, 90–91. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center /Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0.

For example, *The Girl Without Shadow* (**fig. 2-34**) published in 1952 was a typical *akahon manga* with a consistent grid, but it also showcased the full body of the female protagonist exceeding the panel frame in a way that was not relevant to the development of the plot. This attests to the earlier mentioned assumption that *akahon* and rental manga were breeding grounds for manga in general and girls manga in particular, whereas magazines were still primarily text-based.

In the early 1960s, rental anthologies such as *Dream* (**fig. 2-38**, left) and rental manga such as *Gang of Thugs* (悪党ぞろい) (**fig. 2-40**) even reduced the number of panels per page to two, clearly distinguishing themselves from comics serialized in magazines, which were more like pre-1950 *akahon manga* and prewar rental comics. But the fact that Japanese rental manga retained the prewar three-tier layout does not mean that they had reverted to the older visual grammar. When conceptualizing *gekiga* (劇画), the type of graphic narrative for mature readers that gained momentum in the early 1960s, critic Gondō Susumu (権藤晋) clearly stated that Tezuka's work epitomized postwar manga

**Figure 2-41.** The three-tier layout adopted in Taiwanese comics of the 1960s. Fan Yi-nan (范藝南), *Nine-Fingered Scholar* 1 (九指書生1). Taipei: Qinghua Bookstore (清華書局), 1967, 8–9. License: CC BY 4.0.

for better or worse. Naturally, *gekiga* followed in the footsteps of the postwar grammar established by Tezuka and others, even as it emphasized realism against comedy. It is also noteworthy that *gekiga* was distributed through rental bookstores and that it could build on devices of Japanese rental manga to create a unique sense of movement, such as close-ups and mimetic words (**fig. 2-40**). Similar devices, including the three-tier layout, could be seen in 1960s Taiwan rental comics (**fig. 2-41, 2-42**), although not to the same degree as in Japanese magazine manga.

In 1960, the magazine *Comics King* (漫畫大王) (later renamed *Taiwan Comics Weekly* 台灣漫畫週刊) began to woo readers away from general magazines. Liao Wen-mu and Tsai Kun-lin left Oriental Publishing House and independently founded Wenchang to publish rental comics. They recruited young artists like Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠), pen name Fan Yi-nan, and Chen Wen-fu (陳文富) to adapt martial arts novels and Taiwanese movies at first. The plan was to release "one comics title per day." This set off the rental sector. Various publishing houses followed, and soon the annual release of rental comics reached

**Figure 2-42.** The three-tier layout in Taiwanese martial arts comics. Fan Yi-nan (范藝南), *The Strange Child of the Dusty World* 3 (風塵怪童3). Taipei: Wen Feng (文鋒出版), 3–4. License: CC BY 4.0.

over 2,000 books. Tsai Kun-lin candidly recalled that between 1961 and 1964, whoever could hand-trace Japanese manga the fastest seized the business opportunity, and that the same work often had multiple publishers (Lee, I-yun 2020b).

For example, the Japanese baseball manga *Star of the Giants* (巨人の星, 1966–71) originally authored by Kajiwara Ikki (梶原一騎) and illustrated by Kawasaki Noboru (川崎のぼる), was adapted via hand-tracing by various Taiwanese publishers such as Chen-wei (陳威), Chih-ming (智明), Hsien-feng (先鋒), Ta-ming-wang-shih (大明王氏), and Wenchang (文昌) between 1968 and 1970. The same happened between 1988, when the comics censorship was abolished, and 1992, when the new copyright law was implemented, except that the Japanese source works were now directly reprinted. But until the 1970s, there were no photocopiers, so manga were trace-copied by hand and only then printed. As already mentioned, these editions often mixed different works. For example, the hand-traced versions of *Star of the Giants*—besides the two volumes of *Young Pitcher* (少年投手) by Liang-shan

(良山) published by Chen-wei in 1968, which covered the whole source work—included editions that selected two out of the original nineteen volumes of the series and merged them into one. Liang-shan's *Oriental Pitcher* (東方投手), published by Hsien-feng in 1969, and Chiu Ming-yao's (邱明耀) *Magic Curveball* (魔手迴旋球), published by Wenchang in 1969, were both in part copied from *Star of the Giants* (vol. 6, p. 211 – vol. 8, p. 90, and vol. 13 p. 6 – vol. 14, p. 56 respectively), according to Lee Feng-ran (2022, 238).

In the 1960s and 1970s, a Japanese manga series tended to consist of eight volumes and usually did not exceed thirteen. When copied, these series were often cut off in the middle and continued under different titles so that readers did not notice the continuity. For example, *The Sign is V!* (サインはV!), originally authored by Shinbo Jirō (神保史郎) and illustrated by Mochizuki Akira (望月あきら), was divided into *Cross Quick Attack* (交叉快攻球) (Wenchang, 6 vols, 1969) and *Volleyball Match* (排球對抗賽) (Wenchang, 8 vols, 1970). Thus, Japanese productions circulated in Taiwan "underground" after the government's ban on Japanese language and culture and the restriction on imports of Japanese books. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

As mentioned previously, Taiwan's magazines began publishing manga in the 1950s. However, since the size and page length of these magazines did not necessarily match that of their Japanese counterparts, modifications had to be made to the paneling, last but not least, due to the lack of photocopiers. To meet the printing requirements, publishers employed staff to trace the originals and convert their double-page manuscripts into single pages. During this tracing process, the original panel layout was modified (see Lee, I-yun 2020b). The bottom image in **Figure 2-43** is from "The Age of Great Floods" (大洪水時代) published in *Oriental Youth* (東方少年) in January 1957, and the top image shows Tezuka's same-titled original. Clearly, as early as 1957, a technique for tracing and altering the Japanese layout was in place. However, the panel layout of Tezuka's *Phoenix* was not changed, although tracing was done around the same time (**fig. 2-44**).

"The Age of Great Floods" was modified because the original had appeared in a booklet attached to a Japanese magazine and not in a book. So, when published in *Oriental Youth*, it was truncated during the tracing process and reworked at the beginning of the second part. **Figure 2-45** shows Tezuka's "The Twin Knights" (双子の騎士), published in the Taiwanese magazine *Good Friend* (良友): the top tier originally belonged to the previous page but was moved during the tracing process due to the restricted length of the series.

**Figure 2-43.** Changes to Japanese manga in Taiwanese general magazines in the 1950s. Collection of the National Library. Bottom: "The Age of Great Floods" (大洪水時代), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), vol. 4, February 1958. Top: Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫), "The Age of Great Floods," in *Devil of the Earth* (地球惡魔). Taipei: Times Culture, 1994). License: CC BY 4.0.

These modifications did not alter the content of the panels—that is, they were moved, but they were moved in their entirety. While the copies were not necessarily complete due to the lack of drawing

**Figure 2-44.** Top: *Divine Firebird No.1* (神火鳥No.1), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), August 1958. Bottom: Tezuka Osamu's *Phoenix* (火の鳥), *Shōjo Club* (少女クラブ) version, Tokyo: Kodansha (講談社), 1980. License: CC BY 4.0.

skills—see the number of people in the crowd in the middle panel on the right pages in **Figure 2-44**—the panel structure stayed the same. Significant changes appeared in the hand-traced editions only after the three-tier layout had become the standard.

The early 1960s were the heyday of rental manga in Japan and also the time when rental comics began to flourish in Taiwan. Perhaps

**Figure 2-45.** Top, left: Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫), *The Twin Knights* (双子の騎士), Tokyo: Kodansha (講談社), 1959, 42. Top, right: *The Golden Shoe Knight* (金鞋騎士). Bottom: Frontispiece of the latter with Tezuka Osamu spelled with only three characters (手塚治), *Good Friend* (良友), no. 22, no year, 14. License: CC BY 4.0.

because of the need to speed up production or the influence of Japan, the number of panels per page in Taiwan's rental comics gradually shifted from an equal division of six panels to three. Taiwanese editions using this layout are referred to in this book as hand-traced adaptations. For example, **Figure 2-46** features a Japanese manga traced in 1969: the Original used three panels for zooming out (left image panels 5, 6, 7 on the right), but in the Taiwanese version (left image) these were condensed into one large panel, which indicates that the importance of zooming in and out had not yet been realized in Taiwan comics at the time. The predominant standard for page layouts made the use of angles difficult anyway.

In addition, the martial-law regime required "purity of body and mind," so scenes of girls bathing together were altered or deleted. In contrast, censors did not request alterations for the direct copies that circulated after 1979, although the same martial law was still in place. This fact indicates the difficulty of complying with the censorship standards and also the artists' self-censorship during the period of hand-traced adaptations (see Chapters 3 and 4 for details).

The imitation of the Japanese way of editing comics sometimes included *akahon manga* from the 1950s. For example, after the implementation of comics censorship in the 1960s, there were publications like the *Golden Fleece* (金羊皮) (1966), which had a red-lettered cover, or the rental manga *Beauty and the Beast* (美女與野獸) (1968) taking a horizontal format, something which was rare in Japan. Nevertheless, these comics differed from those of the 1950s in the way they presented their content: in addition to a three-tier page layout, they adopted elements of the new manga grammar, such as the use of panels featuring single characters and close-ups.

After 1953, the number of magazine pages dedicated to comics gradually increased as various new periodicals appeared. In *Oriental Youth*, for example, the proportion of Japanese manga grew with each issue, and by the time the magazine ceased publication in 1960, more than half of the pages were occupied by comics. Publishers such as Formosa (寶島), Precious Gem (寶石), and Righteousness (正氣) produced rental manga during this period. In the early 1960s, Taiwan had about two to three thousand rental bookstores (Tsai, Kun-lin 2019, 161–62), which means that at least one thousand had existed in the late 1950s. Thus, the magazine and rental book sectors circulated a considerable amount of comics. Taiwan's cartoonists, however, seemed unable to meet the demand. As a result, the comics sections in general magazines such as

**Figure 2-46.** Right: Mochizuki Akira (望月あきら), *The Sign is V!* (サインはV!), translated edition of 1979. Left: Trace-copied version *Cross Quick Attack* (交叉快攻球), 1969. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0.

*Oriental Youth* or specialized magazines like *Comics King* (漫畫大王) and *Model Youth* (模範少年) fed mostly on manga. Some came from Japanese magazines and their supplementary booklets, but a good number was probably derived from Japanese rental and *akahon manga*. After all, magazine manga still competed with text for page space at the time. Most Japanese artists created *akahon* and rental rather than magazine manga, and magazine supplements did not necessarily carry comics but mostly DIY toys. In Japan, the number of manga magazines began to increase rapidly only around 1960, while the number of rental bookstores began to decline due to the widespread use of television (Tatsumi 1973, 256).

In sum, rental shops that provided affordable reading material in the 1950s laid the foundation for a culture of reading comics among the general public in Taiwan. The local market was no longer dominated by Shanghai-style *lianhuanhua* booklets. In view of the comparisons above, it seems that most comics in Taiwan had adopted the expressive devices of Japanese *story-manga* by the 1950s. With the rise of rental comics in the 1960s, local production flourished. However, after the implementation of comics censorship in 1966, the creative space for Taiwan comics began to shrink. Artists and editors moved into other fields. As Chapter 3 will demonstrate, by the early 1970s, there was almost no room left for locally produced story comics.

Around 1975, new photocopy technology began to enter Taiwan's printing industry.[17] Comics no longer had to be traced by hand but could be copied mechanically. Artists such as Chen Wen-fu (陳文富) and Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠), pen name Fan Yi-nan, founded publishing houses specializing in Japanese manga, such as Hongguang (虹光) and Tongli (東立), which ushered in a new era of rental comics. After 1977, the comics market resurged. But now, it leaned on directly reprinted and translated editions of manga, exposing Taiwanese readers to the visual grammar of postwar Japan, that had originated with Tezuka. Taiwan comics of the 1950s and 1960s had featured numerous of his devices. In addition to the formats privileged by mainlander cartoonists, local artists employed, among other devices, speech balloons to

[17] Before 1970, the photocopier market in Taiwan was almost entirely dominated by photosensitive paper. In 1970, XEROX Taiwan broke new ground by introducing plain paper copiers. They quickly dominated the market by offering photocopying services at prices about 30% lower than photosensitive paper. At the same time, a machine rental model was introduced. After 1973, when the worldwide patent for XEROX photocopying expired, well-known brands such as CANON, IBM, SHARP, and TOSHIBA came to Taiwan.

move the story forward. But there was obviously a need to explain what could be seen in words. For example, "The Great Duel of the Twin Masks" (大鬥雙假面) by Yeh Hung-chia (1959) includes a scene where the sword with which Chu-ke Ssu-lang (諸葛四郎) fights the Laughing Mask breaks. At that moment, a sweating Chu-ke exclaims, "Oops! The sword broke!"—although the fact itself is quite obvious from the visuals, and Chu-ke's self-talk appears redundant. The same form of traditional expression appeared in hand-traced adaptations. For example, the Japanese manga *The Sign is V!* (1968–70) was a character-driven narrative without explanatory text (see **fig. 2-47**, left), but in the traced version, four of the original seven wordless panels were supplemented with vertical captions (**fig. 2-47**, right).

As previously mentioned, it was common to take parts of a manga, divide them into several volumes, change the title, and turn them into a series of books. Alternatively, a particular plot from a manga could be adapted and expanded into another story. For example, in the original plot of *The Sign is V!*, there is a scene in which the female protagonist cannot move when she sees a ball coming toward her on the volleyball court (**fig. 2-48**, right). A 1970 hand-traced adaptation had this scene preceded by an argument between two players and supplemented the original panel showing the protagonist unable to move with a speech balloon that says, "I will never play volleyball again." The dialogue in other panels was blackened out, and unfamiliar sound effects were also removed (**fig. 2-48**, left).

From the above, it can be deduced that Taiwan comics gave preference to event-centered rather than character-centered narratives. The addition of explanatory text foregrounds a third-person narrator's perspective instead of the character's viewpoint, which would allow for identification. As a result, single-character frames were less common than in Japanese manga (**fig. 2-47, 2-48**). Panels were mostly horizontally shaped and featured medium to full-body shots of two or more people. However, by 1979, when mechanical reprints of Japanese manga emerged, readers had obviously accepted the Japanese way of advancing a story through pictures (**fig. 2-47, 2-48** left). This change must have happened between 1976 and 1979, that is, within a very short period of time, and it was certainly due to the fact that from the 1950s to the early 1970s, the postwar grammar of manga had gradually trickled into Taiwan through hand-traced adaptations of Japanese rental comics. While built on Tezuka's approach, rental comics in Taiwan retained traditional features—regular panel sizes, characters

**Figure 2-47.** Comparison of third-person narrative styles. Left: Reprinted pirated copy of *The Sign is V!* (サインはV!) by Mochizuki Akira (望月あきら), titled *The Invincible Volleyball Team* (無敵排球隊), vol. 3, 1979 edition. Right: Hand-traced copy *Cross Quick Attack* (交叉快攻球), no. 2, 1969. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 2-48.** Reprint version of *The Sign is V!*, *The Invincible Volleyball Team* (無敵排球隊), vol. 3 (right), and the 1970 hand-traced adaptation *Volleyball Match* (排球對抗賽), no.7. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0.

talking in most panels, and frequently used full-body and medium shots—but occasionally, there were also single-character frames, and when fighting, the focus would shift between the characters during action scenes rather than merely relating the occurrence and outcome of events. Momentum lines and flowery backgrounds were also used to create an atmosphere (**fig. 2-49**). Thus, readers could easily connect with contemporary Japanese manga after 1976, when mechanical reprints entered the Taiwanese market.

In 1979, the Hung Chien-chuan Foundation (洪建全基金會) added a comics prize to its awards for children's literature but left it vacant eventually. This led Yin-Shih-Man Press (伊士曼出版社), which specialized in rental comics, to start the girls comics magazine *Hsiao-mi Comics Weekly* (小咪漫畫週刊) and then launch the first Hsiao-mi Comics Newcomer Award on September 10, 1980, which accepted girls comics of 16 to 32 pages. The first prize went to Jen Cheng-hua (任正華), who later, in 2021, received the Golden Comics Award for Special Contributions, and the second-place winner was Chang Ching-mei (張靜美), who can be considered the first Taiwanese artist to master Japanese *shōjo manga* techniques (Hsiao-mi Comics Weekly 1980). The second competition

**Figure 2-49.** Qiu Ming-yao (邱明耀), *A Girl's Dream* (少女之夢) 2. Taipei: Wenchang (文昌), 1969, 54–55. License: CC BY 4.0.

was held in February 1981, with Chang Ching-mei (張靜美) winning first place, Jen Cheng-hua second, and Chou Hsien-tsung (周顯宗), who later gained renown in Taiwan and Korea for his children's comic *Origami Warriors* (摺紙戰士), third.

The Hsiao-mi Comics Newcomer Award was held only five times and terminated on November 6, 1982. However, starting with issue no. 71, the *Hsiao-mi Comics Weekly* initiated an irregular column called *Newcomer Award Seat* (新人獎座), where an editor would interview a comics newbie, including winners and contestants of the Newcomer Award. These interviewees were asked about their favorite artists. Gao Ling (高靈) mentioned the 1970s cartoonist Yang Chen-yu (楊鎮宇) and Hong Kong artist Tsui Cheng-an (崔成安) in issue no. 72, and Li Yi-wei (中李亦) named Taiwanese artists Chen Ting-kuo and Pai Yu (白羽) in issue no. 92. But the majority cited Japanese manga artists such as Tezuka, Chiba Tetsuya (ちばてつや), Yokoyama Mitsuteru (横山光輝), Ikeda Riyoko (池田理代子), Hagio Moto (萩尾望都), Takemiya Keiko (竹宮惠子), and Shōji Yōko (庄司陽子). Obviously, comics artists and readers of the 1980s had absorbed the postwar grammar of manga while growing up in the 1970s. Popular Taiwan comics of the 1960s no longer resonated with this generation of readers and artists and their interpretive communities.

From the late 1960s onward, Japanese women artists such as Hagio Moto, Takemiya Keiko, and Ōshima Yumiko (大島弓子) developed new stylistic devices. These included various ways of expressing feelings by means of "atmospheric panels," symbolic objects, panel-frame breaches, and intricate splash panels. Thus, they extended the postwar grammar of manga, particularly regarding the emotional interconnection between characters and readers.

*Shōjo manga* is especially notable for deviating from narrated time and the spaces associated with it, allowing readers to continually move back and forth between the plot and the characters' inner feelings, which constantly emerge as soliloquies. *Shōjo manga* emphasizes emotions and ambience, focusing less on the temporal unfolding of events but rather on the feelings or thoughts at a specific moment. As a result, it often condenses several plot elements into a single panel, where different elements—whether present or absent, actual or imaginary—may appear simultaneously (**fig. 2-50, 2-51**). The physical reality of the body is often downplayed in favor of ornamentalism.

The unique grammar of *shōjo manga* was already present in Taiwan comics of the 1960s. For example, the first panel on page 72 of the

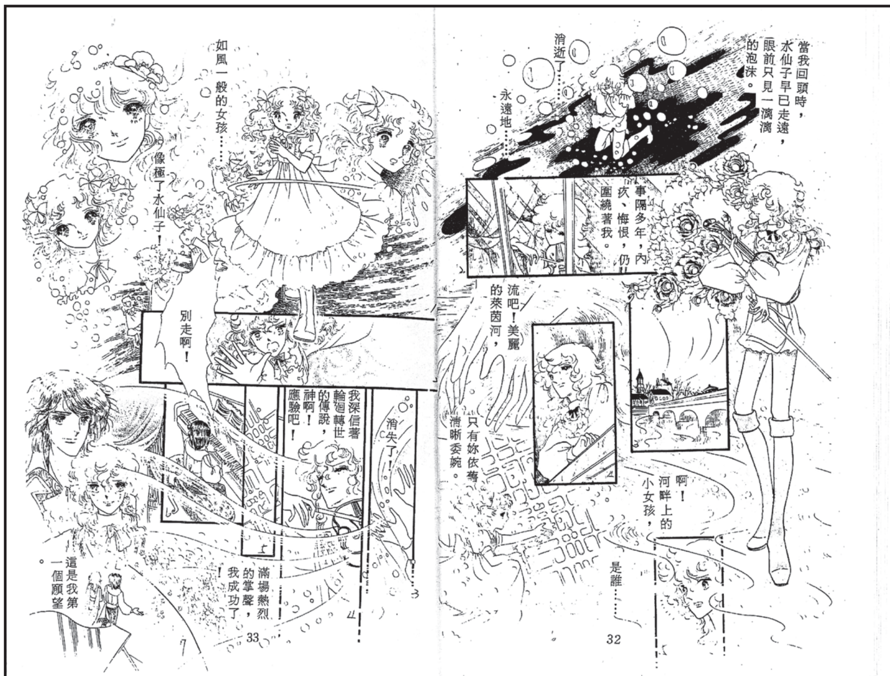



**Figure 2-50.** Chang Ching-mei (張靜美), "Water Fairy" (水仙子), which won first place in the second Hsiao-Mi Newcomer Comic Award, published in *The Second Newcomer Comic Award Anthology* (第二屆漫畫新人獎專輯). Taipei: Yin-Shi-Man (伊士曼), 1982, 32–3. License: CC BY 4.0.

second volume of *Historical Beautiful Woman* (歷劫佳人) by Kao Yu-hsin (高玉欣) and Chen Hsiang-chiu (陳湘秋) (1967) shows a misty background, and *A Girl's Dream* (少女之夢, 1969) by Chiu Yao-ming (邱耀明) contains symbolic flowers, collage-like illustrations on splash pages, as well as backgrounds full of floating petals (**fig. 2-49**). But the three-tier layout still predominated, and so the atmosphere, unpeopled scenes, and multilayered panels typical of Japan's girls comics were missing. From the 1960s to the 1970s, Taiwan's girls comics adopted character designs and background symbols from Japanese *shōjo manga* while modifying the paneling and the expression of inner thoughts in accordance with the local standard. However, almost all of the first Hsiao-mi Comics Newcomer Award winners in 1980 shared the grammar of *shōjo manga*, from modeling to paneling and composition. The layout, with its multiple overlapping panels, differed completely from the previous three-tier standard. Thus, the grammar of Japanese *shōjo manga* had been fully accepted by the Taiwanese comics industry, and the traces of the 1960s had disappeared (Lee, I-yun 2012, 230–35).

**Figure 2-51.** Use of "atmospheric panels" and panel breaches in *shōjo manga*. © Hagio Moto (萩尾望都), *The Heart of Thomas* (トーマの心臓), Shogakukan (小学館), 1989 [1978]), 286–87. License: CC BY 4.0.

After the United States had cut off diplomatic relations with the Republic of China (Taiwan) in 1978, the KMT government promoted a song called "Descendants of the Dragon" (龍的傳人) to reinforce its claim to be the legitimate heir to Chinese nationhood. The title came to stand in for the Chinese people. On January 1, 1983, the serial comic strip "Oolong Courtyard" (烏龍院) by Ao Yu-hsiang (敖幼祥) began in the Daily Life Section of *China Times* (中國時報) and created a sensation, that attracted many people to comics. The protagonist is a "descendant of the dragon" born from a dragon's egg. His grandmaster is Jiang Ziya (姜太公), and his second master is Budai (布袋和尚), both legendary figures in Chinese mythology. In the subsequent colored book edition published by Times Cultural Publishing (時報文化出版社), which belonged to the *China Times* network, the part where the dragon lays the egg is not directly depicted; only the protagonist hatching from it. His grandmaster and second master are replaced by reclusive experts who live in deep mountains.

Born in 1956, Ao Yu-hsiang drew "Oolong Courtyard" in four panels that included dynamic momentum lines. Both the colored and

the black-and-white editions, released by Yung-chuan (永全) in 1984, exhibit a *lianhuanhua* format characterized by frontally depicted stage-like scenes. The black-and-white version featured speed lines and atmospheric lines, while the colored version distinguished itself from colored American comics by adding impact lines for body movements, such as head nodding, as well as afterimages. Furthermore, the comics employed exaggerated facial expressions in the style of Tezuka, such as tears spurting, nostrils flared and puffing, or eyeballs popping out. Ao Yu-hsiang also inserted polyphase images to depict the speed of a subject. In brief, the visuals of "Oolong Courtyard" emphasized movement, even if lacking variation in angles (Lee, I-yun 2012, 243–47). More importantly, extreme close-ups of individual characters helped the reader to connect emotionally, which is as much a characteristic of manga's postwar grammar as the impression of movement. Ao Yu-hsiang himself admitted that he had learned from pirated Japanese productions (*China Times*, 1989/02/23).

In 1984 and 1986, *China Times*, together with China Television (中華電視台) and the United World Chinese Commercial Bank (世華銀行), organized the National Comics Contest, indicating a strong interest in comics after the massive success of "Oolong Courtyard." The winners of 1984 became the main artists of the biweekly *Joy Comics* (歡樂 漫畫半月刊), which *China Times* launched in 1985. These artists included Richard Mai (麥仁杰), Sun Chia-yu (孫家裕), Hsiao Yen-chung (蕭言中), Chang Ching-mei (張靜美) and Chen Uen (鄭問). In contrast, the winners of 1986 remained relatively unknown. But what had not changed was voiced by one of the 1986 judges, Ching-hsiang (景翔) (also known as Hua Ching-chiang (華景彊), who pointed out that the entries were "clearly influenced by Japanese manga, as evidenced by their framing techniques" (*China Times*, 1984/10/17). Such influence was generally met with disapproval, invoking comments such as "they still cannot escape the shadow of Japanese manga" and "the comics should only exaggerate within physiological limits and not become deformed, which is probably due to the influence of Japanese manga" (Joy Comics Bi-Monthly, 1986; see also *China Times*, 1989/02/23).

Chen Uen's debut work, *Warrior Panther* (黑豹戰士), was also published in *Times Weekly*. It featured a distinct departure from Taiwan's 1960s comics style, often containing nine to twelve panels per page, along with extensively used impact lines, extreme close-ups, affective symbols such as sweat droplets, mimetic words, and varied angles. Chen openly admitted his admiration for Japanese manga artists such

as Ikegami Ryōichi (池上 遼一), Kojima Gōseki (小島 剛夕), King Gonta (王欣太), and Itahashi Shūhō (板橋しゅうほう) (*China Times*, 1989/02/23). However, a unique feature of *Warrior Panther* was its retention of a narrative voice, a third-person narrator. This made it reminiscent of earlier Taiwan comics. For example, the first time the Panther rides a motorcycle, the scene is drawn from a bird's-eye view, with unframed text at the top stating, "A motorcycle is coming from a distance." Or when a character named Eight Eyes picks up the Panther and carries him away, a caption explains, "Eight Eyes picks up this young man and returns to the big tree in Supernova." In other instances, phrases like "The young man is slowly waking up" appear as unframed text. Similarly, during a fight between the Panther and a three-handed alien named Tangjia, textual information is given again: "Tangjia attacks from behind and grabs the Panther, sliding him to the ground." In the next panel, a square text box informs, "The Panther is remembering how to deal with the Eight Claws." (Chen, Uen 2021, 34). Although everything is presented visually, the author still relies on text to guide the reader's understanding, a feature characteristic of the comics grammar that had disappeared from postwar Japanese manga. Born in 1958, Chen Uen was fourteen years old when Taiwan comics declined in 1972, so he may have been exposed to comics of the 1960s.

With the abolishment of comics censorship on December 4, 1987, Taiwan comics gained a chance for a fresh start. By this time, readers and creators belonged to a generation that had been exposed to postwar Japanese manga and, consequently, character-driven narratives. In 1989, numerous Taiwanese comics magazines were launched, such as *Weekend Comics* (周末漫畫) and *The Week* (星期). They generally did not differentiate between boys and girls comics, and they had a short life span. It was not until 1992 that Tongli (東立), supported by the rental bookstore system, launched two gender-specific magazines exclusively for local comics, *Sky Dragon Youth* (天龍少年) and *Star Girl* (星少女). *Princess* (公主), another magazine for girls comics released by Daran (大然), also featured a considerable number of Taiwanese productions. Thus, Taiwan comics found a more stable platform in the 1990s, largely subsidized by profits from Japanese manga. But this trend weakened when the market began to stagnate and decline in 1996 (Fan, Wan-nan 1996).

After 1989, the average number of panels per page in Taiwan comics increased significantly, showing no more traces of the three-tier layout of the 1960s. The increase allowed for varied angles and expressions,

thereby manifesting traits similar to postwar Japanese manga. For example, in Richard Mai's (麥仁杰) "The Naughty Ghost of the Super Genius" (天才超人頑皮鬼, 1992), the four panels on page 3 in the first volume use features such as cold sweat, dotted patterns to represent a pale complexion, protruding eyeballs, and upright hair to portray the emotional turmoil of the male protagonist. Zeng Zheng-zhong's (曾正忮) "The Fickle Red Fox" (花心赤狐) serialized in *Joy Comics* magazine in 1988, highlights the popularity of manga in Taiwan with a splash page that features the protagonist of *Fist of the North Star*, Kenshirō, declaring "You're already dead," as well as a police character modeled after Toriyama Akira's *Dr. Slump* (Zeng, Zheng-zhong 1988, 26–27, 38). "Oolong Courtyard" (烏龍院) did not deviate far from 1960s comics with respect to the use of angles, but each panel clearly shows the changes in characters' expressions or actions. In addition, Taiwan comics of the 1980s and especially the 1990s increasingly used impact lines and dot patterns to portray movement and atmosphere within and between panels. Coupled with the adoption of Japan's *shōjo manga* styles, it is clear that by the late 1980s, Taiwan comics had fully embraced manga's postwar grammar and had moved beyond the confines of the older comics expression.

## Chapter summary

Taiwan adopted a manga grammar under Japanese colonial rule. Readers were introduced to comics through newspapers, magazines, rental books, and the toy-like "red-cover" (*akahon*) booklets. After WWII, Tezuka and other artists developed a new type of comics, emphasizing movement and atmosphere and aiming at a close relationship with the reader. One of the most prominent features was the use of close-ups and extreme close-ups of individual characters to express emotional change.

After Japan's defeat in 1945, Taiwan experienced a surge of interest in Shanghai *lianhuanhua* booklets, which had become available at rental bookstores. Newspapers comics were dominated by mainlander artists, who generally adhered to an older visual grammar. However, Taiwanese readers continued to be exposed to contemporary Japanese manga and their innovations through magazines and rental books. In the early 1960s, magazine comics lost ground to rental comics. Story comics in newspapers were extremely limited, apart from works by foreigners. Most were single-panel cartoons or American comic strips like

*Blondie, Henry*, and *Dennis the Menace*. Thus, the rental book sector was the main channel for story comics. It made the 1960s the Golden Age of Taiwan comics, based on a thriving comics market fed by both famous and little-known artists.

Taiwan's comics of the 1950s and 1960s included translations, or more precisely adaptations, of Japanese manga. During the adaptation process, the original artwork was often changed to a three-tier layout, causing some inconsistencies. Prewar comics had been characterized by the frequent use of third-person narration and a frontal stage-like perspective. However, individual close-ups, affective symbols, and other features of manga's postwar grammar entered Taiwan, along with the floral backgrounds, grid-breaking page compositions, and atmospheric panels of unpeopled scenes in *shōjo manga*. In essence, Taiwan's rental comics were quite similar to Japan's postwar rental manga despite their predominating three-tier layouts. But Japan's rental comics began to decline around 1962, and artists shifted to major manga magazines, where they could adopt varied angles and panel layouts.

Taiwan comics, on the other hand, did not have the opportunity for such a transformation. In 1966, the KMT government introduced a censorship system, which led to a major crisis in Taiwan comics, as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Many artists turned their back on comics in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Around 1975, with the proliferation of photocopy machines, newly established comics-only publishers opted to pirate and reprint visually striking and emotionally engaging contemporary manga instead of continuing to work with older local artists or nurturing new talent. Being highly cost-effective, a large number of pirated manga flooded the market, cultivating a new generation of comics readers and creators. Those who debuted after 1980 primarily used the manga grammar they had grown familiar with—though they could not do that in a straight manner due to the political "sensitivity" against anything Japanese, another topic to be covered in the next chapters. The question arises of whether a unique grammar for modern Taiwan comics would have developed if Taiwan's artists had continued to work, that is, if the gap of nearly twenty years created by the comics censorship system had not existed. But history does not deal with "what ifs."

# 3. Status and capital: comics in Taiwan

For a long time, comics in Taiwan stayed on the fringes of the cultural field, if not outside of it. This was partly due to the stigmatization of comics as a lowbrow form of culture and partly to repression by political authorities. Comics that appeared in newspapers and magazines enjoyed a higher status than those produced for and distributed through rental bookstores. But the rental sector, with its typically East Asian image of providing reading material for the lower classes, became the basis for the so-called Golden Age of comics after the decline of the magazines. Due to a lack of locally produced content, editors also adapted Japanese manga to meet the rising demand. The burgeoning comics industry attracted the attention of the KMT government. In November 1962, the Ministry of Education issued revised *Directives for Publishing Comics* (編印連環圖畫輔導辦法) that led to the implementation of a "review" or censorship system of long-lasting impact: it forced the mostly small publishers to privilege pirated manga adaptations and thus deprived not only local artists of opportunities to make a living by creating comics but also stopped the influx of young talents. This caused a severe hiatus in the evolution of Taiwan comics. Manga, on the other hand, saw its status affected first by the severance of diplomatic relations between Japan and the ROC in 1972 and second by its flooding of Taiwan's comics market in the form of cost-effective mechanical copies from the late 1970s onward. This sparked dissatisfaction among cartoonists primarily affiliated with the KMT. Their Comics Cleansing Movement of the early 1980s led to the disappearance of manga between 1986 and 1987 when martial law was lifted, and the comics censorship system was abolished.

The *Directives for Publishing Comics* were at the center of the censorship system. The KMT government issued them already in 1948, that

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 117–175. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.d. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

is, before the end of the civil war on the mainland and their retreat to Taiwan (*Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin*,1948/06/10). It was determined that comics cannot be printed, distributed, or lent without approval by the Ministry of Education. Comics were called *lianhuan tuhua* (連環圖畫) and defined as "any kind of pictorial publication containing popular stories, publications that intertwine word, image and meaning" (*Presidential Office Bulletin*, 1962/11/13). In 1962, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior amended the *Directives for Publishing Comics*. At the very beginning, the new version declared the necessity to reinforce the guidance of publishers in order to protect children from harmful publications. It then went on to confine its target to all comics (*lianhuan tuhua*) "except those in newspapers, magazines, and textbooks." Furthermore, it explicated what was prohibited: 1) that which violates state policy and law; 2) that which undermines moral guidance; 3) that which disturbes the peace of society; 4) that which is harmful to the mental and physical health of children and youth; 5) that which disturbs public morals; 6) that which spreads superstition; and 7) that which exerts a bad influence on state and society (*Presidential Office Bulletin*, 1962/11/13).

Before introducing in detail how the *Directives for Publishing Comics* were implemented and what consequences their handling had, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital and fields will be briefly recapitulated without venturing into their reception history or discussing their applicability to a non-European social setting, which would mean to go beyond the constraints of this monograph. It shall suffice to mention that they have proved immensely helpful for dissecting the complex configuration that Taiwan comics found themselves in during the period of White Terror when their cultural legitimacy depended on multiple factors ranging from actors' provincial status to the reputation of publication sites and distribution channels, and also the "nationality" of the works themselves, in particular with respect to Japan.

## 3.1 Pierre Bourdieu on struggles about status and capital

In his book *The Field of Cultural Production*, Pierre Bourdieu explains, "When we speak of a field of position-takings, we are insisting that [...] the generative, unifying principle of this 'system' is the struggle." (Bourdieu 1993, 34). Cultural products, in other words, assume a certain position within a system of classification through numerous tangible or intangible struggles. Positions change with shifts in the balance

of power among the agents in the social world. In this process, stakes are vital. Social networks, educational backgrounds, and even tastes and preferences all serve as bases for negotiation. As is well known, Bourdieu expanded the concept of capital to refer not only to economic capital, but also social, cultural capital (including informational), and, more broadly, symbolic capital.

Social capital consists of personal networks that can be mobilized in society. It is the sum of short or long-term interpersonal relationships gained through affiliation with certain groups. Actors (or players, as Bourdieu sometimes calls them) gain material or symbolic benefits through their networks. Cultural capital takes three forms: first, that of habitus; second, that of material objects; and third, that of symbolic status. Habitus refers to the long-term dispositions of individuals etched into their unconscious and behavior, including aspects such as historically shaped upbringing, taste, and class-based identity. Unlike material forms of capital, cultural capital perishes with the person and cannot be passed on to the next generation (as such it resembles the symbolic capital to be discussed later). The second form refers to cultural assets that can be passed on, objects that can be converted into both economic and symbolic benefits. Possession of valuable cultural goods enhances the actor's status in society, allowing for a visible increase in their overall cultural capital and, therefore, in reputation, as well as their social capital. Like social capital, cultural capital requires long-term accumulation and is easily recognizable by insiders.

Bourdieu's third and most general form of capital, symbolic capital, arises from endorsement by institutions, for example, through academic credentials. It ensures persistently stable and trustworthy skills and, as such, an individual's relation to culture. Its guarantee rests upon the symbolic power of the state apparatus: without the state's endorsement, a diploma would be just a meaningless piece of paper. Therefore, educational institutions with legitimate authority become the just standard by which individual abilities are judged. In other words, educational institutions and educational capital form a system that makes exclusion reasonable and acceptable. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that the first step taken by the newly arrived KMT government in Taiwan was to take control of the education system. Until 1997, textbooks for all school levels existed only in one version, the one approved by the government. These textbooks were at the center of the unified national education. Promoting the spirit of Sinocentrism (that will be detailed later), they privileged a specific concept of cultural capital, with Chinese

mainland culture positioned as superior and Taiwanese local culture as possessing only little or even no cultural capital at all.

As is obvious from the above, all types of symbolic capital (whether produced by social relations, cultural products, or educational institutions) relate to some kind of validation process through which cultural value is selectively acknowledged. For instance, only certain types of education qualify for employment in academia. With respect to this process, Bourdieu introduced the concept of symbolic power. Symbolic power denotes the possession of legitimacy and labeling rights, while symbolic capital provides its measure, allowing for the definition of significance and for creating a consensus on the evaluation of things. Importantly, symbolic power facilitates collective misrecognition based on unconditional trust: only when the public believes something to be sacrosanct will its sacrosanctity assume real weight, regardless of whether it is truly sacred or not. Things are deemed superior or inferior by "a valid imposture" and "a legitimate abuse of power" (Bourdieu 1993, 81). However, people believe that they themselves determine the respective value. Such misrecognition formed the basis for the long-term disdain for comics in Taiwan.

Symbolic capital comes to the fore whenever the social status of an individual or a group is at stake. Bourdieu observed that language and other symbolic codes often become the main sites of struggle for those in power: they employ them as a type of invisible, soft violence, a reference frame that benefits them more efficiently than physical force. Superiority and inferiority, as embedded in language, for example, are ingrained in the habitus of those who use that language, taking the form of dispositions and concepts that are difficult to change. Speaking the legitimate language is a social heritage that transforms societal differences into a symbolic system, that is, "distinction." Legitimate language is obtained through social struggle, and professionals play an important role in this, monopolizing the designation of what counts as legitimate language and producing a unique language according to their own habitus and practice. This language then performs the social function of distinction, including correct pronunciation, as well as etiquette. It sets the boundaries for what is "well-said," and ensures that a specific way of speaking, choice of words, and accent maintains dominance in society. Endorsements by the state, in the form of educational credentials, undoubtedly act as an important source of expert power. Moreover, symbolic power is an invisible power, a collective misrecognition that stems from an unconditional belief in symbols.

On this point Bourdieu cites pioneering French sociologist and anthropologist Marcel Mauss and his observation that magic is not about the qualities of the magician or his procedures and performances but rather about how to cultivate and maintain collective belief. Only if the crowd is willing to believe, and truly believes, that something is sacred (or sublime), does it have the capital for "a valid imposture." In other words, when people believe that a certain symbolic discourse is lofty and cultured, and when they participate in acquiring it, do they acknowledge the hierarchical structure within this symbolic system and the symbolic violence used to dominate other classes.

From 1946 onward, the KMT implemented a strict language policy in Taiwan. After all, the national language represented the legitimacy of their rule, while Japanese was regarded as a "toxic remnant" in Taiwanese bodily habitus and daily life. In February 1946, just three months after the Chen Yi government officially had taken control of Taiwan on behalf of the Allies, Japanese-language newspapers and books were prohibited. Under colonial rule, the promotion of Japanese as the national language had begun in earnest in 1937, in line with the so-called Imperialization Movement. From 1945 to 1958, the KMT government took draconian measures to replace it with Mandarin, the prestige dialect of Chinese spoken in Beijing, and indigenous to Northern and Southwest China (with some regional variations in pronunciation). Schools were required to implement Mandarin, or the National Language (國語) as it continues to be referred to today, for instruction despite the fact that few students (or teachers) could speak or understand it at the time. Any use of Taiwanese (as the Hokkien, or southern Fujian dialect of Chinese is known in Taiwan) would result in punishment, such as fines, or being made to stand with an insulting "dog tag" around the neck.

In the 1950s, the government included effectiveness in promoting Mandarin in the annual performance evaluation for civil service managers and required all civil servants and elected representatives to use it. In addition, radio programs in local dialects were drastically reduced. When Taiwan Television (TTV) started broadcasting in 1962, more than half of the programs were originally in Taiwanese to attract viewers, but soon, this was considered an obstacle to national policy and limited to less than one hour per day. In response to the Cultural Revolution in the PRC in the late 1960s, Chiang Kai-shek launched the Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement, further strengthening Mandarin (see Zhou 1995). Mandarin was positioned as the legitimate

and correct language, and fluent speakers were regarded as superior to the locally used allegedly inferior languages, that lacked cultural and symbolic capital.

Symbolic power exists only through discursive structures and, as such, can only be exercised if recognized. It does not exist in the symbolic system in the form of extra-verbal implications but rather in the established relationship between those who exercise power and those who obey it, a force capable of maintaining or subverting social order, and a belief that cannot be created by words alone (Bourdieu 1991, 163–70). Society understands the world through an abstract conceptual system. This system of meaning is defined by symbolic power, i.e., society's collective belief or misrecognition, which comes from those who hold authority, such as tribal chiefs, kings, emperors, presidents, or leaders, shamans, clerics, scholars, artists, scientists, and other experts. It is precisely because symbolic power and symbolic capital have the effect of rendering things self-evident that they have become the object of competition among those in power. To back military force with symbolic power, the KMT government implemented the White Terror regime, which lasted from the 1950s until 1991. Compulsory education and state-controlled mass media led people to accept that the local Taiwanese language and culture were unrefined and marginal and that Mandarin speech and mainland Chinese culture were noble and pivotal. Even though mainlanders did not universally speak standard Mandarin (including Chiang Kai-shek), once in Taiwan, their diversity was obscured in favor of a monolithic formula that tied mainlanders to Mandarin and authoritative Chinese culture as endowed with high symbolic capital.

Certainly, the importance of different forms of capital varies from field to field. A field refers to the network of objective relationships between positions. These positions are defined by their actual or potential ability to gain certain advantages within the structure of power or capital distribution. These advantages are the stakes contested within the field. In other words, different types of capital can be exchanged for one another, but the exchange rate varies depending on the field. For example, if de-economization is valued in the cultural field, that is, if cultural capital ranks higher than economic capital, then the advocates of *l'art pour l'art* will occupy a higher position and possess more symbolic capital than commercial art. In the finance industry, on the other hand, economic capital that can be exchanged for cultural capital is much less available than in the academic field (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992, 97).

Symbolic capital plays an important role in the structure of misrecognition. It grants varying degrees of legitimate authority to label things, and in the process, it establishes notions of good and bad. Symbolic capital refers to the amount of symbolic power one holds, or the right to speak. Rather than being an independent type of capital, it is intertwined with economic, social, and cultural capital. These three forms rely on symbolic capital for their legitimacy, while symbolic capital needs them; otherwise, it cannot be exerted. The relationship between cultural capital and symbolic power is particularly close. Only if one possesses symbolic capital does one's cultural capital have the power to confront economic capital.

The struggle for capital and field positions is closely linked with two concepts: strategic possibility, as conceptualized by Michel Foucault, and symbolic struggle, as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu. The configuration of positions within a field and its boundaries are not fixed. If they were, human action would be completely constrained by structure, and there would be no need for struggle. The boundaries of a field have ambiguous parts that actors can strategically exploit. In other words, the configuration of the positions is what is at stake in the struggle. Bourdieu cites Foucault referring to the sites of struggle as "fields of strategic possibility" as follows:

> Pursuing a logic that is entirely characteristic of symbolic structuralism, but realizing that no cultural product exists by itself, i.e., outside the relations of interdependence which link it to other products, Michel Foucault gives the name "field of strategic possibilities" to the regulated system of differences and dispersions within which each individual work defines itself. (Bourdieu 1993, 32–33)

In other words, there is a deep connection between using stakes and the presence or absence of symbolic power. According to Bourdieu, those who possess symbolic power will arrange the world in a hierarchical manner that is beneficial to them by naming. Their classificatory system is engraved into people's habitus through collective misrecognition and an allegedely selfevident worldview. As a result, the world subjectively constructed by people under this misrecognition transforms into a natural and objective world. Symbolic struggle aims to seize the power of legitimization and is conducted between those who seek to reconfigure the classification system and those who seek to uphold the misrecognition (Bourdieu 1990, 140). But the latter are not necessarily the holders of power. As misrecognition is rooted in a naturalized view of society,

even people who do not benefit from the status quo will resist those who oppose it and struggle to maintain cognitive harmony. Thus, the opposition that Taiwan comics faced in the process of legitimization came not only from the representatives of political power and authoritative culture but also from parents and women's rights groups, as will be introduced in detail later.

During martial law in Taiwan, the KMT monopolized all forms of capital, making it impossible for comics to compete with mainstream culture or state power for capital. Anything not approved by the government had to stay underground. Only when the KMT's monopoly on symbolic power loosened after the lifting of martial law did a shift within the cultural field become possible. In the 1990s, Taiwan comics established a position in the cultural field through the power of their economic capital accumulated through manga piracy and rental stores. But how do changes in the cultural field occur? To reiterate, the cultural field is constructed by the agents involved in cultural production.

> [In this] network of objective relations constructed from various positions, agents apply strategies to maintain or promote their own positions or statuses. The network of objective relations between positions subtends and orients the strategies which the occupants of the different positions implement in their struggles to defend or improve their positions, strategies which depend for their force and form on the position each agent occupies in the power relations. (Bourdieu 1993, 30)

Acquiring symbolic value is the most critical aspect of social relations within the cultural field and with other fields, and the biggest stake is the belief in culture. In 19th century France, for example, the symbolic value of *l'art pour l'art* held the highest degree of legitimacy (see **fig. 3-1**).

Showing the cultural field of 19th century France in a cross-sectional view, **Figure 3-1** features on the left side types of culture with low economic interest and high autonomy, that did not attract a general audience. Placed on the right side are types of culture that were shaped by high economic interest and appealed to mass preferences. Moving from top to bottom, there is a decrease in the right to speak, which results in a shorter lifespan in the cultural field. The items in the dashed box at the top possess the highest total amount of cultural capital. Thus, **Figure 3-1** presents the cultural field as constructed by both cultural and economic capital. For example, those in the lower left corner or outside of it are not part of the cultural field due to their lack of both an audience (economic capital) and the art world's recognition (cultural

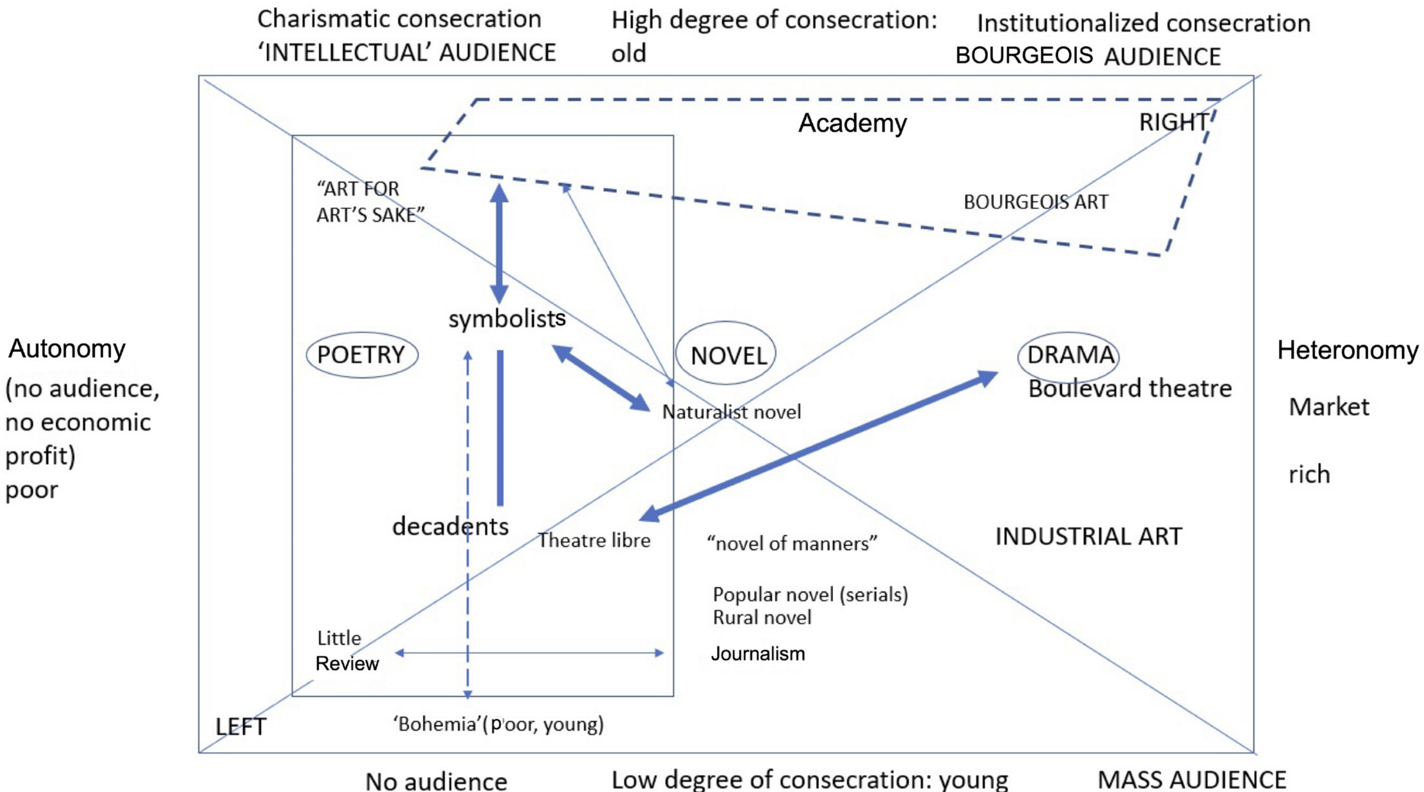



**Figure 3-1.** The cultural field in 19th century France, according to Bourdieu (1993, 38). Recreated by the author.

capital). Figure 3–1 suggests further an opposition between cultural (as symbolic) capital and economic capital. As for the latter, the cultural field stretches between the two poles of the biggest and least audience: the farther to the left, the poorer, and the farther to the right, the richer. The box on the left represents a culture with high autonomy that adheres to the *l'art pour l'art* principle; the box on the right represents a market-oriented and, as such, heteronomous culture.

Participants in the cultural struggle try to increase the amount of the two types of capital through various methods. The most effective way to achieve legitimacy is through the approval of people who possess a lot of symbolic capital, such as social elites or highly credible critics. Having a large audience also helps to strengthen one's position. This raises two more issues: the possibility of establishing new positions in the cultural field and changes in the field brought about by shifts in social class and political power, including the degree of openness to and the relationship with other fields. For example, before the mid-1990s, mainland Chinese culture was the only legitimate one in Taiwan's cultural field, while the local culture was disenfranchised and rendered largely invisible (see Hsiau 2021). Consequently, the conversion of economic capital accumulated by local productions into cultural capital became possible only in the 1990s.

**Figure 3-2** shows the "literary and artistic field" (3) as contained within the "field of power" (2) and as characterized by relative autonomy, especially in political and economic regards. Both are embedded in the "field of class relations" (1). Figure 3–1 is an expanded view of section (3), but its "+" and "–" signs represent only the cultural capital without indicating the economic capital included in Figure 3–1.

The more economic capital one has in the cultural field (1), the more power one can gain in the field of power (2). This, however, may devalue one's cultural capital. Conversely, a large amount of cultural capital does not necessarily contribute to improving one's position in the field of class relations (3), nor does it provide much benefit in the field of power (2). After all, creators who lose autonomy are subjected to the general laws of the field of power (on the right side of the cultural field, as shown in Figure 3–1) and to the mercy of sales figures and rankings. Under capitalist conditions, economic capital is most advantageous for gaining power, while cultural (as symbolic) capital just serves as a means to that end by providing legitimacy or reputation. Therefore, improving one's position in the cultural field relates primarily to the amount of economic capital one possesses (Bourdieu 1993, 37–38). But precisely because the cultural field is embedded in the field of

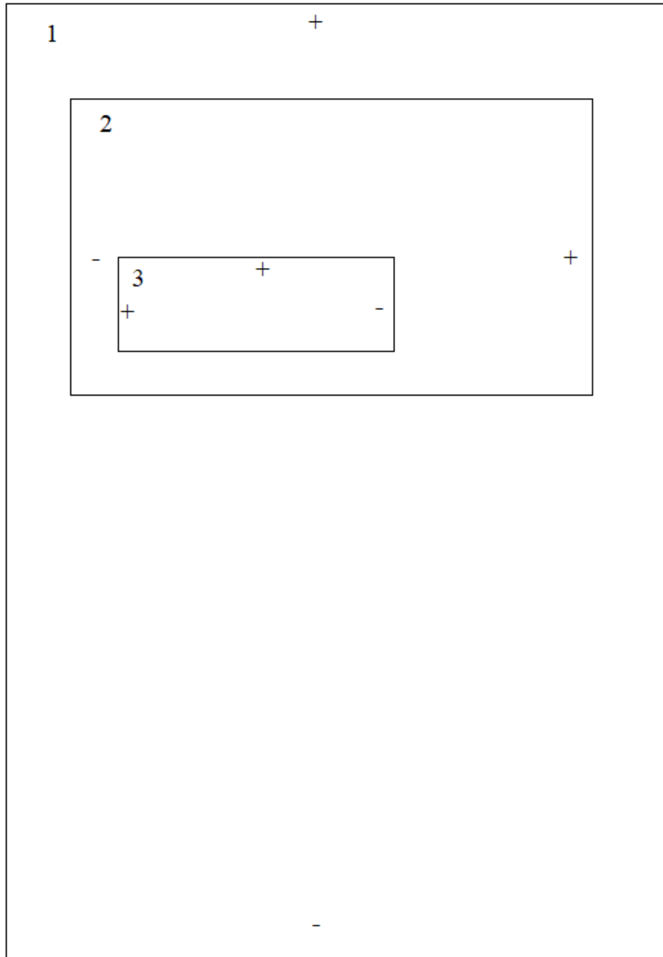



**Figure 3-2.** Relations between Fields. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 1993, 38. License: CC BY 4.0.

power, there is little room for struggle within it, especially if the field of power is totalitarian and culture is defined as monolithic, exclusive, and self-contained. Then, the cultural field becomes a closed circle with symbolic capital being completely controlled by the field of power and, consequently, not exchangeable. This was the case in Taiwan from the 1960s to the 1980s, where comics, although they generated economic capital, were quickly suppressed by political power and could not be exchanged for symbolic or cultural capital. Taiwan's KMT government established a monopoly of symbolic power in order to reinforce its role as the authoritative representative of Chinese culture vis-à-vis the PRC, and it used the cultural field for constructing misrecognition assisted by experts and the mass media. Like other forms of expression, comics

came under control, whether belonging to the cultural field due to their publication in newspapers and magazines or staying outside of it due to circulation through rental bookstores. The next section will take a closer look at the KMT government's censorship system.

