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Liu Jianhui 劉建輝. “Mato ni tandeki shita Taishō sakkatachi” 魔都に耽溺した大正作家たち (Taishō writers who indulged in the demon capital). In *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Demon capital Shanghai: The “modern” experience of Japanese intellectuals), trans. Joshua A. Fogel (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 175-210. *Sino-Japanese Studies* 16 (2009), article 13.

Abstract: In the Taishō period, many Japanese started visiting China, particularly as the industries of tourism and travel developed. In addition to school field trips and group voyages, a number of famous writers visited Shanghai or passed through it en route to Europe. The experiences of Tanizaki Jun’ichirō, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Inoue Kōbai, Muramatsu Shōfū, and Kaneko Mitsuharu are described in greater detail, as depicted in the travelogues they left.

Demon Capital Shanghai:
The “Modern” Experience of Japanese Intellectuals¹
Liu Jianhui 劉建輝

Translated by Joshua A Fogel

Chapter 5
Taishō Writers Who Indulged in the Demon Capital

Tanizaki and Akutagawa: Tourism and the Taishō Writer

The Emergence of “Interest”

In the previous chapter, we witnessed Japanese who entrusted all manner of “dreams” to the extraordinary “prosperity” of Shanghai in the latter half of the nineteenth century and to the “chaos” that prosperity brought about. Although their statuses and professions in Japan were, of course, entirely different from their objectives in going to Shanghai, they looked to take advantage of this “chaos” through activities on this terrain in an effort to attain a kind of “self-realization” that could not be achieved at home.

As we noted in the case of Kishida Ginkō, when faced with the choice between the “Concessions” and the “walled city,” they lined up with the former and, following the logic of this choice, ceaselessly criticized all manner of faults and abuses represented by the latter. In this stance, even Oka Senjin, who called for solidarity with China and always fervently urged the people he met with the significance of “rousing Asia,” was no exception. At this point in time, these men—including the youngest mentioned earlier, Ozaki Yukio—had acquired a nearly flawless, basic Kanbun education, and not only did they scarcely evince any interest in the “walled city” in which this education had meaning nor in the riverside scenes of the Jiangnan area behind it, but they actually repudiated it.

While this was clearly a result of the reality of the “walled city” itself, their mental construction of it, being rapidly transformed “modern men,” exercised a certain influence on them. In the latter half of the Meiji era, however, small changes were emerging in Japanese views of the walled city and the scenic river views behind it. As before, this terrain was used as a site of “self-realization,” and there was no end of people seeking another “modernity” there. More than this, though, they elicited an interest in the hitherto “ignored” walled city and especially in the traditional scenic river views which developed behind it. A small number began to appear who actually expressed a kind of “nostalgia” for the authentic China.

As background to the emergence of this phenomenon, the Japanese had already gone through thirty years as a “modern nation” and had the “flexibility” as “modern men” of Meiji Japan, itself now one of the powers. Also important as background here is the

¹ See also the Chinese translation of this chapter by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de “jindai” tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的“近代”体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 87-104.

fact that from 1888, in the renovation of urban Tokyo, the traditional urban scenery of Tokyo was rapidly destroyed. In particular, industrial factories—printing, metalworking, and miscellaneous goods, among other manufactures—and large-scale textile mills went up in the Kōtō 江東 district east of the Sumida River. Already on either side of the Sumida, the “Edo spirit” had all but completely vanished. One group of those who came to Shanghai seems to have been searching for a “vision” of the Sumida River of the past in the suburban river scenery which preserved its traditional vistas.

As someone with concerns in both places, let us move now to take a look at the father of Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879-1959), Nagai Kyūichirō 永井久一郎 (Kagen 禾原, 1852-1913).