## 3.2 The comics censorship system

In the mid-1950s, long-format comics began to flourish in Taiwan. Dozens of magazines were launched, ranging from magazines for children such as *Schoolmate* (學友) and *Oriental Youth* (東方少年) that published four to six-page long serials to specialized periodicals like Comics King (漫畫大王), later renamed *Comics Weekly* (漫畫週刊). Rental bookstores of the time offered Shanghai-style *lianhuanhua* booklets as well as Japanese manga. As the market was booming, local artists began to receive attention, for example, Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹), Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽), Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲), and Huang Ying (黃鶯).

The years 1960 to 1966 marked a Golden Age. New titles were released on a daily basis, gradually replacing the weekly magazines that readers had to wait for. After the last comics magazine had ceased publication in 1963, rental comics became the main platform for graphic narratives created by young talents such as Lei-chiu (淚秋), Fan Yi-nan (范藝南) (real name Fan Wan-nan 范萬楠), Chen Ching-fu (陳清富), and Yu Lung-hui (游龍輝). Martial arts stories set in an imaginary "ancient" China and focused on traditional values such as loyalty and filial piety predominated. They may appear to have been in line with the Sinicization policy of the KMT government. But even in the form of such narratives, comics were not well received; they were scrutinized by the government's media control apparatus, even if they did not belong to the cultural field.

Already on May 17, 1948, when the outcome of the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists was still undecided, the KMT government issued its *Directives for Publishing Comics* (編印連環圖畫輔導辦法), although these lacked details that would have made implementation practical. On October 27, 1949, the government promulgated the *Taiwan Provincial Management Regulations for Comics*, which was meant mainly for the registration of publishers and rental businesses. During the 1950s, total control mechanisms were installed, including martial law, a wartime economic system, and the Betrayers Punishment Act, which was targeted at containing communism. By means of

educational institutions and the mass media, the KMT government created a system of symbolic reproduction to raise a compliant young generation. This was the backdrop for regulating comics narratives.

The predominant comics genre during the Golden Age was martial arts (*wuxia*), but period pieces, modern morality tales, movie adaptations, and pirated manga were also available. While the first two had Chinese settings, they often included plots of anti-establishment revenge and injustice, which could appear adverse to the KMT. Therefore, on August 5, 1961, the Director of the Information Department of the Taiwan Provincial Government formally recommended to the Ministry of Education to regulate *wuxia* novels and comics in junior high schools. On September 5, the Ministry of Education pointed out that the *Directives for Publishing Comics* issued in May 1948 had become outdated and should be amended. Chiang Kai-shek himself was involved in this process. On October 13, 1962, the Executive Yuan approved the revised *Directives for Publishing Comics* which now contained 17 articles. The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Education announced them on November 7, 1962 (as recorded in the *Ministry of Education Archive*, 1988/02/23). They became the basis for what is commonly referred to as the comics censorship (literally "review") system. Specifications followed in November 1963. Magazines with a proportion of serial comics that exceeded 20% of their total content fell under the category of *lianhuan tuhua* and had to be reviewed (*Ministry of the Interior Archive*, 1963/02/12). Complete submission and approval prior to magazine serialization were obligatory.

Although the Ministry of Education began admitting applications for review only in March 1966, some comics had already been banned from sale in September 1965. In other words, comics were forced into illegality within a six-month period. On January 23, 1967, the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT), which was in charge of the reviewing under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, began to announce the implementation details (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1967/01/20). First was the release of the *Considerations for Compilation and Submission of Comics by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation*, followed by the *NICT Comics Review Standards* in March and the *Supplementary Considerations for the NICT Comics Review* in June. From then on, comics published in Taiwan carried a large stamp on the back, indicating that they had been approved by NICT (**fig. 3-3**) and attesting to the strict implementation of the comics review system.

國立編譯館連環圖畫審定執照

國(72)連審字第 1294 號

茲據 虹光出版股份有限公司 呈送 翁灼華 編

拜訪春天 連環圖畫第 全 冊

共壹冊經本館審定合格合行發給執照

右給 虹光出版股份有限公司 收執

館長 熊先舉

中華民國七十二年二月二十六日

虹光

行政院新聞局事業登記證局版臺業字第壹伍叁柒號

中華民國七十二年 三月二十日發行

虹光出版股份有限公司 臺南市富強路三五五巷一六號

董事長：陳文富 發行人：尤慧敏 總編輯 王朝枝

電 話：(〇六二)三八二六三一一～三

印 刷：永祥美術印刷廠 裝 訂：勝芳裝訂廠

郵政劃撥三五七八五號(帳戶：虹光出版社)

特價三十元

**Figure 3-3.** The approval stamp on the back cover contains the book's title, the author's name, the publisher's name, the number of volumes, the seal of approval of the NICT, and the director's signature seal. License: CC BY 4.0.

The first article of the *Directives for Publishing Comics* clearly stated: "In order to adapt to the actual needs to strengthen the guidance of comics publishing, in order to maintain the physical and mental health of children and adolescents and to prevent other undesirable influences, the Government hereby formulates the following measures" (*Presidential Office Bulletin*, 1962/11/13). It is evident that the aim was to implement total governmental control over the reading materials accessed by the next generation in the name of protecting children and adolescents. In September 1965, publisher Wenchang (文昌) submitted a petition that explained the following:

> Society generally misunderstands comics as targeted at children. According to actual statistics, however, the vast majority of comics readers are adults from the lower middle class. They read very limited amounts of text, have a busy work schedule, and are not well-off financially, so they seek comics as the most affordable and practical pastime. (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1965/09/24)

In consideration of the system of reproduction, those in power foregrounded children and adolescents rather than socially disadvantaged adults with limited capital in the field. The former needed to be educated, and the latter needed to be controlled, but neither was seen as a potential contender in any struggle. To quote Bourdieu,

> [o]ne of the reasons why the less educated beholders in our societies are so strongly inclined to demand a realistic representation is that being devoid of specific categories of perception, they cannot apply any other code to works of scholarly culture than that which enables them to apprehend them as meaningful objects of their everyday environment. (1993, 217)

While written text as composed of abstract signs requires active learning to establish connections with the objects or concepts represented, images serve more easily as points of reference for understanding the world in everyday life. Precisely, therefore, text has a higher cultural status in the field of knowledge than images, whereas comics, image-based as they are, associate children and the less educated. In the everyday world, where adult logic prevails, especially in the cultural field as driven by high symbolic capital, knowledge and refined tastes hold crucial positions. Comics such as the *akahon manga*, which had become popular in 1940s Japan, or the magazine and rental comics that flourished in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s, were considered reading matter for children, even if their audience did not exclusively consist of children. As a result, they were cut off from high cultural capital and lacked positive symbolic capital. Although a type of symbolic commodity, comics could not even touch the boundaries of the cultural field during this period; they were excluded from it altogether. The cultural field had no support for such graphic narratives when they were directly targeted by the authorities. In other words, they had no stakes at all during the period of martial law when symbolic capital was completely sealed off.

The content review criteria of the NICT stretched over sixteen pages, but they were broad and imprecise, granting reviewers a great deal of power to decide whether or not to allow certain comics to pass. Precisely because the review standards were very abstract and left to the reviewer's discretion, artists found it difficult to determine how to get their work approved. For example, Section 3, Page 6 of Article 3 states: "Fictional events that do not exist or cannot happen, and that cause people to be confused, frightened, or shaken in their beliefs about life, should not be depicted." (He, Shu-hui 1980, 50; *Ministry of Education*

*Archive* 1969/12/04). This essentially ruled out any narratives that contained science fiction, fantasy, or ghosts. When comics artist Shan-ba (山巴) featured, for example, a talking dog in one of his graphic narratives, it was rejected by the reviewer on the grounds that "children who see this kind of dog will become neurotic," citing the aforementioned rule of rejecting scenarios that either do not exist or are improbable. However, in the Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck cartoons that aired on Taiwanese television from the 1960s to the 1980s and their comics editions, dogs, mice, and ducks not only talked but also earned money, bought houses, learned magic, and kept pets. In addition, the Japanese manga *Doraemon*, which became popular among Taiwan's children after 1973, was considered neither "non-existent" nor "improbable," although it featured a futuristic robot cat. Obviously, the standards for comics censorship varied depending on the reviewer. There were some artists among the reviewers, such as Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘), Yang Chi-lu (楊齊爐), and Chen Ching-hu (陳慶熇), but the top person in charge, Chiang Chih-hua (江治華), was a NICT official. Reviewers also included writers, teachers, personnel from the Taipei Education Office, staff from the China Youth Corps, and KMT members such as Chang Sung-mao (常松茂) (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1969/11/04). This made it difficult to pinpoint the problem with any given comics. Artists and publishers lacked not only the political and economic power to resist the authorities, but also the symbolic capital to change this situation. Even if they took a rejection to court, the final decision would still confirm the original review.

Not only were comics restricted with regard to their contents, but the accumulated economic capital was also quickly depleted. The review fee for each title was set at forty times its retail price, following the example of elementary school textbooks. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the price of a comics was about NT$ 3 to NT$ 4. The head of NICT, Wang Feng-chieh (王鳳喈), firmly maintained that it was unreasonable to expect the reviewing institution to bear the cost alone. Wang admitted that most comics publishers were small, making do with limited capital, very low sales prices, and minimal profits, and thus, he said, they were required to only pay NT$ 120 per volume, that is, one-third of the review fee for elementary school textbooks (NT$ 360 divided into two reviews of NT$ 180 each). But he also emphasized that this did not cover all of the actual reviewing costs, making it difficult to fulfill the review mission. In other words, Wang found the review fee of NT$ 120 far too low, but he also admitted that the publishers of elementary school textbooks had more capital and higher profits. He

conceded that the NICT still needed to allocate their own budget and that the small comics publishers should not have to bear all the costs of the review fee (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1965/01/10).

Wang's statement suggests that comics were generally considered to be on the same level as elementary school textbooks, at least in terms of mandatory review. They were judged by the same standards, up to and including the punctuation, whereas historically accurate visual depiction, for example, of clothes, was not considered important (as will be detailed in Chapter 5). In other words, comics were treated as educational materials rather than entertainment. This represents not only a significant difference from the publishers' stance but it also clearly reveals the government's intention to exercise ideological control. In addition, the case of the review costs allows insight into some economic aspects. If the comics publisher Wenchang had actually followed the policy they proclaimed when founded in 1960, namely, to release "one title a day," they must have submitted seven titles a week. With a price of NT$ 7.5 per volume, the review fee was NT$ 300, which amounted to NT$ 2100 for seven volumes, or NT$ 14,700 per month at a time when the national income per capita was only NT$ 8,910 in 1966 (by 1976, it was NT$ 40,023, and a single volume cost NT$ 20, by the early 1980s, NT$ 25–35).

At the same time, older comics had to be submitted for review before they could be reprinted. Their review amounted to a fee of NT$ 400,000 in total. The review period was set at one month. Upon approval, the applicant had to submit the first print sample and the original manuscript. Only after verification would a license be issued, which then had to be printed on the back cover (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1965/09/24). For small, financially strained presses, this was a considerable burden. Moreover, there was no guarantee that the evaluation would be successful, let alone within the allocated one-month timeframe (see **Table 3-1**). Based on the NICT's monthly reports, it can be estimated that the number of submissions for review from January to May alone was more than 408 and that the Japanese manga among them were all returned and not counted because they lacked the appropriate import documents (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1965/09/03; 1965/98/24; 1982/11/30; 1983/07/01; 1985/02/28; 1985/04/24; 1985/05/20; 1985/06/28; 1986/06/23). Pleas by various publishers were completely ignored. The *Detailed Rules and Regulations for Comics Review* were officially promulgated and implemented by the Ministry of Education in August 1965. This marked the beginning of the government's comprehensive crackdown on comics utilizing symbolic power.

**Table 3–1.** Changes in the Number of Comics Submitted for Review and Licenses Issued. Changes in the Number of Comics Submitted for Review and Licenses Issued (Data for 1984 is missing.)

| Year | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 (Lack for Sep.) | 1983 (Jan–May, Sep–Oct.) | 1985[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Censored Comics** | 2844 | 4815 | 5114 | 4145 | 2437 | 1390 | 1192 | 424 | 410 | 400 | 999 | 1537 | 3422 | 2594 | 2070 | 1897 | 467 | 408 |
| **Licensed Comics** | 2685 | 4462 | 4906 | 4017 | 2366 | 1381 | 1179 | 419 | 405 | 396 | 962 | 1325 | 2645 | 1945 | 1647 | 867 | 450 | 405 |
| **Passes (%)** | 94.4 | 92.7 | 96 | 96.9 | 97.1 | 99.4 | 99 | 98.9 | 98.8 | 99 | 96.3 | 86.2 | 77.3 | 75 | 79.6 | 45.7 | 96.4 | 99.3 |

[1] The 1985 figures are from “File 台 (75) 社字第27553號, which states that it is a self-manuscript. But according to the statistics of each monthly report, the number of submissions for review from January to May alone was more than 408, which is presumed to be the result of Japanese manga submitted for cencershiping not being accompanied by imported documents and being returned without being taken into account.

Comics artist and collector Chi Hou-po (紀厚博) recalled that starting in 1967, the government launched a large-scale confiscation of comics that had not been submitted for review. This created a significant gap in the comics market. As a result, by 1968, publishers had to submit large numbers of previously published but unreviewed comics to compensate (Lee, Su, and Liu 2017). **Table 3-1** shows that the number of comics submitted for review increased substantially from 1968 to 1970, so much so that publishers even put out advertisements on the back of comics to recruit trainees for hand-tracing foreign imports. However, submitting comics in large quantities meant paying a considerable amount upfront. In addition, most publishers then were small companies that usually purchased comics manuscripts in advance, which posed another expense. The review fees put these publishers in immediate financial distress. Consequently, by 1971, the number of publications had returned to the level of 1967 and then began to decline rapidly. Between 1974 and 1976, there was an average of only 410 comics submitted. Similarly, in 1970, there had been 2,000 rental bookstores in Taiwan, but the number had dropped to just over 200 by 1974 (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1979/07/21). The economic capital accumulated during the Golden Age of comics was nearly exhausted between 1968 and 1973, and the social capital was also dispersed. Furthermore, the late 1960s coincided with the rise of Japanese anime on television. In 1970, Kusube Daikichirō (楠部大吉郎) from the Japanese company A Production organized a three-party collaboration involving Ying-Jen Advertising (影人廣告公司) and Tokyo Movie, for which animators were recruited. This opened a new avenue for Taiwan's comics artists. Many got involved in the production of Japanese anime, for example, *Star of the Giants* (first season 1968–71) and *Attack No.1* (1969–71), both produced by Tokyo Movie. Until the 1990s, Taiwan remained the largest subcontractor for Japanese anime studios.

In addition to constantly petitioning the government, the rental-comics sector tried other ways to resist. Yeh Hung-chia had the artists affiliated with his publishing house submit comics in bulk for review, but eventually, he could not bear the high cost of the review fees and had to dissolve his company. Similarly, Tsai Kun-lin, the editor-in-chief of Wenchang, took advantage of the rule that publications with less than 20% comics could avoid being reviewed. In 1966, he started a biweekly magazine similar to *Oriental Youth* (東方少年) called *Prince* (王子半月刊), which featured comics by Chen I-nan (陳益男), Chen Wen-fu (陳文富), Wang Chao-chi (王朝基), and Hung I-nan (洪義男), along with

hand-traced and original Japanese manga. However, due to its rapid expansion, it failed to generate a return, and a devastating typhoon in 1969 led to its end. Thus, in 1970, *Prince* was sold to the *United Daily News* (聯合報), one of the three most widely read newspapers in Taiwan between 1960 and 2000, and there it was turned into a general magazine. Mainlander cartoonist Chien Meng-lung (錢夢龍) had launched a similar comics periodical in 1967, the biweekly *Sky Dragon Youth* (天龍少年半月刊), while the local Taiwanese Hsu Sung-shan (許松山) started *China Youth* (中國少年), which mainly featured islander artists. Both magazines were short-lived. In 1976, Ku Chu-chu (顧竹筑) founded the Comics Weekly Company (漫畫週刊社). With Lin Wei-yeh (林暐燁) as editor, he launched a biweekly magazine featuring mainly works by Taiwanese artist Yang Chen-yu (楊鎮宇). One year later, they began publishing Japanese manga, such as Tezuka's *Big X* (ビッグX, 1963–66), which was, however, credited to a Yu-Feng (宇峰). The magazine was discontinued shortly after that. The *Good Student* (好學生) by Chingwin Press (青文出版社), launched in 1973, lasted longer. At first, it introduced comics drawn by Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國) and Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽). But by 1974, it had become a text-only magazine. In February 1976, it resumed publishing comics, although only one serial, traced from Tani Yukiko's manga *Ballet Star* (バレエ星, 谷ゆき子, 1969–71).

Taiwan's rental comics scene, much like Japan's, rested on well-known artists, but it was supported by an even greater number of unknown ones. With the strict implementation of the censorship system, the vast majority of them lost their creative space. Most of the artists were islanders, while some comics publishers and operators of rental bookstores were lower-class mainlanders. Mainlanders, in general, had a higher symbolic capital than islanders due to their provincial status, but the symbolic capital of mainlanders who worked outside the cultural field was not significant enough for capital exchange. Obviously, the value of capital is different in different fields: symbolic capital must occupy a certain rank in the cultural field to assume legitimacy and exchangeability.

In November 1969, the NICT issued its *Licensing Directives, Submission Procedures*, and *Reference Materials*. In February 1970, another set of guidelines for *Determining the Issuance of Licenses* was passed. Initially announced in 1962, the review system had not been fully implemented until March 1966 and was not fully operational until 1970. It was officially abolished not on July 15, 1987, concurrently with

martial law, but on December 4, 1987, when the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior jointly issued the order to nullify the original set of regulations that had served as the basis for the entire review system (*Presidential Office Bulletin*, 1987/12/04). Newspapers and magazines with comics that served the KMT's political agenda were not reviewed. The censorship system targeted only comics in book format and magazines, which were considered "vulgar" mass culture, especially those without cultural capital, such as rental comics. But newspapers and magazines were also extensively controlled. With the rise of democracy movements in the 1980s, political cartoons by artists not affiliated with the KMT, such as CoCo and Yufu (魚夫), began to appear in magazines, but a larger number of such works were created only after 1987 when the martial law was lifted.

Discrepancies in power and capital also reflected generational differences. Cultural legitimacy was in the hands of adults, while teenagers possessed less total capital. As belonging to youth or children's culture, comics were subject to repressive symbolic power and lacked the capability to resist. Whenever the community's education—or "reproduction"—showed flaws, comics were sacrificed for the maintenance of surface-level harmony within the community. They were pushed to the fringes of the cultural field or even outside of it. Whether or not comics as a narrative media actually had a profound influence on teenagers was not really the point.

## 3.3 Hypersensitivity about "Japan"

After the full implementation of the comics review system in 1966, publishers had to spend a considerable amount of financial capital to submit previously published comics, as well as newly produced ones, for review. Between 1968 and 1970, the volume of comics submitted for review was quite astounding (see **Table 3-1**). This, however, did not mean that new works appeared in the Taiwanese comics market. Publishers began to shift from producing original content to hand-tracing Japanese manga in order to reduce the pressure of manuscript fees. As described in Chapter 2, it was already quite common in the 1950s to hand-trace manga and rearrange them for translated editions; in the late 1960s, this became a popular method of producing rental comics (**fig. 3-4**).

On June 20, 1969, the minutes of the third meeting of the Comics Review Committee of the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) stated that

**Figure 3-4.** Hand-traced version of *Norakuro* published in Taiwan in 1968 (left), compared to the original Japanese version. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0.

> many of the comics submitted by various publishers for review were traced, imitated, or adapted from foreign publications. A decision was made in the previous meeting to "only judge the quality of the content, with the copyright being the responsibility of the publishers," which led to a situation where some publishers plagiarized existing foreign comics, and two or three publishers even plagiarized the same comics. (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1969/12/04)

It was decided to ask the Comics Publisher Association of Taipei to develop rules for self-restraint. The hand-traced "foreign publications" mentioned in the minutes included American comics such as *Batman, Popeye the Sailor*, and *Mickey Mouse*, but those were exceptions compared to the vast number of Japanese manga.

From 1974 to 1976, the entire comics market was in a slump. Artists who had been active in the 1950s and 1960s fell into obscurity. With the gradual spread of photocopy machines after 1976, direct mechanical reprints of Japanese manga emerged. From now on, most Taiwanese comics readers grew up reading manga, some of whom debuted as creators in the 1980s. This created a generational gap among Taiwan's comics artists.

Manga had to be stripped of any Japanese cues to get published in Taiwan, but there were a few exceptions. For example, Tongli (東立), one of Taiwan's largest comics publishers until 2003, was able to establish itself in the late 1970s with the manga *The Good Boy* (おれは鉄兵, 1973–80) by Chiba Tetsuya (ちばてつや) (Lee, I-yun 1998). The story featured *kendō* (剣道) prodigy Uesugi Teppei (上杉鐵兵 alias Lin Feng 林峰) as its protagonist and retained all Japanese elements, such as clothes and swords, but still received the NICT stamp. Although the Directives did not explicitly prohibit Japanese motifs, a hypersensitivity existed that originated in the 1950s, when there was no censorship system yet, and Taiwan and Japan still maintained diplomatic relations. At the time, publishers would voluntarily change Japanese to Chinese names and delete identifiable Japanese cues such as shrines, tatami mats, and kimono to avoid trouble.

In 1978, Chiang Chih-hua (江治華), the official in charge of reviewing comics at NICT, stated during the 67th *Annual Review, Guidance, and Evaluation Meeting* of the NICT that "all Japanese clothing, customs, and excessively long hairstyles must be redrawn in the recently increasing manga submissions" (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1979/07/21). In other words, "Japanese manga" was directly addressed. If they appeared in mainstream venues, any recognizably Japanese elements had to be removed before publication. This stance related to the symbolic meaning of "Japan" for the ROC in its claim to be the sole legitimate representative of China, which changed significantly after diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Japan had been severed in 1972. On October 25, 1971, the United Nations General Assembly had restored the legal rights of the People's Republic of China in the UN under Resolution 2758. Chiang Kai-shek rejected the US-American "Two Chinas" proposal and withdrew from the UN, leaving Taiwan in an increasingly isolated international position. In September 1972, Japan established diplomatic relations with the PRC, and on the same day, Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced the severing of diplomatic relations with Japan.

Since the signing of the Taipei Peace Treaty on April 28, 1952, the KMT's stance had been anti-Japanese. The de-Japanization policy was strongly promoted in daily life, including prohibitions on speaking Japanese and wearing *geta* sandals, and special scrutiny was placed on the import of Japanese publications. Economic and political ties with Japan, however, were maintained. In actuality, the de-Japanization policy was part of the KMT's efforts to Sinicize Taiwan. Using symbolic power, the government constructed a historical narrative that replaced

Taiwan's history during the Japanese colonial period with the end of the Qing Dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China (1912), the Northern Expedition (1926–28), and the anti-Japanese resistance in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45). The goal was to erase the traces of Japan's presence and make Taiwan appear as a natural and time-transcending part of China in order to legitimize the symbolic power of Chiang Kai-shek's government. Obviously, history cannot be changed, but it can fall into oblivion, and selection and oblivion are vital for the creation of collective memory (Watson 1994, 19). Of course, such selection would ideally be based on a consensus achieved through free speech rather than being enforced from the top down.

In other words, from the 1950s until the lifting of martial law, public collective memory, including images of Japan, was constructed around the KMT's core narrative of historical and ethnic continuity. In this official history, the Qing dynasty's cession of Taiwan to Japan in 1895 was treated as a fragment of mainland China's historical memory and as something that needed to be erased. How could the Chiang Kai-shek government claim to be the sole legitimate representative of China if it was located on an island that did not belong to China? But erasure could only be achieved through substitution since the islanders of the 1950s had all witnessed the Japanese era. Therefore, history textbooks had the victory in the Sino-Japanese War followed by a narrative of KMT liberation, the joy of the Taiwanese people in "returning to the motherland," the wise leadership of Chiang Kai-shek and his son, and Taiwan's eventual economic growth. Events such as the 228 Incident in 1947, in which the KMT army slaughtered civilians, and the White Terror (1949–91) with its ideological persecution and human rights violations, did not fit into the narrative of a shared ethnic community and, thus, stayed completely out of official history.

After 1972, the KMT government could no longer rely on Japan's international support. As a result, an anti-Japanese narrative was created that portrayed the former ally as the enemy. Capitalizing on wartime memories, this narrative facilitated the KMT's claim to legitimacy. It leaned on the glory of resisting foreign aggression, as well as the image of an external threat to promote internal unity. A series of anti-Japanese activities were initiated by official bodies, the media, and even civil organizations. Remarkably, the anti-Japanese narrative was not defined in terms of Japan's colonization of Taiwan but rather Japan's invasion of mainland China, while Taiwan's unique characteristics and experiences under Japanese rule were omitted.

Starting in 1974, the KMT-controlled Central Pictures Corporation (中央電影公司) produced a series of anti-Japanese patriotic movies: *Everlasting Glory* (英烈千秋) (1974), *Eight Hundred Heroes* (八百壯士) (1976), *Victory* (梅花) (1976), *Heroes of the Eastern Skies* (筧橋英烈傳) (1977), and *Freedom or Death* (茉莉花) (1980). These movies emphasized Japan's cruelty during the Sino-Japanese War and the resolute resistance of the Chinese people. The narratives were almost all set in mainland China, except for *Victory*, which, however, portrayed the Taiwanese people as "Chinese" and so much engaged in anti-Japanese resistance that even the Japanese characters were touched by the love that all Taiwanese had for China. By equating Japan with an external enemy of the nation while promoting internal unity, Sinocentric nationalism was reinforced. In this context, it was only natural for Taiwanese manga adaptations to erase Japanese cues and to cast Japan in a negative light. A diverse "Japan" was not allowed in comics, which echoed the reviewers' explicit demands: to be published, manga had to be altered by removing any "Japanese" elements.

A telling example is *Doraemon* by Fujiko F. Fujio (藤子F不二雄「ドラえもん」, 1969–97). First introduced to Taiwan through a Hong Kong edition, the subsequent Taiwanese edition was released in 1977 by Chingwin Press (青文出版社), whose head, Huang Shu-tzu (黃樹滋), had been a member of the Taiwanese Communist Party and later worked for the Ministry of Justice Investigation Bureau. Retitled *Robot Cat Doraemon* (機器貓小叮噹), most of the character names followed the Hong Kong edition. For example, Honekawa Suneo (骨川スネ夫) was called Tooth Scrubber (牙擦仔) because of his sharp mouth and teeth, which was somehow understandable in writing but not in speech. Therefore, the Taiwanese edition took the Chinese pronunciation of the Japanese name Suneo (スネ夫, 小夫), Xiao-fu, and turned it into 阿福 (A-fu). Shizuka (静香) was changed to 靜宜 in Hong Kong and 宜靜 in Taiwan. These names became part of the collective memory of Taiwanese readers. Later, several publishers competed to release *Robot Cat Doraemon*, and some local artists even imitated it until the manga's Chinese title became *To La A Meng* (多啦a夢) in 1999.

**Figure 3-5** shows Chingwin's 1984 publication of *Doraemon* with a cover that clearly indicates the original Japanese creators and the translator. An easily recognizable, unmodified Japanese castle appears in the lower right panel of page 32 (**fig. 3-5**, left) and in the fifth panel of page 42 (**fig. 3-5**, right). But the city gate on page 43 has been changed to one in a Chinese style, and the clothes and hairstyles of the

**Figure 3-5.** Fujiko F. Fujio (藤子F不二雄), *Doraemon* (機器貓小叮噹), no. 70, translated by Tan Jishan (譚繼山). Taipei: Chingwin (青文), 1984. Left: pp. 32–33, right: pp. 42–43. License: CC BY 4.0.

guards and scholars have been redrawn, while the background stays completely white. Obviously, some elements could not be erased: the Japanese-style closet in which *Doraemon* dwells, the warrior's armor, and the single-storied bungalow-like houses of the protagonist Nobi Nobita (野比のび太 alias Yeh Ta-hsiung 葉大雄) and his friends. Such houses still existed when the KMT came to Taiwan. They were assigned to high-ranking officials and military men from the mainland and thus became a common sight even to those who had not experienced the Japanese colonial era.

In Taiwan, sports comics were less common than in Japan. So, when graphic narratives about *kendō* sword fighting, *judō, sumō* wrestling, and boxing appeared in translation, they quickly gained popularity. Cartoonist Lin Wen-i (林文義) voiced objections, pointing out that translated editions "deleted the names of the original Japanese authors, misleading children to assume that these were local creations" while including "*kendō*, kimono, baseball games, sci-fi, and even sexual content." (Lin, Wen-i 1979, 9).

The KMT was committed to de-Japanization, but Japanese culture had already manifested in people's habitus and could not be erased simply by banning and controlling certain forms of culture or by replacing existing memories. For people born in Taiwan, the KMT's constructed memories were in contradiction to or clearly separated from their own. Unlike communist dictatorships that selectively shape memories of the same country's past, the KMT government selected historical events that differed from local history and practices and lacked the corresponding realms to evoke or support such memories. For example, history textbooks described the Japanese military during the Sino-Japanese War as being very brutal and conducting violent air raids on China, but the bullet holes left on trees and buildings in Taiwan were actually traces of US-American air raids, as Taiwan had been a Japanese territory until 1945. Thus, the traces of war contradicted the narrative that the Japanese airforce had raided their own colony. The collective memory of the Taiwanese people, however, remained below the surface, stored in the form of habitus and practices as conceptualized by Bourdieu. Paul Connerton further expanded the discussion on the "memory of bodily practices" (1989, 72–88). According to him, our minds are populated by the many inertial skills the body possesses, memories of past experiences whose origin does not have to be specified. The bodily practices of a cultural group that accompany cognitive as well as habitual memory are considered natural by its members and are not easily

changed. The memory of bodily practices is difficult to replace and is passed on to the next generation through living together.

Individual memory relies on the memories, stories, and testimonies of the community to which one belongs and often blends, for example, with the content of the books one has read (see Halbwachs 1989). As a result, perceptions, often full of misunderstandings, change along with collective memory, which at the same time evolves in accordance with current needs. After the 228 Incident of 1947, "Japan," whose experience the mainlanders lacked and which the KMT antagonized, became a means for islanders to distinguish themselves from mainlanders and even to resist the KMT, but also develop nostalgia (in the sense of Davis 1979).[18] The meaning of "Japan" changed from contemporaneous fellow and colonial dominator to "symbolic evil" at the end of WWII, to a "weapon against the Kuomintang and its province-specific view of history," and even to an understanding of origin other than the KMT's version of national Han Chinese history (Lee, I-yun 2017).

The French historian Pierre Nora (1989) proposed two types of memory. The first type is "true memory," which lies dormant in actions or habits, in skills that are difficult to convey through language, in bodily knowledge, ingrained memories, and even in instincts; this refers to what Connerton called the memory of bodily practices. The second type of memory is shaped by historical documents and includes the misrecognition produced by compulsory education. From Nora's perspective, Sinocentric history remained an obligatory historical memory for the islanders as it was detached from their memory of actual bodily practice shaped under Japanese rule. Younger generations were taught a history that was consistent with the KMT government's narrative of ethnic continuity, but the older generation, which had been part of the Japanese Empire, held different views. Thus, even under KMT rule, where all memories of Japan were sealed off and silenced, the epistemic frameworks and social practices formed under Japanese rule were passed on to the habitus of the younger generation through the reproduction of bodily memory. This included a nostalgic fondness for the period of Japanese rule (Lee, I-yun 2017, 220–63).

Taiwan's postwar generations grappled with the contradictory coexistence of these two types of memory. Although the KMT government's policies of de-Japanization and Sinicization infused society with Han Chinese culture, memories and ways of life from the Japanese colonial

---

[18] With regard to postcolonial intimacy and nostalgia in Taiwan, see Ching 2019, 115–31.

period persisted in various forms. Old photographs, *kendō* swords, *kyūdō* archery bows, manga pens, and Japanese-style trunks had survived in some households. Japanese words remained in everyday speech, and Japanese-style gestures continued to be used to pay respect. Together with the immediate postwar oppression of human rights, such memory discouraged islanders from actively de-Japanizing, in stark contrast to postcolonial Korea, whose postwar authoritarianism was built from within the same geopolitical entity (see Ching 2019; Hsiao 2011).

Their memory of actual works and their habitus had endowed Taiwanese readers with a selective affinity for the stylistics and narrative techniques of manga. During the 1950s and 1960s, they were exposed to contemporaneous Japanese productions, and although they consumed mainly rental manga in a three-tier layout, they still absorbed characteristic features such as big sparkling eyes and floral backgrounds of girls comics, the realism of *gekiga*, and momentum lines. All these contributed to building a sense of closeness to manga. When Japanese comics were mechanically reprinted from the late 1970s onward, manga's postwar grammar, including single-character frames, character-driven plots, and atmospherically compelling artwork, played a crucial role in attracting readers, especially the new generation of readers who moved away from the comics grammar of the 1960s with its evenly divided frames, frontal stage-like perspectives, and text-heavy storytelling.

In 1973, Taiwan's comics market entered a period of stagnation, with many comics practitioners switching to other professions and the number of publishers and rental bookstores shrinking rapidly, which resulted in a gap between generations of local comics artists. But when photocopying technology became affordable, it was only a matter of time before manga reprints would take off. This happened after 1977, when the economy was booming, and people had extra money to spend on entertainment. At the time, the concept of copyright had not yet taken root in Taiwan; the notion of property was limited to physical assets and did not include intellectual property. Under these conditions, it was a reasonable business choice for publishers who were financially strapped but technically capable and who also were culturally inclined toward Japan to reprint manga after the deletion of Japanese elements, which did not cause much costs anyway. Thus, direct reprints gained a dominant position in Taiwan. By the late 1980s, the publication ratio of Taiwan comics to Japanese manga was about 1 to 10, also due to

the fact that Taiwan's comics industry had almost completely collapsed between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s.

For the KMT, however, Taiwan's collective memory of both local and Japanese culture was unacceptable. It was in this context that the Government Information Office ordered a ban on manga imports in 1976, although there was no explicit regulation in the *Directives for Publishing Comics*. In 1980, the NICT reported that it was strictly reviewing manga publications with respect to whether they "meet ethical and moral requirements and are close to our local customs and traditions," that they had already been altered repeatedly, and that "the best of the best" had been published, "those that had good and viewable contents" as well as those that contributed to "encouraging the spirit and strengthening the body" in terms of sports and physical activities (*Ministry of Education Archives*, 1980/11/07). However, among the types of sports cited by the NICT, *kendō* and *judō*, which formed popular fictional genres at the time, stayed conspicuously absent. The NICT also mentioned in the above report that it had received another official document from the Government Information Office reiterating the ban on importing Japanese manga and suggesting that the number of submissions for review should decrease. Indeed, **Table 3-1** shows that after a peak in the number of Japanese manga submissions for review in 1979, there was a slight downward trend in 1980 and 1981.

As noted above, "Japan" had held negative symbolic capital in Taiwan's cultural field and people's daily lives since 1945. This only intensified after diplomatic relations were severed in 1972. Japanese comics that circulated through rental bookstores were often equated with violence and pornography. Although manga regained some economic capital between 1978 and 1981, it was still in a disadvantaged position in terms of total capital. This became evident in the so-called *Comics Cleansing Movement* (漫畫清潔運動) led by Niu Ge (牛哥; real name Li Ching-kuang 李敬光).

From November 5 to 10, 1982, the National Cartoonist Association, headed by Niu, held its 1st *Comics Cleansing Exhibition* at the Chin-Tien Gallery (今天畫廊) and displayed what they considered to be objectionable works, including five that defied national policy, three that violated good customs, four that depicted violent crimes, four that disturbed social peace and propagated superstitious beliefs, and three that insulted the national character (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). They also exhibited works by Niu himself and others that the NICT had rejected; they claimed that the NICT "condoned" manga

reprints and expressed their hope to receive censored comics materials for the exhibition as well. Among the non-Japanese exhibits, Niu accused an approved Taiwanese edition of the Chinese *Water Margin* (水滸傳) of "communist banditry," which was the only death penalty offense in Taiwan at the time. The reviewers in charge, Kao Yang (高陽) and Nan Kung-po (南宮博), immediately stated that they had not been aware of the possibility that the adaptation of a classic tale would pose such an issue; after all, it had not only passed the review, but had also won a NICT award. They further pointed out that Niu himself had previously written an article in praise of that book (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). The NICT director, Hsiung Hsien-chu (熊先舉), publicly refuted Niu's claims, emphasizing that his institution now strictly required publishers to mark the targeted readership on the cover, such as "Suitable for Adults" or "Suitable for Children." To strictly implement the review system, the NICT had also added a "final" review meeting to its workflow: the team in charge would meet every Friday to review the revised drafts, filtering them three times to ensure rigor. As for the "bad" comics exposed in the *Comics Cleansing Exhibition*, it was concluded that 21 were released by publishers who had violated the rules; these had already been identified and reported to the Government Information Office with the suggestion to be banned (*People's Life Daily*, 1982/11/19).

But Niu Ge did not accept this answer. He claimed that, in comparison, their own comics were obviously of much higher quality than the violent and sexual graphic narratives that the institute had licensed, such as a series by Japanese *gekiga* artist Shinohara Tōru (篠原とおる, 0課の女/零號女刑警) which made the NICT's defense look like a mere excuse. Starting on November 20, an expanded Comics Cleansing Exhibition was held on the fifth floor of the Chin-jih Department Store. It demonstrated what the organizers considered scenes of "insulting the nation," sexual violence and incest in Taiwan manga releases so far, and it featured counterexamples by twenty-three artists, including Niu Ge, Liu Hsing-chin, Yeh Hung-chia, Chen Kung (陳弓), and students of Niu's class under the title *Cartoons and Celebrity Paintings* (漫畫、名人書畫展覽) (*People's Life Daily*, 1982/11/19).

In addition, Niu Ge, Chen Kung, Yang Chi-lu (楊齊爐), and six other newspaper and magazine artists, together with Niu's wife Feng Na-ni (馮娜妮), submitted a petition to the Executive Yuan in the name of the National Cartoonist Association, in which they accused the NICT of recklessly issuing publication licenses for Japanese manga that violated

national policies, contained absurd and brutal content, and promoted immoral behavior, thus harming the nation's youth (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). They complained that manga that had been banned by the Government Information Office were still available in Chinese translation. In addition to the problems mentioned above, these manga "arbitrarily distort historical facts, insult our state system, and maliciously slander our anti-Japanese heroes," and while they pass muster, domestic cartoonists are subjected to "excessive scrutiny, nitpicking, and challenges that prevent their smooth passage, which is incomprehensible" (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). Attached to the petition were pages from dozens of translated manga featuring scenes of murder, bloodshed, and sexual content as evidence that Japanese comics "emphasize violence, show contempt for law and order," and are "indecent" (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). The petition also mentioned that the manga *Doraemon* had not been banned, although it contained Japanese script. Perhaps the most alarming for the NICT was the following accusation:

> Within a hundred years, Japan has invaded China, first by military aggression, killing countless Chinese compatriots [...] and then by economic means, draining our country of enormous amounts of hard-earned valuable foreign exchange. Now, your institution is actually bringing about Japan's cultural invasion through such favoritism, poisoning the minds and hearts of the next generation of our citizens. (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23)

As an example, Tezuka's *Ode to Kirihito* (きりひと讃歌, 1970–71) was cited. In a sequence where the mutated male protagonist is sold to a wealthy Taiwanese businessman as an object of curiosity, the manga originally depicted Taiwan's Presidential Palace. Apparently afraid of giving the impression of lèse majesté, the publisher changed this to the scene of a harbor labeled Port H, but on the next page, there was a depiction of the ROC's National Day (October 10) with the Presidential Palace now called the Prime Minister's Office (see **fig. 5-6**). The petition claimed that this was evidence of a lingering colonial consciousness on the part of the Japanese artist. It also cited a manga about the Japanese presence in Northeast China (1920s–45), where the translation of song lyrics such as "In and out of China" and "China is a good place" smacked of "tampering with history on behalf of the Japanese," and anti-Japanese heroes were called bandits and thieves. The NICT was accused of violating state policy by approving such a publication. Another example was a manga originally created by Matsumoto Leiji (松本零士), in which

intelligence officers interrogate the male protagonist. The petition regarded the mentioning of party factions in children's readings as a divisive conspiracy with malicious intentions that undermined the image of the government's security agencies, created confusion, and violated national policies and laws. It also insinuated that the NICT must have accepted bribes for these manga to pass the review process (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). Violating national policy, attempting to undermine the government, engaging in divisive conspiracies, and, most seriously, colluding with the "communist bandits" were all capital crimes at the time. The Executive Yuan accepted the petition on November 19 and forwarded it to the Ministry of Education on November 23; on November 28, the NICT responded with a 26-page rebuttal.

The most representative event of the entire Comics Cleansing Movement was the 2nd Special Exhibition at the gallery of the Chin-Jih Department Store in Taipei on November 20, organized by a group of artists led again by Niu Ge, as it publicly expressed dissatisfaction with the official comics review system and the authorities. Several high-ranking officials, including then Vice President Hsieh Tung-min (謝東閔), Premier of the Executive Yuan Sun Yun-suan (孫運璿), President of the Control Yuan Yu Chun-hsien (余俊賢), and Minister of Education Chu Hui-sen (朱匯森), all attended the exhibition (*Comics Magazine*, 1983). Afterward, the organizers handed over all relevant information to the Premier of the Executive Yuan. Later, the special exhibition was held two more times and gained momentum when Chiang Chih-hua, the person in charge of the NICT reviews, accused Niu Ge of defamation, and more than twenty people from the cultural field supported him, calling for effective measures to curb the proliferation of translated manga in the format of both shorter strips and longer narratives. Paradoxically, the artistic community did not stand with the censors, but it did not demand freedom of expression either. Instead, they sided with Niu Ge in his mission to exclude harmful comics (*People's Life Daily*, 1983/04/08; *United Daily News*, 1983/04/13).

Legitimate culture rests on the authorities' recognition of high culture (symbolic power), while popular culture gradually gains its position in the cultural field through economic capital, thereby threatening the authority of high culture. In response, high culture usually raises reasons for the negative impact of popular culture on society: it lowers society's taste standards, harms the level of civilization, and numbs or isolates people by exposing them to persuasive techniques. However, new consumers emerge and disrupt the monopoly of high culture in the

cultural field, setting standards for the general population. This is opposed by high culture in an attempt to maintain the distinction and to preserve its own symbolic capital and status. Educational institutions and state agencies help sustain its mysterious monopoly (Bourdieu 1993, 216–17). But while the cultural sector tends to join hands with the national arts academy or high culture, this did not happen with the Comics Cleansing Movement. Positioned outside the cultural field, comics may not have been within the purview of the movement's activists, who mostly published in newspapers and included some *wuxia* novelists. Like Niu Ge himself, they occupied a certain position in the cultural field, had the symbolic capital of being mainlanders, and were full of resentment against "Japan," but they lacked recognition by the cultural elite. So, they voiced support when Niu Ge and others strongly argued that comics were actually high culture and that only Japanese manga was used as a scapegoat to suppress them, hoping that the denigration of "bad comics" would enhance the legitimacy and cultural position of their own works. In this context, Niu Ge's social and symbolic capital as a mainlander cannot be underestimated, in particular, concerning the connections he had built with members of the KMT and the art community during his time in the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, as well as the relationship with his father-in-law Feng Yong (馮庸) and the military, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Probably even more important, the Comics Cleansing Movement was a protest by the people against the authorities. Under martial law, state organizations, such as the NICT, should have had the upper hand due to their absolute symbolic capital. However, when Niu Ge led the opposition, high-ranking government officials supported him and not the NICT. On July 1, 1983, Ma Chi-chuang (馬紀壯), who was then Secretary-General of the Presidential Office, drew the attention of the Ministry of Education to the fact that "Japanese works which slander our government are published in China with modified Chinese characters" and that these should be strictly managed (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1983/07/07). Earlier, on June 23, 1983, the Ministry of Education held a joint meeting with the Ministry of the Interior, the NICT, the Government Information Office of the Executive Yuan, which was in charge of media control at the time, and the Taiwan Garrison Command (台灣警備總司令部) which monitored the population. The main purpose of the meeting was to discuss how to handle "inappropriate comics, magazines, and videos." During the meeting, the Government Information Office

reiterated that the import of manga had been banned since 1976. The meeting concluded that imports should be more strictly controlled by the Taiwan Garrison Command and that import permits should be attached to all foreign comics submitted for review or otherwise not being processed by the NICT. This decision was officially implemented on July 2, 1983, when the government issued document No. 25255 (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1983/07/22).

Later, Niu Ge submitted a petition to the Premier of the Executive Yuan, in which he questioned the irregular approval of "translated foreign materials" by the NICT. The institute's director, Hsiung Hsien-chu (熊先舉), responded specifically to both the Ministry of Education and Niu Ge, pointing out that "translated foreign materials" referred to all types of comics, including manga (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1983/11/16). As a cartoonist, Niu Ge did not want to eliminate comics in general, but specifically "Japanese" manga, which he linked to the violation of national policy and anti-nationalism in addition to their representations of sex and violence. This corresponded to the post-1972 KMT policy of seeking legitimacy through stirring up anti-Japanese sentiment and was precisely, therefore, supported by higher-level officials. Meanwhile, bookstores and publishers that distributed manga saw their cultural and symbolic capital drastically diminished.

Although manga could not be imported, and June 1983 marked the lowest number of submissions in any month of the previous years (all of them originals rather than translations), the comics market was not in the doldrums because publishers smuggled in original manga through various channels. Since Taiwan had been conditionally opened to international tourism in 1979, they could, for example, ask tourists to bring in manga from Japan or had them mailed from Japan in small quantities. They then did the translations by themselves and risked confiscation for publishing them unlicensed. These manga were sold to newspaper stands, stationery stores, and rental bookstores that had previously dealt in comics. Thus, they circulated underground, increasing the economic capital of the comics market (*United Daily News*, 1983/08/15).

Publishers such as Hua-Jen (華仁), Tongli (東立), Yin-Shih-man (尹士曼) (also known as I Shih-man), and later Daran (大然), Rainbow (虹光), Aspire (志明), and Tung-Feng (東峰) jointly petitioned the Ministry of Education and argued that Japanese manga "are not like firearms, ammunition, morphine, counterfeit currency, or contraband; they have their merits. Continuing the review process is essential to

balance supply and demand in the domestic market"(*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1984/01/09). Otherwise, only illegal operators would profit, while those who abided by the law would be unable to publish. The petition also pointed out that the Government Information Office had not given any reasons for banning the import of manga. If the excuse was "cultural invasion," why were other Japanese goods related to food, clothing, housing, transportation, education, and entertainment not banned? Finally, the petition asked whether all this was due to pressure from "a certain individual," referring to Niu Ge. Dated December 30, 1983, and then circulating within the government for over a year, the petition was finally answered by the Minister of Education, Zhu Hui-sen (朱匯森), on February 7, 1984: the initial rule remained unchanged, and submissions for review still required import certification (*Executive Yuan Information Office Archive*, 1984/02/07). Remarkably, rental bookstores and comics publishers, who lacked symbolic and cultural capital, did not oppose the review system as such; they only wanted to be able to publish manga.

After the end of the *Comics Cleansing Exhibition* in late 1983, various authorities, such as the Taiwan Garrison Command, the Taiwan Police Department, and the Government Information Office, as well as several county and city governments, began cracking down on illegal comics, which indicates the high level of political capital involved in the movement. Consequently, the NICT drafted *Directives for Rewarding the Crack Down on Illegal Comics Publications*. Finalized on December 31, 1983, these directives were submitted to the Government Information Office of the Executive Yuan, and on February 13, 1984, its Director, Song Chu-yu (宋楚瑜), decided to implement them. In June 1986, the NICT awarded bonuses to the branches of the Government Information Office based on their success in cracking down on translated comics during the second half of 1985. From July to December 1985 alone, a total of 1,387,256 items were confiscated (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1984/01/30; 1984/02/21; 1987/06/23). The underground circulation of Japanese manga also took a hit. As a result, manga were scarcely seen in the market for more than a year.

What is clear from this whole movement is that under Taiwan's martial law regime, social capital and political power far outweighed the rule of law. All restrictions on human rights had bypassed the legislature and were implemented by administrative decree instead. So-called private (i.e., not state-employed) cartoonists opposed the comics review authority and even received support from high-ranking officials, but

their protests against injustice were not aimed at abolishing the very source of the censorship system, namely, the *Directives for Publishing Comics*. The aim of the official supporters was to join forces with "private" cartoonists in their attempts at targeting manga and issuing administrative orders that would allow them to crack down on them. In other words, Chinese nationalism was legitimized by boycotting manga. The NICT's mistake was not that it had violated human rights by means of censoring comics, but that it had violated the Sinocentric spirit. On January 15, 1983, the Comics Society of the Republic of China (中華民國漫畫學會), chaired by Chen Ching-hu (陳慶熇), held a general meeting and concluded that "the current comics review method is no longer suitable; it should be discussed by our Society, and propositions should be forwarded to the relevant units for reference"(*United Daily News*, 1983/01/16; *Ministry of Education Archive*, 1984/01/09). Taking into consideration that this was supported by publishers such as Hua-Jen (華仁), it appears that the censorship system was actually not opposed, neither by established cartoonists nor underground publishers.

According to Bourdieu (1993, 196), the most effective way for a government to exert control over the arts or the publishing industry is through censorship and the control of symbolic and material benefits. High culture has the authority to influence the distribution of such benefits. Thus, artists' tacit acceptance and compliance are gained, and the prestige and the legitimacy of the dominant political actors are enhanced. In other words, political capital can be legitimized. High culture can enhance one's cultural stakes in the economic field through prestige. In other words, it increases the total amount of capital in the struggle for power. This is also why so many political figures in Taiwan tend to obtain high academic degrees.

Like movies and television, comics are a powerful medium, especially regarding interaction among teenagers. But in a society shaped by adult values, teenagers do not possess much total capital and thus are vulnerable. As reading material for teenagers and those with lower education levels, comics are marginalized or even excluded from the cultural field. The censorship system actually posited teenagers as objects to be dominated. Comics and even martial arts novels were blamed for failures in collective education. In their petition letter, the Comics Cleansing activists objected, for example, to the approval of a comics that depicted the abuse of female inmates by a psychotic warden and an ensuing prison riot, the *Special Investigation Team* (特務調查組), in July 1981. In a typical example of intentional

attribution, they suspected it to have triggered a youth prison riot that occurred in Hsinchu in August of the same year. The NICT, too, raised the question of whether inmates should be allowed to read comics in prison (*Executive Yuan Archive*, 1982/11/23). Thus, the aftermath of the Comics Cleansing Movement shows how the official stance was leaning toward Niu's point of view.

Since the 1970s, the ROC had been increasingly isolated on the international stage and was in dire need of strengthening internal cohesion, as well as legitimizing the KMT's rule over Taiwan and its representing Chinese culture as a whole. Therefore, "Japan," the old national enemy, was ascribed a negative symbolic role after diplomatic relations had been severed. In this context, the flourishing market for manga became difficult for the authorities to tolerate, which was the main reason why manga almost disappeared from Taiwan's comics market in 1986.

Under martial law, Taiwanese people had limited access to information. The reservoirs of symbols were emptied of symbolic meanings. Comics creators had to work within the restrictive framework of Sinocentric ideology. But after 1977, readers began to absorb information from Japanese manga and other foreign comics, enriching their own reservoirs of meaning while also expanding their understanding of comics despite the government's censorship. However, creative work requires not only absorbing the meanings that symbols denote but also accumulating a stock of mythological meanings and engagement in the game of imagination, which cannot be achieved overnight. Into the vacuum that existed in Taiwan's comics market due to the suppression of manga, a new magazine was launched on October 2, 1985, the bi-weekly *Joy Comics*. This timing was no coincidence.

## 3.4 The resurgence of manga and the acknowledgment of comics

On July 15, 1987, Chiang Ching-kuo ordered the lifting of martial law, and on the same day, the *Law for the Period of National Mobilization in Suppression of Communist Rebellion was implemented*. On December 4, 1987, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior ordered the abolition of the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, putting an end to twenty years of comics censorship (*Presidential Office Bulletin*, 1987/12/04).

From 1985 to 2000, Taiwan experienced a period of high economic growth. The emerging middle class challenged the authoritarian rule

of the KMT, demanding democracy, freedom, and access to information. The exchange between economic and cultural capital was no longer as easily suppressed by an authoritarian political power as it had been since the early 1960s. Symbolic capital began to show signs of opening up, at least formally. Of course, the KMT government still controlled the issuance of certificates and academic degrees, as well as artistic production and other forms of symbolic power that conferred legitimacy. But within the cultural field, with its relative detachment from politics, a new potential emerged. In other words, high culture remained closely tied to state mechanisms and closed to the general public, allowing the government to maintain control over the symbolic power to validate cultural value, but popular culture began to strive for legitimacy, which sparked a struggle with the upper echelons of culture. This struggle for upward mobility also manifested in the realm of Taiwan comics.

After the abolition of the comics censorship system, translated editions of Japanese manga reappeared on the market. Tongli and nine other comics publishers revamped their previously thin book format (**fig. 3-6**), switching to the same size as in Japan (110×173mm). They also introduced cardboard covers. Between 1977 and 1987, the size of translated manga ranged from about 115×160mm to 113×176mm, and the page length increased from 100–150 pages in the 1970s to 150–200 pages in the 1980s. While the latter resembled the Japanese originals, the Taiwanese editions were only half as thick because of the thinner paper they used. From 1988 onward, the printing quality, too, improved, which again was appreciated by the readers and led to a wider circulation.

At the time, the newly established Happy Childhood Publishing House (快樂童年出版社) launched a weekly magazine called *Childhood Express* (童年快報). In the absence of copyright laws, the magazine compiled the most popular series from Japan's best-selling boys-manga magazines, in particular, *Weekly Shōnen Jump, Weekly Shōnen Magazine, Weekly Shōnen Sunday*, and *Weekly Shōnen Champion*. Other publishers, such as Tongli and Daran, followed this trend. In 1989, Tongli launched a weekly magazine called *Youth Express* (少年快報) (**fig. 3-7**), which featured the bestselling manga *City Hunter* (シティーハンター, 1985–91) by Hōjō Tsukasa (北条司) and *Saint Seiya: Knights of the Zodiac* (聖闘士星矢, 1985–90) by Kurumada Masami (車田正美). The magazine was priced at only 30 yuan, lower than the regular comics (50–60 yuan), and achieved high sales with a print run of up to 200,000 copies for a single issue.

**Figure 3-6.** The manga in the middle is *Bakuman* (バクマン。) vol. 4, published in 2009, with 194 pages and a thickness of 101 sheets. On the left is a publication from 1981 with 128 pages/64 sheets, and on the right is a publication from 1980 with 158 pages/79 sheets. Photo taken by the author. License: CC BY 4.0.