Nagai family: Kafū (second from left), Kyūichirō (center)



Nagai Kafū

Kyūichirō and the Enjoyment of River Vistas

Born in Owari domain, Kyūichirō studied in the United States in the early Meiji era, and then became a Meiji government official, for a time working as head of accounts in the Ministry of Education. In 1897, after twenty year serving as a bureaucrat, through the good offices of Itō Hirobumi, among others, Kyūichirō was invited to become Shanghai branch manager of NYK Lines. Many reasons are, of course, possible for why he was given such a posting, but one which certainly played a major role was the fact that he was a full-fledged poet in Chinese and a disciple of the famous Chinese studies scholar of the late-Edo period, Washizu Kidō 鷺津毅堂 (1825-82).

We noted in an earlier chapter that composing Chinese poetry was a means of interacting with Chinese bureaucrats and intellectuals in Shanghai at the time, and this was especially needed in the development of industry. This was all the more so in the case of foreign office officials. Take, for example, the case of Odagiri Masunosuke 小田切萬壽之助 (1868-1934), who worked in the Shanghai consulate at about the same time as Kyūichirō was there and was a fine composer of Chinese poetry, author of the poetry collection, *Gintai ikō* 銀台遺稿 (Gintai's posthumous works). While working in

Shanghai, Kyūichirō had frequent contacts with Chinese and Japanese poets and expanded his circle of friends.

Despite having spent all told four years in Shanghai, Kyūichirō unfortunately left no detailed documents chronicling his activities in the city. After his death, his son Kafū edited his father's Chinese poetry into ten string-bound volumes entitled *Raiseikaku shū* 來青閣集 (Collection from the Raisei Pavilion, published 1913), and from this work we can catch a glimpse of his Shanghai experiences.

We just noted that Kyūichirō always showed two “faces” in Shanghai. One was as vanguard of Japanese capitalist expansion overseas in the Meiji era, branch manager of NYK Lines. The other was poet in Chinese who enjoyed the traditional river vistas of the Jiangnan region (south of the Yangzi delta) while flirting with courtesans. We can see something of the former in the following verse from a Chinese poem by him.

Walls of a Tower in Shanghai

....

The shadow of the bridge extends high above the water at Hongkou,
The sound of flutes arises far off, smoke over Pudong,
Raising a cup, I smile, the universe is so small,
Anchored by the gate are ships from Russia, England, and America.

This poem sings of the scenery that emerges in one's line of vision from the building that housed the office of NYK Lines facing the Bund directly. One can read through it Japan's “national might,” as it began to line up with Russia, Great Britain, and the United States, and Kyūichirō's leisure as a “modern man” supporting this, which enabled him to undertake the following activities.

[My friend] Shihō 子芳 greeted me and Fukyū 富卿 [Odagiri] with an invitation to go poling on a pleasure boat and enjoy Huqiu 虎邱. We planned to meet first at the courtesan house of Chen Ruiqing 陳瑞卿, and then we composed the following work:

We chose a site of scenic beauty in a forest and a spring to go for a short trip.
We all look forward to and together board a small boat of magnolia.
We bid you farewell, our emotions more profound than the water.
Girls from Wu come aboard and we head toward Huqiu.

A *huafang* 畫舫 was a pleasure boat traditionally used for sightseeing in China. It was outfitted with all manner of decorations, and was hired especially to hold a banquet at which prostitutes would be engaged. As can be seen in this poem, Kyūichirō was patterning his behavior after a traditional literatus, and while bringing “girls” from “Wu” (Suzhou) on board the *huafang*, he and his friends sailed toward Huqiu (in Suzhou), Shanghai “back yard.”

That he selected what was not a modern “route” but opted for a traditional “waterway” bore a meaning that the approach to “Shanghai” of a Japanese in this era may already have undergone a change and, in addition to being a place to live out a “dream,” it was also taking shape as a new site for “enjoyment” or “amusement.” In this

connection, Nagai Kafū as a young man in September 1897 entered the Chinese “walled city” of Shanghai with scarcely any resistance, unlike Ozaki Yukio at an earlier time, and enjoyed the “throng” (*zattō* 雑沓) of people there.² Furthermore, twenty-one years after either Nagai, father or son, in 1918 Tanizaki Jun’ichirō 谷崎潤一郎 (1886-1965) took advantage of the newly developing tourist industry and made a trip to Shanghai. He too rode on a *huafang* and sought to experience a trip through the Jiangnan region, including Shanghai, via the traditional waterways.