These specialist weeklies focused mainly on boys, or *shōnen* (少年), manga and were published almost simultaneously with the respective Japanese magazines. The source material was sometimes received by fax and sometimes handed over by flight attendants or travelers. Due to the large number of similar magazines, trending manga from Japan could almost always be read in Taiwan in the same week and gain concurrent popularity. Sometimes, several magazines would serialize the same popular manga, often competing to be the first. In less than a year, the inexpensive and fast-published comics magazines had thrown Taiwan's market into a highly competitive state, which helped overcome the long-standing slump, revitalize it, and accumulate substantial economic capital. Due to the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, Taiwan's publishers had a large number of not-yet-published manga at their disposal. Although manga could still only circulate in informal settings such as book stalls and newspaper kiosks, stationery stores near schools that also sold books, rental bookstores, and newly opened comics shops, its considerable economic power made it visible as newspapers, television,

**Figure 3-7.** *Youth Express* (少年快報). Source: zh.wikipedia.org (last access: February 9, 2023). License: CC BY 4.0.

and other authorized channels reported on this phenomenon (*United Daily News*, 1989/10/28). People who had been reading manga since the 1960s seamlessly connected to younger audiences, while manga opened up the market to include both minor and adult readers, which helped increase the cultural capital of the medium.

As the manga craze intensified, publishers once again changed the packaging, adopting the Japanese way of attaching book jackets (**fig.** 3-8). Some in the comics industry feared that this would lead to an unsustainable cost increase and negatively affect the market. But, in actuality, the market did not cool down; it became even more buoyant. The fine design and printing made comics look more like collectibles rather than cheap and disposable products.

**Figure 3-8.** In 1991, manga covers were made as book jackets. In the case of Japanese publications, the original Japanese title was printed directly on the cover, unlike Taiwan, where the title was printed directly on the book's spine. Photo by the author. License: CC BY 4.0.

The economic capital accumulated from 1988 onward allowed for better binding, facilitating the transformation of comics into "books." Certainly, they had been books in the physical sense but without cultural capital because of their underground circulation as rental items and the coarse paper quality of their covers. Thus, publishers could not get them into established bookstores. However, step by step, they turned comics into beautifully designed, well-printed works similar to Japanese releases with spines that associated "books" when placed on shelves.

Although the power to define cultural capital became liberalized a little bit with the lifting of martial law and the abolishment of the censorship system in 1987, comics did not enjoy absolute freedom in the process of acquiring a cultural position. First of all, the adult generation's controlling attitude toward teenagers persisted. It was taken for granted

that young people should be shielded from sexuality, which resulted in a defensive attitude against "adult comics." Such comics could be confiscated under charges of violating public decency. Thus, manga by Yuzuki Hikaru (弓月光), Tōyama Hikaru (遠山光), and Koike Kazuo (小池一夫) were completely banned. "Dragon Ball" and "Ranma ½" were also censored because they frequently featured nudity, which was not an issue in Japan. In December 1990, *Crest of the Royal Family* (王家の紋章; Chin. 尼羅河女兒), which had been cleared by the reviewers as suitable for recommendation, was—along with *Labyrinth of Green Apple* (青りんご迷宮)—listed by the Government Information Office as an adult-themed manga, and therefore to be regulated because of a scene with a married couple kissing (*United Daily News*, 1990/12/18; *China Times*, 1991/08/08a). Clearly, the definition of "adult content" was highly ambiguous.

Women's groups were also quite active in youth protection. In 1990, the Publication Department of the Government Information Office conducted a campaign against allegedly pornographic publications under the slogan "Purify Publications, Restore Our Literary Reputation," which began with the public burning of 1.5 million books and magazine copies. Then, inspectors vigorously investigated and severely punished businesses involved in printing and renting out such publications. Twelve women's groups in Taipei voluntarily supported the activities of the Government Information Office, setting up a hotline for reporting. The majority of the books confiscated and burned were comics. Later, the Social Movement Association also joined in by providing a free hotline for reporting (*People's Life Daily*, 1990/09/23; 1990/10/02; 1991/01/04).

On October 1, 1990, women's groups for protecting children held a symposium on action for the Eradication of Childhood Toxicants, to which Niu Ge was invited. The participants believed that an incident in which a sixth-grade student molested a third-grader had occurred because the boy had been exposed to adult content in publications. They pointed out that elementary school students could easily obtain violent and pornographic comics from classmates, rental bookstores, stationery shops, and book stalls. This was largely attributed to inaction by the Government Information Office, which was urged to formulate a comprehensive set of regulations for publication, sale, and distribution in order to rid society of pornographic materials (*United Evening News*, 1990/10/01; *China Times*, 1990/10/02). However, the biggest "offender" in the eyes of these women's groups was the manga *City Hunter*. It

had been a bestseller for a long time, but its main character, Saeba Ryō (冴羽獠, Meng-po 孟波 in Chinese), was considered to be objectifying women and consequently to be kept away from children. Noteworthy enough, the *China Times*, which was highly critical of these comics then, would become the publisher of this work after the introduction of the copyright law in 1992.

In the context of defining symbolic power, public discourse sharply divided "sexuality" into two extremes: pure or normal, and obscene or sick (see Foucault 1990). Yet, "normality" was actually defined through a struggle in which various actors such as the Government Information Office, parent groups, women's organizations, civic groups, academics, and comics artists vied for the power to determine it. For example, a 1996 survey by the Ministry of Education found that teenagers' sexual knowledge came primarily from textbooks, followed by classmates and friends, and then television and movies; adult comics and erotic publications accounted for only 16%, which stood in stark contrast to public perception (*China Times*, 1996/03/23). However, the survey was not able to overturn the majority opinion that sexual crimes were to be attributed to pornographic publications.

The original intention of the women's groups and civic movements was to protect women and young people by completely excluding "sexuality" from discourse, believing this would result in a clean and wholesome next generation—actually an example of ideological control. Around the same time, that is, in 1990, Japan too saw a movement led by "mothers" who expressed outrage at excessive sexual representations affecting children and who demanded that the government issue administrative orders banning "harmful books." In March 1992, however, Japan's publishing industry and manga artists launched a major counterattack, forming the Association to Defend the Freedom of Manga Expression, which was represented by major artists such as Ishinomori Shōtarō (石ノ森章太郎) and Satonaka Machiko (里中満智子). They maintained that manga were not lowbrow culture and that a study by the Japan Association for Sex Education, similar to the survey conducted by Taiwan's Ministry of Education, had shown that for adolescents, the main sources of sexual information were other media than comics. Their main argument was that sexual representations in manga were a form of free speech and should not be restricted in any way by law but rather be discussed directly either with the public or with the creators and publishers (Li, Chang-shen 1992, 34). In contradistinction, Taiwanese women's groups and civic organizations dedicated to

protecting human rights participated in book burning, a highly symbolic action directed against the freedom of speech. In other words, the activists were willing to put the symbolic capital of violating human rights at stake in order to achieve the goal of excluding "sexuality."

The sacrificing of manga in the *Eradication of Childhood Toxicants* campaign differed significantly from that in the previous Comics Cleansing Movement. In the latter, children, that is, the "seedlings of the nation," had been merely collateral stakes, while the real stake was "Japan," and the goal was acquiring cultural capital for Taiwanese artists. The Eradication campaign, however, had the adult generation's control over teenagers at its center, and the goal was the legitimate exclusion of pornography, with Japanese manga being merely a means to this end. In an extension of the Comics Cleansing Movement, manga was equated with sexual violence by conservative and Sinocentric actors. This manifested, for example, in criticism of the manga-style series *The Apocalypse of Darkness Warfare* (冥戰錄) (2010–16) by Taiwanese artist Wei Tsung-cheng (韋宗成), in particular a female character who carried the name of the earthly incarnation of the famous Taiwanese goddess Mazu, Lin Mo-niang (林默娘). She came to be referred to as the "cute Mazu" (Q版媽祖) (**fig. 3-9**).[19] At the Education Reform Forum held in August 2017, Honorary Professor Huang Kuang-kuo (黃光國) of National Taiwan University and Professor Chou Chu-ying (周祝瑛) of National Chengchi University, among others, argued that the series made Mazu "look like a Japanese manga character," and they claimed that this was a "Japanization of Mazu," tantamount to "beautifying the legacy of Japanese colonization" and "severing Chinese culture to promote Taiwanese cultural independence" (*Liberty Times*, 2017/08/18). According to them, cutifying Mazu in a mangaesque way was equivalent to dressing her like an AV actress, that is, sexualizing her.

The Eradication movement caused the Government Information Office and the Ministry of Education to discuss the possibility of reinstating comics censorship. This immediately drew mixed opinions. Female comics artist Jen Cheng-hua thought the problem could be solved by "banning piracy"—although Taiwanese copyright laws did not yet protect Japanese manga at the time. Other artists, such as Ao Yu-hsiang (敖幼祥) and Richard Mai (麥仁杰), advocated the introduction of age zones. They clearly opposed the reintroduction of censorship, believing that social issues should not simply be attributed to

[19] For an English discussion of this manga-like comics see Silvio 2019.

**Figure 3-9.** Wei Tsung-Cheng (韋宗成), *The Apocalypse Of Darkness Warfare*, showing "Cute Mazu" with an angry look in response to the criticism (2017). Used with permission from the rightsholder. License: CC BY 4.0.

pornographic comics and that the censorship system would mislead the public's understanding of comics. Lu Tun-chien (呂墩建), the president of Daran Comics (大然漫畫出版社), also agreed with a zoning system, while cartoonist Huang Mu-tsun (黃木村), the president of the National Cartoonist Alliance (漫畫家聯盟), supported the reinstatement of censorship (Li, Chang-sheng 1991; *United Daily News*, 1990/12/18; *China Times*, 1991/08/04).

During a News Plaza forum on China Television on August 4, 1991, many parents advocated for restoring the comics review system. They argued that without it, they could not feel confident about what books their children were reading, and they demanded that books undergo a state review before publication. The Alliance of Women's Groups also criticized the government for allowing children to read obscene and violent manga such as *Crest of the Royal Family* (王家の紋章). On August 8, 1991, the director of the Government Information Office, Shao Yu-ming (邵玉銘), publicly stated that it was impossible for his

institution to turn back the clock and reinstate comics censorship, but that an initiative by the NICT and the Ministry of Education would be beyond their jurisdiction. The next day, members of the National Cartoonist Alliance, including Jen Cheng-hua, Chen Hong-yao (陳弘耀), and Hsiao Yen-chung (蕭言中), brought a large number of commonly seen erotic comics to the Consumer Foundation. They stated that these prevalent comics "are not managed by any review system; therefore, if effective management is desired, control measures should be formulated to address the source of these comics" rather than reinstating censorship (*China Times*, 1991/08/09). They also said that they would continue to protest and hold an exhibition that compared domestic productions with sexually violent pirated manga in order to convince the Government Information Office.

From the above, it is clear that the use of power is not limited to the state apparatus but also includes the control of the adult generation over the succeeding ones. Even after lifting the martial law, when the pursuit of freedom of speech should have begun, the very concept of that freedom did not yet apply to reading materials for children and teenagers. Parents, politicians, and even some cartoonists repeatedly proposed the restoration of comics censorship. This reflects the cultural hierarchy authorized by the government or the orthodoxy that continues to be assumed "natural" even if laws are abolished. Precisely such misrecognition necessitates struggle. Under the misrecognition of symbolic power, sexual taboos were considered a given and remained unchallenged. Thus, in the 1990s, when cartoonists organized exhibitions contrasting domestic and Japanese productions in order to avoid the restoration of censorship, manga once again became a scapegoat: similar to what happened during the Comics Cleansing Movement, it was equated with pornographic comics in general. The ensuing misconception ended up dragging down manga's symbolic capital. Obviously, the field of comics itself was characterized by hierarchies and competitive aspirations for legitimacy. During the era of the Comics Cleansing Movement, legitimacy for story comics could be gained through the suppression of Japanese manga, and in the 1990s, Taiwanese cartoonists would submit erotic manga to the Consumer Foundation.

After the end of martial law, story comics were published in large numbers. Readers who had grown up with manga since the late 1970s made it a favorite among university students in the late 1980s. By 1990, manga and anime clubs, as well as intercollegiate fan exchanges, were established at top universities such as National Cheng Kung University,

National Taiwan University, and National Chiao Tung University, subverting the long-standing stereotype that kids who read manga will turn bad, and investing comics with cultural capital. However, commercial comics artists looked down upon the creations of these fan clubs due to their lack of professionalism.

In 1985, during the hiatus in Taiwan's comics market, the *China Times* (中國時報), which was firmly anchored in the official cultural field, launched the bi-monthly magazine *Joy Comics* (歡樂) to exclusively introduce domestic productions. It was distributed through regular bookstores and had a strong foothold in the cultural field. The artists featured in the magazine, such as Chang Ching-mei (張靜美), Jen Cheng-hua, and Chen Hong-yao (陳弘耀), had mostly debuted at the Hsiao-mi Comics Newcomer Award (小咪漫畫新人獎) held by publisher Yin-Shih-man (尹士曼出版社), which had initially been engaged in manga. Others were the 1984 and 1986 winners of the National Comics Contest, which was co-sponsored by various organizations, including *China Times, China Times Weekly*, the Comics Society of the ROC founded by Niu Ge, the United World Chinese Commercial Bank's Cultural Charity Foundation, and the military-controlled China Television Station (CTS). Artists like Richard Mai, also known as Mai Ren-jie (麥仁杰), Loic Yen-chung Hsiao (蕭言中), Chiu Jo-lung (邱若龍), and Chen Uen (鄭問) were among the winners. Most of them had graduated from Fu-Hsin Trade & Arts School (私立復興美術工藝職業學校), including Chen Hong-yao (陳弘耀). This school mainly offered courses in fine art and sculpture, sketching, illustration, and design, but not graphic storytelling, which the students adopted individually.

After the resurgence of Japanese manga in January 1988, *Joy Comics* ceased publication in May 1988 due to competitive pressure. In February 1989, China Times Publishing Co. launched another comics magazine, *The Week* (星期), which featured mostly the same artists but emphasized artistic skill. According to Jen Cheng-hua in her recollections from 1999:

> *The Week* was a gathering of masters, and I was the only woman and the worst artist. The lines in my comic *Sea of Devil* (修羅海) were feeble, and the men I drew were effeminate. Other artists could easily name works by famous international creators, while I knew almost nothing except for a few girls-manga artists. Although I had some happy moments during that time, it was also a nightmare for me. Attending the San Diego Comic-Con was really eye-opening for me, the country bumpkin, because I realized that there were many different drawing styles. I had an inferiority complex. (Jen 2020, 366)

Obviously, graduates of the Fu-Hsin Trade & Arts School were considered to have a high level of educational capital in the field of comics. But the school emphasized skills, that were not necessarily used in comics. This made Jen, a prize winner, feel inferior, especially since she had worked for an animation company for several years before joining *The Week*. "Learning animation helped me understand how to make still images look like they have movement," she said (Jen 2020, 366). In view of story comics, as introduced in Chapter 1, her visuals appear quite dynamic and atmospheric. Moreover, she took her departure from the Hsiao-mi Comics Newcomer Award, which leaned toward the postwar grammar of manga. But while this distinguished her from other artists in the same magazine, it did not yield any cultural capital; instead, drawing comics for *The Week* felt like "a nightmare" to her. She also realized that an exclusive familiarity with Japanese *shōjo manga* was very hard to capitalize on culturally, so she adjusted her style to Western comics, or more precisely, the classic modern grammar of comics, before she eventually quit comics altogether after the 2010s (*United Evening News*, 1995/09/18).

Chen Uen, the "pride of Taiwan," admitted in a 1999 newspaper interview that he was inspired by Japanese artists such as Ikegami Ryōichi (池上遼一). To him, emulating Japanese manga was inevitable because the "style, storytelling techniques, and panel layouts" were so attractive to readers (*People's Life Daily*, 1999/06/01). When asked about their favorite artists, most of the artists from *The Week* named Japanese colleagues. Mai Ren-jie ([Richard]) liked Sakaguchi Hisashi (坂口尚), Ao Yu-hsiang (敖幼祥) was fond of Toriyama Akira (鳥山明), and Tseng Cheng-chung (曾正忠) admired Ōtomo Katsuhiro (大友克洋). Even Ao Yu-hsiang, who is considered the least pro-Japanese, admitted that "the previous generation of Taiwanese comics artists had not left us anything to build on. Our generation actually learned the techniques from pirated Japanese manga." (*China Times*, 1989/02/23). This sounds quite contradictory. Although grown up reading and learning from Japanese manga, these artists sought to distinguish themselves from it, as it was considered to possess little cultural capital. In turn, they aligned themselves with European and American comics and their higher cultural capital. Huang Chien-he (黃健和), the editor of *The Week*, has since the 2000s tried to label Taiwan comics "graphic novels" in order to distinguish them from the graphic narratives in rental bookstores, which used the postwar manga grammar. This corroborates Jen Cheng-hua's recollections from another angle, namely, that rental bookstores and their main product, "Japanese" manga, were both associated with low

cultural capital. Taiwanese comics artists could raise their own cultural status only if they disavowed rental bookstores and Japanese manga. Of course, in Jen's case, gender-based marginalization is another factor to consider, as girls comics have often been regarded as a "secondary citizen" of manga.

When demands for a restoration of comics censorship were on the rise, professional comics artists raised their voices against both the government and fan-cultural productions (*dōjinshi*). For example, in 1990, Lin Cheng-te (林政德), who had become popular with his *Young Guns* [sic!] comics, argued that Taiwan's comics industry should voluntarily report inappropriate productions to the Government Information Office. Specifically, he urged a fan circle named Horizon, which was composed of university students, to recall their already sold 500 copies of self-made comics in the genre of boys love (or "two-dimensional homosexuality" as it is called in Chinese) and submit these "erotic productions" to the authorities, so as not to serve as a catalyst for the reintroduction of comics censorship. Lin's approach resembled Niu's "scapegoating" of Japanese manga for the sake of proving the innocence and legitimacy of his own comics. The case also shows that academic credentials, which are advantageous in the cultural field, are rather detrimental in the field of comics, as the value of capital differs from field to field.

The power dynamics between cultural landmarks such as the *Joy Comics* magazine and the rental comics sector represented by Hsiao-mi, but also between male and female artists, Western comics and Japanese manga, professional comics and fan-cultural *dōjinshi*, etc., indicates that struggle is an endless series of contingent relationships. Even in the resource-poor comics field, higher forms of cultural and symbolic capital oppress lower ones. In other words, the struggle is not just about occupying central and peripheral positions; it is multi-layered, circular, and ever-expanding, with each level being elevated layer by layer from the outside. Furthermore, the internal circles of struggle within each field can be opposite to those in the other fields. For example, the struggle within the comics field between professional and fan artists gradually diminished as external pressures eased. The demands from the outside world for the reintroduction of comics censorship and the protection of minors eventually fizzled out due to the free speech movement brought about by democratization, as well as the economic power that comics developed.

In the early 1990s, Taiwan's comics industry rapidly accumulated economic capital. Many unlicensed manga entered the market and were enthusiastically embraced by readers. Although calls to reinstate comics censorship and boycott erotic comics continued, the economic power of comics could no longer be ignored. The mainstream media and the broader cultural field finally had little choice but to acknowledge their existence. In line with Bourdieu's theory of field exchange between economic and cultural capital, those who held superior positions in the cultural field, along with their supporters and the adult generation, would suppress newcomers to maintain their legitimacy. This was especially true for publishers of entertaining fiction, who stood at the fringes of the cultural field and felt directly threatened by comics. The higher echelons of the cultural field, for example, "pure literature" and the performing arts, remained indifferent, just as during the Comics Cleansing Movement. Those who stood up in support of Niu Ge mainly were writers who had published in newspapers or film directors, but no one from the fields of literature or fine art, as their position in the cultural field was too far away from comics to have the possibility of betting or exchanging capital.

Taiwan's comics industry also recognized the importance of legitimacy as respectability. Beginning with the opening of Daran's comics convenience house in 1988, large chain stores for comics appeared. At the same time, the rental stores changed from dark and cramped spaces with wooden benches to spacious and bright new establishments equipped with sofas (Lai 1998). Better binding turned comics from disposable items into collectibles. These changes demonstrated a gradual move toward securing a place in the cultural field, but not only concerning form. The cultural democracy emphasized by postmodern culture, as well as the respect for a diversity of lifestyles and the dissolution of the "center vs. periphery" dichotomy, led to increased attention to the consumption of symbols. All these factors contributed significantly to changing the comics industry.

In 1992, under intense pressure from the United States, Taiwan passed a new copyright law, which took effect on June 12, with a two-year adjustment period. This allowed translated editions that still needed to clear copyrights to obtain permission. After June 12, 1994, unlicensed foreign books could no longer be sold (which was referred to as the June 12 Deadline). However, the new copyright law only protected foreign works that were either first released in Taiwan or

released overseas but distributed in Taiwan within thirty days of their initial release (*United Daily News*, 1994/01/20). Japanese manga whose translation and release in Taiwan did not fall within this short period were not protected since Japan and Taiwan did not have a respective mutual agreement.

According to Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠), the president of Tongli, who had been a famous comics artist himself in the 1960s under the name of Fan Yi-nan, they tried several times to sign copyright agreements for manga with Japan even before 1992, when there was no such thing yet. However, the Japanese side believed that even with such an agreement, unauthorized reproduction could not be curbed due to Taiwan's lack of legal protection. Since it was unprofitable and thus unsustainable, Tongli eventually licensed only one girls manga, *Cipher* (サイファ, 1985–90; Chin.: 雙星奇緣) by Narita Minako (成田美名子). When the new copyright law was implemented in July 1992, Tongli immediately shut down its most profitable comics magazine, *Youth Express* (少年快報), and gradually stopped publishing unauthorized manga (Lee, I-yun 1998, 95). They then began to actively contact Japanese publishers again. After several surveys of the Taiwanese market, Japanese publishers finally agreed to enter into formal licensing agreements with Taiwanese publishers such as Tongli, Daran, and China Times. More than forty years after postwar manga had appeared in Taiwan, they were finally protected by copyright.

By 1994, the Taiwanese comics market had a sales volume of about NT$ 5 billion (*Economic Daily*, 1995/08/12). The next step after gaining economic power was gaining respectability to enter the cultural field. Bourdieu (1993, 51) identified three sources of such legitimacy: the producers, the critics, and the audience of a field. Since Taiwan lacked its own cartoonists and critics, comics relied solely on the audience. Having more readers resulted in greater economic benefits. More specifically, the comics that possessed low cultural capital but a significant amount of economic capital managed to break through in the cultural field. For them, the legitimacy of being copyright-protected played a decisive role. Ultimately, comics created a new position for themselves within the cultural field. However, the struggle to secure such a position was far from over. After acquiring licenses in 1993, Tongli and Daran had to face the biggest problem Japanese publishers were concerned about: how to eradicate piracy. As the June 12 Deadline had not yet arrived, many smaller publishers continued to publish pirated manga, and the new copyright law did not provide complete protection, meaning that manga piracy could not be prosecuted.

In response to this situation, authorized presses such as Tongli established the Comics Publisher Association (漫畫出版協會) to avoid piracy through pressure on comics distributors. Tongli, in particular, had its own major distributor and, thus, considerable control. As a result, retail outlets such as rental bookstores, specialty stores, and newsstands that relied on medium-size and large distributors had no choice but to boycott unlicensed manga. Eventually, smaller presses also began to sign licensing agreements with Japanese publishers. In the process, pirated manga almost disappeared from the market. After 1998, piracy was found chiefly in niche genres such as BL (boys love) released by non-mainstream publishers. In 1996, however, with the emergence of the Internet and the growing popularity of video games, comics were no longer the favorite of newspapers and TV stations that they had been since 1993 (Fan 1996, 2-23–2-34). The new media dispersed the consumers, and comics gradually lost their dominant position in popular culture from 1998 onward. The publisher Linking (聯經), which was affiliated with the *United Daily News* (聯合報), stopped its comics line, and the publishing company, which was affiliated with the *China Times*, also gradually reduced its comics output.

The anti-piracy movement of 1992 led to a rare case of cooperation between competing publishers. However, competition in the industry was not only about purely business-related interests, such as sales and copyrights, but also included considerations of prestige, legitimacy, and leadership, which carry symbolic meaning. Veteran publishers such as Tongli and Daran accounted for more than two-thirds of the comics market. They concentrated mainly on comics for boys and girls, which generated the highest sales. In the face of this situation, Sharp Point (尖端出版) and China Times Publishing focused on comics for young adults and adults, establishing their own sophisticated, high-quality corporate image and brand credibility. For example, Sharp Point released a collection of female manga artist Hagio Moto, whose works are rich in philosophical implications and acknowledged far beyond the realm of girls culture. Sharp Point also successfully expanded the market for young adult comics and earned a reputation by publishing Kawaguchi Kaiji's *The Silent Service* (かわぐちかいじ「沈黙の艦隊」, 1988–96; Chin. 沉默的艦隊), a narrative that evolves around a nuclear weapons crisis and had a significant impact in Japan as well as the US. China Times Publishing, leveraging the media power of its parent newspaper, managed to distinguish itself in the comics industry by releasing prestigious young adult comics such as the works of the "god of manga," Tezuka Osamu (*United Daily News*, 1994/01/24).

Of course, competing for a certain reputation does not translate into immediate profits. It is, however, vital in terms of market development and long-term brand symbolism. By the mid-1990s, the period of rapid economic growth came to an end. Consumption was no longer driven solely by material reasons but shifted to culture, that is, the symbolic meaning of goods, as a means of distinction and identity. Through high-quality graphic narratives, readers were able to break free from social prejudices that equated comics with lowbrow reading material for children.

The competition for symbolic status within the comics industry was also reflected in the jockeying for leadership positions. Tongli and Daran engaged in a war of words over who was the first to adopt the manga-specific editorial system. Created by Japanese publishers, this system puts an editor in charge of several artists. In addition, the two major publishers also argued over who was the first to introduce manga licensing policies and to stop piracy. Assuming a leadership position in the comics industry meant accumulating symbolic capital that increased legitimacy within the field of comics. However, in the face of external forces, this kind of intra-industry competition would temporarily cease in favor of unity to ensure survival. An example of this was the aforementioned Comics Publisher Association. At the suggestion and with the support of the Japanese corporations Shueisha, Shogakukan, and Kodansha, eight Taiwanese comics publishers held the week-long National Comics Expo 1995 at the South-Western Branch of the Shin Kong Mitsukoshi Department Store, the purpose of which was to combat comics piracy and to promote the Taiwanese comics market. Japanese artists were sent over to Taiwan to increase publicity (*Economic Daily*, 1995/08/12). The second expo took place in 1997 at the same venue. Japanese manga artists Yamaguchi Miyuki (山口美由紀) and Sōryō Fuyumi (惣領冬実) signed their works on the first day. Eager to get autographs or limited-edition merchandise, fans lined up with sleeping bags the night before, rain or shine. On the first day, more than 10,000 tickets were sold (priced at NT$20 per person), making headlines at the time. The Deputy Director of the Publication Department of the Executive Yuan's Information Office, the Deputy Mayor of Taipei, and lawmakers attended the opening ceremony, showing a completely different attitude than in the 1980s (*People's Life Daily*, 1997/08/14; *United Daily News*, 1997/08/14). Manga entered a space that epitomized high-cultural taste in Taiwan—a fashionable department store; it was not only tolerated but even recognized by political authorities.

Local comics and Japanese manga were also included in the fourth Taipei International Book Fair held in 1994 at the Taipei World Trade Center in the Eastern District, a prestigious cultural event. Japanese manga artists Miuchi Suzue (美内すずえ) and Michihara Katsumi (道原かつみ) were invited for autograph sessions. Although the booths of comics publishers lacked a cohesive appearance, there was energy to be felt (*United Daily News*, 1994/01/16). Two years later, the fifth edition of the International Book Fair expanded the comics area to an entire section, where major publishers such as Tongli, Daran, and Sharp Point exhibited along with Ever Glory Publishing (長鴻), Chingwin (青文), United Daily News (時報), and Taiwan Tōhan (東販). This section was named Comics Republic and became the liveliest part of the venue, with over 90 percent Japanese manga (*United Daily News*, 1996/01/13). In 1999, the space allocated to comics publishers was reduced, but the performance was still good (*United Daily News*, 1999/02/08; *People's Life Daily*, 1999/02/13). In 2000, the Book Fair aimed to draw attention to the new hall of the Taipei World Trade Center, which had opened at the end of 1999, by placing the comics section there. This indicates the extent to which comics had become important in the cultural field. During the fair, autograph sessions with Japanese manga artists such as Hōjō Tsukasa (北条司), Takahashi Rumiko (高橋留美子), Adachi Mitsuru (あだち充), Kamio Yōko (神尾葉子), and Itō Junji (伊藤潤二) attracted long lines of fans (*People's Life Daily*, 1999/08/11; *Economic Daily*, 2000/02/14; *United Evening News*, 2000/02/16, 2000/02/21). For Hōjō it was the second invitation after 1995. At the more upscale International Book Fair of 2000, his *City Hunter* which had been considered too "erotic" to be acceptable in the past, was now welcomed into Taiwan's cultural field. This further demonstrates that manga had secured a certain position. The Taipei International Book Fair ended on February 21, 2000. In August, the National Comics Expo moved from Shin Kong Mitsukoshi (新光三越) department store to the nearby Javits Convention Center (紐約展覽中心). On the first day, 20,000 tickets were sold, even more than for the book fair (*People's Life Daily*, 2000/08/18). After that, it became a tradition for the Taipei International Book Fair to have a comics section at the beginning of the year, and for comics publishers to independently organize the National Comics Expo in the middle of the year. This practice continued until 2013 when the second hall of the World Trade Center was demolished. From then on, the Taipei International Comics & Animation Festival and the National Comics Expo took turns hosting events.

From the mid-1990s onward, comics, which had previously been available only in rental bookstores and at newsstands, also received special sections in large bookstores such as Kinokuniya (紀伊國屋) and Kingstone (金石堂), while it took much longer at stores that privileged cultural capital like the Eslite (誠品書店). At the same time, the three major newspapers—the democratic-leaning *Liberty Times* (自由時報), the KMT-affiliated *China Times* (中國時報), and the *United Daily News* (聯合報)—occasionally published information on comics and analytical articles. The *Liberty Times* even set up a daily column for introductions and reviews, and Daran, for example, collaborated with *Liberty Times*, providing color illustrations by its popular girls-comics artist You Su-lan (游素蘭).

Cable TV and radio stations also took a keen interest in comics. For example, in 1996, the comics-focused program *Flip Book Electric King* (翻書觸電王) aired every Saturday on TVBS Cable TV Station. Thus, comics became a very popular medium in its own right, with the ability to attract the cooperation of television, newspapers, radio, and large bookstores that already have a position in the cultural field (Lee, I-yun 1998, 92). In the process of collaborating with these media, comics obtained symbolic and cultural capital. In other words, the exchange between economic and cultural capital allowed comics to "de-economize," shedding the previous image as being motivated solely by commercial gain and acquiring higher cultural capital and legitimacy, which elevated its position in the cultural field.

## Chapter summary

Before the 1990s, comics in Taiwan were mostly confined to rental bookstores and newspaper stands, venues that stayed outside of the cultural field. A few appeared in stationery stores near schools, which existed on the fringes of the cultural field. Often crudely printed, comics were considered disposable. From the publishers' perspective, the majority of readers were lower-middle-class adults, but officials, parents, women's groups, and civic organizations regarded teenagers as their target audience. Either way, both groups lacked cultural capital.

The 1960s were a Golden Age for Taiwan's comics, marking the first time, economic capital was injected into the comics market. Although many were hand-traced from Japanese sources, this period gave rise to a number of well-known artists and an army of lesser-known talents. Story comics could have earned a place in the cultural field through

substantial economic investment at the time. However, as Bourdieu has pointed out, the cultural field is situated within a field of power. Whether or not new media get accepted culturally depends not only on economic but also on symbolic capital. The revised *Directives for Publishing Comics*, issued by the KMT government in 1962 and implemented in 1966, depleted the economic capital that the comics industry had accumulated over the years through the sheer exercise of symbolic power. This led to the disappearance of social capital in Taiwan's comics scene, scattering talent and creating a generational gap among artists and readers.

After 1975, photocopiers gradually became popular. New publishing houses took to producing reprints of Japanese manga; they submitted a large number of review requests for them between 1977 and 1980, essentially rejuvenating the market. This, however, caused discontent among Taiwanese cartoonists. Led by mainlander artist Niu Ge, they petitioned the Executive Yuan in 1982, accusing the NICT of recklessly issuing licenses for "bad comics." They also initiated a Comics Cleansing Movement and held special exhibitions. In addition to showing exemplary works by Taiwanese artists, the exhibitions displayed allegedly violent or "erotic" manga. As they were visited by high-ranking officials of the KMT government, local news agencies, which were essentially watchdogs for ideological crimes, intensified their crackdown on manga, and the director of the Government Information Office, Song Chu-yu (宋楚瑜), even approved of a bonus system based on the volume of confiscated publications, which led to the disappearance of Japanese manga from the market between 1986 and 1987.

But unlike previous campaigns, the Comics Cleansing Movement did not stigmatize comics as poisoning the "nation's seedlings." Rather, it was an anti-manga movement initiated by Taiwanese cartoonists and supported by officials, which divided comics into good and bad: local comics were good, and Japanese manga were bad. Although there were voices defending the merits of manga, they were drowned out by the overwhelming perception that manga meant sex and violence. This happenedd in the context of numerous anti-Japanese movements led by the KMT government after the severing of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Japan in 1972.

Local comics took advantage of the decline of Japanese manga. Crown Publishing (皇冠出版社), which held some cultural capital in the art world, launched the weekly *Crown Comics* (皇冠漫畫) in 1984, featuring "The Youthful Swordsman" (小俠龍捲風) by Chen Hai-hung

(陳海虹), along with works by Yu Lung-hui (游龍輝) and Tsai Chih-chung (蔡志忠). But the magazine ceased publication in less than half a year. In 1985, *Joy Comics* (歡樂) magazine was started, and with the support of mainstream media such as *China Times*, it thrived for a while before being discontinued in 1988, right after the lifting of comics censorship and the resurgence of manga. In 1989, manga reprints with exquisite binding appeared in the Taiwanese market. At the same time, rental bookstores underwent a transformation. Again, Taiwan comics accumulated a large amount of economic capital, and again, there was a reactionary movement using symbolic power. Women's groups and civic movements that had fought for human rights under martial law sided with the news agencies responsible for ideological suppression to jointly burn "pornographic" comics. They claimed the comics that poisoned young minds were all Japanese. Of course, Japanese comics accounted for the majority of the total number of comics at the time. But some Taiwanese comics showed even bolder acts of grasping breasts and lifting up the skirts or couples kissing than the objected *Crest of the Royal Family*, and they were not targeted. In brief, Japanese manga continued to be used as a scapegoat, like in 1982. However, in the 1990s, against the backdrop of Taiwan's economic growth, teenagers no longer lacked economic capital and thus became an important consumer group. At the same time, manga and anime clubs established by students at top universities undermined stigmatization. Moreover, the state power was no longer as oppressive as it had been under martial law when human rights could be directly suppressed by executive orders. Thus, comics took the first step to securing symbolic capital, when the censorship system was not reinstated.

Although the new copyright law enacted in 1992 did not protect Japanese works, large and medium-sized publishers in Taiwan fundamentally eradicated the circulation of pirated manga through grassroots efforts. By obtaining licenses from Japanese publishers, they were able to build a reputation and, thus, transform their economic into symbolic capital. The mass media, eager to capture the attention of young people, began to take notice of comics. Comics were no longer positioned outside or on the periphery of the cultural field; they became a subject that would attract an audience. Large bookstores and fairs began to include comics, increasing visibility in formal settings. Various factors, such as strong economic power, democratic guarantees, and the fascination of the new generation, contributed to the transformation of comics from a marginalized and neglected underground medium to a form of storytelling with a sound position in the cultural field.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that at the 1996 book fair *The Republic of Reading*, artists and publishers like Tongli pointed their fingers at rental bookstores, directly blaming them for the decline in sales. Publishers, who had relied on rental bookstores to sustain their business between the 1960s and 1980s, tried to part ways with them after gaining cultural capital. But the relationship between purchasing and renting is not a dichotomy. Rental bookstores contributed to the widespread consumption of comics and reminded people of their existence. Rental stores ultimately declined after 2013 due to the spread of smartphones, but how this has affected the actual reading practices, as well as the established publishers is a question that remains to be answered by further research (see Wu 2019).

# 4. Politics in the cultural field: Taiwan comics 1940s–1960s

This chapter examines how the transition from Japanese colonial rule to the Republic of China (ROC) affected comics publishing in Taiwan, highlighting, in particular, the continuous struggle between political power and the cultural field. Story comics (物語漫画) take center stage because they were targeted by the KMT's censorship system. Story comics in different formats, ranging from newspaper strips to magazine serials and book editions, became available in Taiwan already under Japanese rule. By the 1930s, they prevailed, consisting of up to six or even eight panels per episode and containing speech balloons. In the decades after the war, the KMT government used the umbrella term *lianhuan tuhua* for comics, including *lianhuanhua* booklets reminiscent of traditional Chinese painting styles (**fig. 4-1**), cartoons, and woodblock prints.

From the 1950s to the 1980s, Taiwan's status as a province of the Republic of China (ROC) was of great symbolic significance. The political system privileged Sinocentrism and "mainlanders." This chapter explores what the symbolic capital derived from the provincial status of Taiwan meant for the field of comics publishing. Thus, its main focus is on artists and their professional networks rather than their works and aesthetic quality. Some high-quality comics were either destroyed or stayed invisible because, at the time, they were not considered worthy of attention as they did not appeal to the powerful, whether in the political or cultural field.

## 4.1 Politicized culture

The basic visual grammar of modern Western comics entered Taiwan through newspapers, magazines, and bookstores from the 1910s

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 177–228. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.e. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

**Figure 4-1.** He Chao-chen (何超塵), "Lord Hsinling Aids Zhao against the King of Chin" (信陵君援趙抗秦, in *Elementary Student* (小學生), 1957, 7-8. License: CC BY 4.0.

onward. Chapter 2 introduced some of the artists who employed this particular grammar in their works, for example, Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁), Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), and Chen Ping-huang (陳炳煌) (pen name Chi Lung-sheng [雞籠生]), as well as members of the Niitaka Cartoon Group (新高漫畫集團). From 1938 onward, their drawings appeared either under individual pseudonyms or the group name in magazines such as *Department News* (部報) and *Taiwan Arts* (臺灣藝術), both published by the Interim Information Department of Japan's Taiwan Government-General Office, or in the Japanese magazine *New Construction* (新建設), issued by the *Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects* (皇民奉公會). In the immediate postwar period, the Niitaka artists published in newly launched magazines. Liang Tzu-i (梁梓義), for example, had cartoons appear in *Peace Daily* (和平日報) (the 1946 issues of October 6 and November 17), as well as the KMT-run magazine *Taiwan Pictorial* (臺灣畫報) (issues no. 8, 1946/10/10; and no. 3, 1947/4/20). Chen Chia-peng, too, published there in issue no.7 (1946/08/20). *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報) included works by Hachino Ken (蜂野劍) in the 1945 issues of December 21 and 22, as well as Hung Chao-ming (洪朝明) in the issue of November 14, 1949. Most efforts, however, went into launching their own magazine, *Novelties* (新新).

The editor-in-chief was Huang Chin-sui (黃金穗), who had worked at the Japanese publisher Iwanami (岩波書店), but given up his work

in Japan and returned to Taiwan for this new job. Huang won renowned artist Lee Shih-chiao (李石樵) over to act as advisor, and he involved Niitaka cartoonists Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲), Wang Hwa (王花, real name Wang Chao-kung), Hung Chao-ming, Chen Chia-peng (陳家鵬), and Cheng Shih-fan (鄭世璠) to collaborate as editors, Liang Tzu-i and Lin Shih-he (林世河) as printing and promotion staff. Each issue of *Novelties* contained at least a two-page comics section drawn mainly by members of the Niitaka Cartoon Group but also other artists, for example, Chen Ting-kuo. Reaching a total of eight issues, *Novelties* ran from November 1945 to January 1947, that is, until the eve of the 228 Incident, which makes it difficult to say with certainty whether its discontinuation was solely due to hyperinflation (see Cheng, Shih-fan 1995).

*Novelties* mostly featured one-panel cartoons focused on current events. The joy of returning Taiwan to the motherland was a recurring theme right from the start (**fig. 4-2**) as was concern about loose public morals and crooked businessmen (**fig. 4-3**), and the despair of having no food in the very last issue (**fig. 4-4**).

The magazine clearly did not ignore China's shortcomings, such as inflation and soaring prices, and the KMT government's demand to promote "once out of Japanese colonialism, Taiwan should be completely Sinicized" as voiced in 1946, for example, by the founding dean of the College of Law at National Taiwan University, or the mayor of Keelung, the place where the Kuomintang troops committed a massacre during the 228 Incident.

When the KMT government ultimately retreated to Taiwan, it paid increasing attention to media outlets. The first postwar newspaper was *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), founded on October 25, 1945. On February 20, 1945, the KMT established the *China Daily* (中華日報) in Tainan. On May 5 of the same year, Li Shang-gen (李上根) of Whampoa Military Academy launched *Peace Daily* (和平日報), the organ of the National Revolutionary Army. *National Language Daily* (國語日報), which promoted Mandarin, was moved from the mainland to Taiwan in 1948, and the same happened to *China Daily* (中華日報), the official KMT newspaper, in 1949. But privately run periodicals like *Credit News* (徵信新聞) and *United Daily News* (聯合報), founded in 1950 and 1951, respectively, were also closely linked to the decision-making core of the KMT. From 1951 until January 1988, when martial law was lifted, all newspapers were under KMT control; the government imposed severe restrictions on them and stopped the registration of new ones.

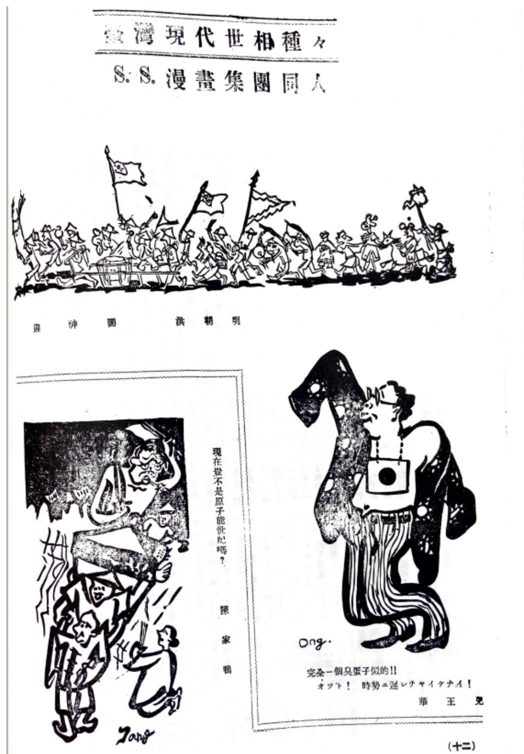



**Figure 4-2.** *Novelties* (新新), vol. 1, no 1, November 1945. License: CC BY 4.0.

From August 1945 until February 1947, newspaper comics enjoyed relative freedom. The first newspaper published right after the war, *Taiwan New Life News* had taken its departure from *Taiwan News* (台灣新報) on April 1, 1944, when Japan's Government-General of Taiwan merged the two largest newspapers of the time, which both used Japanese: *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), and the entirely Taiwanese-managed *Kōnan Shinbun* (興南新聞).[20] With the surrender of Japan on August 15, 1945, the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office ordered Li Wan-chu (李萬居), a returnee, or *panshan*,

[20] *Kōnan Shimbun* was the new name given to the *Taiwan New People's News* (台灣新民報) in 1941. This newspaper was originally founded by Taiwanese intellectuals in Tokyo in 1923 (titled *Taiwan People's News*), shifted to Taiwan in 1927, and was run by Taiwanese editors and writers. In March 1944, the *Kōnan Shimbun* was merged with *Taiwan News* (台灣新報), a paper launched by the Japanese colonial administration. On October 10, 1945, the Taiwanese staff of both newspapers collaborated to create the privately run Chinese-language *People's News* (民報), which ceased publication after the 228 Incident. Its head, Lin Mo-sei (林茂生), who was also the dean of the College of Liberal Arts at National Taiwan University, was arrested and subsequently disappeared.

**Figure 4-3.** *Novelties* (新新), vol. 1, no 2, February 1946. License: CC BY 4.0.

to take over the paper and rename it *Taiwan New Life News*. It began publication on November 25, 1945, the same day Chen Yi accepted the Japanese surrender signed by Japanese General Andō Rikichi (安藤利吉) during a ceremony in Taipei. In 1947, the KMT established the Taiwan Provincial Government, which effectively replaced Japan's Government-General and inherited the *Taiwan New Life News*. Below, the focus is on the comics published here and how they changed from 1945 to 1950, that is, before and after the 228 Incident.

On October 25, 1945, its very first day, the *Taiwan New Life News* mainly featured public affairs announcements, but soon also graphic works adhering to the format that had been prevalent in mainland China: one-panel cartoons, sketches, woodcut prints, and comic strips (**fig. 4-5**). Niitaka Cartoon Group members, such as the Japanese Hachino Ken, made the first and second one-panel cartoons; they appeared consecutively on December 21 and 22, 1945 (**fig. 4-6, 4-7**).[21]

[21] After this, Hachino Ken was probably deported back to Japan. It is known that he published at least two volumes of a rental manga there in 1961, titled *Ironarm Popeye* (鉄腕ポパイ)，which was an imitation of the American *Popeye the Sailor*.

漫畫募集

‖歡迎投稿‖

漫畫是近代藝術的前鋒，而且是全球現代人在熱愛的好朋友！所以本刊爲提高漫畫藝術水準的起見，紙幅儘量提供各位發表機會，希望投很精采，很優秀的作品！簡則如下：

一、本刊半頁大以内色料黑一色

二、來稿優秀者發表或答贈之

三、畫稿發表後致送薄酬

四、來稿請投本社編輯部

— 18 —

**Figure 4-4.** *Novelties* (新新), vol. 2, no. 1, January 1947. License: CC BY 4.0.

Another Niitaka artist in *Taiwan New Life News* was Hung Chao-ming (洪晁明). He contributed, for example, a five-panel comics to the supplement of November 13, 1949.

From 1945 to 1947, frequently published mainlander cartoonists were Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦), Huang-yen (荒烟; pen name Chang Wei-yao張偉耀), Mai-fei (麥非), Chang Le-pin (張樂平), Chang Yu-wei (張有為), Lu Tien (陸田), Chen Ting-shih (陳庭; pen name Erh-shih 耳氏), Li Hua (李樺), Chang His-yai (章西厓), Wang Mai-kan (王麥桿), and Ou Yang-ke (歐陽可). *Taiwan New Life News* also provided a venue for woodcut artists who had met the demand for war propaganda

**Figure 4-5.** *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), September 1, 1946, p. 4. Center: Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), "Change of Hope" (希望的変遷). License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 4-6.** Hachino Ken (蜂野劍), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), December 21, 1945, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

but saw themselves lacking opportunities after 1945, so that they came to Taiwan (Huang 2007, 184; Lai, Yuhua 2013). Huang Rong-can, the creator of "Welcome Free Taiwan" (**fig. 4-8**), was one of them. He had arrived in Taiwan in January 1946 to take up a position as lecturer at

**Figure 4-7.** Hachino Ken (蜂野劍), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), December 22, 1945, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 4-8.** Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦), “Welcome Free Taiwan” (迎自由的台灣), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 1, 1946. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 4-9.** Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦), *Terror Inspection* (恐怖的檢查), 1947. License: CC BY 4.0.

Taiwan Provincial Normal College. In March 1946, Mai-fei published a series of prints that pictured *Various Aspects of the Repatriation of Japanese Nationals*. Depicting scenes from the anti-Japanese war as well as Chinese landscapes, such prints sought to stir up the national spirit. However, given the corruption of the Chief Executive Office in Taiwan, social injustice, high rice prices, and inflation also became prevalent themes for these Chinese artists.

After the 228 Incident in 1947, the KMT military launched a violent crackdown against critical cartoonists. Most of the above-mentioned artists fled back to mainland China; only Huang Rong-can and Chen Ting-shih (陳庭詩) stayed behind. Out of compassion with the victims of the 228 Incident, Huang created the woodcut print *Terror Inspection* (恐怖的檢查) (**fig. 4-9**), which depicts a scene where innocent civilians are shot by smirking soldiers. As this picture went viral, its creator was executed by a firing squad on November 19, 1952, at the then notorious Babachō/Machangding site (馬場町) in Taipei.

After the 228 Incident, Ou Yang-ke was the only cartoonist who remained active in *Taiwan New Life News*. While he had published a cartoon that criticized rampant inflation right before the incident, on February 20, he took an affirmative stance afterward, as his cartoon

**Figure 4-10.** Ou Yang-ke (歐陽可), "Opening the Treasury" (開啟寶庫), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), May 1, 1947, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

"Opening the Treasury" (**fig. 4-10**) proves. In it, a young person holds a key labeled "Language" (語文), ready to unlock the door to the treasury, which prominently displays the words "Culture of the Homeland" (祖國文化), signifying the need to learn the "national language."

This marked the beginning of the newspaper cartoons' shift toward KMT ideology. Overall, the field of comics from 1945 to early 1947, whether in magazines or newspapers, was more liberal in content and expression than after February 28, 1947. The 228 Incident instilled a sense of fear regarding creativity and freedom of expression. The *Taiwan New Life News* rarely published comics throughout 1948, and those it published were nonpolitical. The members of the once-active Niitaka Cartoon Group no longer saw their works admitted by newspapers or magazines, except for Liang Tzu-i: one of his cartoons appeared in the April issue of *Taiwan Pictorial*—simply because it had been submitted before the incident. Yeh Hung-chia and Wang Hwa (real name Chao-kung) were both subjected to the White Terror.[22]

---

[22] Wang was summoned by the Ministry of Justice's Investigation Office on November 7, 1961, for allegedly copying reactionary leaflets from the Rights Party (義有黨). After three days, he was released on bail on November 10, 1961. For the incident that led to Yeh's arrest see the last section of this chapter.

The inauguration of the Children's Page on August 7, 1949, induced a major change in the *Taiwan New Life News*. Composed of four pages compressed onto one sheet (**fig. 4-11**), it included illustrated novels, introductions to science, inspirational short stories, and comics.

From 1949 to 1950, the Children's Page openly called for submissions. In addition to Ching-he's works, other artists who had come to Taiwan with the KMT army, such as Chen Ching-hu (陳慶熇), found a place here. Wang Hsiao-chih (王孝志) published "Mrs. Mingliang's Big Exam" (明朗太太大考), Yen-hsin (炎心) "A Boy's Diary" (小毛頭生活記) and "Baima's Tongue Tactics" (白馬的舌頭戰術). The last two foregrounded humor in daily-life situations of ordinary people, resembling newspaper comic strips of the Japanese colonial period. Seng-yu's "Brother Mouse" (僧愚〈咪鼠弟弟〉) and Yin-ming's "Down with the Violence!" stretched over several issues (**fig. 4-11** bottom). "Brother Mouse" imitated Mickey Mouse, while "Down with the Violence!" emulated Donald Duck. Chuang-che's "Hunting for the Snow Diaries" (莊哲〈雪後獲獵記〉) had Disney's Pinocchio as its protagonist, while the meticulous linework was reminiscent of Japanese "picture stories." Judging by the visual grammar they employed, the artists were most likely islanders.

All in all, the Children's Page did not feature many comics. Except for "Brother Mouse," manga-like comics disappeared after August 1950. They were replaced by graphic narratives in *lianhuanhua* format. The Children's Page paused in 1951, but reappeared in 1952. Then, its layout did not stand out anymore, and the only comics that ran regularly were translations of "Donald Duck." It also published other American comic strips, as well as works by mainlanders such as Hsia Wei-tu, Liu Shih, Chen Ching-hu, Chuh Siao-chiu, and Li-tian (Hainan Daily, 2015). Chief editor on behalf of the KMT government, Hsia Wei-tu, was a major figure in the 1950s and 1960s, drawing also for national textbooks. Li-tian, Liu Shih, and Chuh Siao-chiu were all mainlanders who had come to Taiwan in 1949. Liu Shih, who had followed the KMT when it retreated to Taiwan, held a position in the art department of the Academy of Political Warfare Cadres Academy from 1951 onward. Chuh Siao-chiu, who had created anti-Japanese woodcut prints for newspapers during the Sino-Japanese War, worked in Taiwan for the Military Police as an editor of military newspapers and other publications.

In 1950, the main venue for comics was the *New Life Comics* (新生漫畫) section of *Taiwan New Life News*, which appeared every

兒童之頁

發明火車的司蒂芬遜

有用的黴菌

無微不至

兒童樂園地

怎樣讀書

愚公移山

笑話

誰發明人力車

韓信受辱胯下

打倒強暴

因明

**Figure 4-11.** As a whole: Children's Page (兒童之頁), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), no. 30, March 11, 1950. Bottom center: Yin-ming (因明) "Down with the Violence!" (打倒強暴). License: CC BY 4.0.

other day. On April 28, mainlander Hsia Wei-tu became its first editor-in-chief before Liu Shi, another artist from mainland China, took over on September 5. He held the position for 86 regular and two special issues until 1951. After a brief hiatus, *New Life Comics* resumed publication on April 12, 1954, now under the editorship of

Wang Xiao-chi.[23] It ran until July 13, 1956, releasing a total of 115 issues (including some duplicates) and a total of 203 issues. Apart from a few humorous strips, almost all works in *New Life Comics* were anti-communist and anti-Soviet caricatures. Admittedly, there were a few works by islanders. Chen Ting-kuo published three of them (on 1950/08/31 and 1950/09/02). The other artists could not be identified due to their use of pseudonyms. What can be said, however, is that the majority of recurring and prominent contributors were mainlanders who had come to Taiwan with the KMT government.

**Table 4-1** provides statistical information on the artists who contributed to *New Life Comics*, considering a total of 1646 works while excluding 15 missing issues. In addition to the three editors-in-chief, prominent artists included Chun-tao with 51 works and Liu Cheng-chun with 34. Others, such as Chen Qing-he, Li Jing-hong, Liu Cheng-jun, Luo Fu-wen, Lan Ge-bi, and Wang Yi-zhang, contributed more than twenty works each. It is noteworthy that all these artists were immigrants from the Chinese mainland. Among them, Luo Fu-wen later served as a news officer at the embassy in Vietnam.