I would like quickly to introduce Tanizaki’s “Jiangnan experience,” although I need first to turn briefly to the formation of modern Sino-Japanese tourism which made his trip at this time possible. For it was this tourism that was closely tied to changes in the experiences of Japanese in Shanghai as well as other Chinese cities.

China and the Formation of Japanese Tourism

In the past, when people have discussed the development of tourism in Japan, they often note the roles played by the Kihinkai 貴賓會 or Welcome Society (founded in 1893) and the organization that succeeded it, the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), as well as the Japan National Railways (Kokutetsu 國鐵). There is, however, one more “leading player” forgotten here. As spoils for victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, Japanese secured from Russia all interest in the South Manchurian Railway (SMR). It was none other than the first president of the SMR, Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平 (1857-1929), who in May 1908 for the first time launched negotiations over transporting goods and people between Japan and a foreign nation (Russia). He attended the fifth international conference on transportation via Siberia, convened in Brussels in July 1910, and he hoped that the SMR, together with Kokutetsu, would establish contact and transport links to Europe. Thus, in November of the following year, after two years’ work, construction on the bridge over the Yalu River on China’s side was completed. By linking the SMR and the Korean Railways, the older railway traversing the Korean peninsula, for the first time an international transport connection emerged between Europe and Japan via the Korea-Manchuria route.

In March 1912, just five months after this international transport connection by way of Korea and Manchuria became possible, the aforementioned Japan Tourist Bureau was established with a joint investment (centered in the Ministry of Railways) by NYK Line 日本郵船株式会社, Toyo Kisen K. K. 東洋汽船株式会社, and the SMR among others. One year later tickets were put on sale by JTB at the sixth international conference on transportation (London, 1911) “from Shinbashi to London” which was a round-the-world excursion ticket via the SMR and an eastern hemisphere excursion ticket to take effect with its own establishment.³

² See his *Shanghai kikō* 上海紀行 (Shanghai travel account) (1898).

³ Harada Katsumasa 原田勝正, *Mantetsu* 滿鉄 (The South Manchurian Railway) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1981).

To Korea! To Manchuria! To China!

Just at the time of its founding, JTB was receiving the aftereffects of a boom in round-the-world trips that had been going on in Europe since the latter half of the nineteenth century and was offering its services to foreign tourists coming to Japan. Perhaps in response to news of these tourists, JTB attached great importance from the start to linking up with the outside world, especially through “Manchuria-Korea” and China.

Such a direction at the outset of Japanese tourism, as represented by the SMR and JTB, continued unchanged in the main, as the number of Japanese tourists rose sharply in the latter half of the Taishō period, and with the formation of the Japanese Travel Culture Association (Nihon ryokō bunka kyōkai 日本旅行文化協會) in 1924, a cultural movement and organization that set as its goal the elevation of the culture of travel in Japan. For example, together with its founding, the Japanese Travel Culture Association inaugurated an organ, *Tabi* 旅 (Travel), specializing in questions of travel. In the first issue, while explaining the founding principles, one of the aims of their activities was listed as “introducing the popular feelings and customs of Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, China, and elsewhere,” as well as in “Japan” (*naichi* 内地). There was also in this inaugural issue an advertisement for the SMR which included the unadulterated propaganda phrases:

Travel seasons is coming,
To Korea!
To Manchuria!
To China

As the foregoing indicates, “Korea-Manchuria” and China were captured in a uniform fashion in a form not at all inferior to that of Japan.