In addition to being the third editor-in-chief of *New Life Comics*, Wang Hsiao-chih also virtually owned the comics section of *Taiwan New Life News*. Besides publishing both one-panel cartoons and comic strips there (see **Table 4-1**), he also serialized the famous anti-communist comics "Great Uncle" (三叔公) and "Three-inch Man" (三寸丁), which appeared elsewhere, namely, on page 3 of the newspaper. In 1954, he

**Table 4-1.** Authors with the most published works in New Life Comics (新生漫畫). Compiled by the author.

| **Author's name** | Wang Hsiao-chih | Liu Shih | Hsia Wei-tu | Chang Ying-chao | Liang Nai-yu | Niu-ke | Po-feng |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **number of works** | 1151 | 282 | 162 | 101 | 96 | 87 | 76 |
| **provincial origin** | main-lander | main-lander | main-lander | main-lander | main-lander | main-lander | unknown, military cartoontist |

[23] Wang Hsiao-chih (real name 王翼樟 Wang I-chang) had previously served as the manager of the production department of the China Film Studio, China's main film company and anti-Japanese propaganda organization during the Sino-Japanese War. After the KMT government had retreated to Taiwan, the studio came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense and was primarily responsible for producing military and political propaganda films.

created "Huang Chin-yu's Military Story" (黃金禺從軍記) to coincide with the KMT government's fourth and fifth calls for military conscription, which took place from June to August.[24] In this narrative aimed at motivating young men to enlist, the overweight and unpopular protagonist joins the army, acquires many skills during his service, and wins over a beautiful woman when he returns home. In 1955, however, Wang's grip on the comics sections of *Taiwan New Life News* began to loosen. After the end of his series "Three-inch Man" on October 3, 1957, he completely disappeared from this newspaper.[25]

On September 2, 1955, the sixth page of the *Taiwan New Life News* featured the first installment of "Spring and Autumn of the Beast Dynasty" (獸朝春秋), scripted by Lin Shih-tsun (林適存), a military officer from Whampoa Military Academy who had come to Taiwan from Hong Kong in 1954. Illustrated by Wang I-chang (王章一), this series pictured the horrors of communism in the form of a world ruled by wild animals. After its completion, Cheng Kung (陳弓) started "A-hua" (阿華) under the pseudonym Hsiao-ti (小弟); later continued under the title "A-hua's Diary" (阿華日記). Cheng was a mainlander who had started out as a journalist and enjoyed the tutelage of the Liang brothers (who will be introduced below). He even ran a comics class as part of the activities organized by the China Youth Corps under the direction of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo (*United Daily*, 1966/07/25).

On April 25, 1958, the *New Life Supplement* (新生副刊) issued a call for comics submissions. Starting on May 13, they began publishing "The Illustrated Biography of Hsiao Ke" (小克畫傳) by someone using the pseudonym Oddball (怪人). Based on the member data from the Peng-Lai Children's Comics Research Society which had been established in 1959, this was probably the pen name of the islander Hsieh Yun-sheng. His "Illustrated Biography of Hsiao Ke" ran for a total of 108 episodes and ended on August 31. Subsequently, "Military Music" (從軍樂) by islander cartoonist Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽) began on

[24] In October 1952, the KMT government issued an order to draft 10,000 men as supplementary troops in its first phase of conscription. From 1953 onwards, according to the newly promulgated Military Service Law, the order mandated that all males, including islanders, must undertake military service. (*Central Daily News*, 1953/01/01; 1953/03/12).

[25] Rumor has it that Wang Xiao-chi's departure from the newspaper was due to his high manuscript fees and the numerous adversaries he had made within the newspaper. However, he still worked at the China Film Studio, and his cultural status remained unchanged.

**Figure 4-12.** *China Daily* (中華日報), February 7, 1949. License: CC BY 4.0.

**Figure 4-13.** Chang Lin-shu (張麟書), *China Daily* (中華日報), January 29, 1950. License: CC BY 4.0.

October 1, followed by "Memories of Being a Soldier in Kinmen" (金門當兵記). In time, Liu assumed a position that arguably made him the only islander whose story comics featured prominently in various publication venues. This prominence, however, may also be attributed to his military connections, as will be detailed in this chapter's last section.

Another newspaper, the KMT's *China Daily* (中華日報), saw a development similar to that of *Taiwan New Life News*. In early 1949, it mainly republished comics from American newspapers, for example, caricatures about occupied Japan (**fig. 4-12**), international affairs and communism, but also one-panel cartoons about daily life, and woodcut prints by fine art professor Chang Lin-shu (張麟書) who had come to Taiwan in 1947 and was engaged in both prints and drawings. In 1950, the images assumed a markedly anti-communist content (**fig. 4-13**).

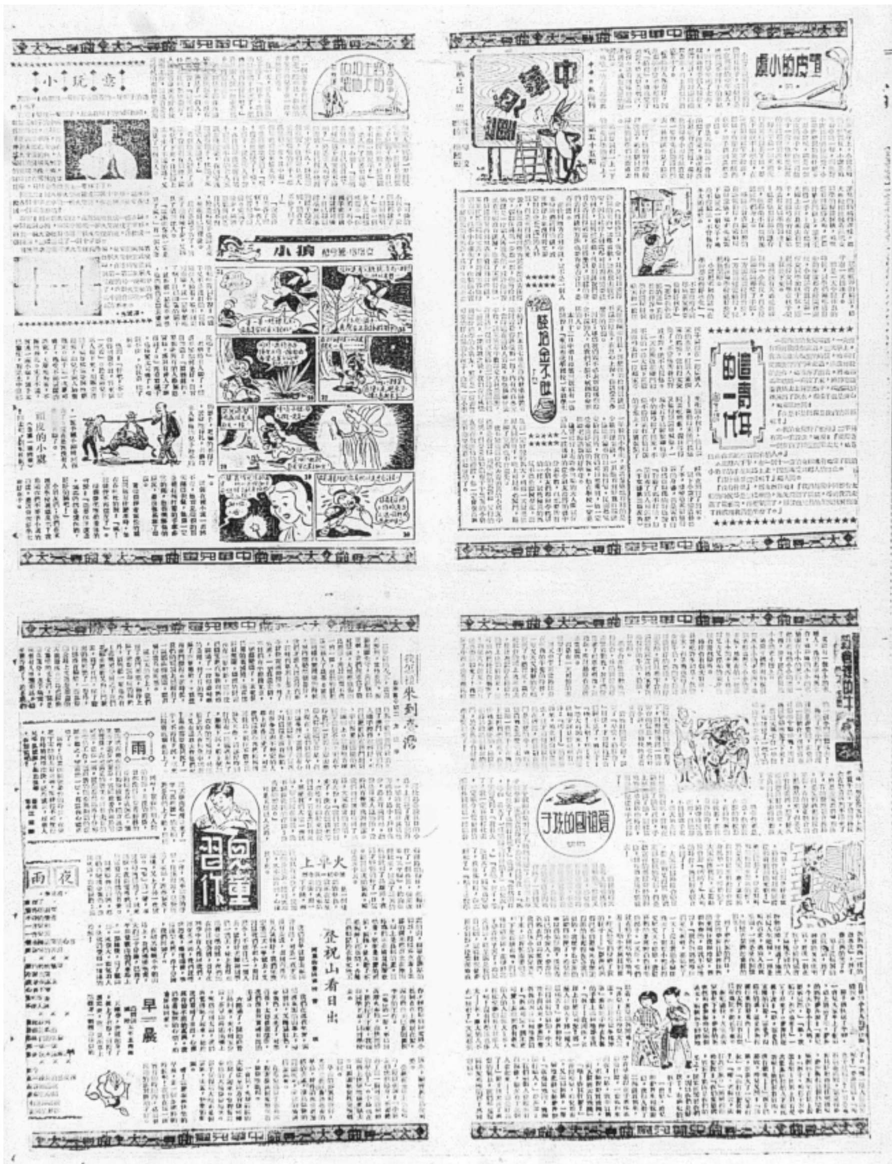


**Figure 4-14.** China Children (中華兒童), *China Daily* (中華日報), June 16, 1951. License: CC BY 4.0.

*China Daily* too launched a children's section, "China Children" (中華兒童), in 1950, similar in layout to that of the Children's Page introduced above (**fig. 4-14**). Among the relatively few comics published in its upper section was an imitation of *Porky Pig* titled "Fat Piggy" (小胖豬) and another one, "Little Wolf" (小狼), modeled on the Disney animation *Three Little Wolves* (1936), both by Lo-lo-lo (洛洛羅),

script, and Su Fen (蘇芬), art. The page layout and the drawing style were reminiscent of Japan's rental manga, which suggests that the artist must have been an islander. But just like in the case of *Taiwan New Life News*, the format changed to that of *lianhuanhua* after April 1951. Until 1960, most of the story comics published in *China Daily* were Liu Hsing-chin's.

In other words, the cases of *Taiwan New Life News* and *China Daily* show leftist woodcut artists from the mainland publishing their works from 1945 to 1947 and islanders submitting story comics (including imitations of Disney) to newspaper sections for children from 1949 to 1950. From 1950 onward, however, most cartoonists in the newspapers were mainlanders, often with ties to the military, and this preponderance continued until the 1980s.

Another publication site for comics was *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), launched on October 15, 1949, by the brothers Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘) and Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘), who were affiliated with Huangpu Military Academy. Together with the eldest brother, Liang Ting-ming (梁鼎銘), they enjoyed preferential treatment by Chiang Kai-shek. Ting-ming entered the KMT in 1926 and belonged to the Whampoa Military Academy faction. He served as editor-in-chief of the *Revolutionary Pictorial* (革命畫報) and created large-scale realist war paintings, such as *Shakee Massacre Bloodstains* (沙基血跡圖, 1926) and *Remains of the Huizhou Battle* (惠州戰跡圖, 1932, co-created with Liang Yu-ming). The second brother, Yu-ming, had joined Chiang Kai-shek's Army Headquarters in 1926 and served as an illustrator in the rank of lieutenant. During the Sino-Japanese War, he produced propaganda for the Air Force Department. From 1946 to 1949, he worked in the Political Warfare Office and sat on the editorial board of the weekly pictorial of the *Nanjing Central Daily News*. Liang Chung-ming, the third brother, had participated in the KMT's Northern Expedition in 1927. He was an editor of *Recruits Pictorial* (入伍生畫報) and *Current Affairs Monthly* (時事月報), as well as an illustrator in the Political Propaganda Department. During the Sino-Japanese War, he served as a propaganda instructor in the military (Huang, Ping-hsun 2013; Hung, Jui-hung 2013, 37).

The *Picture Times* that two of the Liang brothers founded consisted of eight pages in B4 size and mainly featured illustrations and comics, among them well-known anti-communist serials: "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" by Liang Yu-ming (**fig. 2-27**), "Uncle Niu is Liberated" by Niu Ge (**fig. 2-25**), and "Diary of a Doll" (娃娃日記) by

Qinghe (Chen Ching-hu) (青禾; 陳慶熇), who had come to Taiwan with the KMT army in 1949. However, the *Picture Times* suffered losses in less than a year. From April 20, 1950, it was published two times a week (on Mondays and Thursdays) as part of the KMT organ *Central Daily News* under the title *Central Daily Comics* (中央日報漫畫半週刊); it continued until September 1952 under the title *Pictorial Daily* (圖畫日報), published on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, as an integral part of the *Central Daily News* (Ma, Hsing-yeh 1950). "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" and "Uncle Niu is Liberated" were transferred to the third page of the *Central Daily News* and appeared there every day until 1955 (Li, Chan 1998, 117–9). The government regarded them as "good reading material against Russians and communists and their propaganda" and urged schools and local governments to purchase them in large quantities when the *Central Daily News* republished them in trade paperback volumes in 1952 (*Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin*, 1952/03/13). Clearly, comics were seen as an important tool for political propaganda.

The narratives of "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan," "Uncle Niu Plays Guerilla" (牛伯伯打游擊), and "Great Uncle" were set in mainland China, the latter two in areas that were controlled by "communist bandits." Their somewhat nerdy protagonists unconventionally fight the communists, who are even more stupid than they themselves, which makes fighting them appear easy. In "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan," the protagonist is a bumpkin communist who goes to prosperous, communist-ruled Jiangnan, where he marvels at the wonders of the city but is coaxed by the inhabitants. Meant to boost the nationalist morale by belittling the Communist Party of China, such narratives also indicate that Taiwan was completely absent from the KMT's field of vision, that it was only a "springboard" with resources to be squeezed for retaking the mainland.

In short, the KMT newspapers attached great importance to visuals, be it comics or photographs in pictorial magazines. This was due to the successful use of images by the Communist Party as a political propaganda tool during the Civil War. In 1951, Chiang Ching-kuo began to train "literary soldiers" for the sole purpose of raising effective propaganda workers. In 1953, Chiang Kai-shek issued his Supplement to Two Essays on Livelihoodism and Leisure,[26] and he also proclaimed

---

[26] (transl.) Livelihood (民生主義), or welfarism is one of the Three Principles of the People in Sun Yat-sen's doctrine, in addition to democracy and nationalism, and one of the cornerstones of the KMT policy.

the Literature and Art for Combat policy, which imposed an anti-communist and Chinese nationalist agenda onto the cultural field (according to Shen 2010). Consequently, military-affiliated newspapers such as *Youth Daily* (青年日報) established a *Picture Weekly* section, which nurtured numerous cartoonists within the military.

By comparison, the privately run periodicals of the 1950s contained relatively few images. *United Daily News* usually borrowed from the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* in that regard. The domestic works they featured were in *lianhuanhua* format and drawn by mainlander artists such as Li Fei-meng (李費蒙, pen name Niu Ge) and Li Ching-hung (李敬洪). From the late 1960s onward, mainlander Cheng Kung (陳弓) frequently published political caricatures in *United Daily News* and *Economic Daily News*. The islander Chen Chao-pao, who was trained in traditional Chinese painting, created cartoons for the *United Daily*. *Credit Review* (徵信新聞), which initially focused on reporting economic indices, transitioned toward a general newspaper in 1955 and launched a supplement, where Niu Ge serialized his comic strip "Little Truant Girl" (牛太妹) in 1956, until an illicit affair that offended Chiang Ching-kuo got him banned from newspapers that same year. By 1960, Liu Hsing-chin had also become a regular artist for *Credit Review*.

As can be seen from the newspaper scene, almost all the artists who got published after 1950 were mainlanders. With the exception of Liu Hsing-chin, most of the islanders worked under pseudonyms and published comics only between 1949 and early 1950. Their works were modeled on American funnies. The United States was the umbrella for Chiang Kai-shek at that time, and Disney-style productions were seen as representing children's innocence which made them sufficiently safe and popular even under the White Terror.

Generally speaking, authoritarian governments utilize newspapers as their key medium for political propaganda and ideological control. However, the preponderance of mainlander artists in newspapers went beyond the realm of political oversight; it also entailed cultural and symbolic capital. To understand this, a brief look at the history of newspapers is in order. In modernizing East Asia, newspapers were seen as carriers of Western civilization. Japan enacted a Newspaper Ordinance in 1871. Although short-lived, it indicated that newspapers were supposed to cultivate knowledge and enlightenment and guide people toward modernization. Chinese terms for newspapers began to appear during the First Opium War (1840–42). Missionaries facilitated the coining of

words that were used to refer to the printed press, including single-sheet newspapers and bound periodicals (新聞紙; 新報). Prior to that, China only had the "Imperial Bulletin" (邸報), a type of gazette that was issued regularly and distributed throughout the imperial court. In 1901, a new term began circulating, designating serially printed publications (報紙). Scholar-officials were actively involved in running these papers in the hope of enlightening the people and spreading civilization (Li, Ling 2013).

In addition to its function of disseminating information, printing technology was strongly associated with the ideas of modernization and civilization. Like in Europe, the press publications came in two categories: informing broadsheets and entertaining tabloids. As a source of novelty and spectacle, tabloids were considered vulgar and of low cultural status (see Tsuchiya 2014). Newspapers as broadsheets, on the other hand, were associated with a certain level of education. Given China's national literacy rate before 1850, being able to read newspapers ensured a high cultural status. As long as it was not a tabloid, newspaper readers enjoyed almost the same status as intellectuals in the cultural field. This tendency increased in Taiwan after 1950 when newspapers became intertwined with political power, which enhanced their symbolic capital and elevated their cultural status even further. Through newspapers, the image of high-degree civilization and culture was attached to the Sinocentric discourse that appeared in them, as well as to the mainlanders who were able to publish there. Thus, anticommunist cartoonists and their works were able to share in the symbolic and cultural capital that the newspaper offered as a medium.

In the 1950s and 1960s, cartoonists publishing in newspapers were almost exclusively mainlanders, especially those affiliated with the military. However, already during the Japanese colonial period, Taiwan's artists had observed current events and satirized society. Except for Hsu Ping-ting, who was born in 1899, most of these islanders were born in the 1920s and debuted in the late 1930s. Their craft had reached a certain standard prior to 1945, as the postwar magazine *Novelties* demonstrates. After 1950, however, they disappeared completely from newspapers. Until the 1980s, newspaper commissions depended more or less on one's provincial status—a clear indication of symbolic capital. However, local artists had received their higher education under Japanese rule and thus possessed a certain amount of cultural capital. Since there were no real opportunities for islanders to see their works published in newspapers, they turned to general magazines.

## 4.2 Magazines: on the margins of the cultural field

Magazines, as a type of periodical not tied to a specific demographic, appeared in Japan in the late 19th century and were literally called "mixed records" (雜誌). Throughout the 20th century, they significantly influenced Japan's political, socio-cultural, and intellectual life (see Kondō 2004). Meanwhile, in China, the same word had existed for a long time, but it was only in 1915, when members of the New Culture Movement began to promote democratic principles and scientific progress, that the Chinese term acquired the same modern meaning as in Japanese, referring specifically to periodicals while implying modernization and civilization (Li 2013, 404–13).

In postwar Taiwan, islanders turned to general magazines such as *Schoolmate* (學友), a monthly launched in 1953, that featured illustrated novels, folk tales, scientific articles, biographies of famous people, and comics. Under the pseudonym Yangming (羊鳴), Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙) published serial comic strips here, such as "Little Grandpa Ye" (小八爺) and "The Fallen Pirates Diaries" (海賊覆亡記), a story similar to *Treasure Island* (Chiu, Ke-jung 2013, 44–46, 204–05). In 1956, islander Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹) created comics for the supplement of *Schoolmate*. In 1954, the monthly magazine *Oriental Youth* (東方少年) was launched. Similar to *Schoolmate*, it included local comics, for example, Chen Ting-kuo's "Master Kungming" (孔明先生), but also hand-traced Japanese manga and American comics. As outlined in Chapter 2, both periodicals had close ties with intellectuals from the Japanese colonial period: the predecessor of *Oriental Youth* was the famous Niitaka Cartoon Group. A comparison of *Schoolmate* and *Oriental Youth* with prewar Japanese magazines such as *Shōnen Club* and *Tankai* (譚海, 1920–44) and also postwar *shōjo* and *shōnen* magazines reveals significant similarities, ranging from cover design and typesetting to selected content (**fig. 4-15**).

*Schoolmate* and *Oriental Youth* also contained adaptations of world-famous novels that had been translated from Japanese (Lai, Tzu-Yun 2015). Such translations had already appeared under Japanese rule, and after the war, they were on the list of publications that could be imported to Taiwan.

*Oriental Youth* published many manga. Tezuka Osamu was by far the most popular manga artist, as can be seen from pirated editions. His *The Mysterious Underground Men* (地帝国の怪人) provided the basis for "The Underground Metropolis" (地下都市) (**fig. 4-16**), but the creator's name changed between the first and fourth episodes.

**Figure 4-15.** Right: *Shōnen Club* (少年倶楽部), 1932. Left: *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), 1954. License: CC BY 4.0.

Similarly, "The Age of Great Floods" (**fig. 2-43**) was traced from Tezuka's original work of the same name, omitting the author's name entirely. The only work literally attributed to him in *Oriental Youth* was "The Green Cat," but here, he was referred to only by his first name, Osamu (治虫). At the time, it was common for magazines to either remove the names of Japanese creators altogether or change them to pen names without Japanese clues, such as Seahorse (海馬), Snowwhite (白雪), or the above-mentioned Osamu.

After the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, the ROC and the US established a common line of defense, and on the behest of the US, Chiang Kai-shek signed the Taipei Treaty with Japan in 1952, formally making the ROC and Japan allies. While the KMT's main concern in

**Figure 4-16.** “The Underground Metropolis” (地下都市), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), 1955, September (right) and December (left) issues. License: CC BY 4.0.

the 1950s was “fighting communism and reviving the nation,” the period of Japanese rule was direct evidence against the historical view from which the KMT derived its legitimacy. As a result, life under colonial rule, along with the Japanese language, became taboo. Taiwan’s popular magazines, including *Oriental Youth*, were greatly affected by this, as they had to take measures to erase any direct connection with Japanese content. The massacre of Taiwanese people carried out by KMT forces in 1947 in what became known as the 228 Incident, the subsequent purge campaign, and the White Terror that began in 1950 further restricted publications by banning all direct copies of Japanese works. For publishers who “did not want to get in trouble, the safest choice was to change original works into stories with a Taiwanese flavor” (Tsai 2017, 148).

From the late 19th century to the 1920s, Japan’s magazines for boys or girls had been ascribed educational value and seen as a source of acquiring cultural capital. From the late 1930s onward, the content of these magazines increasingly included popular entertainment; at the same time, moral education was brought to the fore, especially in relation to nationalism (see Imada 2019). However, in these magazines,

the textual component always exceeded the graphic part, indicating that their target audience was still primarily from the middle and upper class and that educational significance persisted. In 1950s Taiwan, educational magazines such as *Schoolmate* and *Oriental Youth* provided islanders and intellectuals with an opportunity to gain cultural capital besides newspapers. These magazines included comics.

In the wake of *Oriental Youth*, similar magazines appeared in the 1950s: *New Schoolmate* (新學友) aimed at a younger demographic, and *Youth's World* (少年世界), founded by Taiwanese folklorist Huang Tsung-kuei (黃宗葵), an islander; furthermore *Good Friend* (良友), *Formosa Youth* (寶島少年), and *Youth's Friend* (少年之友). *Model Youth* (模範少年) was launched in 1948 by Huang Tso-hsien (黃左賢), an editor at *Fujian-Taiwan Daily* (閩台日報), and its president was Chiu Pin-tsun (丘斌存), a *panshan*, who was the deputy director of the Taiwan Province Financial Office.

The general trend of children's magazines in the 1950s began with *Schoolmate* and *Oriental Youth*. These privately owned magazines featured story comics instead of satirical cartoons criticizing current events. In 1951, under orders from the head of the Provincial Office of Education, Chen Hsueh-ping (陳雪屏), Normal School professors Wu Chuan-shen (吳荃深) and Li Keng (李畊) started the state-run magazine *Elementary Student* (小學生). Its aim was to endow children with accurate knowledge and commendable moral virtues, preparing them for their future responsibilities of "state building and national rejuvenation" (Chiu 2005, 38). In its content, the *Elementary Student* focused on national heroes, scientific knowledge, and inspiration by outstanding personalities. Each issue was distributed to all elementary schools in Taiwan until its publication was discontinued in 1966. Thus, *Elementary Student* was the most widely distributed children's magazine of its time. A similar magazine was *Unanimous Children* (正聲兒童), launched in 1959 by the ChengSheng (lit., unanimous) Broadcasting Corporation (CSBC), which had been founded by Hsia Hsiao-hua (夏曉華) as part of the military apparatus (see Hsia, Hsiao-hua 2004).

*Elementary Student* featured two types of graphic narratives. One was in the Shanghai-derived *lianhuanhua* format, which mainly presented traditional Chinese stories emphasizing filial piety and righteousness. Notable examples include "Chiu Chin" (秋瑾) by Yang Shu-sun (楊叔蓀) (**fig. 5-1**), who once served as chief secretary of the Ministry of Education, and "Rainy Skies" (花雨天) by He Chao-chen (何超塵), who co-managed *Picture Times* with Liang Chung-ming and others. The second type

was modern comics, mainly created by Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽). A comparison of the covers and tables of contents of *Oriental Youth* (**fig. 4-15**) and *Elementary Student* (**fig. 4-17**) shows the difference in editorial concepts, between the mainland model and the Japanese model, which epitomized the habitus that the KMT government wanted the islanders to immediately erase after their arrival in Taiwan on October 25, 1945.

As already mentioned, in the immediate postwar period, language became a symbol to differentiate the in-group from the "others." Taiwan's indigenous languages had no script, so bans on writing in Japanese were tantamount to depriving islanders of their right to participate in public discourse. Newspapers and magazines discontinued their Japanese editions on October 25, 1946, and gradually restricted their use of Japanese altogether (*Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office Bulletin*, 1945/03/15). Cultural imports from Japan such as songs, movies, and printed matter were strictly regulated in order to prevent the Japanese language from becoming a means and a symbol of a specifically Taiwanese collective consciousness (*Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin* 1947/06/12, 1947/09/06, 1951/04/04; *Presidential Office Bulletin* 1962/09/28).

However, newspapers would still use Japanese to communicate the government's orders. For example, the *Taiwan New Life News* implemented a Japanese version of its Military-Civilian Guide (軍民導報) column, published every other day, for this very purpose in 1950. At the same time, the government strongly promoted Mandarin, investing it with symbolic state power. On April 2, 1946, the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office established the Taiwan Provincial Committee for the Promotion of the National Language, which intensified its efforts after the 228 Incident. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the National Language Movement was considered an important policy from 1945 to 1958. Speaking the national language was a sign of erudition, and it allowed people to socialize with mainlanders who could not or did not want to speak the indigenous languages. This situation lasted until the 1990s.

In addition to magazines for boys and girls, various government organizations established their own periodicals: the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, for example, launched *Harvest* (豐年), and the military started *Light of Victory* (勝利之光). These official, i.e., state-run magazines included comics, though only a few. Anti-communist cartoons by Chen Ching-hu (陳慶熇), for example,

**Figure 4-17.** Cover and Table of Contents of *Elementary Student* (小學生). License: CC BY 4.0.

appeared in every issue of *Light of Victory*. The magazine *Harvest* contained a whole comics page from 1951 to 1960, which featured mainly humorous and anti-communist cartoons, *lianhuanhua*, and occasionally even story comics (**fig. 4-18**).

Among the creators, there were returnees such as Chen Bing-huang (陳炳煌) and Yang Yu-yu (楊英風), and the islander Liu Hsing-chin

**Figure 4-18.** Niu Ge (牛哥), "Big Sister Niu" (牛大姐), *Harvest* (豐年), vol. 4, no.1, 1954, 15. License: CC BY 4.0.

(劉興欽), but mainlanders constituted the majority, including Niu Ge, Chang Ni (張尼), Liu Cheng-chun (劉成鈞), Wu Ting-piao (吳廷標), Yen Tung (顏彤), Liang Nai-yu (梁乃予), and David Hsueh (薛) (see Hsu, Hui-ying 2021). Niu Ge began to serialize "Big Sister Niu" here in November 1953. It was consistently given two-thirds of the page until Chiang Ching-kuo blacklisted Niu in August 1956, forcing him to stop publication.

The cartoonists who worked for *Harvest* and *Light of Victory* were often the same as those who published in newspapers such as *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), *China Daily* (中華日報), *United Daily News* (聯合報) and *Credit News* (徵信新聞). In other words, there was a strong connection between the field of popular magazines run

by the military-public administration combo and that of newspapers. Both were similar regarding their symbolic capital. Both were distributed by the military and the government apparatus and thus differed completely from the privately run popular magazines, a field to which educational magazine like the *Elementary Student* did not belong either. To be able to contribute to the official magazines, artists had to pass a certain threshold, mainly related to their provincial status, which allowed them to gain a higher symbolic and cultural capital.

Broadly speaking, the magazines of the 1950s can be easily divided into official, state-run magazines and privately run, commercial magazines. The first mainly promoted mainlanders, while the latter cultivated some well-known islanders who were known for their story comics, such as Yeh Hung-chia, Yang Ming (羊鳴), and Hsieh Yun-sheng (謝雲升). There were a few notable exceptions: mainlander Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹) started in the private domain, while islander Liu Hsing-chin was the only comics artist who moved back and forth between official and private magazines. This will be detailed later.

In the early 1950s, children's magazines appeared in large numbers, but they usually did not last long. In 1959, *Schoolmate* fell victim to mismanagement and ceased publication; *Oriental Youth* closed in early 1961, one season after its launch (Lee, Yu-chi 2008, 45–46, 52). In 1959, around the time *Schoolmate* ceased publication, Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙) founded the Penglai Children Comics Association and the magazine *Study Companion* (學伴). He actually tried to emulate the Japan Association of Children's Cartoonists formed in 1933, whose members had taken turns serializing "Kankara Katchan" in *Taiwan Daily News*. The members of the Penglai Association collaborated on "The Diaries of Detective Li Ling" (李零偵探記), but the magazine did not last very long (He, Ming-hsing 2018, 93–94). According to Tsai Kun-lin, editor of *Oriental Youth*, both children's magazines went bankrupt because of the emergence of specialized comics-only magazines such as *Comics King* (漫畫大王) and *Comics Weekly* (漫畫週刊) (Tsai 2019, 158). As the number of comics readers increased, so did the proportion of comics in general magazines. Young readers of boys-oriented magazines began to flock to rental bookstores to get comics there. Eventually, Liao Wen-mu (廖文木) of Oriental Publishing House decided to establish a company for rental comics, marking the beginning of a new stage in the history of Taiwan comics.

As mentioned earlier, general magazines symbolized erudition, securely grounded in the cultural field. Comics that occupied their pages

enjoyed a much higher cultural capital than those in specialized comics magazines. In addition, comics' distribution channels downgraded from general bookstores to rental stores and newsstands when around 1963 all comics magazines ceased publication. Once the publishing space for story comics was completely replaced by rental comics, the cultural position of islanders who had originally worked in general magazines changed as well. This will be explored in the next section.

## 4.3 Rental bookstores and stalls: lacking cultural capital

The book rental sector appeared in Taiwan during the period of Japanese rule. It encompassed peddlers who walked from house to house carrying rental items in boxes strapped to their backs, vendors who traveled by bicycle or pedicab, and people who set up book rental stalls on street corners or along walls (*Taiwan Daily News*, 1901/12/22). Comics were also sold in stores for used books, shops that traded books among other things, and specialty rental stores. In 1947, *Taiwan New Life News* reported on the state of the book rental market in Taipei in 1947, noting that the majority of titles rented out consisted of *lianhuahua* booklets, colloquially known as "children's books" although their readership stretched across all ages (Yang, Nai-fan 1947). In the 1950s, there were comics, mostly translated manga, from publishers like Formosa (寶島) and Precious Gem (寶石) (**fig. 2-33**).

After the announcement that *Oriental Youth* would cease publication in 1960, Liao Wen-mu and Tsai Kun-lin decided to switch to comics in book format. However, the distribution channels for books and magazines were not the same: magazines had benefited from direct distribution to bookshops and subscribers, while comics were sold to rental stores. Since Tsai Kun-lin had spent some time at the publisher Precious Gem in 1960, he was accustomed to the workings of the rental industry. This is how Wenchang Press (文昌出版社) came into existence: due to a lack of manuscripts, they gave preference to Japanese manga. The manga content had to be hand-traced, not only because there were no photocopiers yet, but also because photographic printing required single-sided manuscripts. To get this laborious task done, Wenchang Press hired apprentices and recruited both well-known artists and newcomers. Tsai Kun-lin would choose popular martial arts stories for adaptation and had them drawn by capable young artists. The speed of publication was comparable to that of weekly magazines. This became known as Wenchang's "one book a day" strategy.

There was no shortage of rental stores and stalls. Their total number reached 2000–3000, and comics publishers popped up all over the place. Notable examples include Aspire (志成),Tai-tzu (太子), Hung-chia (宏甲), and I-ming (義明). Generally speaking, one volume of comics was printed in about 2000 copies. Between two and three thousand volumes were published at a monthly rate of 20 to 30, all of which sold out quite quickly. This made the 1960s the Golden Age of comics in Taiwan (Tsai 2019, 161–62; Lee, I-yun 2020b). Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠) (pen name Fan Yi-nan), the director of Tongli, today Taiwan's largest comics publisher, as well as Hung I-nan (洪義男), Yu Lung-hui (游龍輝) and Lei-chiu (淚秋) were stars who rose to fame during this period. It was at this time that comics replaced *lianhuanhua* booklets as the most common format in bookstores and stalls.[27]

Taiwan comics of the 1960s had a number of recurring traits. The first was homogenization: of China as well as of the Western world. There was no differentiation in terms of era, ethnicity, or nation. Comics readers encountered an "ancient China" that meant Han culture or a "dynastic past" without historical specification. The image of China in martial arts comics clearly illustrates this point; it was not specified, neither in terms of place nor time. Symptomatically, the background in the comics panels was often left blank (**fig. 4-19**).

In short, the Sinocentric orientation relied not on historical facts but on symbolic power. Endowed with a high degree of cultural and symbolic capital, the "Chinese past" became the past of all ethnic groups, linking them to the mainlanders. Although included in the larger Han ethnicity, islanders were considered inferior because of their alleged enslavement under Japanese rule (Chen, Tsui-lien 2002).

Popularity did not help rental comics to enter the cultural field; on the contrary, it attracted the unwanted attention of the KMT government. In July 1962, the Minister of Education reported to the upper authorities that harmful comics were found in urban stalls and shops, posing a danger to the mental and physical health of young people. This led to the revision of the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, which the Ministry of Education had initially issued in 1948. The 1962 revision stipulated that comics had to be submitted for review prior to their

27 Publishers including Wenchang, Huan-tao, Hung-chia, Ming-hsin, and I-ming submitted a petition to the Ministry of Education in 1965 requesting a temporary suspension of the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, pointing out that comic books were not sold directly to readers, but through rental bookstores and stalls (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1965/09/24).

**Figure 4-19.** Hsu Sung-shan (許松山), *Fei Fei* (飛飛), 2. Hong Kong: Yutian, 1969. Collection of Taipei Public Library Zhonglun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0.

release and that they could be published only if licensed by the censors. It was also established that the standard review fees were equal to that of textbooks (as explained in Chapter 3). These fees were so high that even Yeh Hung-chia, whose fame had attracted many young artists, was eventually unable to pay for the large number of submissions by his own publishing house and had to dissolve it. Tsai Kun-lin (蔡焜霖), on the other hand, took advantage of the provision that publications with less than 20% comics did not have to be reviewed and founded a general biweekly similar to *Oriental Youth* called *Prince* (王子). This magazine published works by islanders such as Chen I-nan (陳益男), Wang Chao-chi (王朝基), and Hung Yi-nan (洪義男), but also hand-traced and directly translated manga. In 1969, Tsai had to transfer *Prince* to the United Daily News Group after a disastrous typhoon.

Mainlander Chien Meng-lung (錢夢龍) followed Tsai's example and launched the biweekly *Sky Dragon Youth* (天龍少年) in 1967, while islander Hsu Sung-shan (許松山) published *China Youth* (中國少年), but both magazines were short-lived. Although Taiwan had no shortage of

established comics artists, most of them changed professions when the review system deprived them of their publication venues, namely, rental books. Thus, the rental sector was supported by newcomers, just as in the case of Japan, only that in Taiwan, these were primarily islanders, which again affected their cultural status.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the book rental sector in China and Japan had a lower cultural status than their European equivalents. The book rental sector, its products, and its consumers were all located on the fringes of the cultural field or even outside of it for a number of reasons. First of all, this industry was tied to the masses, and reading material for the masses was worlds away from publications that provided "real value." Second, the main customer segment for rental comics in 1960s Taiwan, the working class, was particularly powerless against state authority, and children even more so, especially in a world of adults. By implementing a comics censorship system, the KMT acted much like the elites of 18th-century Europe, using superior symbolic and cultural capital to deprive ordinary people, and children, of their ability to choose what to read by dictating what should be read and what not. Third, fixed rental bookstores in Japan were often seen as dens of inequity, filled with "evil" publications, and rejected as "filthy" or shady places (Tezuka 2010, 84). Similarly, rental bookstores in Taiwan were considered nefarious places, shabby and dim, with a disgusting atmosphere that would harm children's eyes, bodies, and minds.

Rental bookstores were indeed small, cramped and dimly lit, with signs that were either inconspicuous or missing altogether so that passersby ran the risk of missing them unless they paid close attention. This was due to the little capital they operated on until the 1990s and also their location: in order to be integrated into people's daily lives, to be a place where people would conveniently stop by after school or work, they had to be tucked away in residential neighborhoods (see Lai 1998). All of this meant that Taiwan's rental bookstores led an underground existence, relying mainly on word of mouth to attract customers. In fact, readers who got their comics through official channels could be completely unaware of the existence of rental comics, which also prevented the mixing of the two types of graphic narratives. Conversely, readers accustomed to rental bookstores would be just as unaware of comics circulating through the other channels. This segregation went hand in hand with different cultural positions: those who read comics through the rental system would score low in cultural capital, while those who read them in the format of books circulating

through state-run channels would possess higher cultural capital. In short, consumers of rental manga were considered to have less cultural capital than readers of the *Joy Comics* magazine.

Of course, there were some intellectuals in the 1960s who tried to put in a good word for rental bookstores, arguing they were a "reader-friendly business" that made people want to read and were only regarded as "low-grade" because they rented out "martial arts novels and comics, which nowadays have many readers" (He, Fan 1969). As mentioned above, most comics publishers ran small businesses and, therefore, had to publish quickly, which meant prioritizing simple linework and blank backgrounds. The intensification of the censorship system in 1966 caused an increase in coarse products, as publishers tried to compensate by numbers. Consequently, the works that passed the censorship reinforced the notion of comics as lowbrow "children's books."

Concerning rental bookstores, neither their location nor their consumers or their goods yielded a rise in cultural status. Against this backdrop, Wenchang Press planned to break away from comics altogether, favoring instead Japanese-styled "picture stories" geared to school teachers and families. Modeled on the Japanese publisher Kodansha, Wenchang switched to colored editions in roughly A4 size, listed the names of esteemed academics on the title page along with words of encouragement from principals, and thereby invested its publications with the symbolic capital that was necessary to enter the cultural field and gain the recognition of schools (Tsai, Kun-lin 2019, 163).

To summarize, although the privately run magazines that published comics in Taiwan did not enjoy the same cultural status as the newspapers and were not as widely distributed, they still circulated through acknowledged channels such as bookstores and subscriptions, which firmly anchored them in the cultural field. In contrast, rental comics circulated through channels that were informal with respect to their ability to acquire cultural and symbolic capital in the official field. The "informality" of rental books was also due to the types of narrative they handled: in addition to comics, these included martial arts novels, popular in the late 1950s; North American romance novels, popular in the 1980s; Taiwanese romance novels, popular in the 1990s; and Japanese boys love fiction, as well as light novels, popular after the 2000s. Comics lending was never recognized in the cultural field, nor did it have any symbolic capital, except for children's magazines (**fig. 4-20**). These magazines enjoyed a certain mobility between the official and unofficial distribution channels; sometimes, they were found in rental stores.

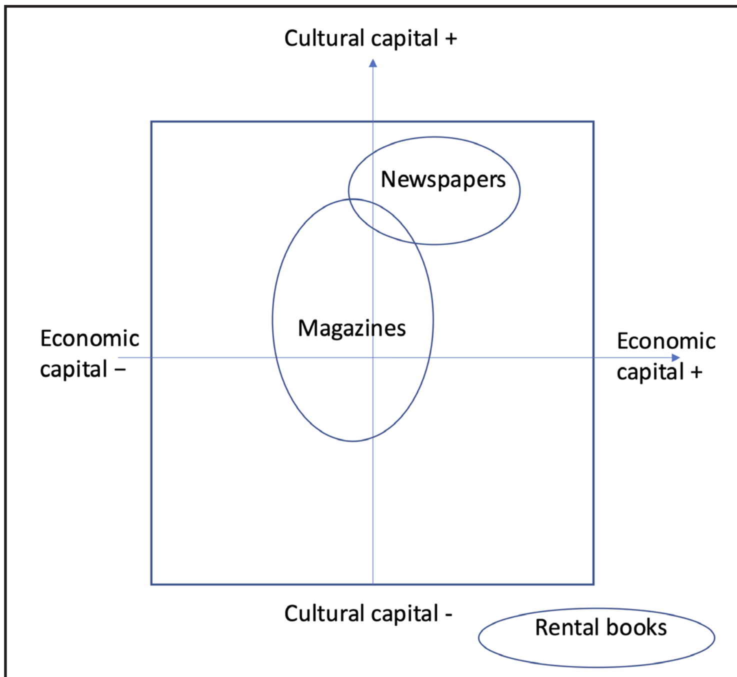



**Figure 4-20.** Schematic representation of the cultural field 1945–70 (top and bottom: cultural capital; left and right: economic capital; circle at the very bottom: rental books; biggest circle in the middle: magazines; smaller circle partly overlapping with the one of the magazines: newspapers).

When manga-only magazines appeared in 1960s Japan, they maintained a certain position in the cultural field, even if it was niche, due to their origin in general magazines. But they were not as marginalized as *akahon manga* or rental comics, or even excluded. Thus, there was room for artists to advance professionally, which meant they could still secure page space in magazines, for example, Tatsumi Yoshihiro, who used a different level of detail for rental and magazine-based works (**fig. 2-32**).

Newspapers have never been the main publication site for comics in Taiwan. Once they had lost their main venue, the magazines, story comics migrated entirely to the rental sector. When this sector collapsed under the pressure of the censorship system, islander artists were deprived of another site to develop and hone their skills. The anonymous creators of story comics moved on to other professions. As a result, Taiwan's once-flourishing graphic narratives entered a period of steady decline in the 1970s. Islanders who had been deeply involved

in comics creation since the 1940s, such as Yeh Hung-chia and Chen Kuang-hsi, first rose and then fell in the cultural field. This was not due to the quality of their work but rather the interrelation of political and cultural capital.

## 4.4 Exchange between political and cultural capital

An example of the clash between the regulatory political power and the field of culture is the case of Niu Ge, a mainlander artist who entertained numerous conflicts with the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) over the reviewing of comics since 1982. While the crackdown was primarily aimed at comics artists and eventually spread to all industries, Niu Ge, his wife, and the islander Liu Hsing-chin still had a direct way to communicate with the officials in charge of censoring comics at NICT. Communication took place in the form of meetings between Niu, Liu, and Chiang Chih-hua, the NICT official in charge of all matters relating to the comics censorship. During these meetings, "the two artists, the wife, a terribly forceful woman, and Chiang Chih-hua would argue endlessly until everyone was sweating in the air-conditioned room; he [Chiang Chih-hua] would repeatedly fish cigarettes out of his pocket, offer them to Niu Ge, and then politely even offer to light them" (*United Daily*, 1982/10/06; *People's Life Daily*, 1983/04/13). Thus, government officer Chiang Chih-hua kept a low profile when facing Niu and Liu.

As introduced in Chapter 3, in November 1982, Niu Ge organized the Comics Cleansing Exhibition at the art gallery where Chin-Jih Department Store is located now. In addition to pages from published manga, which the organizers believed to contain "insults to the nation," namely representations of violence, sexually explicit content and incest or loose morals, the organizers displayed works by 23 cartoonists, including Niu Ge himself, Chen Kung, Yeh Hung-chia and students from Niu's class. Exceptional about this special exhibition was the public expression of dissatisfaction with the comics review system, which did not hinder high-ranking officials from gracing it with their presence. One year later, Chiang Chih-hua accused Niu Ge of defamation. When the case entered the judicial process, prominent figures from the artistic and literary circles came forward in support of Niu, for example, Gu Long (古龍), Wolong Sheng (臥龍生), Chu-ke Ching-yun (諸葛青雲), Kao Yang (高陽), Tsou Lang (鄒郎) and Chang Hsiao-feng (張曉風). They all had worked for newspapers, which meant that they enjoyed a certain level of

social recognition. Moreover, they were mainlanders. Except for Chang Hsiao-feng (張曉風), who had come to Taiwan with her parents when she was very young, and Gu Long (古龍), who was born in Hong Kong, they were all affiliated with the KMT army. For instance, Zou Lang (鄒郎) once served in the KMT Department of the Military and in the Taiwan Garrison Command; Chu-ke Ching-yun (諸葛青雲) even held a position in the First Bureau of the Presidential Office.

Civilians seldom clashed with the government under martial law, not to mention that Niu Ge had been endorsed by the government and its cultural circles. The purpose of Niu's exhibition was to criticize the NICT for licensing a large number of Japanese manga, and to achieve his goal, he referred to the policy of exploiting anti-Japanese sentiments to promote a national spirit, which the government had practiced since 1972. The higher echelons of the KMT, and other mainlanders, supported the Comics Cleansing Movement because it was in line with the prevailing political ideology. This increased the social capital of Niu Ge and his fellow activists in turn.

To introduce Niu Ge's biography, he joined the US-backed Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction (JCRR) in 1948. After the JCRR had moved to Taiwan in August 1949, he worked there as a graphic designer and cartoonist, creating promotional materials for agricultural development. His works appeared in the JCRR's magazine *Harvest* (豐年) as well as in *Picture Times* (圖畫時報) and *Central Daily News* (中央日報), which allowed him to connect with various KMT-affiliated cartoonists, some of whom had even fought in the war. Although he was condemned by Chiang Ching-kuo in 1956 and had to leave the JCRR, he later married Feng Na-ni, the daughter of Feng Yong, a leading figure in the Fengtian clique, who had left the military in 1949 to work for the KMT-run Taiwan Power Company. Thus, Niu Ge could lean on a lot of social capital, as proven by the support he received during the Comics Cleansing Movement from members of the literary community, many of whom were associated with the military.

Niu Ge began giving cartoon classes in his home soon after he entered *Harvest* (豐年). Most of his students came from either literary or other cultural circles. The most notable one was Zhao Ning (趙寧), a rising star of the media world. The *Comics Satire Magazine* (漫畫風刺雜誌), founded by members of the Chinese Cartoonist Association such as Yang Chi-lu (楊齊爐), dedicated its entire issue 24, 1983, to the Comics Cleansing Exhibition. The movement had direct political consequences (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1982/11/30). After the end of the first

exhibition on November 14, 1982, the NICT drafted *Guidelines for Rewarding the Crackdown on Illegally Published Comics*. They were ratified by James Chu-yu Soong, the head of the Information Office, in 1984, and by 1985, police and other state institutions received performance-based bonuses for cracking down on Japanese manga that had not been submitted for review (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1986/06/23). Between July and December 1985 alone, the government cracked down on 1,387,256 volumes of comics, most of them unauthorized reprints of manga that circulated underground. At the same time, fewer and fewer comics were being submitted for official review. By 1986, there were almost no manga left on the market, and those that were still available, had bypassed the censorship or used a forged license (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1980/11/07).

The Comics Cleansing Movement included numerous islanders, such as Hung I-nan, Chiu His-hsun, Lin Wen-i, and Yeh Hung-chia, who even displayed some works in the exhibition. While islanders kept a low profile, mainlander cartoonists actively participated in the reviews, as the NICT archives from 1968 to 1987 evince: Chen Qing-kao (陳慶熇), Yang Chi-lu (楊齊爐, pen name Ya-tzu 亞子), and Sichuanese Li Chan (李闡) were regular members of the NICT's review team. Yang Chi-lu and Li Chan occasionally attended meetings as representatives of the Chinese Cartoonist Association. The other members of NICT's decision-making committees were representatives of government agencies, including the Information Office, the Executive Yuan, the Taiwan Garrison Command, the Ministry of Justice, the National Police Agency, the Student Affairs Committee, the Department of Social Education, the Department of Elementary Education, and lower-ranking KMT members from television and radio stations or legislative committees that had nothing to do with comics.[28]

It is also worth mentioning that Chen Qing-kao, the longest-serving representative of the cartoonists, had served as the editor-in-chief of *Light of Victory* (勝利之光), the magazine of the Political Warfare Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense, for a period of sixteen years. He was a confidant of Chiang Ching-kuo and was awarded a certificate of merit by Wang Sheng (王昇), head of the General Political Warfare Department, in 1981, partly for his role in organizing the art

[28] The National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) was renamed the National Academy for Educational Research (國家教育研究院) in 2010. Many of the archived files there have been lost over time, making it impossible to know the names of all related persons.

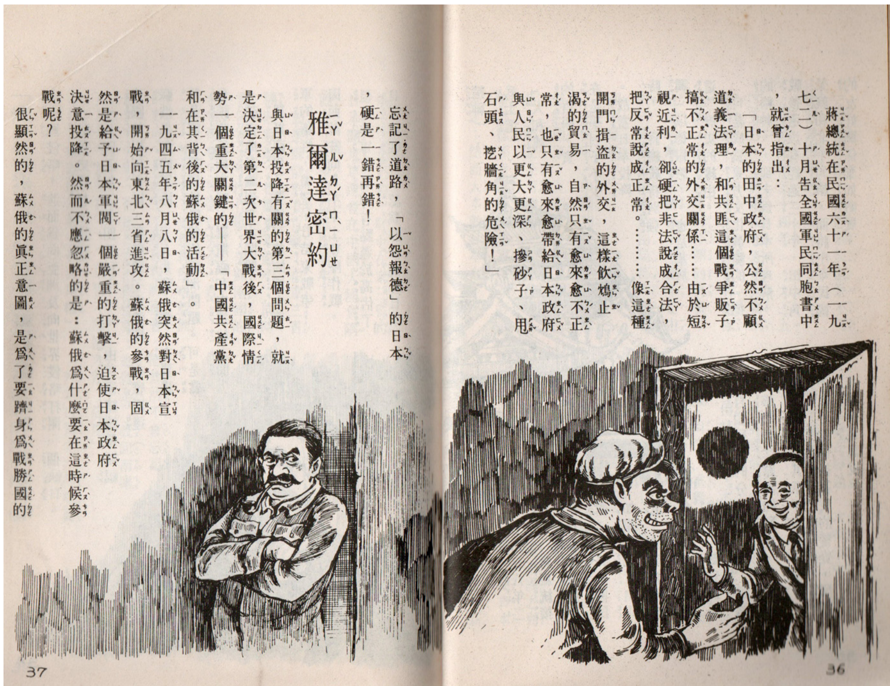



**Figure 4-21.** Hsu Sung-shan (許松山), *The Secret History of President Chiang* 1 (蔣總統秘錄史畫). Taipei: Taiwan Chih-cheng Publishing (臺灣志成出版社), 1976, 36. License: CC BY 4.0.

exhibition *Building the Republic of China* (中華民國建國畫展) in July 1987, and partly for his long-term contribution to the artistic training of military cadres (*Central Daily News*, 1981/07/02). For the NICT, his military art experience might have weighed more than his qualifications as a cartoonist. Obviously, the state used both the review system and the reward system to demonstrate its power and control and to define the standards for symbolic capital. The people who exercised power in these fields were all mainlanders.

In addition to enforcing the review and reward systems, the NICT commissioned scripts and illustrations for "excellent comics." One example was *The Secret Records of President Chiang Kai-shek* (蔣總統秘錄史畫), co-created by Chen Qing-kao (陳慶熇) and Hsu Sung-shan (許松山) in 1976 (**fig. 4-21**).

In addition, on June 26, 1982, Hsu Sung-shan signed a contract with the NICT to create a five-volume *Pictorial History of the Founding of the Republic of China* (中華民國建國史連環圖畫), each volume comprising about 160 manuscript pages. He was paid NT$450 per page,

Chiang Chih-hua authored the script, and they agreed on a December 1, 1982 deadline. However, the first manuscript of only 128 pages was submitted in May 1984. Hsu pointed to the market rate offered by publishing houses of about NT$700 per page and asked that his fee be raised to NT$800 from the second volume. The NICT agreed on an additional payment of NT$20,000 per volume as an assistance fee, but only if he submitted all volumes by June 1986 and that they would pass the review (*National Institute for Educational Research Archive*, 1984/10/23). Thus, Hsu Sung-shan, who had made himself a name with rental comics, not only maintained his cultural status after the decline of the entire rental comics market but even managed to sign a contract with the NICT, and when he breached this contract, he was not even punished; rather, he enjoyed preferential treatment. This is an example of upward mobility in the cultural field. His association with Chen Qing-kao acted as symbolic capital, which he further consolidated by entering the Chinese Cartoonists Association headed by Chen Qing-kao.

Such upward mobility was extremely rare for islanders. However, there were two more cases: Chen Ting-kuo and Liu Hsing-chin. Chen Ting-kuo was born in 1923 to an influential family in the Hsinchu area. He grew up reading Japanese newspapers and magazines while attending the public school.[29] After graduation, he entered the Taiwan Provincial Ilan School of Agriculture and Forestry. During this time, he would use his pocket money to purchase Japanese magazines such as *Manga Bungei* (漫画文芸) as study materials for the four-panel and six-panel story comics he published in local periodicals. From 1942 onward, he specialized in fine art, taking correspondence courses with the Japanese Tokyo Pacific Art School. In 1943, while working in Taoyuan for the Cereal Crop Division of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, he received sponsorship from the Japanese government and held his first personal art exhibition during a festival at Taoyuan Shrine (桃園神社). At the end of the year, he participated in a cartoon exhibition organized by the *Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects*. In 1944, he transferred to Taiwan Seika Ltd. while retaining his position as a government official (He, Ming-hsing 2018, 16–17, 25, 29, 35–36, 52–55). Whether in terms of family background, work, or education, Chen Ting-kuo was an upper-middle-class intellectual.

[29] The public school was Taiwan's basic unit of education school, established under Japanese rule in 1898. Taiwanese and Japanese attended separate classes, but most Japanese children went to the Japanese elementary school.

After 1945, Chen participated in the first Taiwan Provincial Local Administrative Cadre Training, which lasted four months. Upon completion, he was sent to the Hsinchu County government as a public relations officer. There, he enjoyed the support of the mayor, Pan Chin-huai (潘錦淮). In 1947, he was appointed the first Executive Secretary of the Xinpu township office. In 1948, when a farm had a dispute with soldiers, Chen helped the peasants give a full account of the events to the Political Warfare Bureau at the Ministry of National Defense and settled the matter before he retired from public service in 1951 to take up a position as professor of fine arts at Xinpu National School (He, Ming-hsing 2018, 56–57, 62). The fact that he had been able to facilitate a peaceful resolution between the peasants and the soldiers proved that he was capable of moving between different roles. This also showed in his postwar publications. Chen's cartoon "See no Evil" (非禮勿視) appeared in the second issue of *Novelties* in February 1946. Between 1946 and 1950, he published fifteen works in *Taiwan New Life News*. Six single-panel cartoons titled "New Life Taiwan Cartoons" (新生台灣漫畫) between November 17 and 22, 1946, celebrated the ROC for liberating Taiwan from Japanese rule (**fig. 4-22**).

One cartoon, however, featured unscrupulous merchants driving up the price of rice to unsustainable levels and Taiwanese people who

**Figure 4-22.** Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), "New Life Taiwan Cartoons" (新生台灣漫畫), *Taiwan New Life News Comics* (台灣新生漫畫), November 17, 1946, p. 3; November 18, 1946, 3. License: CC BY 4.0.

could not afford to buy it. On January 19, 1947, right before the 228 Incident, Chen drew two more satirical pieces addressing social problems such as high unemployment and rising rice prices, this time for the 34th issue of the *New Life Pictorial Supplement* (新生畫刊) (**fig. 4-23**).

While deeply committed to the homeland, Chen still used his brush to fiercely criticize societal issues. He did, however, not directly target the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office. Thus, his cartoons continued to appear in the *Taiwan New Life News* after the 228 Incident. On January 6, 1948, he published a completely apolitical cartoon for entertainment purposes only (**fig. 4-24**).

In "The Fate of Taiwan" (台灣之命運) (1950), a two-panel cartoon for the *New Life Supplement* (新生副刊), Chen juxtaposed the enslavement under Japanese rule with the present glory of being in the embrace of the homeland. Later, he published anti-Soviet and anti-communist

**Figure 4-23.** Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), New Life Pictorial Supplement (新生畫刊), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 19, 1947, 4. License: CC BY 4.0.