Coming down a bit further in time, the writer Tani Jōji 谷譲次 (1900-35), whom we touched on in the introduction to this work, after visiting Manchuria, especially Harbin, and completing a sightseeing tour in 1928, boarded the Trans-Siberian Railway for Europe. Two years later, Hayashi Fumiko 林芙美子 (1903-51), an up-and-coming woman writer, out of concerns about the SMR, “walked” from Dalian to Harbin and then as far as Shanghai.⁴ The following year, right in the midst that year, 1931, of the confusion of another incident, she traveled through Manchuria and headed toward Europe on the Trans-Siberian Railway.

⁴ See her *Santō ryokō ki* 三等旅行記 (Third-class travelogue, 1933).



Tani Jōji



Hayashi Fumiko

Services for such individual travelers as Tani Jōji and Hayashi Fumiko, however, were but one part of the work of Japanese tourism in Manchuria and China. At least as important, if not far more so, group trips by Japanese middle school and high school students, what we now would call field trips, were undertaken in large numbers. Field trips to “Manchuria-Korea-China” by middle school and high school students formally began from 1906. That year, for the first time, a group of middle-school students selected on a nationwide basis, jointly sponsored by the Ministry of Education and Ministry of the Army, was divided into five groups, and a “joint trip to Manchuria of middle-school pupils” was carried out to the battlefields of the recently victorious Russo-Japanese War. Later, in imitation of this model, “battlefield trips” (*senjō ryokō* 戦場旅行) were said to have rapidly spread throughout the country.⁵

The boom in these student field trips to Manchuria, Korea, and China which reached its apex in the early Shōwa period (1926-89). Around this time, ordinary adults too began group travel to “Manchuria, Korea, and China” in a form captured by these “school trips.” For example, founded before JTB and boasting the largest scale of any private concern at the time, the Japan Travel Club (Nihon ryokōkai 日本旅行會, later Kabushiki gaisha Nihon ryokō 株式會社日本旅行) first sponsored a group tour around Korea and Manchuria in 1927. Thereafter, it continued at roughly a pace of once each year through midway into World War II.

We should note that, behind the rising popularity of these individual writers, student field trips, and group trips of the general public to “Manchuria, Korea, and China,” were the ongoing activities of travel companies like JTB. One further thing we should not forget is the development of transportation among Japan, Korea, and China in these years. I do not have the space here to describe this issue in detail, but would like to introduce the vessels that sailed to Shanghai at the time.

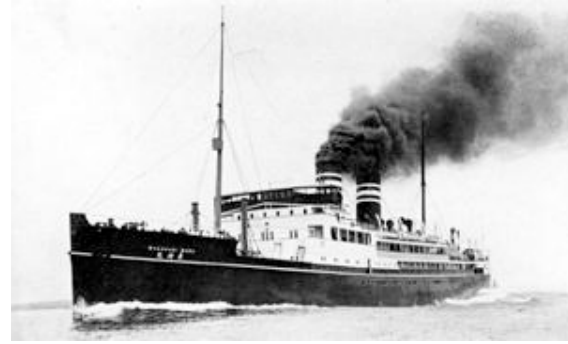
Already from the Meiji period, the Shanghai sea lane of NYK Lines was fixed along Yokohama-Shanghai and Kōbe-Shanghai connections. In 1923 a third route, Nagasaki-Shanghai, was established, and the high-speed passenger liners—with the

⁵ Kubo Naoyuki 久保尚之, *Manshū no tanjō: Nichi-Bei masatsu no hajimari* 満州の誕生：日米摩擦のはじまり (The birth of Manchuria, the beginning of Japanese-American friction) (Tokyo: Maruzen raiburarii, 1996).

advent of the *Shanhaimaru* 上海丸 and the *Nagasakimaru* 長崎丸—between these two cities traveling at the top speed of twenty-one knots linked Japan and China in just twenty-six hours. This speed and availability exerted an immeasurable influence on Japanese experiences on the mainland. Many writers whom we shall examine below now boarded these vessels and set sail for Shanghai to “sightsee” on this new terrain for shorter or longer periods of time.



Shanhaimaru



Nagasakimaru

The Formation of Chinese Tourism

Although developing a bit later than Japanese tourism, China gradually became prepared in this period to receive travelers. In the realm of transportation, the Jing-Han 京漢 (Beijing-Wuhan) Railway, China's main North-South line, had opened for use as early as 1906, and the Hu-Ning 滬寧 Railway linking Shanghai with Nanjing was completed in 1908. Later, both the Jing-Feng 京奉 Railway (between Beijing and Shenyang) connecting the capital with the Northeast and the Jin-Pu 津浦 Railway between Tianjin and Nanjing were opened for service in 1911.

In the area of accommodations, Western-chain hotels as well as, of course, Chinese- and Japanese-style inns were opened in profusion throughout the country. In the case of Shanghai, there was the Astor House Hotel and the Palace Hotel (Huizhong fandan 匯中飯店 in Chinese) which were frequented by Japanese visitors, and the Yipinxiang Hotel 一品香旅館 which, in response to a dramatic rise in customers, was remodeled from about 1910 several times and eventually rebuilt.

As for travel agencies, the three biggest travel companies in the world in the early twentieth century—Thomas Cook (C. Tongjilong 通濟隆), Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits (C. Tiedao woche gongsi 鐵道臥車公司), and Express (C. Yuntong 運通)—had all established branches in the Concessions and were doing business there. JTB set up branches and business offices in such cities as Dalian, Qingdao, and Shanghai in response to the need for customers from overseas, including Japan, while pouring energy into developing the tourist sites in many places.

Stimulated by these foreign travel agencies, China's own travel companies were eventually born in 1923 with homegrown capital, so-called “national capital.” Learning from American transport companies, the first such agency was established in the Shanghai Commercial and Savings Bank (Shanghai shangye zhuxu yinhang 上海商業貯蓄銀行), starting as a travel department subsidiary of the bank. In 1924 they organized a

group trip to Hangzhou, and in 1925 a “cherry blossom viewing” (*guanying* 觀櫻) trip to Japan. Having acquired an excellent reputation from its clients, in 1927 they became independent of the bank and reemerged with the name China Travel Service (Zhongguo lüxingshe 中國旅行社).

With the establishment of this new company, the president of this Shanghai bank and a founder of China Travel Service, Chen Guangfu 陳光甫 (K. P. Chen, 1880-1976), laid down six guiding points: “Enhance national prestige, serve customers, publicize sights of scenic beauty, improve lodgings and surroundings, work hard at freight transport, [and] promote culture.” In a number of regards these are thoroughly consistent with the initial principles of the Kihinkai or JTB. Interestingly, both Japan and China shared a sensibility that they were “late-developing countries” in the area of tourism.

When the China Travel Service took its first step forward, it launched publication of China’s first magazine devoted to travel, *Lüxing zazhi* 旅行雜誌 (Travel magazine). What unfolded in this serial was a movement to “discover China,” much like the selection of new “scenic spots” implemented in Japan in the early Shōwa era. Thus, for example, special issues on China’s major cities were published, such as Hangzhou (issue 3.7) and Shanghai (4.1). Articles were carried in it introducing sights previously difficult to reach, such Huangshan (3.1), Lake Dongting (3.6), and the Forbidden City in Beijing (3.2, 3.4). And, it worked to “enhance national prestige” and “publicize sights of scenic beauty.”

The development of the “Discover China” movement of China Travel Service played a major role in the national consciousness of the Chinese people and in reviving their lost self-respect. This task was, though, carried out within the “institution” of tourism. While a certain nationalism was unsurprisingly incidental to the discovery and rediscovery of “scenic spots,” by transforming “classic sites” into new scenic spots and creating new discourses around “genuine objects,” their imagination was reluctantly restrained by this “institution” in a major way.

On the basis of tourism institutionalized in both Japan and China as we have seen, a fascinating problem emerges: How did Japanese writers who visited China, Tanizaki and Akutagawa, respond? Let us now examine their responses as recorded in their “experiences.”