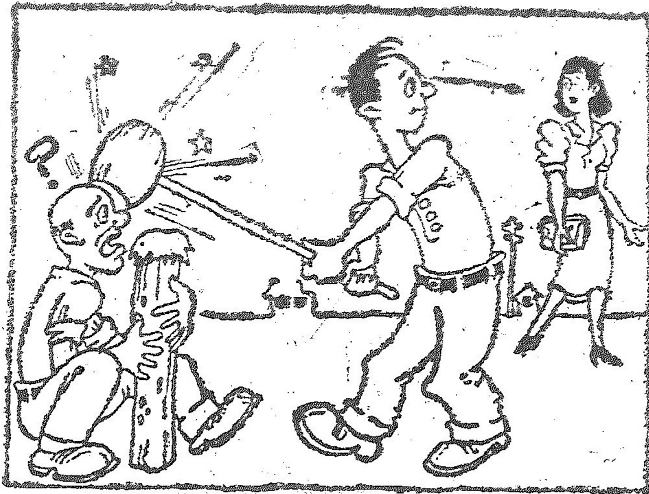


**Figure 4-24.** Chen Ting-Kuo (陳定國), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 6, 1948, 4. License: CC BY 4.0.

cartoons in *New Life Cartoons* (新生漫畫), a periodical that had been started by Hsia Wei-tu (夏緯圖) in 1950 and was edited by Liu Shi (劉獅). When Wang Hsiao-chih (王小痴) relaunched *New Life Cartoons* in 1954, Chen contributed "A Frightful Learning Environment" (可怕的教育環境), which addressed the presence of red-light districts in the vicinity of elementary schools, on November 13, 1955. After a hiatus of several years, Chen would appear once more in the supplement section of *Taiwan New Life News*, drawing cartoons for two months in 1961. In April 1955, he started working on *The Journey to the West* (三藏取經) by Chuan-chi (泉機). Soon, he became the hottest storytellers in Taiwan, and when the censorship system was reinforced in the 1960s, he successfully transitioned from rental comics to illustrations. In 1961, he published comics in the *National Language Daily* (國語日報), *China Daily* (中華日報), and *Taiwan Daily* (台灣日報). In 1969, he inaugurated the cartoon column *Draw What Comes to Mind* (想到就畫) in the local Hsinchu weekly *People's Credit* (大眾徵信), which he continued for nearly ten years. From 1973 onward, he served as the principal current-affairs cartoonist at *Independent Weekly* (自立週刊), another Hsinchu periodical. While critical of various social issues, he always held the government of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo in high esteem.

On September 28, 1973, the wife of Chiang Kai-shek, Soong Mei-ling, hosted a banquet at the Chung-Shan Building in Taipei's Yangmingshan National Park to meet with exemplary senior teachers. Both Chen Ting-kuo and Liu Hsing-chin attended. After that, Chen was invited by every provincial chairman, which can be seen as a sign of official recognition and support. Due to illness, he had wanted to retire early but did not see his wish granted until 1974, when he sent a letter to Chiang Ching-kuo (Lin, Tzu-hsiu 2014, 37–39, 44). After his retirement, Chen continued to publish in various magazines. One example is *Revolutionary Heart* (革心), launched on June 6, 1977, by Kao Chen-tung (高震東), who was originally from Shandong and the founder of Chung-Hsin Vocational High School. Here, Chen Ting-kuo drew political cartoons related to the election of the county council and the Legislative Yuan in 1980. He also sporadically submitted one-panel cartoons to *China Times* (中國時報) and *People's Welfare Daily* (民生報) (He 2018, 108).

In contrast, Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽) was much more proactive in accumulating social capital. Born into a peasant family in 1934, he was younger than Chen and other cartoonists such as Yeh Hung-chia and Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙), and thus less exposed to Japanese rule. When the colonial period ended, Liu had just finished elementary school. His early comics were satirical. In 1952 he took up a job as an art teacher at the Taipei Yongle Elementary School. In 1954, when graphic narratives with fantastic and martial arts stories became so popular that the Ministry of Education forbade students to read them, the principal of his school asked Liu for his opinion. He suggested "to fight fire with fire" and created a comics that would educate children how not to read comics. This is how his first work, *Searching for the Immortals* (尋仙記), comprised of sixteen pages with six pictures each, came into being. It was well received and followed by "Hsiao-ching" (小青), as well as "The Tale of Tu Niu" (土牛傳) in *Elementary Student*. At the same time, Liu published serials in privately run magazines. The most famous were about Great Auntie (大嬸婆) which tells the story of a traditional Hakka woman, and Brother Asan (阿三哥), featuring a Hakka country bumpkin from 1959 onward (Chen, Chang-hua 2012, 20, 25, 35–36, 47, 63). In late September 1958, Liu began serializing "The Joy of Enlisting" (從軍樂) in *Taiwan New Life News*, thus moving into the newspaper field; around 1960, he started the story comics "The Little Fatty" (小胖子) and "Little An-an" (小安安) in China Children (中華兒童), the children's section of *China Daily* (中華日報). He also serialized "The Illustrated Biography of Hsiao Ling" (小玲畫傳) and

"Little Po Lo" (小波蘿) in *Credit Review* (徵信新聞). In 1964, the military artist Hsia Hsiao-hua (夏曉華) left the ChengSheng Broadcasting Corporation (CSBC) to acquire the license for *Oriental Daily* (東方日報), changed its name to *Taiwan Daily* (臺灣日報), and commissioned Liu to draw a daily episode of each "Brother Ah-san" (阿三哥) and "Great Auntie Tours Formosa" (大嬸婆遊寶島). Liu also published "A-fu's Success Story" (阿福成功記) there for the entire period of Chiang Ching-kuo's tenure as Premier of the Executive Yuan, promoting agricultural reform in Taiwan's rural areas. To this end, the Social Education Department of the Ministry of Education renamed "A-fu's Success Story" as "The Joy of the Countryside" (田園樂), printed it in large numbers and distributed it to every farmers' association, which distributed it to every farmer in turn (Kao 2012; Chen 2012, 63–64).

Liu Hsing-chin was one of the few islanders who managed to publish comics serials in newspapers. After the reinforcement of the censorship system, he released most of his comics in book format through his own Hsing-chin Press (興欽出版社), if not through Chingwin (青文), which was under the umbrella of the Investigation Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, and the military-affiliated China Television Publication Department. Although Liu's comics books mainly targeted general bookshops, they were also bought by rental stores, which distributed them to the common people. In other words, Liu's work oscillated between the two cultural fields of newspapers and rental books. Like Chen's, most of Liu's works for newspapers were one-panel cartoons, but he had the freedom to also create story comics and distribute them in book format through regular bookshops.

As already mentioned, rental comics irreversibly slipped out of the cultural field in the early 1960s to circulate only underground afterward. Since provincial status was an important prerequisite for professional advancement, especially during times of ideological pressure, the fact that Liu Hsing-chin crossed the boundaries of cultural fields freely and, just like Niu Ge, was able to look down on the NICT cannot be overestimated. Besides his ideology, which was deemed correct, this became possible thanks to the protection of his esteemed master, mainlander Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘), a member of the military, and thus, his social capital (Chang 2005, 127).

In 1955, exactly one year before Liu made his debut in *Elementary Student*, he participated in the First Anti-Communist Fine Arts Exhibition held by Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘) and Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘) and sponsored by *Central Daily News* (中央日報). There, he

won the first prize for "The Barber Diaries" (理髮記). After the exhibition, all the participating artists were invited to dinner by the director of the *Central Daily News*, Ma Hsing-yeh (馬星野). This is where Liu first met Liang Chung-ming and asked him for guidance and permission to visit his home. Liang Chung-ming quickly agreed and handed over his address. The following Sunday, Liu Hsing-chin rode his bicycle from the northern end of Taipei, where his house was, to the southern end, where the Liang brothers lived, and began to participate in Liang Chung-ming's free art classes, which were also attended by Liang's students from the Political Worker Cadres School.[30] To express his gratitude, Liu would send gifts to Liang on the occasion of all major holidays every year until Liang emigrated to the United States (Chang, Meng-jui 2005, 127–31; Chen, Chang-hua 2012, 38).

In a magazine interview in 2010, Liu paid respect to his mentor, stating that "as a political cartoonist, Liang Chung-ming did not teach me how to draw, but how to be a better person, how to live with dignity, how to choose my ethics, and how to be honest and live with integrity" (Cheng & Yueh 2010, 26). This short confession, however, contradicts Liu's two memoirs, the parts where he mentions how Liang Chung-ming passed on his knowledge and skills. Liang's style was realistic, almost documentary-like, and his cartoons were close to political caricatures; all in all, they were very different from Liu's humorous comics with their strong inclination to codify. As mentioned previously, the Liang brothers mainly nurtured military propaganda cartoonists. Nothing in Liu's comics, from drawing style to content, resembled Liang Chung-ming's. Liu's interview statement that Liang taught him morality rather than technical skills may actually be true.

However, from the 1950s to the 1970s, the brothers Liang Chung-ming and Liang Yu-ming were quite controversial figures in the art world, with the Chin Sung Incident being the most famous case. In 1959, Chin Sung (秦松), a modernist poet and painter from the mainlander group, received an honorary prize at the 5th São Paulo Biennial in Brazil for his abstract print *Sun Festival* (太陽節). Young artists with similar modernist views opened the Chinese Modern Art Center at the National Museum of History in Taipei the following year. They organized an exhibition of modern artworks by a total of 145 artists,

[30] After graduating from the Political Warfare Cadres Academy, students were assigned to various units of the ROC Armed Forces to serve in junior leadership positions. When they were appointed to staff positions later, they became part of Liu Hsing-chin's social capital (Wang, Yun-long 1997, 25).

including Yang Yu-yu (楊英風) and Chin Sung, and also arranged for the Brazilian ambassador to Taiwan to present Chin Sung with the São Paulo Biennial Medal of Honor on site. However, the young artists' call for reform and innovation was seen as rebellious by the traditionalist faction of the art world. On the day of the exhibition, art professors from the Political Warfare Academy arrived at the scene, accompanied by journalists. Disregarding the presence of the Brazilian ambassador, they claimed that two of Chin Sung's abstract paintings secretly contained the character 蔣 (Chiang) written upside down. And so they accused the artist of having "wrong ideas," that is, promoting communist propaganda, and harboring anti-Chiang [Kai-shek] sentiments. The event was immediately halted, and all participants had to leave. The two professors, however, were none other than Liang Chung-ming and Liang Yu-ming. Although the dean of the National Art College, Chan Lung-chen (張隆延), himself a calligrapher, personally intervened and appealed to Chiang Ching-kuo to pardon Chin Sung, it was impossible to free Chin Sung's works from the stigma of "wrong ideas," and he remained under surveillance. When invited to visit the US, Chin Sung ultimately went to New York and never returned.

The Chin Sung Incident is one of many cases in which politics interfered with the freedom of artistic expression. As professors who attended the exhibition, the Liang brothers did not focus on the artworks themselves but did their best to find ideological flaws. At the same time, the professors at the Political Warfare Cadres Academy taught their students that they were responsible for uncovering and prosecuting ideological crimes, in effect doing intelligence work on behalf of various public institutions in charge of the White Terror. The ethics for which Liu Hsing-chin praised his mentor in the interview cited above was an integral part of the established ideology of the one-party system. This "ethics" had enormous symbolic and cultural capital at the time. Adherence to the same norms brings people together and consolidates social capital in the process. Upholding the same "ethics" or norms gave Liu Hsing-chin access not only to the network of mainlander cartoonists but also to Liang Chung-ming's students at the Political Warfare Cadres Academy, which later proved to be a valuable resource. Through the social and cultural capital he thus acquired as an islander, Liu was able to break the "glass ceiling" of his provincial status and publish his comics in newspapers and in book format, that is, distribute them through regular channels. This made him the most famous official creator of story comics.

Finally, Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲) needs to be mentioned (see **fig. 2-36**). Born in 1923, he attended school in Hsinchu. During this time, he participated in a *kamishibai* (cardboard performance) competition where two of his works, *Promoting General Knowledge about Hygiene* (衛生常識之宣傳) and *Air Raid Protection* (空襲防護), were selected which opened his drawing career. Yeh then took correspondence classes with the Japan Cartoonist Association. In 1938 he met Chen Chia-peng (陳家鵬) and Wang Hwa (王花), with whom he later formed the Niitaka Cartoon Group. After graduating from the Hsinchu First Branch of Public Higher School in 1939, he studied Western painting at the private Kawabata Art School in Tokyo from April 1940 to March 1944. But it was not until 1946 that his training and skills were fully recognized.

In 1946, painters Kueh Suat-oo (郭雪湖) and Yang San-lang (楊三郎), who were employed as advisors at the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office, organized the Fine Arts Exhibition for the Entire Province of Taiwan, which gave Yeh Hung-chia and Chen Chia-peng the opportunity to display their western-style paintings at the same venue as already famous artists like Tan Teng-pho (陳澄波) and Li Mei-shu (李梅樹). The exhibition was held annually, and Yeh was selected to participate from the first to the third edition in 1949 and then again in 1951. At the time, he served also as the interview editor for the cultural magazine *Novelties*, the current affairs editor for *Taiwan Business and Industry News* (台灣商工經濟新報), and *Reconstruction Daily* (重建日報). He was hired by the Taipei City Government as a lecturer for a cartoon seminar. All this indicates that he had assumed significant cultural capital and status by 1950.

Yeh had tried to submit comics to *Schoolmate* since its inception in 1953 but was never accepted. Only after being commissioned by Ta Hua Publishing Co. (大華出版社) to illustrate *A Collection of Folktales* (民間故事集) in 1956 and through his collaboration with Ta Hua's owner, Huang Tsung-kuei (黃宗葵), did he make his debut as a comics artist. In 1958, he began serializing "Chu-ke Ssu-lang" (諸葛四郎; **fig. 2-36**) in Ta Hua's magazine *Comics King* (漫畫大王). In 1964, one year after *Comics King* had ceased publication, Yeh founded his own publishing house, Hung-chia Press (宏甲出版社) and produced *Chu-ke Ssu-lang* as a rental comics with the help of assistants. It quickly became a bestseller, so much so that it was adapted into a movie in 1962 and a television series in 1985. It significantly influenced Taiwan's younger generations from the late 1950s to the early 1970s. Movie star and singer Sylvia Chang (張艾嘉) even cited it in her 1982 song

*Childhood*: "Chu-ke Ssu-lang and the Demon Party, who will be the one to draw the double-edged sword?"[31]

Under the pressure of the censorship system, however, Yeh Hung-chia was forced to let go of his assistants. In 1973, he had a car accident, which left him with difficulty using his brush. After famously participating in the Comics Cleansing Movement, which urged the government to actively promote young artists, he became reclusive and rarely interacted with the political and journalistic world towards the end of his life (*United Daily News*, 1979/12/25). It can be said that his position in the cultural field had been steadily declining, from submitting paintings to the prestigious Fine Arts Exhibition to creating illustrations and magazine-based comics for the rental comics sector. Unlike Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙), he was not present in firmly established general magazines.

On February 26, 1950, after attending the Fine Arts exhibition he was not part of, Yeh Hung-chia visited his friend Lin Hing-hai (林清海) and was arrested by soldiers at Lin's residence. His whereabouts were unknown. His parents desperately searched everywhere for him. They finally petitioned the Taiwan Representative Council on December 23 and were allowed to ransom him back (*Taiwan Provincial Council Historical Archive*, 1950/12/23). By that time, Yeh Hung-chia had already spent about ten months in a dark cell in prison, a subject that remains taboo among the members of the Yeh family. Yeh Hung-chia enjoyed considerable fame from 1950 to the 1970s, surpassing even Liu Hsing-chin, Chen Ting-kuo, and Niu Ge. And yet, despite his fame and economic capital, he was never able to move up because he created story comics for rental bookstores and remained always outside of the cultural field.

As the above examples demonstrate, provincial status did not guarantee an absolutely safe passage, although it was a key element of symbolic capital in Taiwan. It differed among the mainlanders themselves according to class. The inherent advantage of a mainlander's provincial status came to the fore only when backed by substantial cultural and social capital. Niu Ge, for example, had never gone beyond elementary school and intermittent self-study but his close ties with the military provided him with sufficient social capital to warrant him a rather high mainlander status. In comparison, Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹) and Chien Meng-lung (錢夢龍) were low-ranking mainlanders. Chen came

[31] Sylvia Chang's album *Childhood* was released in Taiwan by Rock Records in 1981.

individually to Taiwan in 1947 to work as an accountant and packaging designer in the confectionery industry, while Chien arrived with the KMT army but got involved in the rental book sector and accumulated a significant amount of negative social capital, including a legal case related to suspicion of extortion in 1958, and denouncing another publisher for alleged communist propaganda in 1966.

Chen Hai-hung had started his career in general magazines and turned to rental comics after their decline. Since his drawings were in a traditional Chinese style, characterized by meticulous linework, he was commissioned by *United Daily News* (聯合報) to illustrate a picture story of Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the ROC, together with the famous mainland *lianhuanhua* artist Tung Sou (童叟) and the military painter Li Ling-chia (李靈伽). In 1972, Chen collaborated with the Liang brothers and Li Chi-mao (李奇茂), an artist who had also come to Taiwan with the KMT and graduated from the Political Warfare Cadres Academy, to draw the *Eight Righteous Pictures* (八義圖) for a television series set in ancient China, which was commissioned and broadcast by the China Television Company. In 1979, he collaborated again with Li Chi-mao and others to create *The Great Historical Pictorial of Founding and Restoring the Nation* (建國復國大業史畫), commissioned by the Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall. In the same year, he was honored with the Chin-chueh Award from the Painting Association of the Republic of China (中華民國畫學會), which Chen Kung (陳弓) had received in 1977 (*United Daily News*, 1965/11/11; 1972/08/08; 1975/10/18; 1979/05/21; *People's Life Daily*, 1994/11/27; *Central Daily News*, 1977/03/21). Under the increasing pressure of the censorship system in the 1970s, Chen Hai-hung turned to illustrating novels and adorning book covers. It can be said that his Chinese-painting skills were well suited to the Sinocentric politics of the time. His provincial status also facilitated his rise, allowing him to easily establish relationships with other mainlander artists.

The examples of Liu Hsing-chin and Chen Ting-kuo demonstrate, how islanders could benefit from correct ideology and social capital. Otherwise, they faced significant hurdles with respect to the accumulation of capital. Born rather late, Liu was able to meet the KMT-era standard for educational attainment, which provided him with enough cultural capital to enter a Normal School, that is, a teachers' college. In contrast, both Chen Ting-kuo and Yeh Hung-chia had been affiliated with the *Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects* and created propaganda comics that praised the Empire of Japan, mobilizing

Japanese nationals for the war effort (He 2018, 55) (*Taiwan Daily News*, 1943/05/02). All their academic credentials came from Japanese art schools. In December 1945, after Japan's defeat, Chen quickly shifted to the Sinocentric political system and began sporadically publishing works in mainlander-owned newspapers. In the 1950s, he primarily used magazines as his publication site and became an important cartoonist, renowned (that is, possessing cultural capital) and profitable (that is, possessing economic capital). As the magazines declined, Chen turned to rental comics, but he still published in newspapers occasionally. In other words, Chen Ting-kuo consistently maintained his social capital in the cultural field. Thus, when rental comics declined in the late 1960s, he was able to "ascend" to illustrating novels distributed through general bookshops and submitting images to local weeklies before moving on to the two major privately-run newspapers of the time.

In contrast, Yeh Hung-chia never acquired such cultural and symbolic capital, which was partly due to his imprisonment under the White Terror. More importantly, the cultural and social capital that he had accumulated during the Japanese occupation was not recognized in the first place, for example, his public high school degree. At the time, this level of education qualified one to serve as an officer in the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. From November 1945 to January 1947, Yeh helped edit the liberal *Novelties* magazine, to which he himself contributed nine single-panel cartoons, five of which ridiculed contemporary social issues. After *Novelties* had ceased publication in 1947, Yeh drew animal illustrations for the Provincial Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the equivalent to the former Ministry of Colonial Affairs of Japan's Government-General of Taiwan. In 1949, using his diploma from the Japanese Kawabata Art School, he attempted to apply for a fourth-grade officer position in that Department, but he did not succeed since his education was not acknowledged (*Taiwan Provincial Government Archive*, 1949/11/11). As symbolic authority changed after 1947, cultural and symbolic capital were redefined to the point of being completely overturned by 1949. An academic background that had previously been sufficient to secure employment as a civil servant was lacking in capital after the war. Credentials from Japanese art schools were no exception: they were considered invalid by the KMT. Despite his later fame as a cartoonist, Yeh was not able to hold his ground under the pressure of the censorship system, and ultimately disappeared from the comics field along with rental comics, while Chen built himself a sustainable career, starting out from employment as an art teacher

right after the war, which he gained thanks to his credentials from the Tokyo Pacific Art School and not those from the Taiwan Provincial Ilan School of Agriculture and Forestry. Obviously, the measure of cultural and symbolic capital was arbitrarily set.

## Chapter summary

After 1945, serial story comics had three main publication sites: newspapers, general magazines, and bound volumes that circulated through rental bookstores, including *lianhuanhua* booklets. The cultural and symbolic capital that each of these publications possessed was uneven and determined by their relationship to the KMT. In descending order, the most prevalent were newspapers: they had the highest level of political backing and the highest cultural status. Then came general magazines, which were distributed through formal channels such as regular bookstores. Rental comics ranked lowest: they were completely excluded from the cultural field. The *Directives for Publishing Comics* explicitly defined in Article 2 their application to any publication other than newspapers, magazines, or educational picture books; that is to say, newspapers and magazines were recognized by the government and did not need to be approved prior to release (although they still faced sanctions and prosecution afterward).

Before the 228 Incident, Yeh Hung-chia, Hung Chao-ming, and Chen Ting-kuo were able to start their own magazines or publish cartoons in the above newspapers and magazines. After the 228 Incident, however, and especially from the mid-1950s onward, when the KMT government tightened its grip on the press, newspaper comics were almost exclusively created by mainlander artists affiliated with the military. Most of these comics addressed anti-communism, resistance to the Soviet Union, and promotion of the Chinese national spirit.

After the mid-1950s, islander artists tended to rely on magazines for children as their primary platform, prioritizing graphic narratives that had nothing to do with politics. General magazines saw a significant decline in sales in the late 1950s and early 1960s due to the emergence of comics-only magazines, which soon prevailed but were in turn overtaken by rental comics. Consequently, story comics moved from within the cultural field to the outside. At this point, the KMT shifted its focus to comics be it because of their sheer volume or because newspapers, radio, and magazines were already under firm control. This manifested in the *Directives for Publishing Comics* that became

effective on March 1, 1966, after their 1962 amendment. They were not only directed against islanders; rather, the government clamped down indiscriminately on freedom of thought and creative expression. After all, rental bookstores, their main target, were run by both islanders and lower-class mainlanders.

To sum up, the biographies of cartoonists outlined above suggest that there was a "glass ceiling" in the cultural field, which related the provincial status of the creators to the publication of comics. According to Bourdieu's theory of cultural fields, cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital can be exchanged and form a total capital that determines one's position as well as one's agency within the cultural field. From 1950 until the pro-democracy protests of the 1990s, the provincial status of the mainlanders held more symbolic capital than that of the islanders. Capital was measured by standards that the KMT government defined by virtue of its symbolic authority. In particular, this meant that cultural and social capital from the Japanese colonial period, such as education, upbringing, and networks, was not valued fairly after 1945; if anything, these qualifications were weighted negatively. This is not to say islanders could not advance in the cultural field, but that they had to have capital equal to or greater than that of mainlanders in order to break through the glass ceiling. On the other hand, not all mainlanders shared the same social rank. While even a foot soldier from the mainland had a potentially higher symbolic capital than any islander, those mainlanders who were involved in the book rental business and thus placed outside the field of culture rather resembled comics publishers with an islander status in regard to symbolic authority.

# 5. "History" in Taiwan comics (1945–1990)

## 5.1 Recognizable past and constructed history

This chapter investigates what kind of "past" has been represented in Taiwan's comics since the late 1940s, tracing the changing conception of history from the perspective of comics history. As outlined in the previous chapters, pre-1980 comics are difficult to retrieve due to the censorship system and the decline of the industry. The materials analyzed here are mainly from the Chung-lun Branch of the Taipei Public Library and the National Museum of Taiwan History.

How to approach the past and trust historical representation concerns not only historians but all members of society because individuals fill their personal memory with the history they know and generate an imagination of their present as a continuum with the past. Thus, the knowledge of history and the reference to collective memory affect, to some extent, the identity of both the individual and also the larger community (Abe et al. 1999, 167–88). Philosopher Alfred Schutz provides a helpful set of conceptual tools for untangling the complex interconnections between personal and collective memory as informed by political and fictional narratives. For Alfred Schutz, one is born into a society that provides a scheme of reference for the interpretation of the world and one's behavior in it through the experiences of predecessors and contemporaries. In order to become a member of society, one must absorb the various kinds of knowledge that are not properly defined but do exist in society through formal or informal education.

> All interpretation of this world is based on a stock of previous experiences of it, our own experiences and those handed down to us by our parents and teachers, which in the form of "knowledge at hand" functions as a scheme of reference. (Schutz 1974, 208)

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 229–261. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.f. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

People acquire knowledge about the world by means of socio-cognitive schemes of reference. Through them, an ambiguous but self-evident consensus emerges in the relationship between "us" and "them," and "us" sharing concepts with our highly anonymous contemporaries. This allows for the anticipation and understanding of actions between people in direct face-to-face relations (Schutz 1974, 208–09, 218–22; 1976, 48–62, 92–119). According to historian Lee Yung-chih (李永熾), people generate an embodied "sense of life" by relating to their environment on a daily basis, and media may communicate this across distances (Lee, Yung-chih 1992, 100–03). However, authorities will seek to establish a socio-cognitive structure that is beneficial for them and to shape the historical consciousness of the in-group, the "we," accordingly, as the role of national history in the formation of modern nation-states evinces. In this regard, the modern argument of considering history as a fact rather than an interpretation or narrative facilitates the capitalization of history and invests it with legitimacy. It goes without saying, that there are many sources of historical knowledge, but accounts of the past can be roughly divided into a formal, state-endorsed History with a capital H (hereafter, indicated as "history"), and an informal history, feeding on stories set in the past, as well as collective memory, without specific textualization or unification. The modern school system made "history" the main source of historical understanding through compulsory education. Until the mid-20th century, history education at school focused on events such as wars that were far removed from the lives of ordinary people and, relatedly, on leaders' achievements. However, news media and entertainment brought national historical events closer to the people, planted them in their memory, and made them feel directly "involved," creating a sense of commonality about the past, that is, the illusion of sharing a national memory (see, for example, Morris-Suzuki 2005).

But does popular culture shape people's view of history only through historical narratives? Does fiction affect historical understanding simply by being set in the "past"? According to Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory (1989 [1968]), individuals refer to collective memory to complement and interpret their own, but collective memory is not limited to the state; it includes the memory of many small groups, such as families, friends, and co-workers. If formal "history" is far apart from people's daily lives, how do the two interrelate? Modern media play an important role in this regard.

## 5.2 Official history, historical narratives, and costume dramas

In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his government began implementing policies that included an official historical view based on Sinocentrism. The role of this "history" was to establish a public standard at the expense of the multiple memories that existed in Taiwan and to replace them with a politically legitimized collective memory to form an imagined community: "China."

In 1940, historian Chien Mu (錢穆; also known as Qian Mu), published *A General History of China* (國史大綱), which was based on a diachronic conception: instead of looking at the culture and history of each time period on the Asian continent from the spatial perspective of dynasties, he traced the succession of rulers since ancient times in a way that resulted in a depiction of China as one nation in terms of scope and lineage. The neighboring peoples stayed outside of this view, while foreign conquerors were included (see Sung and Chen 2015). Chien Mu divided world history into two parallel strands: one stretching from the Peking Man up to the Republic of China, and the other from Mesopotamia, Egypt, ancient Greece and Rome to modern Europe and North America (Tu 1997; Wang, Fu-chang 2001). In 1948, the NICT published his monograph as a university textbook on behalf of the Ministry of Education: after all, it complied perfectly with the KMT government's attempts to establish the myth of a continuous ethnic, i.e., Han Chinese, lineage that linked the Taoist tradition with Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek and facilitated the ROC's claim to be the legitimate representative of all of China and thus the legitimate ruler of Taiwan. In 1950, Chiang Kai-shek instructed that education should emphasize "national spirit," with "nation" referring to the (Han) Chinese ethnicity. Under martial law, primary and secondary schools foregrounded "leader worship," "fighting communism and reviving the nation," and nurturing the traditional virtues of loyalty, filial piety, and righteousness. The national textbooks privileged China, with the section on Taiwan history considering only the island's relationship with the mainland while excluding the period of Japanese rule, to reinforce the narrative of a continuous national history (Wang, Fu-chang 2001, 154–58).

Through official endorsement, textbook accounts of history and geography assumed political symbolic capital. The very term "history" evokes a reality effect that distinguishes its narrative from fiction (Ricoeur 2004, 141–42; see also Fish 1982). As the act of reading is based on a tacit agreement with the text (or its author), readers are

prepared to trust the reality of the events and the represented causalities when recognizing a narrative as a historical one. In contrast, they are prepared for make-believe if engaging with a fictional narrative, be it a novel, movie, or comics. In this regard (and not only due to political endorsement), history assumes scholarly symbolic power once it becomes a discipline of modern science and, consequently, associated with factual evidence. By virtue of both the symbolic power of the state and the symbolic power of the scientific discipline, the KMT's official "history" obtained acceptance despite its biased ideological character and its devaluation of the existent collective memory as non-factual. Between 1950 and 1987, no Taiwanese historian and no historical account, not even fictional ones, challenged the state's monolithic narrative.

It is important here to note some basic facts about Taiwan's national education. In 1950, compulsory education was six years, and the attendance rate amounted to 67.68%. After the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education in 1968, the rate of elementary school graduates rose from 31.99% in 1950 to 62.29% in 1967 (Chen, Po-Chang 1991, 174–75). Thus, the time period for the use of textbooks to shape the nation's view of history also expanded, which strengthened the role of the official history as a benchmark for historical consciousness. However, until 1967, nearly 40% of all elementary school graduates did not go on to higher education, which means that the majority of adults in the 1950s and 1960s were poorly educated.

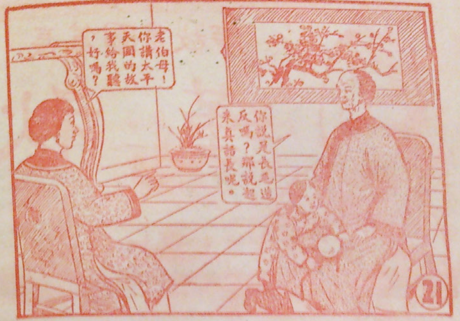
As a type of graphic narrative, comics operate on a symbolic grammar that rests on panels, gutters, speech balloons, and pictorial runes, which potential readers need to learn. However, comics are not as symbolic as words. Comics can reach a wider readership, including people who are less able to read text. But visual signs carry both self-explanatory and "obtuse meanings" (see Barthes 1984, 1985) The latter render intentions ambiguous and create room for diverse interpretations. Pictures may more easily evoke emotions. Historian Tessa Morris-Suzuki has demonstrated how the portrayal of dramatic events by means of simplified imagery in comics burns itself into readers' memory and influences the revision of memories, and claimed that this makes the analysis of comics so important (2005, 181–82).

Before turning to "graphic history" during the martial law era, when the diachronic official history was the only acknowledged fact, a brief recapitulation of the state of the comics market in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s is in order. As mentioned in the previous chapters, the venues of publication and the channels of circulation can be roughly divided into three types: newspapers, general magazines, and rental bookstores.

The cultural and symbolic capital of these three and the intensity of their relationship with the government changed over the years, but the newspaper remained the most powerful, politically compliant, and culturally important medium. The second one was the children's magazine. *Elementary Student*, for example, published three types of fiction that combined text with images: illustrated novels, Shanghai-styled *lianhuanhua*, and locally produced story comics. The first two types did not integrate text into the images, and most of them retold traditional Chinese stories, such as "Chiu Chin" (秋瑾) (**fig. 5-1**). Representative works of the third type came from Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽), an islander who was clearly familiar with the visual grammar of postwar manga and, as such, able to distinguish himself from mainlander colleagues like Tung Sou (童叟). At the time, comics in newspapers and in children's magazines both followed the KMT's official history. Their narratives highlighted loyalty, patriotism, and anti-communism and replaced the period of Japanese colonial rule with the history of Chinese anti-Japanese resistance. This took roots in people's memory through their use of mass media and entertainment and created a sense of commonality in relation to the "past."

The contents of privately run children's magazines was slightly different from state-run newspapers and magazines like *Elementary Student*. For example, *Oriental Youth* published comics from America and Taiwan along with postwar manga, educational short stories, four-panel comic strips, narratives with Western themes and animal protagonists, as well as adaptations of Chinese classics.

Rental comics, on the other hand, initially offered *lianhuanhua* booklets in the main. When Japanese-language newspapers were banned in 1946, Taiwan's printing plants did not have the necessary Chinese lead characters at their command, which led to importing most of the reading materials from China. Graphic narratives were mainly obtained from Shanghai. But after 1949, direct supply from Shanghai was cut off. Instead, Hong Kong became the source of *lianhuanhua*. While emulating the horizontal page layout of their Shanghai models, these booklets consisted of 64, 28, and 36 pages. Taiwanese, too, began to create *lianhuanhua* in Mandarin. The first release was *Water Margin* (水滸傳, 1946) by Wang Chao-tsung (王朝宗), a martial arts fantasy story which, in retrospect, seems to have anticipated the popularity of that genre. In the 1950s, some Japanese rental manga also circulated, but information is lacking, except that these must have been *akahon manga*, and that they were printed in two colors or even more. The 1960s were the Golden Age of Taiwan comics and martial arts stories



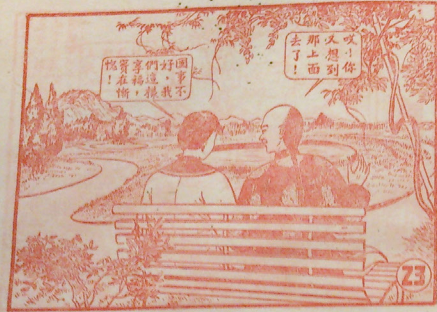


**Figure 5-1.** Yang Shu-sun (楊叔蓀), “Chiu Chin” (秋瑾), *Elementary Student* (小學生), no. 287, 1962, 7. License: CC BY 4.0.

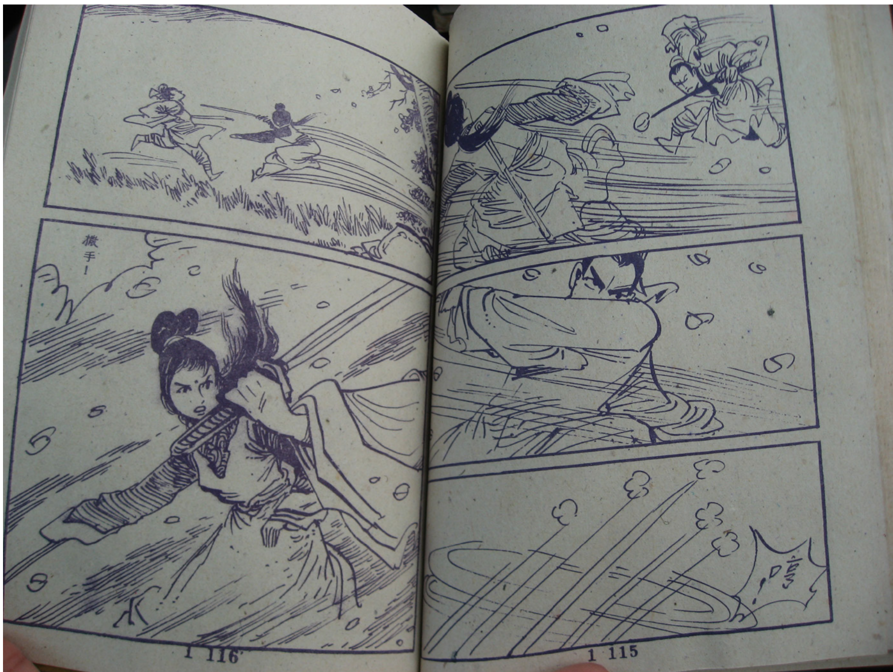



**Figure 5-2.** Yu Lung-hui (游龍輝), *Tale of a Divine Sword* (神劍恩仇), 2. Taipei: I-te, 1968. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chunglun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0.

set in ancient China the most popular. The islanders Yeh Hung-chia, Fan Yi-nan, and Lei Chiu (淚秋, as well as mainlander Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹) (**fig.** 5-3) achieved exceptional fame.

Some comics of this period were hand-traced manga, changed to the three-tier layout popular in Taiwan, and adorned with false Taiwanese names. Most clearly recognizable Japanese motifs, such as shrines and rice balls, were erased, but others, like school uniforms remained. Clearly, the policy of de-Japanization was not limited to the official, formal sphere but extended to the informal sphere as well: all clues that may have undermined the official history in favor of the heterogeneous collective memory, such as the fact that Taiwan's history belonged in part to Japan, the enemy, was obscured.

After the censorship system was implemented in 1966, Wenchang (文昌) first intended to go out of business, but editor Tsai Kun-lin (蔡焜霖) seized on the fact that inspection could be circumvented if the comics content accounted for less than 20% of the total publication. With this in mind, he created the semi-monthly *Prince* (王子半月刊), which featured Taiwan comics as well as traced and non-traced Japanese manga, among other things. In 1967, Chien Meng-lung (錢夢龍), a comics

artist from Taiwan, launched *Sky Dragon Youth* and dedicated it to mainly local comics. But even so, after 1976, most of the comics in the market were pirated Japanese manga. The NICT, on the other hand, did not only censor comics but also commissioned their own, for example, *Enduring Hardship while Planning for Retaliation* (臥薪嘗膽) and *The Secret History of President Chiang* (蔣總統秘錄史畫) (**fig. 4-21**). These titles clearly used easy-to-read graphic narratives to facilitate patriotic education, complementing the textbooks. Although in fact rather an illustrated book than a comics, The *Secret History of President Chiang* was still submitted for review and approved under the *Directives for Publishing Comics*—another evidence of the fact that the NICT had no clear definition of "comics."

In the 1950s, the comics published in newspapers or state-run magazines such as *Elementary Student* focused on ancient China, the war against Japan, and anti-communist themes, while unofficial, privately run magazines and rental comics were more diverse in content, but with its censorship system, the state intervened in the freedom of expression of the unofficial sphere. The collection of Taiwan comics from 1966–75 at the Chung-lun Branch of the Taipei Library indicates that the two most popular genres were ancient Chinese tales and stories of modern life. The former included martial arts, sagas, and tales of traditional loyalty and filial piety; the latter featured human interest and spy stories, sports, science fiction, and romance for young girls.

The postwar educational system provided people in Taiwan with a mainland-oriented framework of historical and social reference, which was reinforced after the introduction of nine-year compulsory education in 1968. Before the implementation of the review system in 1966, there had still been some room for imagination in Taiwan comics, but comics artists and publishers had adopted the habit of exercising self-censorship to avoid the risk of being accused of "thought crimes" under the White Terror regime. Before 1990, textbooks of national history were mostly word-centered, last but not least, due to the low level of printing technology. So, what kind of past did the visuals in Taiwan comics represent? And which role did these graphic narratives play in the main historical narrative?

## 5.3 The imagined "China" of pre-1976 Taiwan comics

The surviving materials indicate that between 1945 and the 1970s, Taiwan's newspaper comics were dominated by patriotic themes and

political propaganda, while comics in magazines or book format mainly offered stories set in ancient China, from the mythological era to the early years of the Republic of China. The prevalence of martial arts comics in the 1960s further facilitated the spread of fiction set in obscure times. However, the "past" they pictured did not include Taiwan's period under Japanese rule.

Historical narratives appeared in both mainstream and subcultural domains. There were comic strips like "Chiu Chin" (秋瑾, **fig. 5-1**) in the magazine *Elementary Student* (小學生), the NICT's *Enduring Hardship while Planning for Retaliation* (臥薪嘗膽), the series *Pictorial Stories of World-Famous People* (世界名人圖畫故事叢書) and *How Tian Dan Restored the Country* (田單復國記) by the Model Children Publishing House (模範兒童讀物出版社), "Master Kungming" (孔明先生) in *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), and "Tripitaka's Journey for the Scriptures" (三藏取經) in *Schoolmate* (學友), but also comics in book format like *Zhaojun's Grudge* (昭君怨), and *The Tale of Yue Fei* (岳飛傳). No matter how fictitious, as long as time, place, characters, and events can be found on the historical axis, these works are called historical story comics below.

In *Elementary Student*, for example, He Chao-chen (何超塵), an artist who founded *Picture Times* (圖畫時報) together with Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘) and others, published "Lord Hsinling Aids Zhao Aginst the King of Chin" (1957) (**fig. 4-1**). The story is set in the Warring States period (475–221 BC), where Lord Hsinling steals the tiger talisman from the King of Wei and sends troops to save Zhao from the King of Chin. The headdress, the robes, and the carriage wheels do not match the time of the setting. In a similar way, a 1971 comics published by the same artist in *Prince*, which depicts Tso Po-tao (左伯桃) and Yang Chiao-ai (羊角哀) taking a blood oath to sacrifice themselves for each other, was set in the Warring States Period, although the source work, *Stories Old and New* (喻世明言) by Feng Meng-long (馮夢龍) featured the Spring and Autumn period. Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘) serialized "Mulan" (花木蘭) in *Picture Times* in 1951 (**fig. 2-25**). The famous legend, which tells of a female horse-riding warrior who served in the army instead of her father, originated from the Northern Wei Dynasty (4th–6th centuries). In Liang Yu-ming's drawings, however, the military headgear and uniforms, as well as the officials' long-winged hats, are all rendered in a post-Song Dynasty style (10th–13th centuries) and thereby Sinicized. Chen Ting-kuo had not examined the background of the Three Kingdoms period (3rd century) for his "Master Kungming"

(孔明先生, 1958) either. In "Chiu Chin" (秋瑾) by Yang Shu-sun (楊叔蓀) (1962), the protagonist wears a blouse with a wide skirt in the fashion of the Qing Dynasty, which also applies to the braided hair and the uniform of her husband (**fig. 5-1**). At any rate, until the 1970s, the so-called historical story comics did not concern themselves with historically accurate visual representations; they rather employed signifiers of an ancient China that indicated a nonspecific "past." The readers, however, were not able to discern the inconsistencies, as they lacked familiarity with period-specific clothing.

This raises the question of how history is visually perceived. As mentioned above, people learn about the world through a scheme of reference and social interaction. But the world of the past can only be imagined and interpreted through oral and recorded tradition. When we try to interpret the world of our predecessors, the framework we use cannot be the same as the one used by our predecessors to explain their experiences to themselves. The symbol system of their world is not changing anymore, as distinct from ours. History is a metaphysical endeavor of selecting meaningful events and actions and interpreting them in terms of current typologies and cognitive schemes while referring to the symbolic systems used by previous generations (Schutz 1976, 56–63).

Since the sign system is so important to social understanding and historical interpretation, a semiotic perspective recommends itself. When people interact with each other through language, they cannot abstain from using abstract symbols. Roland Barthes argued:

> Every sign includes three relations. [...] an interior relation which unites the signifier to its signified; then two exterior relations; a virtual one that unites the sign to a specific reservoir of other signs it may be drawn from in order to be inserted in discourse; and an actual one. The first type of relation appears clearly in what is commonly called a symbol [...]. The second type of relation implies the existence for each sign, of a reservoir or an organized "memory" of forms from which it is distinguished by the smallest difference [...]. According to the third type of relation, the sign is no longer situated with regard to its (virtual) "brother," but with its (actual) "neighbors" [...] this level of association is the level of the syntagma [...]. (Barthes 1972, 205–11)

Each sign has accumulated a reservoir, the so-called organized "memory," that evokes meanings when people engage in symbolic activities. Barthes' argument implies that signs, or symbols, are based on the socio-cultural system in which they are stored or "remembered." This

resembles Alfred Schutz's stock of knowledge and relevancies, which are internalized in the consciousness and bodies of the individuals, so that they can develop habitual, intuitive, and semi-conscious responses to the society to which they belong and and to their fellow members (Schutz 1976, 97–105).

In order to visually identify and understand history or the past, the reader of comics must go through the stock of symbols that represent this past. Under martial law, the KMT created a "history" stock that merged the past, "China," and Taiwan's suppressed collective memory to create an official history. This scheme of reference came to appear natural to Taiwanese people due to the role of symbolic power. In Taiwan's historical comics, clothes, headgear, and carriages symbolized "China," their meaning linked to a stock that contained multiple periods and cultures. In other words, historical story comics fed the "history" stock with symbols that indicated rather than recreated the past. But what is the culture of that Chinese past? How can it be identified visually?

First of all, the textbooks highlighted the Han dynasties and also considered so-called non-Han peoples, such as the Great Liao/Khitan Empire or the Great Jin, but only with respect to their Sinicization (see Hirano 2015). Multiethnic eras like the Spring and Autumn Period, the Warring States Period, the Northern and Southern Dynasties Period, the Three Kingdoms Period, the Five Dynasties Period, and the Ten Kingdoms Period were often represented by only one ruling state, or with an emphasis on their connection to the Han Chinese people. Through these exclusions and reorganizations, the Han culture was homogenized. The above comics, for example, made differences between the Song and the Great Qing recognizable, but not between the Spring and Autumn Warring States and the Song and the Great Ming. Prior to 1976, the "history" stock was filled with the linear succession of (Han-) Chinese dynasties without visually distinguishing periods or ethnicities from each other. Non-Han elements (as existent in "Mulan") were excluded. This "history" stock provided comics readers with a specific framework: in the absence of specifications, "ancient China" equated to a unified Han Chinese culture.

Secondly, the history textbooks of junior and senior high schools focused on the political history of emperors and generals, nobility and gentry; social and cultural aspects were added only after 1973 when *A Cultural History of China* (中國文化史) came into use. But while this textbook highlighted Confucianism, Taoism, and other doctrines,

literature and art, Buddhism, and Neo-Confucianism, it did not address the lives and social conditions of the common people.[32] More importantly, the new textbook narrated its history in written form, with only a few images. Precisely this facilitated ambiguous visualization, which again allowed the concept of a unified Han Chinese culture to persist. As textbooks lacked visual references, the "history" stock came to be filled with the costumes and weapons of traditional operas, as well as the images of an ancient past provided by comics, movies and later television. Their imagery shaped the visual "memory" that could be evoked to reinforce the framework of historical knowledge.

The situation did not change much after the implementation of the comics censorship system. Although a series of disputes took place between Taiwanese cartoonists represented by Niu Ge, and the NICT, both sides shared the same attitude toward visualization, namely that graphic representation in comics did not require detailed historical investigation. For Niu Ge, the NICT's request that Taiwanese artists base their drawings on evidence was "difficult and demanding," to which the NICT replied that their request to "not deviate from historical facts" referred to chronology and titles, that is, the historical timeline and the textual parts of historical representation (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1982/11/30). Thus, both cartoonists and censors still preferred text over image and lacked an idea of relating history media-specifically even in the early 1980s.

As already mentioned, the 1960s saw a boom in martial arts comics. One of the representative artists was Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹), a mainlander who had studied both Chinese and Western painting (**fig. 5-3**). In 1958, he created the martial arts comics "The Youthful Swordsman – Cyclone" (小俠龍捲風). The narrative is set during the reign of Emperor Ying of the Ming Dynasty and tells how the two sons of an imprisoned nobleman are rescued by a friend and escape to Hainan Island. The artist has, to a certain extent, studied the culture of the Ming Dynasty, including ships and military uniforms, mending clothes, and shaving children's heads. However, his straightforward narrative does not concern itself with any evidence for the outlook of Hainan Island, or the assumption that Han Chinese actually settled there at the time. After the sons' escape to Hainan Island, the narrative shifts from the historical to the martial arts genre, with the costumes and backgrounds no longer subject to scrutiny. "The Youthful Swordsman – Devil Whirlwind" (小俠怪旋風) introduced magical elements such as a giant snake monster

[32] For a bibliography of historical history textbooks, see Textbook Library, National Academy for Educational Research, http://textbooklibrary.naer.edu.tw/

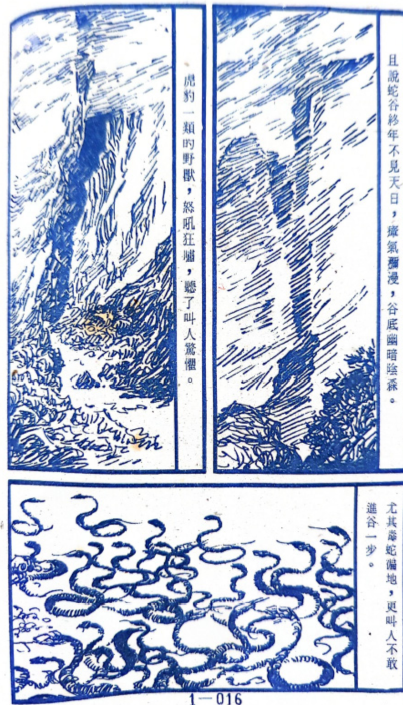



**Figure 5-3.** Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹), *Green Bow Sword* (綠虹劍). Taipei: Ta-kuan, 1969, 16. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chung-lun Branch, Taipei City Library. License: CC BY 4.0.

and mostly fictional locations like the Dead Soul Steep Cliff (亡魂絕峰) or the Broken Soul Ridge (斷魂嶺). Essentially, the robes were borrowed from the spectacular costumes of martial artists seen in operas and used as symbols to indicate "ancient Han Chinese."

While Chen Hai-hung's "The Youthful Swordsman" still maintained some historical setting, most martial arts comics from the late 1950s and the 1960s lacked any realist reference to a specific era. One of them was the popular series "Chu-ke Ssu-lang" (諸葛四郎) by Yeh Hung-chia. It is set in a fictional kingdom, which the two main characters strive to defend against enemies. The narrative's temporal and spatial patterns provide readers with clues to find, in their own socio-cognitive scheme and stocks, symbols that correspond to the text's hints and help to comprehend the narrative. As long as a costume could be invoked from the stock, a "natural" reference to "ancient China" would occur.

Whether costume drama or modern setting, newspaper strip or graphic narrative, until the 1980s, the backgrounds in Taiwan comics—mountains, trees, or the sky—were rendered in simple lines or even left

blank. In this way, period pieces and martial arts comics refrained from providing visual clues that could have caused the reader to question the matter of history. For example, Tsai Chih-chang's (蔡志昌) *Broken Sound Sword* (破音劍, 1968) opens at a location called North-Sword Mountain Lover's Rock (北劍山情人岩). Similarly, Lei Chiu's (淚秋) martial arts comics *Human Head Dart* (人頭鏢, 1973), Hsu Sung-shan's (許松山) *Fei Fei* (飛飛, 1969) (**fig. 4-19**), and Chen Ting-kuo's *Meng Li-chun* (孟麗君, 1969) all take place in an unspecified space-time identifiable as "ancient China" only through costumes and props. Of course, there were also comics with actual Chinese locations: in addition to "The Youthful Swordsman – Cyclone," Fan Yi-nan's *The Strange Child of the Dusty World* (風塵怪童) which was set in the Wuyi Mountains (武夷山), Fujian, and Yu Lung-Hui's (游龍輝) *Tale of a Divine Sword* (神劍恩仇), set in the Jing Mountains (荊山), Hubei (**fig. 5-2**). But in *The Strange Child of the Dusty World*, a caption claims, "The end of the Wuyi Mountains is facing the sea" (**fig. 5-4**), although, in reality,

**Figure 5-4.** [Fan] Yi-nan (藝南), *The Strange Child of the Dusty World* (風塵怪童). Taipei: Wen-Feng, 1969, p. 1. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chung-lun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0.

there is no sea. For the Taiwanese, who were not allowed to go abroad at the time, this was irrelevant anyway. On the whole, from 1950 to 1976, Taiwan's "historical" comics presented an unsubstantiated "imagined China," ambiguous but unified.

As conceptualized by Pierre Nora (1996), the atomization of collective memory obliges each individual to remember in order to "belong." He termed this coercive memory and described it as a construction of time from the outside to the inside of a person or as an internal compulsion to understand history. The alternative is the so-called true memory, an experience of the individual or the small group to which the individual belongs, clearly felt through the body. However, as mentioned above, the spread of mass media has made it easier for national historical events to get implanted in the memory of the individual. Integrating Nora's argument, Morris-Suzuki (2005) suggests that in such a situation, individual memories are swallowed up by "history," and the contact with one's memory environment is truncated. Memories no longer come from the accumulation of lived experience but from fabricated fields of memory such as historical materials, museums, and monuments.

Judging from the imagined China presented by Taiwan comics, the KMT government's emphasis on raising the national spirit did, to some extent, sever the Taiwanese people's sense of life from the 1950s onward. State power promoted a Sinocentric memory to replace the stock of Japan-ruled Taiwan with anti-Japanese resistance and anti-communist struggle, making the official history a common feeling, namely, the "past" of a constructed "in-group." Missing or vague visual representations, unidentifiable place names, and time periods that were indistinguishable from each other—as evident in Taiwan comics from 1950 to 1976, in fact, all the way to the 2000s—attest to a vague sense of commonality.

Grand narratives provide individuals with a cognitive reference frame of historical time, including the location of various elements and the causal relationships between them, while lacking in detail. For example, when history textbooks addressed the Three Kingdoms Period, they positioned it within the framework of official history, using the names of historical figures as triggers, for example, Liu Bei (劉備) and Shu Han (蜀漢) standing in for the center, Chu-ke Liang (諸葛亮) being the loyal minister and Cao Cao (曹操) the traitor. However, the ranks and relationships of these historical figures, the details of historical events, and characters other than kings and generals such as Lu Bu (呂布), Diao-chan (貂嬋), the Two Chiaos (大喬小喬), and Lady Huang (黃氏), wife of Chu-ke Liang, did not make an appearance in the

historical narrative. If "Three Kingdoms" is to work as a sign, there must be a corresponding stock of organized meaning, i.e., "memory," but that was lacking; the stock's slots were, overall, not systematically interrelated. In contradistinction to the history textbooks, comics adaptations of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國演義) by Luo Guanz-hong (羅貫中) gave meaning to the respective stock through their characters and plots, for example, "Master Kungming" (孔明先生, 1958) by Chen Ting-kuo and "Records of the Three Kingdoms" (三国志) by Japanese manga artist Yokoyama Mitsuteru (横山光輝) (1971–87).

Historical events are the experience of others, not only spatially but also temporally; the individual's perception of them is distant and vague (see Schutz 1974, 1975, 1992). Graphic narratives, however, create drama out of a few lines found in written historical accounts so as to expand the image of history beyond consecutive "historical facts." Thus, the official history and the graphic history interact: the first provides the reader with a self-evident framework of knowledge, while the comics drama injects sensibility and meaning into the "history" stock and creates what Barthes calls the "thickness" of meaning.

Roland Barthes divides the system of signifiers into different levels or planes of analysis. At the first level, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is concrete and understandable. At the second level, the signifier is far removed from the specific, concrete, and original meaning of the first level; it is an empty state, which Barthes terms "form." A signifier as mere "form" is called a "concept," and a "concept" is open: it absorbs the knowledge "form" it is distanced from, or creates a connection with the history that unfolds outside of the "form," with countless concepts and postulated knowledge, accumulating a rich "thickness," which is "signification." But the relationship at the second level is symbolic rather than practical, and therefore called "mythological." For example, the word "rose" no longer indicates an actual type of flower but is associated with love, passion, romance, etc., and thus wielding a mythological effect (Barthes 1972, 107–26). Similarly, the signifier Wuyi Mountains (武夷山) is an empty "form" that differs from Hua Mountain (華山), Shaolin Monastery (少林寺), the Wudang Mountains (武當山), or the Kunlun Mountains (崑崙山). This difference is not grounded in imagery but in intertextuality and intermediality so that the place name no longer indicates an actual mountain but the "deep mountains of China" as a "form," and it becomes part of the symbolic stock of "ancient China" as a concept in the mythological role.