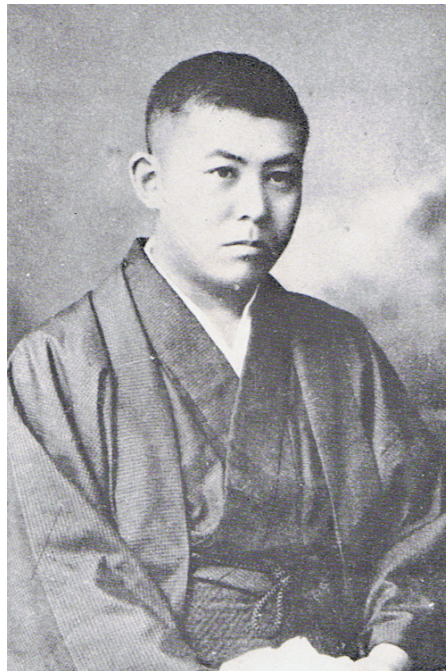
“I Should Build a House Here”—Tanizaki’s Shanghai

As we have seen with the school trips and similar undertakings, the clearest manifestation of the formation of tourism as an “institution” would surely be the regulated courses taken on individual trips. Japanese travelers to China and the Korean peninsula were no exception to this, and generally from the middle of the Taishō era a standard visit to the mainland was gradually becoming fixed.

For example, on the basis of its older, five-volume guide to East Asia (in English), the Ministry of Railways revised the sections on Manchuria, Korea, and China and published *Chōsen Manshū Shina annai* 朝鮮滿州支那案内 (Guidebook to Korea, Manchuria, and China) in a Japanese edition in September 1919. According to the most “authoritative” guidebook issued by the government, “Japan-China excursion tickets” were sold by the Ministry of Railways at the time, and “two [predetermined] routes” were designated on these excursion tickets. These “two routes” ran as follows: 1. using the sea

lane from Shimonoseki to Pusan, the ordered route was from Pusan up the Korean peninsula, then to Seoul, Fengtian, Beijing, Tianjin, Zhengzhou, Hankou (Wuhan), Shanghai, Hangzhou, Nagasaki, and Kōbe; and 2. en route from Tianjin, through Jinan and Nanjing, then to Shanghai. It was not only the course, for the guidebook indicated an itinerary for a roughly two-month “excursion trip” with all the sights to be seen predetermined. In addition to the Ministry of Railways’ guide, many private travel guides to the mainland were published later, but their itineraries amounted to more than variations on the set courses we have seen thus far.

Taking advantage of this renewed organization of mainland travel, one of the earliest to travel to China was the aforementioned Tanizaki Jun’ichirō. In October 1918 with the Ministry of Railways’ guidebook in hand, he traveled alone through the Korean peninsula to various places in China over a roughly two-month period. The route he followed was precisely the first one we noted from the Ministry’s guide, making his itinerary the “excursion” it had laid out. Thus, Tanizaki’s voyage was exactly as prescribed by tourism as an “institution.” As we shall see later, though, he ingeniously penetrated this and “discovered” his own sights on the mainland.



Tanizaki Jun’ichirō, 1913

The most lasting impressions left on Tanizaki from this trip to China appear to have been urban areas in China’s south: Nanjing, Suzhou, and Shanghai. After returning to Japan, he quickly wrote up an account of his visit to Nanjing, Suzhou, and Hangzhou, which conveyed the emotional impact they had had on him. Unfortunately, he wrote nothing about our subject at hand, Shanghai.

These travel writings, though, were thoroughly imbued with his thoughts about Shanghai, and considering them in no way digresses from the main topic at hand. Also,

according to his *Shanghai kenbunroku* 上海見聞録 (Travelogue of Shanghai),⁶ which he wrote during his second trip to Shanghai in 1926, he had already come to like the city: “I was thinking that I should build a house here.” After his first trip to China, Tanizaki altogether wrote fourteen pieces of fiction, travelogue, and drama concerned with China. Five of these pieces drew directly on his experiences in China, and he chronicled in detail among them various and sundry behaviors and “discoveries.”