No matter whether it is a historical or fictional narrative, readers enter the storyworld, empathize with the characters, and then expand this connection with the text to themselves. For example, in the 1960s, some readers went to the mountains to seek immortality after reading martial arts fiction (*United Daily News*, 1963/09/05; 1964/03/25). Comics added a semantic thickness to the stock of "ancient China," gave meaning to historical accounts in textbooks, and prompted readers to become emotionally involved. However, in order for readers to expand their knowledge of history, they need a precise spatial and temporal reference scheme without which corresponding items cannot be found. As the costume dramas and martial arts comics lacked actual place and era names, and their visual representation was simplistic and schematic, they had only limited effect on motivating readers to expand their historical knowledge. However, they effectively gave meaning to "Chinese history" and increased recognizability.

The aforementioned comics all instructed readers about "ancient China" through empty historical symbols; they were anything but realist in narrative and visual terms (which applied, of course, also to TV dramas) (*United Daily News*, 1974/04/17). As such, these pre-1976 comics should be categorized as fantasy rather than historical fiction. However, once included as a reference, the official history provided a specific framework that generated acceptance of the "imagined ancient China" among comics readers. This "China" did not need to refer to actual China in order to facilitate a sense of belonging to the geopolitical entity – which resembles how advertisements use consumers' memories and expectations to create a "quasi-time" that replaces real-time (Williamson 1978; Lee, I-yun 2017, 269–404). In other words, when readers consume comics and other popular fiction, they do not necessarily link them to reality. In the case of Taiwan, simple drawings, undetermined space and time, and vague visual references prevented martial arts comics from challenging the "history" stocks of the era. Under the conditions of martial law and comics censorship, narratives that deviated from the official history were not permitted anyway. Only in the 1970s was this exclusive frame of reference and "history" stock challenged, namely, by the heterogeneity of pirated Japanese manga published in unaltered editions.

## 5.4 Stimuli from abroad and disembodied historical imagery

As previously mentioned, Japanese manga were already available in the 1950s, in magazines and in rental bookstores. In the 1960s, many

manga were hand-traced and adapted to a three-tier panel layout, formatted as books, and submitted for review under false names. Although in 1965 the Government Information Office and other agencies decided to ban the import of manga, these comics were still brought in by diplomats, overseas Chinese, foreigners, and Taiwanese who had permission to go abroad (*Ministry of Education Archive*, 1984/01/09). This helped domestic readers to grow familiar with the grammar of postwar manga even before unaltered pirated versions spread in the mid-1970s.

After 1972, Taiwan's comics production shrank rapidly, but demand still existed. This was met by the weekly *Comics King* (漫畫大王), launched in 1976, and the establishment of a new publisher, Rainbow (虹光). They reprinted manga in their original form, which was quicker and less expensive than the previous method of hand-tracing and rearranging (*United Daily News*, 1982/09/02). The supply as such was big enough, but the NICT still demanded that "all Japanese clothing, customs, and excessively long hairstyles must be redrawn" (*Ministry of Education Archives*, 1979/07/21, 1983/10/18). Although the extent to which Japanese clues were removed varied from case to case, censors did not always identify "cleansed" editions submitted under a domestic author's name as translations of foreign works. Against this background, comics publishers such as Tongli (東立) and Yin-Shih-Man (尹士曼) sprouted up, and a great number of manga advanced into the Taiwanese market. The massive popularity of these comics prompted their rejection in the name of sex and violence by both the mass media and renowned cartoonists (Lin, Wen-i 1979). In 1982, Niu Ge and others initiated a Comics Cleansing Movement, which eventually led to the disappearance of manga from Taiwan's comics market for almost a year, from 1986 to the end of 1987. But by then, manga's postwar grammar had already penetrated domestic graphic narratives and replaced the frontal, stage-like perspective and three-tier page layout of the 1960s, as the works of Chang Ching-mei (張靜美) and Chen Uen demonstrate.

After Japan's rapid economic growth and the launch of boys manga weeklies in the late 1950s, story comics saw an astonishing development in their domestic market, with the number of creators, the works' quality, and the variety of subjects and genres increasing. As long as a manga was popular, its serialization was extended, which allowed for closer attention to characters, plots, and worldviews, and for an involvement of the reader that facilitated the formation of fandoms. When such manga series came to Taiwan after the mid-1970s, they served

readers who had been in a state of lockdown under martial law with an abundance of themes and styles, ranging from realist occupations and sports to fantasy and science fiction, all of which differed from domestic martial arts comics or Liu Hsing-chin's robot (機械人). There were, of course, also manga with historical settings, not only Japanese but also European, American, and Chinese. Thus, foreign elements entered the memory of comics readers despite the NICT's strict scrutiny. In the 1980s, some publishers utilized the call to learn English by means of comics and published American series in a bilingual Chinese-English format, such as *Mickey Mouse* and *Blondie* (Lin Po Publishing 林白出版社). Although sparse compared to the number of manga, American comics depicting middle-class life were sold in general bookstores, that is, through formal channels, and parents bought these publications for their children. Through them, readers came in touch with many things they had not known before. Over time, new meanings became part of their socio-cognitive scheme of reference, last but not least, because there was enough space to be filled.

Until 1997, when *Getting to Know Taiwan* (認識臺灣) finally incorporated local history into the educational system, textbooks had been centered on the official Chinese history constructed by the KMT. The history of Asia and Africa had surfaced only in the chapters on imperialist invasion. Chinese history—in the sense of "our past" and collective memory—had become the proxy for history as such, while world history privileged Europe and North America but was only fragmentarily considered anyway. Accordingly, Taiwan comics represented "the West" (i.e., the European kingdoms and the United States) in a uniform way, completely disregarding visual differences between Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, or Italy at different times. Precisely this relationship between "history" and an "imagined China" was undermined when comics from abroad injected diverse content into the domestic stock. What foreign historical narratives challenged was not the legitimacy or symbolic power of the official history, but rather the privileged position of China as recognizable history. The one-dimensional framework of Chinese history was no longer able to subsume the multiple narratives about the past that entered the stocks. As a result, the boundaries of the established socio-cognitive scheme widened, and the grand narrative and its framework came to be questioned as people began to see the past or "history" from different perspectives. Moreover, foreign comics provided the information necessary to assess whether historical narratives were logically deducted and their argumentation reasonable.

Thus, the items that triggered readers' recognition gradually diversified, and options increased.

This was linked to Taiwan's situation in the 1980s, when US support declined, the control of the KMT government loosened, and the people of Taiwan began to seek freedom after an economic take-off, leading to social movements and the lifting of martial law in 1987. With the liberalization of society, the self-evidence of the Sinocentric historical narrative gradually receded. The spread of critical concepts like deconstructivism and postmodernism also contributed to people gradually adopting a more open attitude toward diverse information than before the 1980s.

After the abolition of comics censorship at the end of 1987, manga appeared on the market quickly and in large numbers. Japanese motifs were no longer removed, and the place and time of the action could be clearly seen, allowing readers to recognize these works as Japanese productions. Manga's decidedly visual storytelling and emphasis on affective involvement fascinated many and triggered a desire to go beyond the text, to look for related knowledge and information, or even engage in derivative fan creation (Lee, I-yun 2018, 188–204, 249–75). This applies to manga (and other forms of popular media) until today and increasingly so. When a history-related series becomes popular, fans will actively check out the relevant facts, and the corresponding "history" stock is gradually filled. However, it must be noted that the history brought to Taiwan by foreign comics was lacking with respect to locally specific lived experiences and corporeality.

True memory, as Pierre Nora saw it, is physical memory. It is an experience felt and remembered through the body, latent in actions or habits and difficult to convey in words (Nora 1996, 8, 38–43). The social habitus engraved in the people's bodies is vital in this regard (see Miyama 2005). However, the Sinocentric socio-cognitive scheme of reference established by the KMT government promoted an "imagined China," a fictitious center that could not actually be sensed as it was at odds with everyday life (**fig. 5-5**).

Even if the diverse meanings from foreign countries (which also lacked corporeality) undermined the privileged position of the imagined center, they did not necessarily fill the gap between true and coercive memory. The translated editions of manga, for example, often blurred Asian place names, although to a varying degree – the more modern the setting, the blurrier the names. For example, Tokyo (東京) was changed to "T-city" (T市), Hong Kong (香港) to "H-port" (H港), and

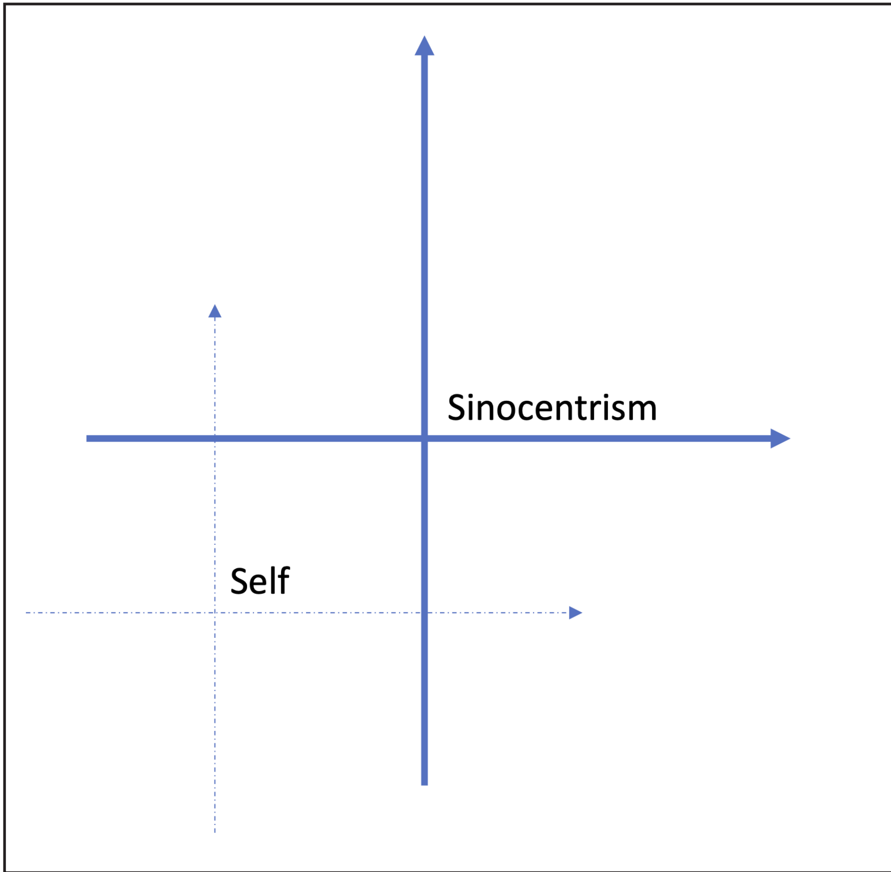



**Figure 5-5.** Schematic diagram of the cognitive reference frame before the 1980s (left: self; upper right: Sinocentrism). Created by the author.

sometimes even the United States of America appeared as "A-country" (A國). Panels that featured sensitive locations, such as the Presidential Palace of the National Government in Taipei, were replaced and complemented with explanatory text (like the first, top-right panel in **fig. 5-6**). In cases where the creator's name was unknown or changed to a Taiwanese one, Japanese props may not even have been recognized as Japanese but rather taken as imaginary and not mutually exclusive with things "Chinese."

This avoidance of realism changed only after 1992, when the new copyright law came into effect and manga were finally licensed for publication in Taiwan. As mentioned in the previous section, the graphic narratives of the 1960s took place in an empty space and time, and the image of "China" was only attached by reference to the official history.

**Figure 5-6.** "Japanese Manga Intoxicating the Next Generation" (請看毒害下一代的日本漫畫), *Comics Satire Magazine* (漫畫讽刺雜誌), vol. 24, Taiwan Chih-cheng Press (臺灣志成), 1983, 39. License: CC BY 4.0.

They merely distinguished between past and present, without any bodily memory and reference scheme rooted in daily life. Therefore, it did actually not matter to the reader whether these graphic narratives

took place in "China" or in a fantasy land, in Jingshan or in T-city. The characters, too, differed from real people; they were products of exaggeration and deformation, which often made it necessary to rely on the anchoring effect of words to establish their nationality.

Although foreign comics had provided many elements that went beyond "China" since 1976, similar local narratives did not emerge until the 1980s. Before concluding this chapter, the "history" that these new Taiwan comics presented and how it compares to both domestic comics of the 1960s and comics imports from abroad will come to the fore.

In 1980, the comics "Oolong Courtyard" (烏龍院) by Ao Yu-hsiang (敖幼祥) became so popular that the serializing newspaper *China Times* held a National Comics Contest in 1984 and 1986, which led to the discovery of artists such as Chen Uen (鄭問) and Chiu Jo-lung (邱若龍). In 1985, the Times Culture Press (時報文化出版社) launched the biweekly *Joy Comics* (歡樂), which introduced Tseng Ching-chung (曾正忠), A-tui (阿推), Yu-Fu (魚夫), Hsiao Yin-chung (蕭言中), and Chu Deyong (朱德庸), among others. Their comics circulated not anymore through rental bookstores and stalls but state-run newspapers and bookshops. After the abolition of the comics censorship system, many people who had originally no connection to the industry became so optimistic about its prospects that they started magazines to be sold at regular bookshops. Concurrently, established comics publishers launched *Childhood Express* (童年快報) and other weeklies, which set off a manga frenzy. But in the early 1990s, comics magazines that had leaned on the official channels ceased publication, and their artists moved to Tongli or Daran Press.

From 1980 to 2000, Chinese costume dramas still accounted for a significant proportion of Taiwan comics. For example, "[The Legend of] Zhuangzi" (莊子說) by Tsai Chih-chung (蔡志忠) serialized in *Joy Comics* from 1985, and "The Big Dipper and the Furies" (正罡地煞) by Hou Kuei-kang (侯魁罡) serialized in *The Week* (星期) in 1989, still represented ancient China by means of crossed collars and right overlays. However, "Mute Wife" (啞妻), a 1986 adaptation of Chiung-Yao's (瓊瑤) late Qing Dynasty novel by Chang Ching-mei (張靜美) serialized in *Joy Comics*, contained detailed representations of early Chinese costumes, gardens, and interiors. "Melancholic Princess" (傾國怨伶) serialized by You Su-lan (游素蘭) in *Weekend* (周末) since 1989, featured the prematurely dying protagonist wearing a bodice typical of the narrated time, namely the Tang Dynasty, instead of a crossed collar. Thus, Taiwan comics departed from the representational custom of the 1960s

and depicted "ancient China" with more realism, injecting historically specific visual elements into the "history" stock.

Several important changes are to be noted here. First of all, compared to the pre-1970s period pieces that worked within an invisible ideological framework, most of the post-1980 historical comics exhibited better-researched visuals, so detailed and realistic that they gave the impression of "historical facts." But they still complied with the official Sinocentric historical framework, as Chen Uen's *Heroes of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty* (東周英雄傳) proves. Set in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States, its characters—the assassin Yao Li (要離) and Su Chin's (蘇秦) retainer Bi Cheng (畢成)—are derived from the *Records of the Grand Historian* (史記). There they remain purely textual with significant blanks, for example, regarding emotions, and their names operate as mere signs that lend themselves to different applications. Chen's comics series visualizes these characters and transfers the words into tangible clothes, weapons, hairstyles, and moves, closing gaps that the *Records of the Grand Historian* leaves open and feeding the Eastern Zhou, the assassins, the Son of Heaven, and the Warring States into the "history" stock. Chen's other graphic narratives, including *Men with Sword* (刺客列傳), work in a similar way, based as they are on Chinese canonical histories such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* and *The Commentary of Zuo* (左傳), but comics that adapted fictional narratives, for example, the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國演義) by Sun Jia-yu (孫家裕), did not deviate either. All of these comics were still based on the official "history," dramatizing it in their own way but without much new interpretation.

In the 1980s, the once-dominant costume-drama genre gave way to modern-life stories and fantasy action increasingly. Examples of the first were *Azalea, Azalea* (杜鵑・杜鵑, 1986) by Chang Ching-mei (張靜美) and Wu Chi-fang (吳季芳), *Black and White Club* (黑白俱樂部, 1987) by KID JERRY (傑利小子), *Mirror World* (鏡界, 1987) by Ping-Fan (平凡), and four-panel strips by Loïc Yen-chung Hsiao (蕭言中) as well as Chu Te-yung (朱德庸). Representative of the second group are *Nine Live Man* (久命人, 1987) by A-tui (阿推) and *Flowerhearted Orphans* (花心赤孤) by Tseng Cheng-chung (曾正忠, 1987), and also "Genius Superman Naughty Ghost" (天才超人頑皮鬼, 1989) by Richard Mai (麥仁杰) in *The Week*. Jen Cheng-hua's "Asura Sea" (修羅海, 1988) is a fantasy story set in modern times, while "Diary of a Soldier" (張雨生的大兵日記, 1989) by Tseng Cheng-chung (曾正忠) provides a hilarious look at life as a soldier in Taiwan in its first half and a fantasy narrative

in the second. This shift may reflect the challenge posed to the legitimacy of KMT rule by the democratization movement in the 1980s and 1990s, which reduced the attention of Taiwanese society to "ancient China" to a certain extent. The diversity of information stimulated a diversity of works. Compared to the large number of Japanese manga, Taiwan comics were a minority, and Chinese period pieces were even more marginal in the comics market of the time.

However, a second important change must be noted. Even though the post-1980 comics were meticulously drawn, as distinct from the cartoony works of the 1960s, their modern narratives still lacked clear spatio-temporal references and used props like cars, skyscrapers, and schools to indicate the era. In other words, these realistically drawn comics featured a highly abstract and idealized "contemporaneous civilization" in such a disembodied way that they did not feel like being set in Taiwan. Until the 1990s, when the names of places, people and periods were correctly related (in manga imports as well as local productions), readers' knowledge of history remained a compulsory one derived from textbooks and objects that they had not directly experienced and that had no other than a metaphysical relevance to them. As such, Taiwan comics of the 1980s and 1990s presented de-historicized and disembodied narratives.

Compared to the amount of information about "China" and "modern civilization," the period of Japanese colonial rule and the space of Taiwan remained underrepresented. The most precise depictions had appeared in the 1950s, in Liu Hsing-chin's series "Brother Ah-san and Great Auntie Tour Taipei" (阿三哥、大嬸婆遊臺北) and "Brother Asan and Great Auntie Tour Formosa" (阿三哥、大嬸婆遊寶島). They included locations like Yingge (鶯歌), Hsinchu (新竹), Lion Head's Mountain (獅頭山), Miaoli (苗栗), Sun Moon Lake (日月潭), and the Alishan Range (阿里山), as well as the cityscape of Taipei with its movie theaters, traffic signs, and motorbikes carrying hostesses to Beitou Hot Spring (北投溫泉). However, Liu's drawing style was cartoony, and the panels' background was often left blank. Thus, the visual representation of Taiwan was confined to what might be called documentary symbolism. Nonetheless, readers could still feel a closeness to their daily life and embodied experience.

"Taiwan" hardly surfaced in other story comics until 1983, when Chen Uen began the serialization of his first long-format fantasy series, "Warrior Panther" (戰士黑豹), in the *Times Weekly* (時報周刊). While featuring aliens flying over Taiwan, it depicted many

recognizable places: Lan-yu (蘭嶼) with fishing boats, the Bagua Shan's Giant Buddha in Changhua (彰化), the National Palace Museum and the Taipei's Chung Hua Shopping Mall (中華商場), the National Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (國父紀念館), the Guandu Bridge (關渡大橋), the Great Penghu Bridge (澎湖的跨海大橋), the Great Jigong Buddha in the Fongshang Temple, Kaohsiung (高雄的旗山濟公大佛), and Taichung Park (台中公園). The story is about an intergalactic war in which aliens capture a human on Earth to assist the Queen in her fight against the Dark King. The Guandu Bridge reminds the protagonist, Black Panther, of his hometown on the eve of his duel with the Dark King, and when he lies in a coma after his defeat that he remembers that he return there. Chen uses this sequence to showcase the actual landmarks, for example, the Chun-Chiu Pavilion with the Dragon and Tiger Pagodas (高雄左營春秋閣雙塔) and The Great Guanyin of Chung Cheng Park (基隆中正公園觀音菩薩大神像). At the end of the story, the Queen comes to the north coast of Taiwan to protect the Black Panther and assumes the form of the Queen's Head (女王頭) rock in Yehliu Geopark (野柳地質公園). Thus, the reader is connected to numerous Taiwanese landmarks. However, the protagonist is always referred to as Black Panther rather than with a Chinese name.

Chen Hong-yao's (陳弘耀) comics "The Legend of the Dagger" (一刀傳), serialized in *The Week* (星期) from 1989, is set in Taipei and on Mount Hua (華山) during the Wanli Period of the Ming Dynasty, linking Taiwan with China rather than featuring Taiwan on its own, even if the name of Taipei City can be seen along with streets, iron gates, and elevator apartments. Later, a short comic strip by Sun Chia-yu (孫家裕) published in *The Week* (no. 46, 1990), "Dream" (夢鄉), depicted Taisi Station (臺西站) and other places that the Taiwan Railway passes through. However, such comics were not the majority; Taiwanese places surfaced only sporadically, and the stories themselves were not directly related to Taiwan or its population. Recognizable scenes of Taipei and rural Taiwan were part of the adaptations of Huang Chun-ming's (黃春明) novels *Two Painters* (兩個油漆匠) by cartoonist Liao Wen-pin (廖文彬), published in *Joy Comics* (pilot issue 1–3, 1985), and *Fish* (魚) (nos. 19–20, 1986). In 1987, Jen Cheng-hua, a rare female comics artist in the male-centered Times Press system, published the already mentioned "Asura Sea" (修羅海), which explored schoolyard bullying, mall rivalry, and tug-of-war between top politicians and businessmen. Although the story has a magical orientation, the female characters often wear the traditional *cheongsam*, and the way the politicians and the businessmen hold secret hotel meetings is culturally particular.

The only title that really addressed Taiwan’s past was *Comics Bale: The Wushe Incident* (霧社事件, 1990) by Chiu Jo-lung (邱若龍). Chiu found it challenging to use the comics medium for a portrayal of the uprising and oppression of the Seediq people (賽德克部落). Initially, he had opted for a cartoony character design with big heads and small bodies, but when he showed his drawings to the Seediq elders, they found fault with the size of characters’ heads. This tempted Chiu to search for materials to realistically represent the Seediq, including their tattoos, hairstyles, and clothing. Because the old pictures were too blurry, he visited them to collect antique artifacts and re-take photos. He also detailed the historical costumes of different ranks of the Japanese military and police (Chen, Yen-chung 2011). Comics as a visual text provide readers with concrete information about historical “facts” and their continuity, which again can be systematically linked either to the national memory or the collective memory of a specific group. Chiu Jo-lung’s “investigative comics,” as he calls *Comics Bale*, is a detailed study that focuses on historical facts and equips readers with relevant knowledge, injecting meanings related to the indigenous people as well as the Japanese oppressors, to resistance and sacrifice, into the “Taiwan” stock. According to the applied framework, the Wushe Incident assumes different meanings: the official textbooks represented it as a case of resistance by the Chinese nation to Japan, but it can also be read as resistance by indigenous people to protect their dignity and ensure their survival. In other words, the Wushe Incident, which occurred during the era of Japanese rule, can be allocated either in the “China” stock or the “Taiwan” stock of history.

After *Comics Bale*, “Taiwan” did not often turn up in comics. In 1990, Lin Cheng-te (林政德) serialized a realist narrative about high school students and their baseball clubs that became a bestseller, *Young Guns*. Chen Yu-ching (鄭又菁) adapted the life of Liao Tian-ding (廖添丁), a Taiwanese Robin Hood who resisted the Japanese colonizers around 1900, in the martial arts comics “The Tale of the Warrior King” (俠王傳) (1993). Against the backdrop of Taiwan’s professional baseball league starting in 1990, Chung Meng-shun (鍾孟舜) created “The Tale of Lee Chu-ming” (李居明傳, 1992) about a famous professional player. However, none of these comics touched on Taiwan’s historical narrative. The year 1998 saw the release of *A Comics History of Taiwan* (漫畫臺灣史), which was an instructional work that merely utilized the medium. Around 2000, recognizable Taiwanese streets and place names featured more frequently in comics, but only in 2009, with the launch of the Creative Comic Collection (CCC創作集), did a venue emerge

that would consistently inject meaning into the “Taiwan” stock of history. Before CCC, there were almost no separate stocks for “Taiwan” and “Taiwan History” in comics, while the official “history” stock did not include signs and meanings related to Taiwan.

During the 1990s, various historical materials, collective memories, personal memoirs, and sites of memory (such as the mass graves of Liu Chang-li 六張犁) began to challenge the legitimacy of the government’s long-standing historical narrative and expose the power structures that underpinned their “history.”[33] The “facts” provided by the naturalized grand narrative turned out to be interpretations resulting from selection, exclusion, and reconstruction. However, even if the “history” stock had been enriched by more meanings, the scheme of reference did not change overnight, that is to say, even if the coercive power of national education loosened, the Sinocentric framework for understanding history still shaped the construction of obligatory memory, especially as textbooks were not revised and the educational system remained unchanged (Lee, I-yun 2017). From the 1990s onward, a Taiwanese “we” gradually became visible, while the Sinocentrism slowly lost its prominence, but the difference between the two and the strength of symbolic power persisted (**fig. 5-7**). A scheme of reference, that was based on everyday life, did not yet feature centrally in the coordinates of world cognition, but it affected the view of history.

From the 1950s to the 1990s, Taiwanese readers were able to consume comics about an imagined China smoothly due to their trust in the grand narrative but also the “quasi-neutrality” of popular culture (Lee, I-yun 2017, 372–76). The latter points to the carnivalesque nature of popular culture: through rhetorical devices and clever design effects, it provides story worlds that are disconnected from everyday life, a kind of extraordinary imaginary, even if its very ideology and logic may run contrary to what people daily experience. Precisely this characteristic separates popular culture from politics and history and creates a kind of “quasi-neutrality” that does not interfere with them. Accordingly, Taiwan’s historical comics and costume dramas refined the textbooks and added meanings to the official memory stock. Chen Uen’s *Men with Sword* (刺客列傳, 1986), for example, complemented the weak “memory” of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States in the “history” stock while complying to the timeline provided by the official textbooks. However, despite the Sinocentric framework’s

33 Regarding the democratization movement in Taiwan, see Hsueh, Hua-yuan 2007; 2016.

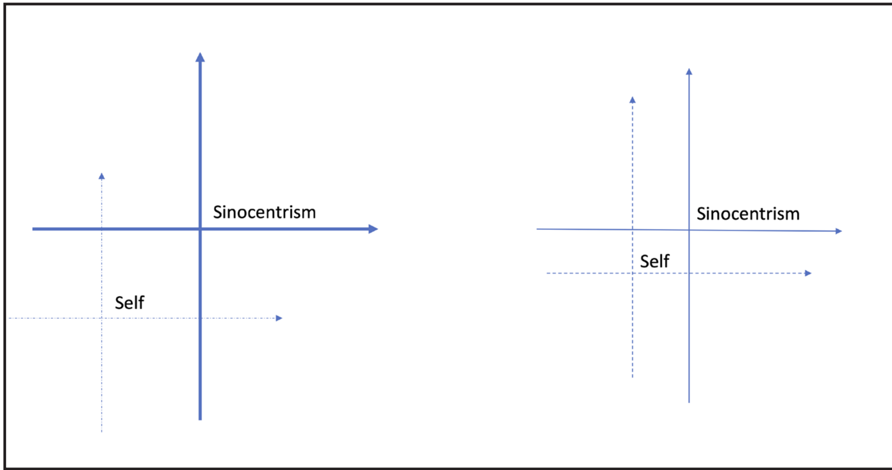



**Figure 5-7.** A schematic diagram of the reference framework of awareness in terms of coordinates before the 1980s (left) and in the 1990s (right), created by the author.

inclination to homogeneity, historical events of other countries were not necessarily brought together from a global perspective. Thus, people in Taiwan kept concurrent events like the Meiji Restoration in Japan, the Civil War in the United States, and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in China separate, although these events were described in textbooks and although popular media like comics represented details, feelings, and characters’ relationships. In other words, historical understanding itself, even if it is structured, documented, and felt, does not necessarily become meaningful for the individual; without individual intervention, it tends to remain a compulsory, archival national memory (see Nora 1989, 2002).

Since 1976, the information provided by both foreign and domestic comics had increased the diversity, richness, and complexity within the knowledge system and the “history” stock. In the 1990s, after the decline of the grand narrative and its naturalized scheme of reference, the status and order of the various stocks of knowledge were no longer taken for granted. Once deconstructed, meanings’ relation to “history” loosens. But if there is no active intervention by readers in the construction of the cognitive historical framework and in the assignment of meanings to it, the history they know is likely to be fragmented and not yet systematized, while the “quasi-neutrality” of comics as a form of popular culture may only make the meanings in the stocks more irrelevant to history.

As is well-known, history is selected and interpreted by historiographers. Many parts of history that are important to individuals but not relevant to the historical narrative are removed. The same historical event can be interpreted from different perspectives, giving rise to different narratives. The role of these narratives is to fill in the gaps in historical accounts, make history more tangible and meaningful, open up a multi-faceted understanding of it, shape the imagery of history and historical figures, and provide historians with the opportunity to re-examine what is supposed to be definitive history from a different perspective. Comics are a visual medium that provides sources and motives for the understanding of history. However, in a polycentric postmodern society, historical fragments need to be re-systematized by the readers themselves so as to re-examine the scheme of reference constructed by textbooks and the state.

As Fan Wan-nan (or Fan Yi-nan), the president of Tongli Press, once said, if only the elements of domestic daily life could be integrated, then local productions would definitely be more touching than manga, simply because they share in the local socio-cognitive scheme and the embodied memories. When historical narratives set in the past are centered on "us" and "our" sense of life, not only do they turn Taiwan's "past" into individuals' memories, but they also provide the reader with historical knowledge through characters' actions and feelings. At the same time, readers can find corresponding traces of Taiwan in the works they read, which connects them to their predecessors in the here and now, so that things are both imagined and actually connected to their own daily lives. This may promote readers' motivation to learn more about history. For example, AKRU's *Scrolls of a Northern City* (北城百畫帖) published with Creative Comic Collection in 2010, is a magical tale of a café in the 1930s. Picturing the streets of Taipei City at the time, the dresses of women and the clothing of the general public, the reader easily believes that this café really existed. References to historical events, such as the Exposition Commemorating the 40th Anniversary of Taiwan's Colonization by Japan (1935) and the take-off of a young kamikaze pilot, help to increase readers' motivation to understand the local history. By involving people more actively in constructing the relationship between their own memories and history, the history of the textbooks becomes more than compulsory memory; it begins to interact with the "true memory" of the people and the collective memory of society.

## Chapter summary

Since 1949, the KMT government had established a Sinocentric historical framework that lacked a corresponding memory field. History was centered on the Han Chinese people. (Han-)Chinese history, ("our") past, and collective memory were merged in the "history" stock. Historical consciousness helps individuals and groups to understand the past, develop their stance toward it, and thereby form a sense of commonality related to who "we" are and where "we" stand now. Under martial law, "history" privileged an imagined center (China) and the respective anti-communist, Han-centric view. Meanwhile, Taiwan was marginalized both geographically and historically. Until the 1980s, Taiwan comics about the past mostly pictured an "ancient China," rendered in simple strokes. Although comics did not inject historical details, period differences, or clues of visual recognition into the "history" stocks, they still made the historical frame of reference tangible to a certain extent, evoking a sense of connection beyond the compulsion to the "common body of the people" prevalent in official Chinese history. However, censorship interrupted the development of Taiwan comics in the 1970s. In 1976, unaltered manga began to enter Taiwan. They brought a variety of non-Chinese elements to the "history" stock, often presenting them in a detailed and realistic drawing style. All these elements derived from Japanese, Chinese, and even Western historical narratives could enter the same "history" stock precisely because there were no corresponding images in textbooks of seclusive Taiwan. Thus, the heterogeneity of the narratives did not pose a challenge to the reference scheme of national symbolic power, but it led to the creation of new slots within that scheme or outside of it. Different signs entered the existing stocks, providing fascination with things beyond the imagined China and dispersing the concentration on "China" in the comics.

In the 1980s, Taiwan comics became more realistic and visually evident, but overall, they complied with the scheme of the "imagined China." At the same time, the proportion of thematically unrelated comics exceeded that of costume dramas. Still, a Taiwan-specific sense of life remained absent. With the democratization movement and the lifting of martial law, the information diversified, and the superiority of the Sinocentric historical view gradually weakened: it could no longer fully unify the historical reference scheme, the stocks of meaning, and the system of signs. Manga played a vital role in this regard. There were, for example, numerous manga about China's Three Kingdom period,

which interpreted the familiar characters in completely different ways and thus had the potential to facilitate a different historical narrative after the constraints of the compulsory reference scheme had loosened: readers could deviate from the coercive memory which privileged one of the three kingdoms, namely the Han, and approach the history of the Three Kingdoms period from previously marginalized perspectives, such as the ones of the King of Wei, Cao Cao (曹操), or the Emperor of Eastern Wu, Sun Chuan (孫權).

Comics can provide knowledge, detail, interpretation, and visual cognition of history, and fiction can turn "facts" into a story by embedding patterns of meaning into a narrative in order to obtain an explanatory effect, that is, allowing the reader to understand the historian's explanations of the past and its meanings, regardless of the formal arguments put forward by the artist (see White 1974). Historians have to be able to relate the past to readers, making it tangible and fascinating. Fascination allows readers to expand their experience of plot and characters, and develop a better understanding of a certain historical period. The fact that historical fiction presents multiple perspectives can contribute to the popularization of a multiplicity of historical interpretations. However, even under postmodern conditions, where the concept of multiple centers has gained acceptance, the symbolic power of history textbooks still exists. The legitimacy of the Sinocentric scheme of history and the multiple, complex, and even contradictory signs and meanings in the "history" stock may not generate a new systematic understanding but rather result in fragmentation and dispersion. Given the quasi-neutrality of popular culture, the knowledge provided by comics and other media may exist only in fragments anyway and be treated as a kind of fleeting pleasure. After all, there is a difference between consciously knowing and bodily recognizing. Compulsory memory suppressed older favorable feelings toward Japan and placed the Nanjing Massacre at the center of "Taiwan history" from 1895 to 1945. Regardless of their richness and complexity, stocks of meaning that are not systematically based on a scheme of embodied reference will ultimately not differ from captivating fiction and be easily replaced by other signs and items due to their empty, ungrounded nature. When history came to be regarded as an interpretive narrative and no longer as the truth, and when the grand narrative of the supreme system lost its power, Taiwanese people had to actively participate in systematizing their own historical understanding, interconnecting the various scattered histories and their related stocks and meanings, filling in,

revising, and even reorganizing the scheme of reference that the educational system had provided.

In other words, in the era of democratization, the involvement of the individual has become vital despite the persistence of collectively shared parts of historical understanding. Individuals can extract events and meanings from historical narratives set in the past and identify them as their own. Thus, places and buildings in a comics may assume a meaning beyond their actual existence, as happens, for example, when reading *Teatime Adventure* (異人茶跡, 2013) by Chang Ki-ya, which tells the story of the friendship between businessman Li Chun-sheng (李春生, 1838–1924) and the Taiwan-based tea producer John Dodd and which also features the Chapel of the Christian Presbyterian Church, funded by Li. In the case of such a narrative, history will not just be something metaphysical or coercive, nor will the events just be isolated pieces of empty symbols, but the connection to well-known places and persons can give rise to a system of meaning that extends from the individual body to the world. This may allow for the formation of a socio-historical cognitive scheme centered on the living and feeling individual, which is a topic of ongoing concern.

Incidentally, Taiwan’s comics date back to the period of Japanese colonial rule, at least to 1921, when cartoons and comic strips began to appear in *Taiwan Daily News*. After 1945, comics in book format were on the rise in Taiwan, and from the 1950s onward, historical narratives about ancient China and the eight-year war of anti-Japanese resistance became prevalent in newspapers and magazines. Taiwanese readers who had once been Japanese subjects enjoyed these narratives, many of which did not disclose their Japanese origin. Going beyond consumption as entertainment, these graphic narratives played a significant part in the intricate relationship between popular culture and collective memory, history and fiction.

# Coda

Comics in their modern form first appeared around 1800, with narrative sequential art gradually developing from the 19th century onward. Taiwan began to see modern comics as early as the 20th century but could not produce them as continuously as its colonial motherland, Japan, due to continuous political oppression. This book focuses on the White Terror period while also considering preconditions formed during the prewar time. In the main, the history of Taiwan comics is traced through the lens of status gaps that affected the production, distribution, and consumption of comics: between mainlanders and islanders, and between publication venues (state-run newspapers, magazines, and bookshops on the one hand, privately run magazines and rental stores on the other hand). Due to Taiwan's political history, the relationship with Japan and its comics culture, from the adoption of typical stylistic devices to actual piracy, has been a sensitive issue. Closely interrelated with the publication venues and distribution channels, manga imports ranked low in official culture, regardless of recognizability. This changed slowly after the abolishment of the censorship system, when Taiwan comics could finally convert their economic into cultural capital.

The 1990s were a booming period, especially during the second half. Although there was massive economic pressure from Japanese manga, the Internet had not yet emerged, and paper-based comics were still favored by consumers. A post-censorship generation of artists entered the industry. Yet, due to the Sinocentric ideology they had been exposed to at school and through the mass media, they had a strong inclination to an imagined China, and thus, their stories were set in a fictitious Chinese or Japanese past rather than in Taiwan. This is not to say that Taiwan comics should exclusively have local settings. However, from the 1950s to the 1990s, most of them had nothing at all

**How to cite this book chapter:**
Lee, I-yun. 2024. *Taiwan Comics: History, Status, and Manga Influx 1930s–1990s*, pp. 263–265. Stockholm: Stockholm University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.16993/bcp.g. License: CC BY-NC 4.0

to do with life in Taiwan. Even after the end of martial law, long-form graphic narratives that were clearly connected to Taiwan remained the exception, memorable examples being *Comics Bale: The Wushe Incident* (霧社事件) by Qiu Ruo-long (邱若龍), *Young Guns* by Lin Cheng-te (林政德), or *Guardian Spirit: Touch* (守護靈Touch) by Jelly Huang (黃佳莉).

Against this backdrop, the emergence of local story settings assumed symbolic significance. In 2002, the Academia Sinica's Center for Digital Cultures established the Taiwan Digital Archives project. Since 2009, it has presented its achievements in part through the medium of comics, specifically the quarterly *Creative Comic Collection* (CCC), which has produced both fiction and non-fiction. Although many of the artists came from the fan-cultural field of peer publications (*dōjinshi*) and did not necessarily have refined drawing skills, the back pages of the CCC publications often included rich data and historical commentary that connected the story content to a specific place and time, facilitating the symbolic "Taiwanization." Some of these comics have also been collected in book editions, such as the fantasy narrative *Scrolls of a Northern City* (北城百畫帖, Gaea Publishing, 2010) by AKRU. Thus, a new "highbrow" field emerged. Produced by the CCC, China Times Group, or Gaea, these graphic narratives are distributed through general bookstores and often publicly awarded. Examples include *Yong-Jiu Grocery Store* (用九商店, 2016), by Ruang Guang-min (阮光民), about a young urbanite who returns to this rural community and opens a traditional grocery store there (see Paoliello 2023), and *DAY OFF* by Dailygreens (每日青菜), a light boys love narrative released in 2022,[34] and *A Beautiful Tale of Flowers: Stories* (綺譚花物語), a tale of tragic lesbian romance unfolding under the conditions of the Japanese colonial rule in 1936 Taiwan, also belongs to this domain. This girls-love (or *yuri*) narrative is based on a literary work by Yang Shuang-zi (楊双子) and drawn by artist Monday Recover (星期一回收日). Likewise worth mentioning is *Crouching Lion in a Bookstore* (獅子藏匿的書屋, 2021) by Hsiao-tao (小島), not the least because its narrative is set in one of Taiwan's disappearing rental bookstores.

Rooted in the rental bookstore sector as their main distribution channel is a second, comparatively "lowbrow" type of contemporary Taiwan comics, represented, for example, by MAE's boys-love manga *Monster of Memory* (記憶的怪物, 2016), which sells well as a comics

[34] With respect to BL comics in Taiwan, see Martin 2012; Wang, Peiti 2022.

but has also seen spin-offs into merchandise and even videogames. A similar affinity with transmediality is characteristic of *The Apocalypse of Darkness Warfare* (冥戰錄) by Wei Tsung-cheng (韋宗成), which was mentioned in Chapter 3. Popular to an extent that went beyond videogame adaptations, it was even adapted into a stage play and a traditional opera, and its main character Lin Muniang (林默娘) ascended to the rank of a spokesperson for the Ximending district (西門町), Taipei's nerd area. There are also artists who took their departure from the rental sector and later moved on to CCC, for example, Jelly Huang (黃佳莉), the above-mentioned creator of *Guardian Spirit: Touch*, who also published *Walking on the Array* (走在陣的路上). The two fields do not differ significantly with respect to their techniques of expression, but the latter tends to foreground visual movement.

Finally, there is a third category of graphic-novel orientation. It includes the autofictions *My Spring, My Formosa* (我的青春、我的FORMOSA) by Lin Li-chin (林莉菁) and *My 1980s* (80年代事件簿) by Sean Chuang (小莊) (see Neri 2021), as well as the three-volume *Son of Formosa* (lit. *A Boy Comes from Ch'ing-shu*, 來自清水的孩子), by writer Yu Pei-yun and artist Zhou Jian-xin (游珮芸・周見信).[35] This is a biographical account of Tsai Kun-lin, who himself was a victim of the White Terror. It provides a good introduction to the modern history of Taiwan under both Japanese colonialism and KMT rule, including the system of comics censorship and its impact.

Until the 1990s, Taiwan comics faced many political and economic obstacles, and after the lifting of martial law, it took them about a decade to develop an identity of their own. Japanese manga have been an important influx. Acknowledging their role as a foreign stimulus, however, does not mean ignoring that manga narratives do not necessarily tackle serious political issues in their own domestic settings—suffice to mention war responsibility or same-sex marriage. As Taiwan's case demonstrates, an oppressive symbolic power can cause people to ignore the existence of serious political issues. However, this book might also have shown that symbolic power is at its most potent when taboos are accepted, ignored, or treated as matters of course. Apart from the comics-specific insights that the case of Taiwan offers, this is an issue that concerns creators and readers all over the world, not just in Taiwan and Japan.

[35] For the English translated edition, see Yu and Zhou 2023–24.

# References

《Ch. publications》〈~〉
『Jp. publications』「～」
Titles are not romanized, only translated, publishers' names are not romanized (only the place of publication).


Abe, Yasunari 阿部安成, Koseki, Takashi 小関隆, Miichi, Masatoshi 見市雅俊, Mizunaga, Masaaki 光永雅明, and Morimura, Toshimi 森村敏己. 1999. 『記憶のかたち：コメモレイションの文化史』[Forms of Memory: A Cultural History of Comemoration]. Tokyo 東京：柏書房.

Abbott, Michael, and Charles Forceville. 2011. "Visual representation of emotion in manga: 'Loss of control' is 'Loss of Hands' in *Azumanga Daioh* Volume 4." *Language and Literature*, vol. 20, no. 2, 91–112. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1177/0963947011402182

Ahmed, Maaheen, ed. 2023. *The Cambridge Companion to Comics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009255653

Akashi, Seiichi 明石精一. 1934/07/07. 「日の丸孫悟空」no. 87 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/07/08.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 88 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p.1

Akashi, Seiichi, and Kawahara, Kuniwo 明石精一・川原くにを. 1936/09/27. 「新案漫畫合戰」["Newly Planned Comic Battle"],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 4.

Amusement Media. 2011. アミューズメントメディア総合学院監修『漫画描こうよ！総集編』[Let's Draw Comics! General Edition]. Tokyo 東京：廣済堂.

An, Tai 安泰. 1933/12/28. 「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 121 [*Kankara Katchan*], 『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/01/14. 「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 130 [*Kankara Katchan*], 『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———.1936/05/31.「ドンドン閣下」no. 101 [His Excellency Bang-Bang],

『台灣日日新報夕刊』『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Anderson, Benedict. 2010. Wu, Jui-jen 吳叡人 trans.《想像的共同體：民族主義的起源與散布》[Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism]. Taipei 台北：時報出版.

Bandō, Kyōgo 坂東恭吾. 1991.「三冊で10銭！ポンポン蒸気のなかで本を売る」[Three volumes for 10 sen! Selling Books amidst Pompous Steam]. In Ozaki, Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, and Munetake, Asako 宗武朝子, eds. 『日本の書店百年』[100 Years of Japanese Bookstores]. Tokyo 東京：青英舍, 489–510.

Barthes, Roland. 1972. Richard Howard trans. "The Imagination of the Sign." In *Critical Essays*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 205–211.

———. 1984. Sawasaki, Kōhei 沢崎浩平 trans.「映画における『外傷的単位』— 研究上の諸原理」『第三の意味』[*L'obvie et l'obtus*]. Tokyo 東京：みすず書房, 59–72.

———. 1985. [1970]. Richard Howard trans. "The Third Meaning: Research Notes on Some Eisenstein Stills." In *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art, and Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 41–61.

———. 1991. *Mythologies*. New York: Noonday Press.

Berndt, Jaqueline. 2024. "*Kusazōshi* as Comic Books? Reading Early Modern Graphic Narratives from a Manga Studies Perspective." In *Grassbooks: Graphic Narratives from Early Modern Japan*, edited by Laura Moretti and Yukiko Satō. Leiden: Brill, 530–59. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004691209_017

Bevan, Paul. 2016. *A Modern Miscellany: Shanghai Cartoon Artists, Shao Xunmei's Circle and the Travels of Jack Chen, 1926–1938*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Böhme, Gernot. 2000. "Acoustic Atmospheres: A Contribution to the Study of Ecological Aesthetics," *Soundscape: The Journal of Acoustic Ecology* 1:1, 9–16.

———. 2016. Kajitani, Shinji 梶谷真司, Saitō, Shō 斉藤渉, Nomura, Fumihiro 野村文宏, trans.『雰囲気の美学』[*The Aesthetics of Atmospheres*]. Kyoto 京都：晃洋書房.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Richard Nice trans. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

———. 1990. Richard Nice trans. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

———. 1991. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson trans. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

———. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. by Randal Johnson. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, Colin. 2016. He, Cheng-en 何承恩 trans.《浪漫倫理與現代消費主義精神》 [The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism]. Taipei 台北 ：國家教育研究院.

Chang, Meng-jui 張夢瑞. 2005. 《吃點子的人：劉興欽傳》[The Man Who Ate Dim Sum: A Biography of Liu Hsing-chin]. Taipei 台北：聯經出版社.

Chen, Chang-hua 陳長華. 2012. 《童心・創意・劉興欽》[Childlike Heart, Creative Drive, Liu Hsing-chin]. Taichung 台中：國立美術館.

Chen, Chung-wei 陳仲偉. 2014. 《臺灣漫畫記》[Historical Records of Taiwan Comics]. Taipei 台北：杜葳出版社.

Chen, Po-chang 陳伯璋. 1991. 〈臺灣四十年來國民教育發展之反省與檢討〉[Reflection and Review on the Development of National Education in Taiwan in the Past Forty Years], in Lai Tse-han 賴澤涵, and Huang Chu-chieh 黃俊傑 eds.《光復後台灣地區發展經驗》[Taiwan's Regional Development Experience after the Restoration].Taipei 臺北 ：中央研究院中山人文社會科學研究所, 171–204.

Chen, Tsui-lien 陳翠蓮. 2002. 〈去殖民與再殖民的對抗: 以1946年〈台人奴化〉論戰為焦點〉[Decolonization vs. Recolonization: The 1946 Debate on the Enslavement of Taiwanese People], 《台灣史研究》[*Taiwan Historical Research*], 9.2, 145–201.

Chen, Uen 鄭問. 2021. 《黑豹戰士》 [*Warrior Panther*], vol. 1. Taipei 台北：大辣出版社.

Chen, Yen-chung 陳彥仲. 2011. 〈有Gaya指引的漫畫人生–專訪漫畫家邱若龍〉[A Comic Life with Gaya's Guidance: An Interview with Comic Artist Chiu Jo-lung]. In Chiu Jo-lung邱若龍《漫畫・巴萊：霧社事件》[*Comics Bale: the Wushe incident* ]. Taipei 台北：遠流出版社, 295–302.

Cheng, Shao-fan 鄭少凡, and Yueh, Hsiang-yun 岳翔雲. 2010.〈劉興欽現身說法：被祖父狠狠修理一的啟發〉[Liu Hsing-chin's personal story: Inspiration by Grandfather's Rebuke],《WATCH. 看》no. 58 (January 18). https://www.watchinese.com/article/2010/1970 (Access: 2024/1/31).

Cheng, Shih-fan 鄭世璠. 1995. 〈滄桑話《新新》〉[The vicissitudes of *Novelties*],《新新 復新版》[*Novelties. Restored version*]. Taipei 台北：傳文文化出版, no pagination.

Chien, Mu 錢穆. 1948.《國史大綱》 [*A General History of China*]. Taipei 台北：國立編譯館 (NICT).

Ching, Leo T. S. 2019. *Anti-Japan: the politics of sentiment in postcolonial East Asia*. Duke University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv113166n

Chion, Michel. 2002. Itō, Seiko 伊藤制子, Nihongi, Kaori 二本木かおり, Konuma, Jun'ichi 小沼, 純一, Kitamura, Masumi 北村真澄 trans.『映画の音楽』[*La Musique au Cinema*]. Tokyo 東京：みすず書房.

———. 2021. *Music in Cinema*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chiu, Ke-jung 邱各容. 2005.《臺灣兒童文學史》[History of Children's Literature in Taiwan]. Taipei 台北：五南.

———. 2013.《臺灣近代兒童文學史》[History of Modern Children's Literature in Taiwan]. Taipei 台北：秀威資訊.

Chou, Hsien-wen 周憲文. 1946.〈如何看待台灣〉[How to Look at Taiwan],《臺灣新生報』[*Taiwan New Life News*], June 9, p.1.

Chou, Wan-yao 周婉窈. 1995.〈台灣人第一次的『國語』經験——析論日治末期的日語運動及其問題〉[The First Experience of "National Language" for the People of Taiwan: Analyzing the Japanese Language Movement at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period and Its Issues],《新史學》[*New History*] 6.2, 113–59.

———. 2014. Ishikawa, Takeshi 石川豪, Nakanishi, Miki 中西美貴, Nakamura, Taira 中村 平 trans.『増補版（図説・台湾の歴史』[Illustrated History of Taiwan, Expanded Edition]. Tokyo 東京：平凡社.

Cohn, Neil. 2010. "Japanese Visual Language: The Structure of Manga." In Toni Johnson-Woods ed., *Manga: An Anthology of Global and Cultural Perspective*. New York: Continuum, 2010, 187–203.

———. 2013. *The Visual Language of Comics: Introduction to the Structure and Cognition of Sequential Images*. London: Bloomsbury.

Collins, Arthur Simon. 1994. Aoki, Ken 青木健, Enomoto, Hiroshi 榎本洋 trans.『18世紀イギリス出版文化史』 [18th Century British Publishing Cultural History]. Tokyo 東京 ：彩流社.

Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Council for Cultural Affairs 文建會. 1998.《文化白皮書》[The Culture White Paper]. Taipei 台北：行政院文建會.

Crespi, John. 2020. *Manhua Modernity: Chinese Culture and the Pictorial Turn*. Berkeley: University of California Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/luminos.97

Davis, Fred. 1979. *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia*. New York: Free Press.

Delaborde, Blanche. 2024. “Hearing Manga.” *The Cambridge Companion to Manga and Anime*, edited by Jaqueline Berndt. Cambridge: Cambridge University, 87–97.

Domsch, Sebastian; Dan Hassler-Forest, and Dirk Vanderbeke, eds. 2020. *Handbook of Comics and Graphic Narratives*. Berlin: de Gruyter. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110446968

Edelman, Hendrik. 2001. “Circulating Libraries and Reading Rooms.” In David H. Stam, ed. *International Dictionary of Library Histories*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 55.

Exner, Eike. 2022. *Comics and the Origins of Manga: A Revisionist History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Fan, Kai-Ting 范凱婷. 2018. 〈借鏡與新變—論臺灣武俠漫畫歷史發展及其文化意涵之研究〉[Learn and change: The Historical Development and Cultural Implication of Taiwan “Wuxia” Comics], 淡江大學中國文學系博士論文 Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Chinese, Tamkang University.

Fan, Wan-nan 范萬楠. 1996. 〈漫畫市場分析〉 [Analysis of the Comics Market」, 出版年鑑編輯委員會編輯, ed. [Editorial Committee of the Publications Yearbook] 《中華民國85年出版年鑑》 [ROC Publication Yearbook 85]. Taipei 台北 ：行政院新聞局, 2-23–2-34.

Fawaz, Ramzi; Deborah Whaley, and Shelley Streeby, eds. 2021. *Keywords for Comics Studies*. New York: New York University Press.

Fessenden, Maris. 2016. “A Brief History of Taking Books Along for the Ride,” *Smithsonian*, May 17. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/a-brief-history-of-taking-books-along-for-the-ride-180959116/ (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Fish, Stanley. 1980. *Is there a text in the class? – The Authority of Interpretive Communities*. Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1992. Liu, Pei-cheng 劉北成, and Yang, Yuan-ying 楊遠嬰 trans.《瘋顛與文明》 [*Madness and Civilization*]. Taipei 台北：桂冠.

———. 1990. Shang, Heng 尚衡 trans.《性意識史》 [*The History of Sexuality*]. Taipei 台北：桂冠.

Giannetti, Louis. 2003. Tutsumi, Kazuko 堤和子, Masuda, Tamako 増田珠子, and Tutsumi, Ryūichirō 堤龍一郎 trans. 『映画技法のリテラシー I』 [*Understanding Movies*]. Tokyo 東京：フィルムアート社.

Governor-General of Taiwan Secretariat Investigation Section 臺灣總督官房調査課編, ed. 1934. 『臺灣統計摘要 』第29（昭和8年）[Statistical Digest of Taiwan, no. 29 (1933)].

Groensteen, Thierry. 2007. Bart Beaty and Nick Nguyen trans. *The System of Comics*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2007.

———. 2008. Furunaga, Shinichi 古永真一 trans.『線が顔になるとき』[*Lignes de vie: le visage dessiné*]. Kyoto 京都：人文書院.

———. 2013 *Comics and Narration*, translated by Anne Miller. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi.

Hagio, Moto 萩尾望都. 1988.「すきとおった銀の髪」[Sleek Silver Hair],『ポーの一族』[The Poe Family]. Tokyo 東京：小學館.

Hainan Daily News 《海南日報》. 2015.〈抗日战争时期木刻作品——时代的战鼓 革命的号角〉[Anti-Japanese War Period Woodcut Works: War Drums of the Era, Trumpets of the Revolution], (June 3). http://www.gdmoa.org/Media_Center/Press/2015/201612/t20161202_1726.shtml (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1989 [1968]. Koseki, Tōichirō 小関藤一郎 trans.『集合的記憶』 [*La mémoire collective*]. 京都 ：行路社.

Hall, Edward T. 2011. 日高敏隆 (Hitaka, Toshitaka), 佐藤信行 (Saitō, Nobuyuki) trans.『かくれた次元』[*The hidden dimension*]. Tokyo 東京：みすず書房.

Hasegawa, Yutaka 長谷川裕. 2018.『貸本屋のぼくはマンガに夢中だった』[A Book-Lender Crazy about Comics]. Tokyo 東京：草思社.

He, Fan 何凡. 1969.〈墊上打開書櫥及其他〉[Opening Bookshelves on Glass Cushions and Others], 《聯合報》[*United Daily News*], June 16, p. 9.

He, Ming-hsing 何明星. 2018. 《漫遊人生：陳定國大師的漫畫生涯》[Wandering Life: Master Chen Ting-kuo's Comics Career]. Hsinchu 新竹：新竹縣政府文化局出版.

He, Shu-hui 何淑慧. 1980. 《如何學漫畫》[How to Study Comics]. Taipei 台北：遠大文化出版.

Heylen, Ann. 2011. "Legacies of memory and belonging in Taiwan history." In *Taiwanese Identity in the Twenty-First Century: Domestic, regional and global perspectives*, edited by Gunter Schubert and Jens Damm. London, New York: Routledge, 17–34.

Hirano, Satoshi 平野聡. 2015.「中華帝国の拡大と『東アジア』秩序」[The Expansion of the Chinese Empire and the 'East Asian" Order]. In Saitō, Takumi, ed. 佐藤卓己 『歴史のゆらぎと再編』 [Historical Fluctuations and Realignments]. Tokyo 東京 ：岩波書店, 149–74.

Holt, Jon, and Karen Curtin. 2022. "Translation essay: 'the problems of onomatopeia in manga" – two chapter essays from *the principles of manga* (*manga genron*) by Yomota Inuhiko," *Multimodal Communication* 11(2): 75–91. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/mc-2021-0020

Hsia, Hsiao-hua 夏曉華. 2004.《種樹的人：夏曉華自述》[The Tree Planter: Hsia Hsiao-hua in his Own Words]. Taipei 台北：著者自出版 [self-published].

Hsiao, Huang Michael. 2011. "One colonialism, two memories: representing Japanese colonialism in Taiwan and South Korea." In *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia*, edited by Gi-Wook Shin and Daniel C. Sneider. London/New York: Routledge, 184–201.

Hsiau, A-chin. 2021. *Politics and Cultural Nativism in 1970s Taiwan: Youth, Narrative, Nationalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hsu, Hui-ying 許惠盈. 2021.〈穿越至1951～1964年的漫畫專欄《豐年》的圖像傳播與農民再教育〉[A Cartoon Column 1951–1964: Graphic Communication and the Re-education of Farmers in *Harvest*],《豐年》[*Harvest*]. https://www.agriharvest.tw/archives/6346, access (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Hsu, Ping-ting 許丙丁. No year.《小封神》[Little Genie (in the Bottle)]. Taipei 台北：南華出版社.

Hsueh, Hua-yuan 薛化元. 2007.〈「一個中國」架構vs臺灣民主化的歷史考察〉[A Historical Examination of the One China Framework vs. Democratization in Taiwan]《當代》[*Contemporary*], no. 235, 30–40.

———. 2016.〈臺灣認同的歷史發展與問題〉[ The Historical Development and Problems of Taiwan's Identity],《新世紀智庫論壇》[New Century Think Tank Forum], no.74, 60–73.

Huang, Ping-hsun 黃炳勳. 2013.〈梁又銘「戰爭圖像」作品〉[A Study of the Battle-Pieces by Laing Yu-Ming before 1949], 國立臺灣師範大學藝術史研究所東方藝術史組碩士論文 Master's Thesis, Eastern Art History, Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan Normal University.

Imada, Erika. 2019.『「少年」「少女」の誕生』[The Birth of "Boy" and "Girl"]. Kyoto 京都：ミネルヴァ書房.

Imamura, Hitoshi 今村仁司. 1998.『近代の思想構造』[Modern Structure of Thought]. Kyoto 京都：人文書院.

Imoto, Suimei 井元水明. 1933/12/07.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 90 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/12/08.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 105 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/12/09.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 106 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/05/12.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 41 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/07/26.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 101 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Ishida, Takeshi 石田雄. 2000.『記憶と忘却の政治学：同化政策・戦争責任・集合的記憶』[The Politics of Memory and Forgetting: Assimilation Policy, War Responsibility, and Collective Memory]. Tokyo 東京：明石書店.

Ishiko, Junzō 石子順造. 1993.『戦後マンガ史ノート』[Notes on the Postwar History of Manga]. Tokyo 東京：紀伊国屋書店.

Ishiko, Junzō 石子順造, Kikuchi, Asajirō 菊地淺次郎, and Gondō, Susumu 権藤晋. 1973.『劇画の思想』[Ideas in *Gekiga*]. Tokyo 東京：太平出版社.

Ishita, Saeko 石田佐恵子. 1992.「〈少女マンガ〉の文体とその方言性」[The Style of *shōjo manga* and its Dialectal Characteristics ]. In Kayama, Rika, et al., eds. 香山リカ他編『コミックメディア　柔らかい情報装置としてのマンガ』[*Comic Media: Manga as a Soft Information Device*]. Tokyo 東京：NTT出版, 54–89.

Jen, Cheng-hua 任正華. 2020.〈我的漫畫生涯〉[My Career in Comics]《漫漫畫人間》[Drawing Comics for the People]. Taipei 台北：大塊文, 361–77.

Johnson, Elmer D. 1977. Yin Ting-kuo 尹定國 trans.〈西洋圖書館史〉[History of Western Libraries],《圖書館學與資訊科學》[*Journal of Library and Information Science*] 3.1, 107–30. https://jlis.glis.ntnu.edu.tw/ojs/index.php/jlis/article/view/41 (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Joy Comics Bi-Monthly. 1986. 歡樂漫畫半月刊, no. 24, p. 8.

Kanazawa, Kimiko 金沢公子. 1980.「エピナールの版画・Images d'Épinal 又は Imagerie d'Épinal の歴史」[The History of Images d'Épinal or Imagerie d'Épinal],『教養論集』[*The Bulletin of Arts and Sciences*], vol.14, 139–70.

Kao, Te-erh 高德爾. 2012.〈側寫劉興欽的臺灣風情〉[Profiling Liu Hsing-Chin's Taiwan Style]《全國新書資訊月刊》[*New Books: Recent Publications in Taiwan, ROC*] no. 165, 12–7.

Kawahara, Kuniwo 川原くにを. 1933/08/19.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 16 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/05/24.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 51 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/05/27.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 54 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/08/01.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 101 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1936/02/07.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 21 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Kawamori, Hisao 河盛久夫. 1933/10/08.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 56 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/04/12.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 17 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/06/21a.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 71 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/06/21b.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 71 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Kayama, Rika, et al., eds. 香山リカ他編. 1992.『コミックメディア：柔らかい情報装置としてのマンガ』[Comic Media: Manga as a Soft Information Device]. Tokyo 東京：NTT 出版 Tokyo: NTT.

Kerr, George H., and Benda, Jonathan. 2018. *Formosa Betrayed*. Manchester: Camphor Press Ltd.

Kimura, Yaeko 木村八重子. 2009.『草双紙の世界：江戸の出版文化』[The World of *kusazōshi*: Edo's Publishing Culture]. Tokyo 東京：ぺりかん社.

Kondō, Motohiro 近藤大博. 2004.「総合雑誌の誕生とその発展」[The Development of Monthly Magazines in Japan],『国際情報研究』[*The Journal of the Japanese Society for Global Social and Cultural Studies*], 1.1, 1–9.

Kōno, Seiichi, and Tominaga, Ryūnosuke 河野清一・富永龍之助. 1991.「夜店　古本屋相手から満洲・台湾へ残品の大卸」[Night Store: Large wholesale of leftover goods from used bookstore partners to Manchuria and Taiwan]. In Ozaki, Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, and Munetake, Asako 宗武朝子 eds.,『日本の書店百年』[100 Years of Japanese Bookstores]. Tokyo 東京：青英舎, 541–58.

Kubo, Tite. 2002. *Bleach*, vol. 1. Tokyo 東京：集英社.

———. 2009. *Bleach*, vol. 40. Tokyo 東京：集英社.

Kunzle, David. 2009. "Rodolphe Töpffer"s Aesthetic Revolution." In *A Comics Studies Reader*, edited by Jeet Heer and Kent Worcester. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi, 17–24. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt2tvd9s.7

La Cour, Erin; Simon Grennan, and Rik Spanjers (eds). 2021. *Key Terms in Comics Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-74974-3

Lai, Tzu-Yun 賴慈芸. 2015.〈被遺忘的功臣：東方出版社背後的日文改寫者〉[Forgotten Contributors: On the Japanese Adaptors Behind Taiwan's

Dongfang Publisher],《東亞觀念史集》[*Journal of the History of Ideas in East Asia*], no. 8, 9–50.

Lai, Yu-hua 賴玉華. 2013.〈刀筆下的關懷——戰後初期版畫家記錄的臺灣人生活〉[Caring under Sword and Pen: Life in Taiwan as Recorded by Printmakers in the Early Postwar Period],《灣美術知識庫季刊》[*Taiwan Fine Arts Archive Quarterly*] Vol. 91, 88–117. https://twfineartsarchive.ntmofa.gov.tw/QuarterlyFile/P0910500.pdf (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Lee, Feng-ran 李鳳然. 2022.〈漫話・視界：臺灣棒球漫畫的圖像敘事〉[Taking A Comic Perspective: Graphic Narratives of Baseball Comics in Taiwan], 國立臺灣師範大學體育學系博士論文 Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Physical Education and Sport Science, National Normal University.

Lee, I-yun 李衣雲. 1996.〈斷裂與再生：對台灣漫畫生產的初探〉[Disruption and Rebirth: A Preliminary Exploration of Manga Production in Taiwan], 國立台灣大學社會學系碩士論文 Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology, National Taiwan University.

———. 2008.〈民族傳統的製造與出版文化的箝制 1945~1971年出版相關法規之初探〉[The Making of National Traditions and the Suppression of Publishing Culture: A Preliminary Study of Publishing Laws and Regulations from 1945 to 1971],《台灣史學雜誌》[*Taiwan Historical Journal*] vol. 4, 73–96.

———. 2012.《變形、象徵與符號化的系譜》[Metamorphosis, Symbolism, and the Genealogy of Symbolization]. Taipei 台北：稻鄉出版社.

———. 2013. with Christine Han, "Politics, Popular Culture, and Images of Japan in Taiwan." In Paul Morris, ed., *Imagining Japan in Post-war East Asia: Identity Politics, Schooling, and Popular Culture*. London: Routledge, 43–55.

———. 2014.「台湾の漫画審査制度と日本漫画のアンダーグラウンド化展開」『日本マンガと「日本」— 海外の諸コミックス文化を下敷きに』（国際マンガ研究 vol. 4）オンライン修正版 ["Taiwan's Comics Censorship System, and the Infiltration by Japanese Manga," in *Global Manga Studies, vol. 4: Japanese Manga and "Japan," Seen from the Perspective of Comics Cultures Abroad*], Kyoto: International Manga Research Center. Print & Web. http://imrc.jp/lecture/2012/06/4.html

———. 2017.『台湾における「日本」イメージの変化1945〜2003:「哈日現象」の展開について』[The Transformation of the Image of 'Japan' in Taiwan, 1945–2003: On the development of 'Japanomania']. Tokyo 東京：三元社.

———. 2018.〈臺灣大眾文化中呈現的歷史認識：以漫畫為中心（1945–1990)〉[Historical Understandings in Taiwanese Popular Culture: A Focus on Comics (1945–1990)],《思與言》[*Thought and Words*] 56.3, 2018, 7–73.

———. 2019. [as Lee I Yun] "The Development of Taiwan Manhua." In *Encyclopedia of East Asian Design*, ed. by Haruhiko Fujita and Christine Guth, London: Bloomsbury, 538–541.

———. 2020a. Interview with Saika Tadahiro 雑賀忠弘, researcher at the International Manga Research Center, Kyoto Seika University, at the Kyoto International Manga Museum on February 3.

———. 2020b. 蔡焜霖先生訪談 [Telephone interview with Mr. Tsai Kun-lin], August 14.

———. 2021. 「一九四〇年代〜一九六〇年代の台湾漫画——政治、イデオロギー、文化の場の競合」石田卓生訳 [Taiwan Comics 1940s–1960s: Politics, Ideology, and Struggle in the Cultural Field; Ishida, Takuo trans.], 『民主化に挑んだ台湾 台湾性・日本性・中国性の競合と共生』[*Taiwan Tackling Democratization: Conflict and Symbiosis of Taiwaneseness, Japaneseness and Chineseness*]. Nagoya 名古屋：風媒社, 151–83.

Lee, I-yun 李衣雲, Su Wei-xi 蘇微希, and Liu Wei-ying 劉維瑛. 2017. 紀厚博先生訪談 [Chi Hou-po Interview], May 25.

Lee, Yu-chi 李玉姬. 2008. 〈台灣兒童雜誌《東方少年》（1954–1961）之研究〉[Study of Taiwan Children's Magazine *Oriental Boy* (1954–1961)] Master thesis, Graduate School of Taiwan Culture, National Taipei University of Education.

Lee, Yung-chih 李永熾. 1992.《歷史．文學與臺灣》[History, Literature, and Taiwan]. Taichung: Taichung County Culture Center.

Li, Chan 李闡. 1998.《漫畫美學》[Aesthetics of Comics]. Taipei台北：群流.

Li, Chang-sheng 李長聲. 1991. 〈漫畫恢復審查? 國內漫畫家指出「審查」對盜版色情漫畫毫無約束力, 反而扼殺本土漫畫創作力〉 [Should Comics Be Subject to Review Again? Domestic Comics Artists Point Out that 'Review' Has No Constraints on Pirated Pornographic Comics and Instead Strangles the Creativity of Local Comics], 《中國時報》[*China Times*], July 19, p. 18.

———. 1992. 〈日本色情漫畫可不可禁? 〉 [Can Pornographic Manga from Japan Be Banned?], 《中國時報》[*China Times*], July 24, p. 34.

Li, Guangjun 李廣均. 2015.〈臺灣「眷村」的歷史形成與社會差異：列管眷村與自力眷村的比較〉 [The Historical Formation and Social Differences of Taiwan's 'Military Dependents' Villages': A Comparison between Regulated Military Dependents' Villages and Self-Reliant Military Dependents' Villages], 《臺灣社會學刊》 [*Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*], no. 57, 129–72.

Li, Ling 李玲. 2013. 〈近代報紙雜誌二種概念的起源〉[The Origins of the Two Concepts of Modern Newspapers and Magazines], 《東亞觀念史集刊》[*Journal of the History of Ideas in East Asia*], no. 4, 392–415.

Li, Mien-min 黎勉旻. 1998. 〈漫畫消費空間初探-以台北市為例〉 [The Primary for Consuming Space of Comics in Taipei], 國立臺灣師範大學地理系碩士論文Master's Thesis, Department of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University.

Lin, Tzu-hsiu 林姿秀. 2014.〈從古典到現代——陳定國的「女性漫畫」〉 [Classic and Modern Themes: "Female Comics" by Chen Ting-kuo], 國立臺灣師範大學臺灣史研究所碩士論文Master's Thesis, Graduate Institute of History, History National Taiwan Normal University.

Lin, Wen-i 林文義. 1979.〈為什麼我們的孩子看不到自己的漫畫〉[ Why Can't Our Children Read Their Own Comics], 《聯合報》[*United Daily News*], May 17, p. 9.

Lin, Yo-jen 林佑蓁, and Tsai, Chi 蔡綺. 2015. 〈葉宏甲漫畫「諸葛四郎」系列之圖像敘事研究——以《大鬥雙假面》為例〉 [A Study of Visual Narration in Yeh Hung-chia's Comics Series *Zhuge Si Lang*: The Example of "The Great Duel of the Twin Masks"]. 《創藝學報》[*Journal of Art and Design*], no. 2, 75–98.

Lyons, Martyn. 2011. *Books: A Living History*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.

Ma, Hsing-ye 馬星野. 1950.〈新聞、圖畫、意見：介紹本報漫畫半週刊及梁中銘梁又銘先生〉[News, Drawings, Opinions: Introducing this Newspaper's Semiweekly Comics Section and the Masters Liang Chung-ming and Liang Yu-ming],《中央日報》[*Central Daily News*] April 17, p.2.

Maeda, Ai 前田愛. 1989.『近代読者の成立』[The Emergence of the Modern Reader]. Tokyo 東京 ：筑摩書房.

Martin, Fran. 2012. "Girls who love boys' love: Japanese homoerotic manga as transnational Taiwan culture," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 13(3), 365–83. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2012.689707

Martinez, Matias, and Scheffel, Michael. 2006. Hayashi, Shō 林捷, Suenaga, Yutaka 末永豊, Ubuno, Yoshinori 生野芳徳『物語の森へ 物語理論入門』[Einführung in die Erzähltheorie]. Tokyo 東京：法政大学出版局.

Maruyama, Masao 丸山真男. 1997 [1979].「歴史意識の「古層」[The "old layer" of historical consciousness],『丸山真男集』vol. 11 [Maruyama Masao Collection], Tokyo 東京：岩波書店, 3–64.

McCloud, Scott. 2014. *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art*. New York: Harper Perennial.

———. 2017. Chu, Hao-i 朱浩一 trans. 『漫畫原來要這樣看』[Understanding Comics, the Invisible Art]. 台北：愛米粒出版社.

McDermott, Joseph P 周紹明. 2009.《书籍的社会史：中华帝国晚期的书籍与士人文化》[A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China]. Beijing 北京 ：北京大學出版社.

McGowan, Tara. 2015. *Performing Kamishibai: An Emerging New Literacy for a Global Audience*. New York: Routledge.

Miller, Frank, and David Mazzucchelli. 1987. *Batman: Year One*, vol. 1. CA: DC Comics.

Miwa, Kentarō 三輪健太朗. 2014.『マンガと映画』[Manga and Film]. Tokyo 東京：NTT出版.

Miyama, Takefumi 三山剛史. 2005.「身体論への知識社会学的断章」[Interpreting Body Theory from the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge],『身体の社会学』[Sociology of the Body], ed. by Ōno, Michikuni 大野道邦, Yui, Kiyomizu 油井清光, and Takenaka, Kazuhisa 竹中克久. Tokyo 東京：世界思想社, 31–57.

Miyamoto, Hirohito. 2011. Thomas Lamarre trans. "How Characters Stand Out," *Mechademia* 6, 84–91. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/mec.2011.0023

Molotiu, André. 2020. "Cartooning." In *Comics Studies: A Guidebook*, edited by Charles Hatfield and Bart Beaty. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 153–71.

Moretti, Laura, and Yukiko Satō eds. 2024. *Graphic Narratives from Early Modern Japan: The World of Kusazōshi*, Brill.

Morita, Naoko 森田直子. 2019.『「ストーリー漫画の父」テプフェル』[Töpffer, the Father of Narrative Comics]. Nara 奈良：萌書房.

Morrison, Grant, J. G. Jones, and Doug Mahnke. 2010. "Final Crisis #1: D.O.A.: The God of War!." *Final Crisis*. New York: DC Comics.

Morrison, Grant; Tony Daniel, and Lee Garbett. 2010a. "Batman R.I.P. Part.1." *Batman R.I.P.*. New York: DC Comics.

———. 2010b. "Batman R.I.P, part.6." *Batman R.I.P.* New York: DC Comics.

Morris-Suzuki, Tessa. 1998.「グロバールな記憶・ナショナルな記憶」[Global Memory, National Memory],『思想』[*Thoughts*] no. 890, 35–56.

———. 2005. *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*. New York: Verso.

Nagatomo, Chiyoji 長友千代治. 1997.『近世貸本の研究』[Research on Rental Bookstores in the Early Modern Period]. Tokyo 東京：東京堂.

Nakano, Masaharu 中野マサハル. 1934/07/14.「日の丸孫悟空」no. 91 [Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1936/05/01.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 87 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Natanson, Maurice A. 1992. Lu, Lan-lan 盧嵐蘭 trans.〈導論〉[Introduction]. In Alfred Schutz《舒茲論文集（第一冊）》[Collected papers. Vol. I], pp. XXV–XLVII. Taipei 台北：桂冠.

Natsume, Fusanosuke 夏目房之介. ———. 1995.「擬音から「音喩」へ」[From "Sound Effect" to "Mimetic Word"],『マンガの読み方』[How to Read Manga]. Tokyo 東京：宝島社, 126–27.

———. 2013. "Where is Tezuka? A Theory of Manga Expression," transl. Matthew Young, *Mechademia* vol. 8, 89–107. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1353/mec.2013.0018

———. 2020. "The Construction of Panels (Koma) in Manga," trans. Jon Holt and Teppei Fukuda, *ImageTexT: Interdisciplinary Comics Studies*, 12.2, 1–21. Open Access. https://imagetextjournal.com/the-construction-of-panels-koma-in-manga/ (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

———. 2022. "The Power of Onomatopoeia in Manga," trans. and introduced by Jon Holt and Teppei Fukuda, *Japanese Language and Literature*, 56. 1, 157–84. Open Access. DOI: https://doi.org/10.5195/jll.2022.170

Neri, Corrado. 2021. "Small Objects, Old Pictures, New Drawings: Forms of Historiography in Contemporary Taiwanese Graphic Novels (Past and Future)," *International Journal of Comic Art* 23:2 (Fall/Winter), 8–29.

Nihon Manga Kenkyūkai Kyōikubu, ed., no year. 日本漫画研究会教育部編『漫画家養成講義錄』 [The Educational Department of the Japan Manga Research Society, *Records of Cartoonist Training Lectures*], Tokyo.

Noe, Keiichi 野家啓一. 2005.『物語の哲学』[Philosophy of Storytelling]. Tokyo 東京：岩波書店.

Noguchi, Fumio 野口文雄. 2007.『手塚治虫の「新宝島」その伝説の真実』[Tezuka Osamu's *New Treasure Island*: The Truth of its Legend]. Tokyo 東京：小学館.

Nora, Pierre. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory; spring), 7–24. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2928520

———. 2002. Nagai, Nobuhito 長井伸仁 trans.「序論：記憶と歴史のはざまに」[Foreword: Between Memory and History]. In Tanigawa, Minoru 谷川稔et al. trans.『記憶の場1 対立』[*Les lieux de mémoire*]. Tokyo 東京：岩波書店, 29–56.

Oda, Eiichirō. 2001a. *ONE PIECE*, vol. 20. Tokyo 東京：集英社.

———. 2001b. *ONE PIECE*, vol. 40. Tokyo 東京：集英社.

Ōkawa, Yoshio 大川義雄. 1991.「大川文衷 3000点の歴史」[Ōkawa Bunrei: History in 3000 Points]. In Ozaki, Hotsuki 尾崎秀樹, Munetake, Asako 宗武朝子 eds『日本の書店百年』[100 Years of Japanese Bookstores]. Tokyo 東京：青英舎, 511–28.

Orbaugh, Sharalyn. 2014. *Propaganda Performed: Kamishibai in Japan's Fifteen Year War*. Leiden: Brill.

Paoliello, Antonio. 2023. "Of Grocery Stores and Barbershopes: Slices of Taiwan in Ruan Guang-min's *Manhua*". *Image & Narrative* 24.2, 197–215. Open Access. https://www.imageandnarrative.be/index.php/imagenarrative/article/view/3192 (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Sakano, Narutaka 坂野徳隆. 2012.『諷刺漫画で読み解く日本統治下の台湾』[Taiwan under Japanese Rule as Seen in Caricatures]. Tokyo 東京：平凡社.

Sasaki, Ken'ichi 佐々木健一. 2010.『日本的感性』[Japanese Sensitivity]. Tokyo 東京：中央公論新社.

Schmitz, Hermann. 1986. Ogawa Tadashi 小川侃 ed.『身体と感情の現象学』[Phenomenology of Body and Emotion]. Tokyo 東京：産業図書.

———. 2014. *Atmosphären*. Freiburg: Karl Alber.

Schutz, Alfred. 1992. 《舒茲論文集（第一冊）》[Collected papers, Vol. I]. Taipei 台北：桂冠.

———. 1974. *Collected papers I, The problem of social reality*. Dordrecht: Springer.

———. 1976. *Collected papers II: Studies in social theory*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Shen, Hsiao-wen 沈孝雯. 2010. 〈台灣的戰鬥文藝漫畫 (1950–1980年代)〉[Battle Art Comics in Taiwan 1950s–1980s], 《臺灣美術》[*Journal of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art* ], no. 79, 32–53.

Shih, Yen-han 石延漢. 1946.〈台灣青年要認識祖國〉[Taiwanese Youth Should Understand the Homeland],《臺灣新生報》[*Taiwan New Life News*], May 6.

Shimada, Keizō 島田啓三. 1934/01/21.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 136 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1936/01/12.「ドンドン閣下」no. 1 [His Excellency Bang-Bang],『台灣日日新報夕刊』『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1938.「子供の絵本に凛然とする！」[Rinse Children's Picture Books!],『台灣日日新報』[*Taiwan Daily News*], March 3, p. 4.

Shimizu, Isao 清水勲. 1989.『「漫画少年」と赤本マンガ』[The Magazine *Manga Shōnen* and *Akahon* Manga]. Tokyo 東京：刀水書房.

Shimizu, Kazuyoshi 清水一嘉. 1994『イギリスの貸本文化』 [British Rental Library Culture]. 東京 ：図書出版.

———. 1999.『イギリス近代出版の諸相』[Facets of Modern Publishing in Britain]. Tokyo 東京：世界思想社.

Siegel, Jerry Joe Shuster. 1938. *Action Comics #1: Superman*. New York: National Comics Publications.

Silvio, Teri. 2019. "Localizing the Japanese manga system and making folk religion manga-esque: Wei Tsung-chen's *Ming Zhang-lu*: Final Destiny of the Formosan Gods." In *Positioning Taiwan in a Global Context: Being and Becoming*, edited by Bi-yu Chang, and Pei-yin Lin. Abingdon: Routledge, 181–95.

Statistics Division, ed. (Shōkōdaijin kanbō tōkeika, 商工大臣官房統計課編 [Statistics Division, Secretariat of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry]. 1931.『小売物価統計表　昭和5年』[Retail Price Index, 1930]. Tokyo 東京：東京統計協会.

———. 1933.『小売物価統計表　昭和6年及昭和7年』[Retail Price Index, 1931 and 1932]. Tokyo 東京：東京統計協会.

———. 1934.『賃銀統計表　昭和8年』[Wage Statistics, 1933]. Tokyo 東京：東京統計協会.

Steinberg, Marc. 2012. *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan*. Minneapolis, Mass.: University of Minnesota Press.

Sugawara, Yoshino 菅原慶乃. 2019.『映画館のなかの近代：映画観客の上海史』[Modernity in the Movie Theater: A Shanghai History of Film Audiences]. Kyoto 京都：晃洋書房.

Sugita, Santarō 杉田三太郎. 1933/11/03.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 77 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/11/05.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 79 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/11/07.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 80 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/11/12.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 84 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1933/11/23.「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 90 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

Sung, Pei-fen 宋佩芬, and Chen, Chun-chieh 陳俊傑. 2015.〈國中教科書之中國史敘述變動〉[The Narrative Changes of Chinese

History in Junior High School Textbooks (1952–2008)],《教科書研究》[*Journal of Textbook Research*], 8.1, 1–31.

Swinnerton, Jimmy. 1933/05/01. 「チビのヂミー」 [Little Jimmy],『台灣日日新報』(*Taiwan Daily News*), p. 33.

———. 1933/05/08. 「チビのヂミー」 [Little Jimmy],『台灣日日新報』(*Taiwan Daily News*), p.13.

Tagawa, Suihō 田河水泡. 1934/03/01. 「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 166 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1934/03/13. 「カンカラ勝ちゃん」no. 176 [*Kankara Katchan*],『台灣日日新報夕刊』(*Taiwan Daily News* Evening edition), p. 1.

———. 1975.「のらくろ一等兵」『のらくろ漫画集』vol.1, 東京：講談社.

Takahashi, Mizuki. 2008. "Opening the closed World of Shōjo Manga." In *Japanese Visual Culture*, edited by Mark W. MacWilliams. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 114–37.

Takano, Hajime 高野肇. 2012.『貸本屋、古本屋、高野書店』[Book Rental, Used-Book Shop, and the Takano Bookstore]. Tokyo 東京：論創社.

Takeda, Masaya 武田雅哉. 2017.『中国のマンガ「連環画」の世界 』[China's Comics: The World of *Lianhuanhua*. Tokyo 東京 ：平凡社.

Takeuchi, Osamu 竹内オサム. 2003.「漫画史における『正チャンの冒険』」[The Position of *Shō-chan's Adventures* in the History of Manga]. In Kabashima, Katsuichi, and Oda, Shōsei 樺島勝一・織田小星著『正チャンの冒険』[*Shō-chan's Adventures*]. Tokyo 東京：小學館, 136–37.

Tatsumi, Yoshihiro 辰巳ヨシヒロ. 1973.「劇画の歩み」[A History of *gekiga*]. In Ishiko, Junzō, 石子順造, Kikuchi, Asajirō 菊地淺次郎, and Gondō, Susumu 権藤晋. 1973.『劇画の思想』[Ideas in *Gekiga*]. Tokyo 東京：太平出版社, 238–57.

Tezuka, Osamu 手塚治虫. 2009.『新宝島』 [The New Treasure Island]. Tokyo: Kodansha.

———. 2010. 『漫画教室』[Manga Class]. Tokyo 東京：小学館.

Tominaga, Ken'ichi 富永健一. 1996.『近代化の理論』[Theory of Modernization]. Tokyo 東京：講談社.

Toyoshima, Shunkichi 豐島舜吉. 1937.「漫畫への苦言」『臺灣警察時報』[*Taiwan Police Times*], no. 255, February 10, 126.

Tsai, Sheng-chi 蔡盛琦. 2009. 〈臺灣流行閱讀的上海連環圖畫（1945–1949）〉[Popular Reading in Taiwan: Shanghai Lianhuan Pictures (1945–1949)],《國家圖書館館刊》[*National Library Bulletin*] 98:1 (June 1), 55–92.

Tsai, Hsui-mei 蔡秀美. 2014.〈從許丙丁的漫畫看日治時期的臺灣警察〉[Taiwanese Police During the Period of Japanese Colonial Rule, from the Perspective of the Comics by Hsu Ping-ting], 《興大歷史學報》[*Chung-Hsing Journal of History*], no. 28, 51–92.

Tsai, Kun-lin 蔡焜霖. 2017. 《蔡焜霖逆風行走的人生》台北：玉山社 Taiepi: Taiwan Interminds Publishing Inc.

———. 2019. 《我們只能歌唱》 [We Can Only Sing] 台北 ：玉山社 Taiepi: Taiwan Interminds Publishing Inc.

Tsang, Lao-chuan 蒼老泉. 1909. 〈頭熱足冷〉 [Hot Head Cold Feet], 《台灣日日新報》[*Taiwan Daily News*], November 21, p. 5.

Tsuchiya, Reiko 土屋礼子. 2014.「近代日本語における識字とメディア」『近代の日本語はこうしてできた：国立国語研究所第7回NINJALフォーラム』東京：国立国語研究所 Tokyo: National Institution for Japanese Language and Linguistic, 48–56.

Tu, Cheng-sheng 杜正勝. 1997. 〈一個新史觀的誕生〉 [The Birth of a New Historical Perspective],《當代》[*Contemporary*], no. 120, 20–31.

Wang, Fu-chang 王甫昌. 2001. 〈民族想像、族群意識與歷史—《認識台灣》教科書爭議風波的內容與脈絡分析〉[National Imagination, Ethnic Consciousness, and History: Content and Context of the Getting to Know Taiwan Textbook Disputes],《台灣史研究》[*Taiwan Historical Research*], 8.2, 145–208.

Wang, Peiti. 2022. "Repression or Revolution? On the Taiwanese BL Fan Community's Reactions to the Same-Sex Marriage Legalization Movement." In *Queer Transfigurations: Boys Love Media in Asia*, edited by James Welker. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 108–121.

Wang, Yun-long 王雲龍. 1997.《臺灣軍校誌》[Taiwan's Military Academy]. Taipei 台北：稻田.

Watson, Rubie S. 1994. *Memory, History and Opposition*, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

White, Hayden. 1974. "The historical text as literary artifact." *Clio*, 3.3, 277–303.

Williamson, Judith. 1978. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. London & New York: Marion Boyars.

Wu, Shang-hsu 吳尚軒. 2019.〈漫畫出版產業分析: 》從4000家關到剩490家台灣租書店「雪崩式倒閉」，最想哭的是這群人」〉[Analysis of the Comics Publishing Industry: from 4,000 Taiwan Rental Bookstores to only 490 – "an Avalanche of Closure"], 《今週刊》[*Business Today*], 2019/9/6, https://www.businesstoday.com.tw/article/category/80392/post/201909060021/ (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Yamamoto, Taketoshi 山本武利. 2000.『紙芝居』[Paper Theater]. Tokyo 東京：吉川弘文館.

Yang, Nai-fan 楊乃藩. 1947.〈小人書到臺灣〉[The Children's Book in Taiwan],《台灣新生報》[*Taiwan New Life News*], July 25, p. 2.

Yeh, Hung-sheng 葉洪生, and Lin, Pao-chun 林保淳. 2005.《臺灣武俠小說發展史》[The History of the Development of Martial Arts Novels in Taiwan]. Taipei 臺北：遠流.

Yokoyama, Mitsuteru 橫山光輝. 2011.「アリ事件の巻 第一回」[The Ant Incident, 1st Episode],『鉄人28号』[Iron Man No. 28]. Tokyo 東京：復刻堂.

Yomota, Inuhiko 四方田犬彦. 1994.『漫画原論』[The Principles of Manga]. Tokyo 東京：筑摩書房.

Yonezawa, Yoshihiro 米沢嘉博. 1996.『別冊太陽　少年漫画の世界 I』[*Taiyō* Supplement: The Worls of Boys Manga I]. Tokyo 東京：平凡社.

Yu, Pei-yun (script), and Zhou Jian-xin (art). 2023–24. *The Boy from Clearwater*, trans. Lin King, vols. 1 and 2. New York: Levine Querido.

Zemanek, Adina. 2017. "Taiwaneseness Revisited: Lasting Themes and New Trends in Contemporary Popular Culture." *East Asian Journal of Popular Culture* 3.2, 139–52. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/eapc.3.2.139_2 (Accessed: March 1, 2024).

Zemanek, Adina. 2020. "National History and Generational Memory: Taiwanese Comic Books as Lieux de Mémoire." *positions*, 28.2, 389–420.

Zeng, Zheng-zhong 曾正忠. 1988.《花心赤狐》[*The Fickle Red Fox*]. Taipei 台北：時報文化.

Zhou, Wanyao 周婉窈. 1995.〈台灣人第一次的『國語』經驗——析論日治末期的日語運動及其問題〉[The First Experience of "National Language" for the People of Taiwan: Analyzing the Japanese Language Movement at the End of the Japanese Colonial Period and Its Issues],《新史學》[*New History*] no. 2, 113–59.

# Organizational Sources

## (a) Archival Documents

*Executive Yuan Archive* 行政院檔案. 1982/11/23.〈國立編譯館濫發盜版日本連環圖畫執照案〉[The Case of the National Institute of Translation and Interpretation Issuing Excessive Licenses for Pirated Japanese Comics], file no: 教8-1-11-57.

——— . 1983/07/07.〈社情反映對國內連環圖畫(刊物應檢討改進案)〉[Public Sentiment Reflection on Domestic Comics (Proposal for Review and Improvement of Publications)], file no: 教8-3-3-17.

*Executive Yuan Information Office Archive* 行政院新聞局檔案. 1984/02/07.〈大院函為教育委員會對黃錦堂等請准接受譯稿連環圖畫審查陳情決議送本部參考乙案，函復如說明〉[Letter from the University Regarding the Resolution of the Education Commission to Allow the Review of Translation Drafts of Comics Submitted by Huang Jintang and Others, Please Refer to the Department. The Reply is as Explained below.], file no.: (73) 0230.

*Government-General of Taiwan News*《府報》. 1911/10/24. no. 33, p. 56.

———. 1912/09/20. no. 34, p. 51.

———. 1912/11/17. no. 79, p. 73.

———. 1916/01/21. no.932, p. 56.

*Kaohsiung City Government Archive* 高雄市政府檔案. 1946/07/26.〈新聞雜誌日文版廢止／客運公司汽車司機與售票員在公共場所公然實用日語應注意糾正〉[The Japanese edition of the news magazine was abolished / The use of Japanese by bus drivers and conductors of passenger transportation companies in public places should be corrected.], file no.: A383000000A/0035/a137.3.2/01/01/012.

———. 1946/07/30.〈新聞雜誌日文版廢止/禁用日語日文傳教應取締〉[News Magazine's Japanese Version Abolished/Banned Japanese Language: Japanese Preaching Should Be Outlawed], file no.: A383000000A/0035/a137.3.2/01/01/013.

———. 1948/04/12.〈社會法規/電知限期禁絕沿用日語文教學希切實遵辦具報〉[Social Laws and Regulations/Telegraphic Information Deadline for Banning the Use of Japanese as a Literature and Teaching Language] file no.: A383000000A/0037/073.6/2/001/004.

*Ministry of Education Archive* 教育部檔案. 1966/02/18.〈有關連環圖畫審查案〉[Concerning the Comics Review], file no.: 522.04，台（55）字社第2263.
———. 1961/08/05.〈關於「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法」已失時效正會同有關機關研究修正中〉[The *Directives for Publishing Comics* have become obsolete and are being studied and amended in cooperation with relevant organizations], file no.: AA09030000E/0050/016.6/1/0001/016.
———. 1962/07/14.〈關於連環圖畫一案請核示〉[Concerning Comics: Please approve request], file no.: 522.04，台（51）社字第9626.
———. 1965/01/10.〈(一)審查連環圖畫行政規費(二)希執行連環圖畫審查業務由〉[(1) Administrative Fees for the Review of Comics, (2) The Ministry of Education is Responsible for implementing the Review of Comics], file no.: 台(54)社字第7474.
———. 1965/09/03.〈有關連環圖畫審查事宜會議〉[Regarding the Meeting on the Comics Review Matter], file no.: 台(54)社字第13485.
———. 1965/09 [day undecipherable].〈關於連環圖畫一案特知照由〉[Concerning Comics: Special notification], file no.: 522.04，台(54)社字第14895.
———. 1965/09/24.〈關於連環圖畫一案特復知照由〉 [Concerning Comics: second notification], file no.: 台(54)社字 第14896.
———. 1965/07/24.〈關於連環圖畫速及出版法規定函請參辦〉[Letter of Inquiry Regarding the Speed and Requirements of the Comics Publication Law], file no.: 522.04, 台（54）社字第15633.
———. 1966/08/18.〈關於輔導連環圖畫案〉[Concerning the Proposed Comics Directives], file no.: 522.04，台（55）社字第13915.
———. 1967/01/20.〈關於連環圖畫審查一案由〉[Concerning the Comics Review], file no.: 台(56)社字第978.
———. 1966/07/23.〈關於審查連環圖畫由〉[Concerning the Comics Review], file no.: 522.04，台(55)社字第21720.
———. 1969/12/04.〈為該館呈送連環圖畫審查委員會第三次會議紀錄令復知照由〉 [Submission of the Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Comics Review Committee],, file no.: 台(58)社字第25217.
———. 1979/07/21.〈有關貴館對連環圖畫出版之審查、輔導及加強取締等，均准予備查，復請查照〉[Concerning the Review, Guidance, and Strengthened Regulation of Comics Publishing, All Granted for Record. For your Acknowledgement], file no.: 台(68)社字第20695.
———. 1980/11/07.〈貴會第十六屆第一次會員大會第四十一提案有關加強連環圖畫審查暨取締不良連環圖環乙節複請查照〉(Please refer to Section B of Proposal 41 of the 16th First General Meeting of the Association on Strengthening the Examination and Eradication of Undesirable Comics], file no.: 台（69）社字第37511.
———. 1982/11/30.〈連環圖畫審查報告〉[Report on the Examination of Comics], file no.: 檔號522.04，台（71）社字第45874.

———. 1983/07/01.〈張學孔等陳述案〉[The Case of Chang Hhsueh-kung et al.], file no.: 總11-7-9-5.

———. 1983/10/18.〈編譯館研討結論〉[Conclusions of the NICT Seminar], file no.: 522.04，臺（72）字社第42979.

———. 1983/11/16.〈為有關李費蒙君聲請糾正本部與鈞院新聞局處理日本連環漫畫圖書欠當乙案，復請轉陳〉[Regarding Mr. Li Fei-meng's Request for Correction of the Handling of Japanese Comics by this Ministry and the Government Information Office of the Jun Institute, Please Forward], file no.: 台(72)社字第47415.

———. 1983/11/21.〈貴館所送列管計畫九、十月份執行進度月報表〉[Monthly Progress Report for September/October of the Programs Administered by the Institute], file no.: 台(72)秘字第48364.

———. 1984/01/09.〈檢附華仁等出版業陳情譯稿連環圖畫送審問題來函影印本乙份，請參處〉[Enclosed is a Copy of the Letter Regarding the Submission of Translation Drafts of Comics for Review, Submitted by the Publishing Industry Including Hua Ren, for Review], file no.:台(73)社字第0715號

———. 1984/01/28.〈檢送國立編譯館所擬「取締違規出版連環圖畫獎勵要點」乙份，請惠示卓見〉 [Sending a Copy of the Proposed 'Reward Criteria for Cracking Down on Irregular Comics Publications' by the NICT for Your Feedback], file no.: 台 (73) 社字第 3984.

———. 1984/9/20.〈貴館所送列管計畫「審查連環圖畫」截至八月止辦理情形月報表，同意備查〉[NICT's monthly report on the status of the "Comics Review" program for August, for review], file no.: 台(73)秘字第37212.

———. 1984/11/17.〈貴館所送列管計畫「審查連環圖畫」七十三年十月份執行進度月報表，同意備查〉[NICT's monthly report on the status of the "Comics Review program for October, for review], file no.: 台(73)秘字第48139.

———. 1984/12/13.〈貴館所送列管計畫「審查連環圖畫」七十三年十一月份執行進度月報表，同意備查〉[NICT's monthly report on the status of the "Comics Review program for November, for review], file no.: 台(73)秘字第52652.

———. 1985/1/17.〈貴館所送列管計畫「科學名詞編訂」七十三年十至十二月執行進度季報及「審查連環圖畫」七十三年十至十二月執行進度月報，同意備查〉[NICT's monthly report on the status of the "Comics Review program for December, for review], file no.: 台(74)秘字第02014.

———. 1984/01/30.〈檢送國立編譯館所擬「取締違規出版連環圖畫獎勵要點」乙份，請惠示卓見〉[NICT],，File no.:台(73)社字第3984號

———. 1984/02/21.〈檢送國立編譯館所擬「取締違規出版連環圖畫獎勵要點」乙份，請惠示卓見〉[NICT], File no.:台(73)社字第3984號

———. 1985/01/17.〈貴館所送列管計畫「科學名詞編訂」七十三年十至十二月執行進度季報及「審查連環圖畫」七十三年十至十二月執行進度月報，同意備查〉[NICT],，File no.: 台(74)秘字第02014號.

———. 1985/2/28.〈貴館所送列管計畫「審查連環圖畫」七十四年元月份執行進度月報表，同意備查〉[NICT's monthly report on the status of the "Comics Review program for January, for review]], file no.: 台(74)秘字第07451.

———. 1985/4/24.〈所送列管計畫「科學名詞編訂」及「連環圖畫審查」截至七十四年三月底止執行進度報表，同意備查〉[Monthly progress report on the implementation of "scientific terminology" and "comics review" for March, for review], file no. 台(74)秘字第15691.

———. 1985/05/20.〈所送列管計畫「連環圖畫審查」七十四年四月份執行進度月報，同意備查」〉[Monthly progress report on the implementation of "scientific terminology" and "comics review" for April, for review], file no.: 台(74)秘字第19927.

———. 1985/06/28.〈所送列管計畫「連環圖畫審查」七十四年五月份執行進度月報〉[Monthly progress report on the implementation of "scientific terminology" and "comics review" for May, for review], file no.:台(74)秘字第25962.

———. 1986/06/23.〈所報連環圖畫審查委員75年第1次會議紀錄暨擬自編印經費項提撥NT$110000元作為獎勵取締違規連環畫有功案〉[Record of the first meeting of the comic review committee in 1986 (75th year of the Republic of China) and the proposal to allocate NT$110,000 as a reward for successful enforcement against unauthorized comics]，file no.: 台（75）社字第27553.

———. 1986/06/23.〈所報連環圖畫審查委員75年第1次會議紀錄暨擬自編印經費項提撥NT$110000元作為獎勵取勵取締違規連環畫有功案 [Minutes of the First Meeting of the Comics Review Committee for the Year 75 [1986] and Proposed Allocation of NT$110,000 for Self-Printing Expenses as an Award for Outstanding Contributions to Cracking Down on Irregular Comics, 1986], file no.:（75）社字第27553.

———. 1988/2/23.〈關於新聞局指陳本部與內政部會銜令廢止「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法」，事涉維護青少年身心，仍請繼續審查一案〉」[Regarding the Joint Recommendation from the Information Office and the Ministry of the Interior to Abolish the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, Concerning the Protection of the Physical and Mental Well-being of Youth, Requesting Further Review], file no.: 台(77)社字第06864.

***Ministry of Defense Archive*** 國防部檔案. 1966/05/09.〈錢夢龍告游龍輝匪書案〉[The Case of Chien Meng-lung Suing Yu Lun-hui for Banditry], file no.:（55）警總字第35238.

***Ministry of Economic Affairs Archive*** 經濟部卷宗. 1951/04/12.〈台四十（財經）檢第002號行政院訓令〈案名：奢侈品管制〉[Executive Yuan Instruction No. 002, Case: Control of Luxury Goods], file no.: 0040=04990-00164=1=0003=001

***Ministry of the Interior Archive*** 內政部檔案. 1963/2/12. File no.: 內字第106755號電報 (telegram).

***National Archives*** 國家檔案局. 1962/9/27.〈關於連環圖畫輔導辦法〉[Concerning the *Directives for Publishing Comics*], file no.: 0049=1-1-14-6=5=0001.

———. 1968/1/17.〈郭衣洞案〉[The case of Guo Yido], file no.: A80300000 0A=0057=C280206=0001=01.

———. 1980/08/20.〈主旨：日文連環圖書等出版品應嚴禁進口，請查照卓效〉[Subject: Importation of Japanese comics and other publications should be strictly prohibited], file no.: (69)瑜版一字10967號函.

***National Institute for Educational Research Archive*** 國家教育研究院檔案. 1984/10/23.〈本館委請先生繪製「中華民國建國史連環圖畫」一書，現僅完成第一冊，其餘二、三、四、五冊仍請依舊在本會計年度內(民國74=1985年6月30日前)趕繪完成，以便結案〉[The Institute commissioned Mr. Hsu to draw the *Pictorial History of the Founding of the Republic of China* but only the first volume has been completed; the rest, i.e., the second, third, fourth, and fifth volumes, are still requested to be finished in time within the current fiscal year (that is, before June 30th of the year of the Republic of China (R.O.C.) 74/1985)], (73)國文社字第1238.

***Presidential Office Bulletin*** 《總統府公報. 1945/3/26.〈依「動員戡亂時期臨時條款」第四項規定，該條款於39年12月25日以前延長或廢止相關事宜〉[On Item 4 of the Temporary Provisions for Mobilization for Counterinsurgency, which was extended or repealed prior to 12/25/3], no. 482, p. 1.

———. 1948/5/31.〈內政部和教育部公函體字〉[Official letter from the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Education], 第0902號, p. 5.

———. 1962/09/28.〈內政部令茲奉院令將「教育部外文書刊小組工作辦法」修正為「內政部外文書刊小組工作辦法」公佈〉 [The Ministry of the Interior hereby promulgates, by order of the Supreme Court, the amendment of the "Working Methods of the Ministry of Education's Group on Foreign Languages and Publications" to the "Working Methods of the Ministry of the Interior's Group on Foreign Languages and Publications"], no. 1370, pp. 3–4.

———. 1951/11/07.〈修正「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法〉[Amendments to the *Directives for Publishing Comics*], 臺51社字, no. 15321.

———. 1962/11/13.〈修正「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法〉臺51社字第15321號 (51.11.07) [Amendments to the *Directives for Publishing Comics*] Taiwan 51 Social Affairs Letter no. 15321 (November 7, 51), no. 1383, pp. 4–5.

———. 1987/12/04.〈廢止「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法」〉[Abolition of the *Directives for Publishing Comics*], no. 4856, p. 13.

***Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office Bulletin*** 《台灣省行政長官公署公報》. 1945/03/15. 〈臺灣省行政長官公署訓令 事由：為本年度各級學校一律受國語及語體文公文書亦准用由及語體文文希遵照〉[Re: The use of national language and language-specific official documents in all schools at all levels for the current year], 35:春:14, p. 260

———. 1946/02/23.〈爲本年度各級學校一律授國語及語體文公文書亦准用語及語體文希遵照〉[For the current year, all schools at all levels are allowed to teach national language and written vernacular Chinese, and the same applies to official documents], 35:春:14, p. 260

———. 1946/03/01.〈為查禁日人遺毒書籍，希全省各書店自行檢封聽候焚燬〉 [For the confiscation and destruction of Japanese toxic books, all bookstores in the province are requested to seal them and wait for incineration], 35:春:8, p.133

———. 1946/06/14.〈電復郵電管理局自35年7月1日起准予停收日文電報〉[Telegraphic reply to the Postal and Telecommunications Bureau, from July 1, 1946, onwards, Japanese telegrams will no longer be accepted], 35::39, p. 625.

———. 1946/08/08.〈電各縣市政府店號招牌廣告不得沿用日文〉[Telegraph to each county and city government: shop signs and advertisements must not continue to use Japanese], 35:秋:34, p. 537.

———. 1946/08/10.〈電復新竹市參議會新聞紙雜誌日文廢止日期未便再予延期〉[Telegraphic reply to Hsinchu City Council regarding the infeasibility of extending the deadline for the discontinuation of Japanese newspapers, magazines, and texts], 35:秋:36, p. 576.

———. 1947/09/06.〈電各級學校禁止全體師生沿用日語〉[Telegraph to all levels of schools prohibiting all teachers and students from using Japanese], 36:秋:60, p. 947.

———. 1948/03/03.〈電各縣市政府飭屬查禁日語唱片具報〉 [Telegraph to each county and city government to inspect and report on the prohibition of Japanese language records], 37:春:5, p. 799.

*Taiwan Provincial Council Historical Archive* 台 灣省議會史料總庫. 1950/12/23.〈臺灣省參議會轉送臺北市民葉海鵬為子葉宏甲被軍人拘去迄今未知下落請查明釋放陳情案，電請臺灣省保安司令部查明後惠覆〉[Request forwarded by the Taiwan Provincial Council from Taipei citizen Yeh Hai-peng regarding his son Yeh Hung-chia being detained by military personnel and his whereabouts still unknown. The request is to investigate and release. Please refer to the Taiwan Provincial Security Command for clarification], file no.: 0011340139008.

*Taiwan Provincial Government Archive* 臺灣省政府檔案. 1949/11/11.〈電復葉宏甲無合法學歷所請委為農林處科員未便照准由〉[Telegraphic reply to Yeh Hung-chia's request to be appointed as a Section Officer of the Agriculture and Forestry Department without legal qualifications which was not conveniently approved ], file no.: A37500000 0A/0038/0032.34/0092/0005/008.

*Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin*《臺灣省政府公報》. 1947/06/12.〈表復臺中市政府為查繳之日語唱片得公開燒燬，希知照〉[Regarding the Public Burning of Seized Japanese-Language Records by Taichung City Government, Please Be Informed], 36:夏:63, p. 256.

———. 1947/09/06.〈電各級學校禁止全體師生沿用日語〉[Notification: All Levels of Schools Are Prohibited from Continuing the Use of Japanese Language by All Teachers and Students]，36:秋:60, p. 947.

———. 1948/03/03.〈電各縣市政府飭屬查禁日語唱片具報〉[Report on the banning of Japanese-language recordings by county and municipal governments], 37:春:51, p. 799.

———. 1948/06/10.〈電各縣市政府為轉發「編印連環圖畫輔導辦法」，希遵照〉[County and municipal to forward the *Directives for Publishing Comics*, please comply]. 37:夏:60, p. 901.

———. 1949/10/29.〈電各縣市政府為訂頒「臺灣省連環圖畫管理規則」，希遵照〉[For the purpose of promulgating "Rules for the Management of Comics in Taiwan," county and municipal governments would like to follow these rules], 38:冬:23, p. 290–291.

———. 1951/04/04.〈制定「臺灣省日文書刊管制辦法」、「臺灣省日文書刊審查會組織規程」〉[Enacting the "Regulations for the Control of Japanese-Language Publications in Taiwan Province" and the "Organizational Regulations of the Review Committee for Japanese-Language Publications in Taiwan Province"], 40:夏字:3, pp. 34–35.

———. 1952/03/13.〈電省立各中小學、各縣市（局）政府為介紹中央日報社印行之「土包子下江南」等連環漫畫，希酌量採購〉[Provincial primary and secondary schools, county and municipality governments to introduce "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" and other Comics printed by the Central Daily Newspaper Agency printed "bumpkin down to Jiangnan" and other comic strips, purchase at own discretion], 41:春:60, p. 638.

———. 1963/02/28.〈內政部電為雜誌內容刊載連環圖畫佔總篇幅20%以上者視為連環圖畫處理案〉[The Ministry of the Interior has decided to treat magazines that contain more than 20% of their total content as comic strip], 52:春:47, p. 3.

***Taiwan Transitional Justice Database*** 臺灣轉型正義資料庫. 1972/06/07_〈錢祖年案〉[The Case of Chien Tsu-nien]. https://twtjcdb.tjc.gov.tw/Search/Detail/13724 (Access: 2020/08/31).

## (b) Newspaper Articles

***Central Daily News***《中央日報》. 1953/01/01.〈省府解釋役政 常備兵規定服役為期二年 補充兵為三個月至六個月〉(Provincial Government Explains Military Policy: Regular Soldiers Serve for Two Years, Supplementary Troops for Three to Six Months), p. 3.

———. 1953/03/12.〈征集常備兵 視軍事需要〉(Conscription of Regular Soldiers Depends on Military Needs)，p. 3.

———. 1977/03/21.〈畫學金爵獎揭曉〉[Golden Goblet Award for Painting], p. 6.

———. 1981/07/02.〈從事美術教育五十年 梁又銘昆介獲獎 王昇嘉獎陳慶熇王愷金哲夫〉[Fifty Years of Art Education: Awards for Liang Yu-ming brothers, Wang Sheng awarded Chen Ching-hu and others], p. 9.

*China Times*《中國時報》. 1984/10/17.〈畫功比高下點子較輸贏73年度全國漫畫大擂台擂台盟主誕生了〉[Comparing Art Skills and Ideas: The Champion of the 73rd National Comics Grand Contest is Born], p. 20.

———. 1989/02/23.「看你千遍也不厭倦國內漫畫家最欣賞的外國連環漫畫家」 [Never Tired of Seeing You a Thousand Times: The Most Admired Foreign Comic Artists by Domestic Comic Artists], p. 22.

———. 1990/10/02.〈異色漫畫書 豈可任充斥〉[How can we let comics be filled with foreign colors?], p. 13.

———. 1991/07/19.〈漫畫恢復審查? 國內漫畫家指出「審查」對盜版色情漫畫毫無約束力, 反而扼殺本 土漫畫創作力〉[Censorship of Comics Resumed? Domestic comics artists point out that "censorship" does not restrict pornographic comics, but rather stifles the creativity of local comics], p. 18.

———. 1991/08/04.〈漫畫審查應否恢復：華視新聞廣場今晚辯論〉[Should the Comics Review Be Restored: Debate Tonight at CTV News Plaza], p. 18.