While availing himself of the already established system of tourism, along the way Tanizaki made use of traditional riverine routes and continued to approach the Jiangnan area of China as a series of scenic riverside locations. For example, he traveled along the Yangzi River from Wuhan first to Jiujiang, and there with a friend he set out on an excursion to Lake Gantang 甘棠湖 outside the city. While enjoying this ancient sight of beauty there, he discovered the “elegant” scenery harmonizing nature and mankind.⁷

His fixation on “waterways” emerged again in the next city visited, Nanjing. According to his “Shinwai no yoru” 秦淮の夜 (Night at the Qinhuai [Canal]),⁸ he went by pleasure boat during the daytime all around the city, and then at nighttime hired a rickshaw and began an “expedition” to courtesan houses along the Qinhuai Canal. Sighing that this was not the best season to travel by pleasure boat in the nighttime, he noted regretfully: “I was unable to heartily taste the mood of the south which I had gone to such pains to enjoy.” Perhaps trying to recoup his “losses,” Tanizaki visited one brothel after another in an attempt, somehow or other, to experience the “mood” of Chinese literati of the past.

After Nanjing, he proceeded to Suzhou, and there, too, he confessed: “The colors of autumn at Mount Tianping 天平山 are nothing special. Rather, my goal was the scenery along the route of the Canal.”⁹ His approach to riverside locales by pleasure boat continued as before. His spirits were great roused by what he experienced at Hangzhou. Although he left no travel accounts of Hangzhou, he did write two works of fiction about it. These two stories can only be classified as strange tales in which the discoveries of this first-rate author concerning Hangzhou are finished in a thoroughly fantastic and mysterious manner.

For example, in his short story “Seiko no tsuki” 西湖の月 (The moon at West Lake),¹⁰ the protagonist, “I,” is described as he finds a sickly, beautiful young Chinese woman on a train car bound for Hangzhou from Shanghai, later observes her delicate fingers and feet persistently, and then sulks in his own dream. Something of this sort must have had a backstory that precedes it. The protagonist who, after arriving in Hangzhou, is staying in the same hotel as the young woman hires a pleasure boat the next day and goes out for a nighttime trip on West Lake. What “I” discovers unexpectedly in the water’s wondrous surface, which does not distinguish the “world of air” from the “world of water,” is the drowned corpse of this very young woman. Later, we come to learn that she chose this death because of her suffering from tuberculosis. Her dead body

⁶ In *Bungei shunjū* 文藝春秋 (May 1926).

⁷ “Roan nikki” 廬山日記 (Lushan diary), *Chūō kōron* 中央公論 (September 1921).

⁸ In *Chūgai* 中外 (February 1919).

⁹ “Soshū kikō” 蘇州紀行 (Suzhou travelogue), *Chūō kōron* 中央公論 (February 1919).

¹⁰ In *Kaizō* 改造 (June 1919).

at this time, though, revealed no such thing, but rather shone with an exceptional beauty like something sacred with a “very clear white, ...glisteningly alive.”