———. 1991/08/08a. 雨云, 第三隻眼 保障人民創作自由： 不宜恢復「漫畫審查制」[The Third Eye: Safeguarding Freedom of Creative Expression – It's Inadvisable to Restore the Comics Review System], p. 17.

———. 1991/08/08b.〈新聞局長：漫畫審查不可能恢復〉[Press Secretary: Comics Censorship Unlikely to Resume], p. 20.

———. 1991/08/09.〈遏止色形暴力漫畫漫畫家聯盟訪消基會： 研商抗爭活動：將展覽.掃黃.上街頭〉[Comic Artists Alliance Visits Consumers' Foundation to Halt Sexually Explicit and Violent Comics: Discussing Protest Activities, Including Exhibitions, Anti-Pornography Measures, and Street Protests], p. 21.

———. 1996/03/23.〈青少年性知識 主要來源是課本〉[The main source of sexual knowledge for teenagers are textbooks], p. 9.

*Comics Magazine*《漫畫雜誌》. 1983.〈謝副總統 行政院孫院長 監察院余院長 教育長朱部長匯森 暨各屆人士前往參觀「漫畫清潔」展者達萬人〉[Vice President Hsieh, President Sun of the Executive Yuan, President Yu of the Control Yuan, Secretary Chu Hui-sen of the Ministry of Education, and people from all walks of life visited the Comics Cleansing Exhibition], no. 24, no pagination.

*Economic Daily News*《經濟日報》. 1995/08/12.〈漫畫業從讀者臉上找到燦爛的明天〉[[The Comic Industry Finds a Bright Future on Readers's Faces], p. 14.

———. 1996/01/09.〈台北國際書展規模空前〉[Taipei International Book Fair], p. 18.

———. 2000/02/14.〈台北國際書展 瞄準青少年〉[Taipei International Book Fair Targets the Youth], p. 38.

*Hainan Daily News*《海南日報》. 2015/6/3.〈抗日战争时期木刻作品——时代的战鼓 革命的号角〉[Anti-Japanese War Period Woodcut Works: War Drums of the Era, Trumpets of the Revolution]. http://www.gdmoa.org/Media_Center/Press/2015/201612/t20161202_1726.shtml (Last access: 2020/8/16).

*Liberty Times*《自由時報》. 2017/08/18.〈文化總會推跨界女神展 教改論壇直批在開媽祖玩笑〉社會版 [Cultural Association Promotes Cross-Border Goddess Exhibition, Education Reform Forum Criticizes Making Fun of Mazu; Society Section].

*People's Welfare Daily*《民生報》. 1982/11/6.〈漫畫家聯誼會昨辦特展顯露翻版漫畫氾濫程度〉[Comics Artists' Association Held a Special Exhibition Yesterday, Revealing the Extent of Replica Comics], p. 7.

———. 1982/11/19.〈「壞漫畫」出版 事不關編譯館! 詳細查對特展品 熊先舉提出說明〉[The Publication of "Bad Comics" Unrelated to NICT! Detailed Investigation of Special Exhibition Items, Explanation by Hsiung Hsien-chu], p. 7.

———. 1982/11/20.〈漫畫清潔運動特展 今起今日公司五樓擴大舉行〉[Comics Cleansing Campaign Exhibition Held from Today on the 5th Floor of the Company], p. 7.

———. 1983/04/08.〈江治華控李費蒙譭謗〉[Chiang Chih-hua Accuses Li Fei-meng of Defamation], p. 7.

———. 1983/04/13.〈江治華控李費蒙毀謗 昨開庭偵查 藝文界有人聲援「漫畫清潔運動」〉[Chiang Chih-hua accuses Li Fei-meng of defamation/ Court inquiry commenced yesterday/ Some in the arts and cultural sector have expressed support for the Comic Cleansing Movement], p. 7.

———. 1983/07/28.〈編譯館審查業務輕鬆了〉[Review Work at NICT Eased], p. 9.

———. 1990/9/23.〈淨化書刊怒焚色情刊物150萬冊只是行動開端 還我書香 婦女團體義助 取締追緝 將直搗印刷廠〉[Burning 1.5 Million Pornographic Publications is Just the Beginning/ Women's Groups Assist in Crackdown, Going to Raid the Printing Press], p. 14.

———. 1990/10/02.〈清除不良書刊流毒 保障下一代不受戕害 專線電話.防杜印售〉[Clearing the Poisonous Influence of Harmful Publications to Protect the Next Generation from Harm – Hotline to Prevent Printing and Sales], p. 14.

———. 1991/01/04.〈色情出版品查緝成果年增率驚人 去年查獲兩百六十多萬本 以連環圖畫書佔有率最高〉[Shocking Annual Increase Rate in Seizure of Pornographic Publications – Over 2.6 Million Seized Last Year, with Serial Picture Books Having the Highest Proportion], p. 14.

———. 1994/11/27.〈陳海虹漫畫筆說千古事〉[Chen Hai-hung's Comics Tell About Ancient Times], p. 15.

———. 1997/08/14.〈漫畫博覽會 首日熱滾滾〉[Comics Expo: Hot and Bustling on the First Day], p. 19.
———. 1999/2/13.〈台北國際書展熱鬧中落幕〉[Taipei International Book Fair Ending on a High Note], p. 19.
———. 1999/06/01.〈自創風格本土漫畫才有出頭天〉[Creating a Unique Style: Only Local Comics Can Succeed], p. 4.
———. 1999/08/11.〈台北國際書展漫畫新天地 想盡辦法為展場打知名度〉[Taipei International Book Fair: A New World of Comics, Striving to Enhance its Fame], p. 6.
———. 2000/08/18.〈漫畫博覽會 熱絡登場〉[Comics Expo Opens Enthusiastically], p. A1.

*Taiwan Daily News*『台灣日日新報』. 1904/06/30.「少年の孝順」[Filial Piety of the Youth], p. 5.
———. 1909/03/04.「一日一商 貸本屋」[One Day One Business: Lending Library], p. 5.
———. 1933/3/23.「高島屋出張大賣出し」廣告欄 [Osaka Department Store Takashimiya's Grand Sale/Advertisement], p. 6.
———. 1933/6/24.「大阪高島屋特別通信販賣」廣告欄 [Osaka Department Store Takashimiya's Special Mail Order/Advertisement], p. 4.
———. 1933/09/21.「秋物吳服雜貨大賣出し」廣告欄 [Grand Sale of Autumn Gardments and Goods/Advertisement], p. 2.
———. 1933/12/10.「三越通信賣出し」廣告欄[Mitsukoshi Mail Order Sale/Advertisement], 夕刊 [evening edition], p. 3.
———. 1933/12/25.「吳服歲末大感謝デー」廣告欄 [Thanksgiving Day], 夕刊 [evening edition], p. 2.
———. 1934/3/20.「近頃の子供の讀書の傾向は漫畫物が歡迎される」[Children's books nowadays tend to be comics], p. 6.
———. 1942/10/16.「清水崑漫畫講習會」[Manga Lecture by Shimizu Kon], . 2.
———. 1943/05/02.「皇民奉公會漫畫獎葉宏甲等人入選」[Yeh Hung-chia Wins the Comics Prize of the Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects], p. 2.
———. 1943/05/02.「7日から漫画展」[Comics Exhibition from the 7th], p. 2.

*United Daily News*《聯合報》. 1951/10/09.〈小人書散播毒素。像風雨蟲蝕侵害著稚嫩的幼芽；救救小學生！〉[The "children's book" spreads toxins: Like wind, rain, and insects attack the tender young shoots; save the little pupils!], p. 7.
———. 1963/09/05.〈少年攜鉅款 離家去求仙〉[Teenager brings huge money to leave home to seek immortality], p. 3.
———. 1964/03/25.〈看小說入迷 聯袂去求仙〉[Addicted to fiction, seeking immortality together], p. 3.

———. 1965/11/11.〈紀念國父百年誕辰本報編印圖畫故事〉[In commemoration of the centennial of the National Anthem, this newspaper published a picture story], p. 2.
———. 1966/07/12.〈玻璃墊上 端正小人書〉[The "Children's Book" Upright on a Glass Mat], p. 7.
———. 1966/07/25.〈漫畫研習班 由陳弓任教〉[Cartoon Workshop Taught by Cheng Kung], p. 7.
———. 1970/09/19.〈將卡通企業化的東方人〉[The Orientals who entrepreneurialized cartoon], p. 6.
———. 1972/08/08.〈中視成八義畫像〉[CCTV Portrait of the Eight Righteousnesses], p. 8.
———. 1974/04/17.〈皇帝調情也穿龍袍 大小百官階級不分 三台電視歷史劇·互有疏漏之處〉[The emperor wears a dragon robe even when flirting, and there is no distinction between the ranks of the 100 officials and the three TV historical dramas], p. 9.
———. 1975/11/22.〈前後二十年 生活故事裏 海虹畫插圖 有苦也有樂〉[Twenty years before and after, pain and joy in the story of my life: Illustrated by Hai-hung], p. 9.
———. 1977/03/21.〈畫學金爵獎揭曉〉[Golden Goblet Award for Painting], p. 6.
———. 1979/05/21.〈教育部昨頒發畫學會金爵獎〉[The Ministry of Education presented the Pegasus Prize to the Society of Painters yesterday], p. 7.
———. 1979/10/22.〈不良連環畫冊有害青少年，編譯館如何審查通過討論卡通播出時間·莫忘這個問題〉[Undesirable comics are harmful to teenager: How the NICT's reviewers approaches cartoon air time – Don't forget this problem!], p. 5.
———. 1979/12/25.〈葉宏甲堅持正義 創造四郎〉[Yeh Hung-chia Stands for Justice: On his "Si Lang"], p. 12.
———. 1982/09/02.〈日本漫畫氾濫成災 翻印獲利禍貽後代 審查不夠周密.國內畫家感慨多 劣幣驅逐良幣、長憶當年大嬸婆〉[The Japanese comics industry is overflowing with reprints and profits, which are harmful to future generations. Domestic artists lamented that bad money was driving out good money; memories of "Big Auntie"], p. 3.
———. 1982/10/06.〈兩位漫畫家與國立編譯館編審對談〉[Dialogue Between Two Cartoonists and the NICT Review Committee], p. 2.
———. 1982/11/7.〈漫畫清潔運動特展 展示不良盜版作品〉[Comics Cleansing Campaign Exhibition Showcases Undesirable Pirated Works], p. 2.
———. 1983/01/16.〈禁絕日本漫畫走私進口〉[Prohibition of Smuggling and Import of Japanese Comics], p. 7.
———. 1983/04/13.〈藝術界決支持 漫畫清潔運動〉[The Arts Community Resolves to Support the Comic Cleansing Campaign], p. 7.

———. 1983/08/15.〈嚴審日本連環圖 轉入地下更猖獗〉[Japan's Comics Being Scrutinized, and Going Underground], p. 3.

———. 1987/02/09.〈色情暴力成人漫畫 就在鄰家租書店! 中小學生相偕獵艷 真拿他們莫法度? [Erotic and Violent Adult Comics in the Neighborhood Rental Bookstores! Elementary and Middle School Students Together Seeking Sensational Content: Really Can't Do Anything About Them?], p. 3.

———. 1987/02/10.〈色腥出版物 趕出住宅區 別讓青少年 心靈受污染 [Obscene Publications: Drive Them Out of Residential Areas to Prevent Pollution of the Young Minds], p. 3.

———. 1989/10/28.〈「獵人」入侵 校園「淪陷」 「千面女郎」 顛倒眾「生」大學城興起東洋漫畫熱〉[*City Hunter* on Campus and *The Glass Mask* Turning Students Upside Down: Rise of the Manga Craze in University Cities], p. 17.

———. 1990/10/02.〈被汙染的兒童世界 充斥色情、暴力的異色漫畫書〉[The Polluted World of Children: Filled with Erotic and Violent Alternative Comics], p. 15.

———. 1990/12/18.〈漫畫分級給孩子看的 妖精不打架〉[Comic Classification for Children: Fairies Don't Fight], p. 27.

———. 1994/01/16.〈台北國際書展一陣漫畫熱〉[Taipei International Book Fair: A Surge of Comics Fever], p. 40.

———. 1994/01/20.〈未授權翻譯書大限逼近〉[Unauthorized Translation Books Deadline Approaching], p. 25.

———. 1994/01/24.〈大師筆下的少女 不一樣哦〉[Oh! The Girl in the Master's Brush is Different!], p. 41.

———. 1996/01/13.〈歡迎加入漫畫共和國〉[Welcome to the Republic of Comics], p. 46.

———. 1997/08/14.〈漫畫迷排隊搶進博覽會〉[Comic Fans Queue Up to Enter the Expo], p. 18.

———. 1999/02/08.〈第七屆台北國際書展登場〉[The Seventh Taipei International Book Fair Kicks Off], p. 41.

———. 2000/02/16. 國際書展開幕 漫迷排長龍, [International Book Fair Opens: Comic Fans Queue Up], p. 4.

———. 2000/02/21. 國際書展閉幕 漫畫館超人氣, [International Book Fair Concludes: Comic Pavilion Extremely Popular], p. 4.

***United Evening News***《聯合晚報》. 1990/10/01.〈街頭充斥色情暴力漫畫'現代婦女'呼籲全面剷除〉[Pornographic and Violent Comics of 'Modern Women' on the Streets Call for Total Eradication], p. 7.

———. 1995/09/18.〈新漫畫時代〉[The New Comics Era], p. 15.

———. 2000/02/16.〈國際書展開幕 漫迷排長龍〉[International Book Fair opens with long lines of comics fans], p. 4.

———. 2000/02/21.〈國際書展閉幕 漫畫館超人氣〉[International Book Fair Closes: Comics Pavilion Was a Hit!], p. 4.

# List of Romanizations

## Comics Creators (Taiwan)

Ao Yu-hsiang (敖幼祥)

Chang Ching-mei (張靜美)

Chen Chia-peng (陳家鵬)

Chen Ching-fu (陳清富)

Chen Ching-hu (陳慶熇)

Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹)

Chen Hong-yao (陳弘耀)

Chen I-nan (陳益男)

Chen Kuang-hsi (陳光熙), pseudonym: Yang Ming (羊鳴)

Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國)

Chen Uen (鄭問), also: Zheng Wen

Chen Wen-fu (陳文富)

Cheng Kung (陳弓), pseudonym: Hsiao-ti (小弟).

Chiang Chih-hua (江治華)

Chien Meng-lung (錢夢龍)

Chi Hou-po (紀厚博)

Fan Yi-nan (范藝南), real name: Fan Wan-nan (范萬楠)

Feng Na-ni (馮娜妮)

Gao Yong (高永)

He Chao-chen (何超塵)

Heibai (黑白)

Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁)

Hsu Sung-shan (許松山)

Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦)

Huang Ying (黃鶯)

Hung Chao-ming (洪朝明), also: 洪晁明

Hung I-nan (洪義男)

Jen Cheng-hua (任正華)

Ku Chu-chu (顧竹筑)

Liang Chung-ming (梁中銘)

Liang Tzu-i (梁梓義)

Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘)

Lei-chiu (淚秋)

Liao Wen-mu (廖文木)

Lin Wen-i (林文義)

Liu Hsing-chin (劉興欽)

Mai Ren-jie (麥仁杰), Richard Mai

Niu Ge (牛哥), real name: Li Ching-kuang (李敬光), courtesy name: Li Fei-meng (李費蒙)

Ou Yang-ke (歐陽可)

Shan-ba (山巴)

Tsai Kun-lin (蔡焜霖)

Wang Chao-chi (王朝基)

Wang Hwa (王花)

Yang Chen-yu (楊鎮宇)

Yang Chi-lu (楊齊爐)

Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲)

Yu Lun-hui (游龍輝)

Yu Su-lan (游素蘭)

Zhang Jing-mei (張靜美), also: Chang Ching-mei

Zhou Xianzong (周顯宗)

Zhu De-yong (朱德庸)

## Periodicals (Taiwan)

*Central Daily News* (中央日報)

*China Daily* (中華日報)

*China Children* (中華兒童)

*China Times* (中國時報)

*China Youth* (中國少年)

*Comics King* (漫畫大王) (later *Comics Weekly* 漫畫週刊)

*Comics Satire Magazine* (漫畫風刺雜誌)

*Credit Newspaper* (徵信新聞)

*Department News* (部報)

*Elementary Student* (小學生)

*Good Friend* (良友)

*Hsiao-mi Comics Weekly* (小咪漫畫週刊)

*Joy* (歡樂)

*Kōnan Shinbun* (興南新聞)

*Liberty Times* (自由時報)

*National Language Daily* (國語日報)

*People's Credit* (大眾徵信)

*People's Welfare Daily* (民生報)

*Picture Times* (圖畫時報)

*New Taiwan* (新臺灣)

*Novelties* (新新)

*Oriental Youth* (東方少年)

*Peace Daily* (和平日報)

*Prince* (王子半月刊)

*Princess* (公主)

*Schoolmate* (學友)

*Sky Dragon Youth biweekly* (天龍少年半月刊)

*Star Girl* (星少女)

*Taiwan Arts* (臺灣藝術)

*Taiwan Daily News* (Jp., *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo*) (台灣日日新報)

*Taiwan News* (台灣新報)

*Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), *New Life News* (新生報)

*Taiwan People's News* (台灣民報)

*Taiwan Pictorial* (臺灣畫報)

*Taiwan Police Association Magazine* (台灣警察協會雜誌)

*Taiwan Police Times* (臺灣警察時報)

*The Good Student* (好學生)

*The Week* (星期)

*The World of Taiwanese Women* (臺灣婦人界)

*[China] Times Weekly* (時報周刊)

*United Daily News* (聯合報)

## Publishers (Taiwan)

Aspire (志成)

Chang Hong (長鴻)

Chingwin (青文)

Crown (皇冠)

Daran (大然)

Formosa (寶島)

Hua-Jen (華仁)

Linking (聯經)

Oriental Publishing House (東方出版社)

Precious Gem (寶石)

Rainbow (虹光),

Righteousness (正氣)

Sharp Point (尖端)

Tongli (東立)

Tung-Feng (東峰)

Wenchang (文昌)

Yin-Shih-Man (尹士曼), also: I-Shih-Man (伊士曼)

# Glossary

**228 Incident**. Massacre of February 28, 1947, conducted by ROC troops called over from the mainland by Taiwan's Chief Executive to suppress local pro-democracy protests.

**Academy of Political Warfare Cadres** (政工幹校), also known as Fu Hsing Kang College, was a military institution designed to provide the Republic of China Armed Forces with political commissars loyal to the KMT regime.

***Akahon manga*** (Jp. 赤本漫画), lit. red-cover comics. Cheap, small booklets of sixteen to thirty-six pages characterized by low-quality printing, often published by print shops, as well as candy and toy sellers, who hired amateur artists.

**Cartoon** (單幅漫畫；諷刺畫, 諷刺漫畫) (Jp. 一コマ漫画). Satirical or humorous drawing consisting of one panel. Including caricatures.

**Comic strip** (四格漫画; Jp. 四コマ漫画). Serialized in newspapers and magazines, one of the main formats in which graphic narratives appeared in Taiwan.

***Dōjinshi*** (同人誌). Coterie, or peer publications. Non-corporate platform for fan-created comics.

***Gekiga*** (Jp. 劇画). A type of graphic narrative for young adults that emerged in Japan around 1960 and took an opposing standpoint against *manga*, then represented by visually and narratively child-friendly serials like Tezuka Osamu's *Astro Boy* (鉄腕アトム, 1952–68). A representative artist of global renown is Tatsumi Yoshihiro (辰巳ヨシヒロ).

**Gutter**. Space, or hiatus, between comics panels in more or less regular page layouts.

**Hand-traced manga adaptations** (描抄版漫畫). A form of manga piracy that flourished in the 1950s and 1960s, characterized by the

removal of Japanese clues and the use of (false) Taiwanese author names.

**Illustration** (素描畫; Jp. 挿絵). Within this book, this term does not refer to drawing style or artwork but rather to a single, more or less self-sufficient image that distinguishes itself from bordered line drawings with a cartoony inclination and from panels embedded in a sequence.

**Islander** (本省人, lit. native inhabitant of the province; *benshengren*). Chinese people who had been living in Taiwan since before 1945, including the Han majority, but also the Hakka and Southern Min ethnicities. A provincial status in postwar Taiwan.

**KMT** Kuomintang (國民黨). Chinese Nationalist Party, Nationalist Party of China.

***Lianhuanhua*** (連環畫, abbr. of *lianhuan tuhua* 連環圖畫, lit. linked drawings). Palm-sized booklets that carry pictorial narratives with text captions mostly placed outside the framed images, though sometimes speech balloons were also used. Initially one image per page. The format originated in 1920s Shanghai and has been commonly called "children's books" (小人書). Umbrella term for story comics under martial law.

**Line drawing** (線画). In principle, monochrome drawing centered on linework rather than painterly qualities, such as coloring, three-dimensionality, or chiaroscuro, for example, by means of hatching. Often linked to pictorial simplification and abstraction, as well as cartoony exaggeration.

**Mainlander** (外省人, lit. out-of-the-provincer; *waishingren*). Han-Chinese people who came to Taiwan (treated as a province of the Republic of China) with the KMT after 1945. Those of higher rank were preferably placed in positions previously occupied by the Japanese. Class differences among them manifested in housing allocation, ranging from individual accommodations and Japanese-era houses or publicly funded military communes (列管眷村), to self-supported camps (自力眷村). A provincial status in postwar Taiwan.

**Manhua / Manga** (Ch. 漫畫, Jp. 漫画). Generic term for cartoons, comics, and graphic narratives in Chinese and Japanese. Used in

Chinese composites such as 日本漫畫 (Japanese manga); 美國漫畫 (American comics).

**Mimetic words** (abbr. mimetics), onomatopoeia, sound symbols (狀聲字, 音聲符號). In Japanese, sound metaphor (音喩).

**NICT** (國立編譯館). National Institute for Compilation and Translation. As part of the Ministry of Education, the Institute was in charge of the comics review system.

**Panel** (畫格; Jp. コマ). Basic component of comics. Bordered frames, also called vignettes.

***Panshan*** (半山, lit. half-mountain), returnee. People of Chinese descent who were born in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, then lived in mainland China, and eventually returned to Taiwan after the war. Many had close ties to the KMT.

**Pictorial runes**. Non-iconic signs, including speed lines, momentum lines, emanata, flourishes, bursts, droplets of sweat, etc.

**Picture story** (Jp. *emonogatari*) (絵物語). Japanese type of monochrome, or two-color, graphic narrative serialized in commercial magazines for children. Consisted of text blocks including direct speech, and framed images (panels) that sometimes included speech balloons and mimetic words. Flourished between the 1920s and 1950s, occupying a position in between illustrated novels and comics. The same term is used to refer to *lianhuanhua* in English language texts from the PRC.

**Provincial status** (省籍). Equivalent to Taiwanese citizenship, see Taiwan's positioning as a province of the Republic of China (ROC) by the KMT. Mainlander; islander.

***Public Service Association of Imperial Subjects*** (Jp. 皇民奉公會). Established by Japan's Government-General of Taiwan in April 1941 with the aim of further "imperializing" the Taiwanese people and mobilizing them for the wartime effort.

**Rental bookstore** (Ch., 租書店; Jp., 貸本屋). Venue for rental comics (Jp., 貸本漫画), i.e., comics in book format that were released for exclusive use in these stores.

***Shōjo manga*** (少女漫画). Japanese genre of comics initially targeted to girls.

***Shōnen manga*** (少年漫画). Japanese genre of comics initially targeted to school boys.

**Speech balloon** (Ch., 對話框; Jp., 吹き出し、風船). Transdiegetic device that facilitates the blending of text and image in comics. Provides a bordered space within the panel for dialogue or inner monologue.

**Taiwan Garrison Command** (台灣警備總司令部). The intelligence agency that monitored the citizens under martial law.

**Three-tier layout** (三段式分格). Page breakdown into three horizontal rows, or tiers. Standard layout in Taiwan comics of the 1960s, modeled on earlier manga.

**White Terror** (1949–1987). More broadly understood, it lasted from May 10, 1948, when the KMT government issued the *Temporary Provisions against Communist Rebellion* (動員戡亂時期臨時條款), effectively allowing the president to supersede the constitution, to the official repeal of the Provisions on September 21, 1992. Basic human rights were frozen. The intelligence agency monitored the population, fabricated charges, conducted secret trials, and used torture-based interrogations.

**Wushe**, or Musha, **Incident** (霧社事件). Armed rebellion by the Seediq people against Japanese rule in 1930. The Japanese rulers sent in military and police forces and dropped poison gas bombs. Most of the Seediq participants died, including their leader, Mona Rudao, who committed suicide.

***Wuxia*** (武俠) fiction. Martial arts fantasy fiction in various media. Predominant comics genre in 1960s Taiwan.

# Chronology

Chinese Dynasties and Periods
Spring and Autumn (770–476 BC)
Warring States (475–221 BC)
Sui (581–617)
Tang (618–907)
Song (960–1279)
Ming (1368–1644)
Qing (1644–1911)

1662 Koxinga/ Zheng Cheng-gong (鄭成功) expelled the Dutch from their outposts in Taiwan.

1894–95 First Sino-Japanese War, ending with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which Taiwan was ceded to Japan.

1895–1945 Taiwan is under Japanese colonial rule.
Efforts to install Japanese as the "national language" (but by 1937, only 37.38% of Taiwan's population speak Japanese).
1938 With the National Mobilization Law, the use of Japanese becomes mandatory.

1912 Founding of the Republic of China.

1926–28 The Northern Expedition.

1945 The Kuomintang (KMT, Nationalist Party) of the Republic of China (ROC) assumes governance over Taiwan on behalf of the Allied Powers per General Order No. 1.
De-Japanization and Sinicization policy, including education in "national language" and "national spirit."
March 1, 1946 The KMT government orders all bookstores and stalls in Taiwan to self-check for publications containing "Japanese remnants."
October 25, 1946 All newspapers are Sinicized.
1947 The use of Japanese is forbidden in schools at all levels.

February 28, 1947 228 Incident.

1945–49 [Second] Civil War between the KMT and the CPC (Communist Party of China).

December 1949 Chiang Kai-shek government retreats to Taiwan.

1949–87 Martial Law.

1949–87 [92] "White Terror": human rights violations, ideological persecution.

April 28, 1952 Japan and the Republic of China (ROC) sign the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty (also known as the Taipei Peace Treaty). Japan renounces sovereignty over Taiwan, recognizes the ROC's claim and agrees to UN trusteeship in the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

1966 Implementation of the comics censorship (review) system, based on the 1948 *Directives for Publishing Comics* (編印連環圖畫輔導辦法), revised in 1962.

1967–87 Pre-publication reviews conducted by the National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) under the Ministry of Education.

1971 The People's Republic of China (PRC) entered the United Nations, causing the ROC to withdraw from it.

1972 Japan establishes diplomatic relations with the PRC. The ROC severed its relations with Japan.

1979 The United States breaks off diplomatic relations with the ROC.

December 1979 Kaohsiung Incident: violent suppression of a peaceful demonstration and subsequent massacre.

1982 Comics Cleansing Movement.

1991 The DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) includes Taiwan's conditional independence in its program.

1992 New Copyright law.

1995 First presidential election.

1997 Textbook Controversy over *Understanding Taiwan* (認識台灣).

2009 Launch of the *Creative Comic Collection* (CCC創作集).

# List of Figures and Tables

## Figures

1-1. Rodolphe Töpffer, *Les amours de Mr. Vieux Bois*, Paris: 1860 (created in 1827, originally published in Geneva, 1837; 2nd Geneva ed., 1839), 10-11. Getty Research Institute. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125008412021/page/n7/mode/2up (last access: March 1, 2024). License: CC BY 4.0 12

1-2. *Histoire du Petit Chaperon-Rouge* [Little Red Riding Hood], Fabrique de Pellerin, Imprimeur-libraire à Epinal [1843]. Bibliothèque nationale de France, département estampes et photographie. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb412616604g (last access: March 1, 2024). License: CC BY 4.0 14

1-3. Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), *Norakuro* (のらくろ). This 'dog-and-monkey fight' (or figuratively, bitter feud) was first published in the boys magazine *Shōnen Kurabu* (少年倶楽部) in 1932 (『のらくろ漫画集』. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1975, 82–83). Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center/Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 17

1-4. Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), *Norakuro tosshintai* (Advance Troop), in『のらくろ漫画集』, vol. 1, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1975, 12–13. The top right 39th panel is a long shot, while the bottom left 48th and 49th panels depict the space and time of an artillery strike. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 17

1-5. Purely visual storytelling at the beginning of Tezuka Osamu's *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』, 1947). Tokyo: Shogakukan Creative, 2009, 2–3. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0 18

1-6. Tezuka Osamu, *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』). Tezuka Production 2015, 2–3. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0 19

1-7. Tezuka Osamu, *New Treasure Island* (手塚治虫『新宝島』). Tezuka Production 2015, 12-15. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0 20

1-8. Ratio of Shot Types. Number (Percentage) 23

1-9. Panel Transitions in Post-2000 US American and Japanese Action Comics. Number (Percentage) 27

1-10. Comparison of the Use of Close-ups in US American and Japanese Comics 28

1-11. Tezuka's system of signs for facial expressions, in『手塚治虫のまんが専科』. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996, 103. Used with permission from rightsholder Tezuka Productions. License: CC BY 4.0 30

1-12. Atmospheric Panels in US American and Japanese Comics 32

1-13. Akashi Seiichi (明石精一) and Kawahara Kuniwo (川原くにを), "New Manga Battle Plan" (新案漫畫合戰), *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), September 27, 1936, 4. License: CC BY 4.0 35

1-14. Usage of Momentum Lines in US American Comics and Japanese Manga 37

2-1. Left: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), no. 1, 1877. Right: The British *Punch* (1939). License: CC BY 4.0 42

2-2. Top: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), April 28, 1887. Bottom: *Maru Maru Chinbun* (団団珍聞), January 1889. Collection of Osaka University, Graduate School of Letters. License: CC BY 4.0 43

2-3. Okamoto Ippei (岡本一平), "A Man's Life" (人の一生), in 『一平全集』. Tokyo: Senshinsha, 1929, 6–7. License: CC BY 4.0 44

2-4. Yanagida Kyūtarō (柳田久太郎), "Money Collections prohibited!" (寄付金募集は相成ラン), *New Taiwan* (新臺灣), July 1916. Collection of Taiwan Library. License: CC BY 4.0 46

2-5. Mizumako (alias Kunishima Mizuma) 水馬子 (國島水馬), "Hospital Bed Comics" (病床漫畫), *Taiwan Daily News* (臺灣日日新報), November 5, 1918, 8. License: CC BY 4.0 46

2-6. Top tier by Kunishima Mizuma (國島水馬), "Taiwan-Japan Comics" (台日漫畫), no.1, *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), January 1, 1921, 54. License: CC BY 4.0 47

2-7. Kunishima Mizuma (國島水馬), "Police Comics" (警察漫畫), *Taiwan Police Association Journal* (臺灣警察協會雜誌), no. 81, February 25, 1924, 33. License: CC BY 4.0 49

2-8. Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁), "Winning Entry of a Literary Contest" (懸賞文藝當選發表), *Taiwan Police Association Magazine* (臺灣警察協會雜誌), no. 139, March 1, 1929, 300. License: CC BY 4.0 49

2-9. Hsu Ping-ting (許丙丁), "Police Comics" (警察漫畫), *Taiwan Police Times* (臺灣警察時報), no. 215, October 1, 1933, 8. License: CC BY 4.0 51

2-10. Artwork by Liang Tzu-i (梁梓義). Left: G-pen sketch (1943). Right: comic strip in *Novelty* (新新), January 1947. License: CC BY 4.0 52

2-11. Izaki Kazuo (イザキ・カズオ), "Ms. Temple's Visit to Japan" (テムプルちゃんの日本訪問), *The World of Taiwanese Women* (臺灣婦人界), June 16, 1936, 112. License: CC BY 4.0 53

2-12. "Taiwan-Japan Comics" (台日漫畫), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), October 7, 1923, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 54

2-13. Jimmy Swinnerton, "Little Jimmy" (チビのヂミー), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), April 24, 1933, 13. License: CC BY 4.0 54

2-14. Dynamic momentum lines and symbols. Yoshimoto Sanpei (吉本三平), "Biyonta of Colis" (コリスのビヨンタ), no. 8, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 26, 1938, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 56

2-15. Frontal depiction in the third panel, car collision with the dynamic momentum lines and symbols in the final panel. Kawahara Kuniwo (川原くにを), "Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun" (日の丸孫悟空), no. 51, in *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), May 24, 1934, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 57

2-16. A character breaking the frame. Kawamori Hisao (河盛久夫), "Sun Wukong of the Rising Sun" (日の丸孫悟空), no. 71, in *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 21, 1934, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 57

2-17. A zoom-out effect. Imoto Suimei (井元水明), "*Kankara Katchan*" (カンカラ勝ちゃん), no. 105, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), December 8, 1933, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 59

2-18. An extreme close-up of a single character. Sugita Santarō (杉田三太郎), "*Kankara Katchan*" (カンカラ勝ちゃん), no. 84, *Taiwan Daily*

*News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), November 12, 1933, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 59

2-19. Speech without speech bubbles. An Tai (安泰), "Excellency Bang-Bang" (ドンドン閣下), no. 101, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), May 31, 1936, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 60

2-20. Replacing speech bubbles with vertical lines next to the text. Shimada Keizō (島田啓三), "Excellency Bang-Bang" (ドンドン閣下), no. 111, *Taiwan Daily News* Evening Edition (台灣日日新報夕刊), June 19, 1936, 1. License: CC BY 4.0 61

2-21. Early postwar horizontal *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 63

2-22. Inner pages of a palm-sized *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 64

2-23. Early postwar hardcover *akahon manga* in duodecimo format, published by Enoki Hōreikan (榎木法令館), Osaka. Cover (left) and spread (right). Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 65

2-24. Niu Ge (牛哥), "Uncle Niu Is Liberated" (解放了的牛伯伯), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 18, 1951, p. 4. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0 66

2-25. Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘), "Mulan" (花木蘭), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 16, 1951, p. 2. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0 67

2-26. Liang Yu-ming (梁又銘). Left: "Slapping the Table in Amazement" (拍案驚奇), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), March 21, 1951, p. 3. Right: "Country Bumpkin Goes South to Jiangnan" (土包子下江南), *Picture Times* (圖畫時報), February 22, 1951, p. 4. Collection of the author. License: CC BY 4.0 68

2-27. Right: *Shō-chan's Adventures* (正ちゃんの冒険); left: copycat *akahon manga* editions. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 72

2-28. Shaka Bontarō (謝花凡太郎), *Magic Little Aki* (魔法の明ちゃん), Nakamura Shoten, Tokyo, 1933. Collection of Kyoto Seika University

International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 73

2-29. Image of itinerant book rental vendors in the early years of the Japanese colonial rule. "One Job Per Day" （一日一商), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣日日新報), March 4, 1909, 5 (left, center, right). License: CC BY 4.0 74

2-30. Coarse mass-produced *akahon manga*. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 80

2-31. Panel layouts. Illustrated by Jelly Huang (黃佳莉). License: CC BY 4.0 82

2-32. Comparison of magazine manga (left) and rental manga (right) by the same artist, Tatsumi Yoshihiro (辰巳ヨシヒロ), in rental comics anthology *Mystery 62* (ミステリー62) vol. 1, Tokyo: Hope (ホープ書房) 1960. Left: "Snowy Elegy" (風花挽歌), in *Weekly Shōnen Magazine* (週刊少年マガジン), November 1, 1970. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 84

2-33. Anon., *Searching for Mother Across Three Thousand Miles* (尋母三千里). Taipei: Precious Gem (寶石出版社), 1958. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0 85

2-34. Ōtomo Yoshiyasu (オオトモ・ヨシヤス), *The Girl without Shadow* (影のない少女). Tokyo: Nakamura Shoten, 1952. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 86

2-35. An example of early postwar *akahon manga* in duodecimo format, published by Enoki Hōreikan (榎木法令館), Osaka, priced at 60 yen. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 87

2-36. Yeh Hung-chia (葉宏甲), *Chu-ke Ssu-lang Battles the Demon Party*, 1 (諸葛四郎　大戰魔鬼黨1). Taipei: Yeh Hung-chia Publishing, 1978 [1958], 39, 46–47. Provided by Yeh Chia-lung (葉佳龍), the son of the artist. Used with permission from rightsholder. License: CC BY 4.0 88

2-37. Bottom: Tagawa Suihō (田河水泡), "Private Norakuro" (のらくろ二等卒). Top: Hayashida Masashi (林田正), "Chinkichi's Adventures" (チン吉の冒険), *Shōnen Club* (少年倶楽部), November 1931.

Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 91

2-38. Bottom: Kiuchi Chizuko (木内千鶴子). Center: Seijō Akiji (星城朗二). Top: Table of Contents and Frontispiece, *Yume* (ゆめ), no. 1, Tokyo: Wakagi Shobō (若木書房), no year. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center / Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 93

2-39. The character gallery (left) includes a Japanese soldier in military uniform. Anon., *Seven Colored Gemstones* (七彩寶石) Taipei: Righteousness (正氣出版社), 1959. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0 94

2-40. Typical paneling in Japanese rental manga. Yokoyama Masamichi (横山まさみち), *Gang of Thugs* (悪党ぞろい). Tokyo: Yokoyama Production, early 1960s, 90–91. Collection of Kyoto Seika University International Manga Research Center /Kyoto International Manga Museum. License: CC BY 4.0 95

2-41. The three-tier layout adopted in Taiwanese comics of the 1960s. Fan Yi-nan (范藝南), *Nine-Fingered Scholar* 1 (九指書生1). Taipei: Qinghua Bookstore (清華書局), 1967, 8–9. License: CC BY 4.0 96

2-42. The three-tier layout in Taiwanese martial arts comics. Fan Yi-nan (范藝南), *The Strange Child of the Dusty World* 3 (風塵怪童3). Taipei: Wen Feng (文鋒出版), 3–4. License: CC BY 4.0 97

2-43. Changes to Japanese manga in Taiwanese general magazines in the 1950s. Collection of the National Library. Bottom: “The Age of Great Floods” (大洪水時代), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), vol. 4, February 1958. Top: Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫), “The Age of Great Floods,” in *Devil of the Earth* (地球惡魔). Taipei: Times Culture, 1994). License: CC BY 4.0 99

2-44. Top: *Divine Firebird No.1* (神火鳥No.1), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), August 1958. Bottom: Tezuka Osamu’s *Phoenix* (火の鳥), *Shōjo Club* (少女クラブ) version, Tokyo: Kodansha (講談社), 1980. License: CC BY 4.0 100

2-45. Top, left: Tezuka Osamu (手塚治虫), *The Twin Knights* (双子の騎士), Tokyo: Kodansha (講談社), 1959, 42. Top, right: *The Golden Shoe Knight* (金鞋騎士). Bottom: Frontispiece of the latter with Tezuka Osamu spelled with only three characters (手塚治), *Good Friend* (良友), no. 22, no year, 14. License: CC BY 4.0 101

2-46. Right: Mochizuki Akira (望月あきら), *The Sign is V!* (サインはV!), translated edition, 1979. Left: Trace-copied version *Cross Quick Attack* (交叉快攻球), 1969. The lines indicate what is not present in the copied version. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0 103

2-47. Comparison of third-person narrative styles. Left: Reprinted pirated copy of *The Sign is V!* (サインはV!) by Mochizuki Akira (望月あきら), titled *The Invincible Volleyball Team* (無敵排球隊), vol. 3, 1979 edition. Right: Hand-traced copy *Cross Quick Attack* (交叉快攻球), no. 2, 1969. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0 106

2-48. Reprint version of *The Sign is V!*, *The Invincible Volleyball Team* (無敵排球隊), vol. 3 (right), and the 1970 hand-traced adaptation *Volleyball Match* (排球對抗賽), no.7. Collection of Zhonglun Branch of the Taipei City Public Library (臺北市立圖書館中崙分館). License: CC BY 4.0 107

2-49. Qiu Ming-yao (邱明耀), *A Girl's Dream* (少女之夢) 2. Taipei: Wenchang (文昌), 1969, 54–55. License: CC BY 4.0 108

2-50. Chang Ching-mei (張靜美), "Water Fairy" (水仙子), which won first place in the second Hsiao-Mi Newcomer Comic Award, published in *The Second Newcomer Comic Award Anthology* (第二屆漫畫新人獎專輯). Taipei: Yin-Shi-Man (伊士曼), 1982, 32–3. License: CC BY 4.0 110

2-51. Use of "atmospheric panels" and panel breaches in *shōjo manga*. © Hagio Moto (萩尾望都), *The Heart of Thomas* (トーマの心臓), Shogakukan (小学館), 1989 [1978]), 286–87. License: CC BY 4.0 111

3-1. The cultural field in 19th century France, according to Bourdieu (1993, 38). Recreated by the author 125

3-2. Relations between Fields. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 1993, 38. License: CC BY 4.0 127

3-3. The approval stamp on the back cover contains the book's title, the author's name, the publisher's name, the number of volumes, the seal of approval of the NICT, and the director's signature seal. License: CC BY 4.0 130

3-4. Hand-traced version of *Norakuro* published in Taiwan in 1968, compared to the original Japanese version. Collection of National Museum of Taiwan History. License: CC BY 4.0 138

3-5. Fujiko F. Fujio (藤子F不二雄), *Doraemon* (機器貓小叮噹), no. 70, translated by Tan Jishan (譚繼山). Taipei: Chingwin (青文), 1984. Left: pp. 32–33, right: pp. 42–43. License: CC BY 4.0 142

3-6. The manga in the middle is *Bakuman* (バクマン。) vol. 4, published in 2009, with 194 pages and a thickness of 101 sheets. On the left is a publication from 1981 with 128 pages/64 sheets, and on the right is a publication from 1980 with 158 pages/79 sheets. Photo taken by the author. License: CC BY 4.0 156

3-7. *Youth Express* (少年快報). Source: zh.wikipedia.org (last access: February 9, 2023). License: CC BY 4.0 157

3-8. In 1991, manga covers were made as book jackets. In the case of Japanese publications, the original Japanese title was printed directly on the cover, unlike Taiwan, where the title was printed directly on the book's spine. Photo by the author. License: CC BY 4.0 158

3-9. Wei Tsung-Cheng (韋宗成), *The Apocalypse Of Darkness Warfare*, showing "Cute Mazu" with an angry look in response to the criticism (2017). Used with permission from the rightsholder. License: CC BY 4.0 162

4-1. He Chao-chen (何超塵), "Lord Hsinling Aids Zhao against the King of Chin" (信陵君援趙抗秦, in *Elementary Student* (小學生), 1957, 7–8. License: CC BY 4.0 178

4-2. *Novelties* (新新), vol. 1, no 1, November 1945. License: CC BY 4.0 180

4-3. *Novelties* (新新), vol. 1, no 2, February 1946. License: CC BY 4.0 181

4-4. *Novelties* (新新), vol. 2, no. 1, January 1947. License: CC BY 4.0 182

4-5. *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), September 1, 1946, p. 4. Center: Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), "Change of Hope" (希望的變遷). License: CC BY 4.0 183

4-6. Hachino Ken (蜂野劍), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), December 21, 1945, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 183

4-7. Hachino Ken (蜂野劍), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), December 22, 1945, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 184

4-8. Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦), "Welcome Free Taiwan" (迎自由的台灣), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 1, 1946. License: CC BY 4.0 184

4-9. Huang Rong-can (黃榮燦), *Terror Inspection* (恐怖的檢查), 1947. License: CC BY 4.0 185

4-10. Ou Yang-ke (歐陽可), "Opening the Treasury" (開啟寶庫), *Taiwan Daily News* (台灣新生報), May 1, 1947, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 186

4-11. As a whole: Children's Page (兒童之頁), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), no. 30, March 11, 1950. Bottom center: Yin-ming (因明) "Down with the Violence!" (打倒強暴). License: CC BY 4.0 188

4-12. *China Daily* (中華日報), February 7, 1949. License: CC BY 4.0 191

4-13. Chang Lin-shu (張麟書), *China Daily* (中華日報), January 29, 1950. License: CC BY 4.0 191

4-14. China Children (中華兒童), *China Daily* (中華日報), June 16, 1951. License: CC BY 4.0 192

4-15. Right: *Shōnen Club* (少年倶楽部), 1932. Left: *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), 1954. License: CC BY 4.0 198

4-16. "The Underground Metropolis" (地下都市), *Oriental Youth* (東方少年), 1955, September (right) and December (left) issues. License: CC BY 4.0 199

4-17. Cover and Table of Contents of *Elementary Student* (小學生). License: CC BY 4.0 202

4-18. Niu Ge (牛哥), "Big Sister Niu" (牛大姐), *Harvest* (豐年), vol. 4, no.1, 1954, 15. License: CC BY 4.0 203

4-19. Hsu Sung-shan (許松山), *Fei Fei* (飛飛), 2. Hong Kong: Yutian, 1969. Collection of Taipei Public Library Zhonglun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0 207

4-20. Schematic representation of the cultural field 1945–70 (top and bottom: cultural capital; left and right: economic capital; circle at the very bottom: rental books; biggest circle in the middle: magazines; smaller circle partly overlapping with the one of the magazines: newspapers) 210

4-21. Hsu Sung-shan (許松山), *The Secret History of President Chiang* 1 (蔣總統秘錄史畫). Taipei: Taiwan Chih-cheng Publishing (臺灣志成出版社), 1976, 36. License: CC BY 4.0 214

4-22. Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), "New Life Taiwan Cartoons" (新生台灣漫畫), *Taiwan New Life News Comics* (台灣新生漫畫), November 17, 1946, p. 3; November 18, 1946, 3. License: CC BY 4.0 216

4-23. Chen Ting-kuo (陳定國), New Life Pictorial Supplement (新生畫刊), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 19, 1947, 4. License: CC BY 4.0 217

4-24. Chen Ting-Kuo (陳定國), *Taiwan New Life News* (台灣新生報), January 6, 1948, 4. License: CC BY 4.0 218

5-1. Yang Shu-sun (楊叔蓀), "Chiu Chin" (秋瑾), *Elementary Student* (小學生), no. 287, 1962, 7. License: CC BY 4.0 234

5-2. Yu Lung-hui (游龍輝), *Tale of a Divine Sword* (神劍恩仇), 2. Taipei: I-te, 1968. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chunglun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0 235

5-3. Chen Hai-hung (陳海虹), *Green Bow Sword* (綠虹劍). Taipei: Ta-kuan, 1969, 16. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chung-lun Branch, Taipei City Library. License: CC BY 4.0 241

5-4. [Fan] Yi-nan (藝南), *The Strange Child of the Dusty World* (風塵怪童). Taipei: Wen-Feng, 1969, p. 1. Collection of Taipei Public Library Chung-lun Branch. License: CC BY 4.0 242

5-5. Schematic diagram of the cognitive reference frame before the 1980s (left: self; upper right: Sinocentrism). Created by the author 249

5-6. "Japanese Manga Intoxicating the Next Generation" (請看毒害下一代的日本漫畫), *Comics Satire Magazine* (漫畫讽刺雜誌), vol. 24, Taiwan Chih-cheng Press (臺灣志成), 1983, 39. License: CC BY 4.0 250

5-7. A schematic diagram of the reference framework of awareness in terms of coordinates before the 1980s (left) and in the 1990s (right), created by the author 257

## Tables

3-1. Changes in the Number of Comics Submitted for Review and Licenses Issued (Data for 1984 is missing.) 134

4-1. Authors with the most published works in *New Life Comics* (新生漫畫). Compiled by the author 189

# Index

228 Incident 140, 144, 179, 181, 185, 186, 199, 201, 217, 227

**A**

adult 60, 130, 131, 137, 157, 159, 163, 169, 208, 232

akahon manga 60, 62, 71, 78, 79, 81, 83, 91, 92, 95, 102, 104, 131

atmosphere 31, 33, 38, 82, 110

atmospheric panels 5, 33, 36, 38, 40, 109

**B**

Barthes, Roland 5, 16, 33, 34, 36, 238, 244

Bourdieu, Pierre 92, 118, 119, 120, 123, 143, 167, 168, 228

boys love xiv, 82, 166, 169, 264

**C**

cartoon 45, 48, 55, 64, 71, 90, 114, 137, 177, 178, 179, 181, 185, 189, 195, 200, 201, 212, 216, 218, 221, 226, 227, 261, 303, 304

cartoony 9, 11, 14, 36, 41, 50, 51, 253, 255, 304

censorship 78, 97, 102, 104, 113, 115, 137, 153, 158, 161, 177, 208, 209, 225

Chen Ting-kuo 85, 89, 92, 109, 128, 136, 178, 179, 189, 197, 215, 219, 224, 225, 227, 237, 242, 244

Chen Uen 112, 113, 164, 165, 246, 251, 252, 253, 256

close-up 5, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 39, 58, 79, 96, 102, 112, 114, 115

collective memory 140, 141, 143, 146, 229, 230, 231, 235, 243, 255, 259

*Comics Bale: The Wushe Incident* 255, 263

*Comics Cleansing Exhibition* 146, 147, 152, 211, 212

Comics Cleansing Movement 117, 146, 149, 150, 154, 163, 167, 173, 213, 224, 246

copyright 1, 79, 97, 138, 145, 155, 160, 161, 167, 168, 174, 249

Creative Comic Collection 255, 258, 264

Crest of the Royal Family 159, 162, 174

**D**

*Directives for Publishing Comics* 117, 118, 129, 130, 146, 153, 154, 156, 173, 206, 227, 236

Disney 14, 15, 16, 24, 187, 192, 193, 195

*dōjinshi* 82, 166, 264, 303

*Doraemon* 132, 141, 148

**F**

facial expression 5, 15, 16, 18, 22, 24, 29, 31, 33, 39, 112

Fan Yi-nan 96, 104, 128, 168, 206, 235, 242, 258

**G**

*gekiga* 81, 95, 145, 147

**H**

Hagio Moto 22, 26, 109, 169
Hsu Ping-ting 48, 178, 196

**I**

*Imagerie d'Épinal* 13, 14, 38, 40

**J**

Jelly Huang 264, 265
Jen Cheng-hua 108, 163, 164, 165, 252, 254

**K**

*kamishibai* 58, 223

**L**

Liang Chung-ming 89, 132, 193, 220, 221, 222, 237
Liang Yu-ming 193, 220, 237
*lianhuan tuhua* 3, 118, 129, 177
*lianhuanhua* 3, 66, 71, 75, 77, 83, 85, 87, 90, 104, 112, 114, 128, 177, 187, 193, 195, 200, 202, 206, 225, 227, 233, 304
Lin Li-chin 265
Liu Hsing-chin 64, 89, 128, 136, 147, 190, 193, 195, 201, 202, 204, 211, 215, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 233, 247, 253

**M**

magazine 28, 41, 45, 48, 52, 66, 76, 81, 83, 89, 90, 92, 95, 96, 98, 102, 104, 113, 114, 115, 128, 135, 136, 154, 155, 156, 166, 168, 178, 197, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210, 219, 226, 227, 233, 236, 251
manga
  "cinematic" 16, 5, 10, 16, 22, 24, 37, 39, 79
  hand-traced copies 1, 76, 89, 90, 97, 100, 102, 105, 136, 137, 197, 205, 235, 246, 303
  piracy 1, 112, 115, 124, 161, 168, 170
  single-character frames 24, 25, 26, 27, 33, 39, 58, 102, 105, 108, 145
manhua 3, 48, 304
martial arts (wuxia) 76, 77, 96, 128, 129, 150, 205, 206, 209, 219, 233, 236, 240, 241, 242, 245, 255, 306
McCloud, Scott 4, 26, 27, 28, 32, 36
Mickey Mouse 24, 132, 138, 187, 247
mimetic words 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 52, 56, 96, 112, 305
momentum lines 37, 50, 52, 56, 108, 111, 145, 305

**N**

National Institute for Compilation and Translation (NICT) 6, 129, 131, 132, 136, 137, 139, 146, 147, 148, 150, 152, 163, 173, 211, 213, 214, 220, 231, 236, 237, 240, 246, 305
national language 121, 186, 201
*New Treasure Island* 16, 22, 24, 25, 61, 79
Niitaka Cartoon Group 50, 78, 178, 179, 181, 186, 197, 223
Niu Ge 85, 87, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 164, 173, 193, 195, 211, 212, 224, 240
*Norakuro* 16, 44
Nora, Pierre 144, 243, 248
number of panels per page 82, 92, 95, 102, 113

**O**

Ōshiro Noboru 16, 71

**P**

*panshan* 89, 180, 200, 305

picture story 13, 41, 43, 55, 66, 71, 83, 90, 187, 209, 225, 305

*Public Service Association of* Imperial Subjects 2, 178, 215, 225, 305

**R**

rental bookstores 66, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 102, 104, 117, 128, 135, 145, 151, 152, 165, 172, 208, 209, 264

rental comics 58, 66, 71, 79, 81, 83, 90, 91, 92, 95, 100, 104, 115, 204, 209, 215, 220

review fee 132, 133, 135, 207

Ruang Guang-min 264

**S**

Schutz, Alfred 7, 229, 239

Shimada Keizō 55, 60

*Shō-chan's Adventures* 44, 52, 71, 79

*shōjo manga* (girls comics) 9, 22, 25, 26, 81, 108, 109, 110, 165, 305

shot size 24

- long 25, 26
- medium 21, 26, 105

*Son of Formosa* 265

speech balloons 5, 33, 36, 38, 41, 44, 45, 50, 55, 56, 58, 61, 64, 66, 87, 104, 177, 232

*Star of the Giants* 97, 98, 135

superhero comics 14, 22, 27, 28, 36

**T**

Tagawa Suihō 16, 55, 90

Tatsumi Yoshihiro 81, 210

textbooks 118, 119, 132, 133, 140, 143, 160, 187, 207, 231, 232, 236, 239, 240, 245, 247, 253, 255, 256, 258, 260

Tezuka Osamu 1, 9, 15, 25, 26, 28, 29, 39, 79, 81, 83, 96, 98, 109, 112, 136, 148, 169, 197

three-tier layout 82, 83, 90, 92, 95, 96, 100, 102, 110, 113, 115, 235

Töpffer, Rodolphe 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 24, 40

transdiegetic devices 5, 38, 306

Tsai Kun-lin 76, 96, 97, 135, 204, 205, 207, 235, 265

**V**

Wei Tsung-cheng 161, 264

**Y**

Yeh Hung-chia 50, 78, 85, 92, 105, 128, 135, 147, 179, 186, 204, 207, 211, 213, 219, 223, 224, 226, 227, 235, 241

Yokoyama Mitsuteru 22, 34, 109, 244

THIS BOOK is the first comprehensive introduction to the comics culture of Taiwan. Under martial law (1949–87), Taiwan's comics culture was shaped by an intriguing mix: mainland Chinese traditions of political cartoons and popular lianhuanhua fiction existed side by side with pirated and often obscured Japanese manga. Taking a media-historical perspective, this monograph traces the changes in comics' cultural, symbolic, and economic capital. It focuses primarily on entertaining graphic narratives, considers widely shared stylistic conventions, publication formats, and distribution channels, analyzes the official discourse through historical government documents and newspaper articles, and scrutinizes the censorship system that caused a severe hiatus in local comics production in the late 1960s. Thus, the book provides insights into Taiwan's postwar history and controversial national identity through the lens of comics while introducing an extraordinarily heterogeneous case to researchers engaged in comics and manga studies.

I-yun Lee is a professor of Taiwan's cultural history at National Chenchi University, Taipei. She holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Tokyo (2007) and has published widely in Chinese and Japanese, in particular, on comics in Taiwan and Japan.

ISBN 978-91-7635-251-9