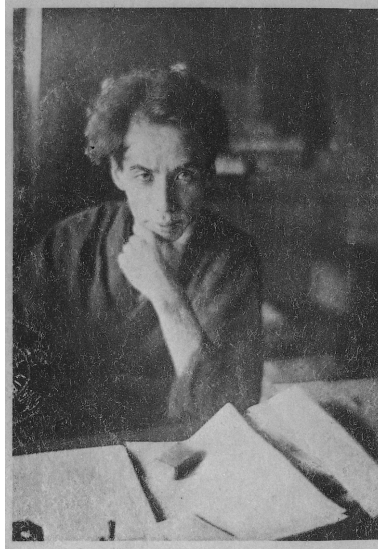
In another Tanizaki story, “Birōdo no yume” 天鵝絨の夢 (Velvet dream),¹¹ the beauty of a woman’s body in water is pursued thoroughly although with a different technique. This work develops as a tale following the pleasure-seeking and decadent life of a wealthy Chinese by the name of Wen Xiuqing 溫秀卿. After one reading, though, one quickly sees that his real motif is a fixation on the relationship between “water” and the “female body.” The body of the woman in this story is not only made to swim virtually every day in the garden pool of Wen Xiuqing’s home, but the pond is outfitted from the bottom with glass sides as a means of gazing within it and, once she becomes a corpse through poisoning, a pagoda is set up on the side of the pond. Eventually the body flows out of the pond and “floats quietly onto the waters of West Lake.” She ultimately becomes the goddess of the moon—described like the world inhabited by Chang’e 嫦娥, the goddess of Chinese folklore who stole the elixir of life and fled to the moon with it.

Thus, while Tanizaki did not directly confront Shanghai as a modern city, using the innovative approach of the “pleasure boat,” he “discovered” the expansive space of Jiangnan to serve as his background, and as a means for this top-flight author he was able to express its “essence” as riverside scenes. The “discovery” of the wondrous space of Jiangnan as lovely riverside scenes was not only rich in “imaginative power” for him later on, but greatly spurred our Japan’s imagination about “Shanghai” in the sense that “Shanghai” could initially form only one part of this riverside scenery. Without Tanizaki, there would be no way to discuss the “Shanghai experiences” of Japanese.

“A Second-rate West”: Akutagawa Ryūnosuke’s Rejection of Shanghai

While availing himself of the same tourist institutions as Tanizaki, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke 芥川龍之介 (1892-1927) took a completely opposite course. In March 1921 Akutagawa was sent to Shanghai as an overseas investigator for the *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun* 大阪毎日新聞. With Shanghai as his point of departure, he spent four months traveling to many places in China. After returning home, he wrote up a number of travelogues which followed the order of the cities he visited. He put these together as *Shina yūki* 支那遊記 (Travels in China), and it was published in 1925 by Kaizōsha 改造社.

¹¹ In *Ōsaka asahi shinbun* 大阪朝日新聞, November 1919.



Akutagawa Ryūnosuke

Akutagawa spent about one and one-half months in Shanghai, but the first three weeks he suffered from pleurisy and was in a hospital, unable to go anywhere. After being released, he began moving with great energy, visiting numerous people and numerous places. During this time, he was an astute, intelligent observer who took in many aspects of Shanghai with acuity. The following two examples may convey this point:

This café was far more low class than the Parisien. Next to a pinkish wall sat a Chinese boy with his hair parted down the middle, banging away on a huge piano. In the middle of the café three or four British sailors were dancing suggestively with heavily made-up women.

Finally, near the glass door entranceway, an old Chinese woman selling roses watched the dancing after she had been told I didn't need any [roses]. I felt as if I were looking at a newspaper with illustrations. The title of the illustration would undoubtedly be "Shanghai."

....

Now let's get back to that Chinese man. There he was leisurely pissing into the lake. Nothing seemed to faze him in the least—Chen Shufan 陳樹藩 could raise his rebellious banner in the wind, the popularity of vernacular poetry could die down, or the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance could come up again—nothing. Judging from his serene manner and facial expression, this is the only possible conclusion I could draw. The Chinese style pavilion that rose in the cloudy sky, the lake covered by a sickly green, and the arc formed by the single stream of urine as it poured into the lake at an angle—this is more than a scene of melancholy. At the same time, it was a bitter symbol of this grand old country.¹²

¹² "Shanghai yūki," in *Shina yūki* (Tokyo: Kaizōsha, 1925). Translator's note: There is a complete English translation of *Shina yūki* by Joshua A. Fogel and Kiyoko Morita, in *Japanese Travelogues of China in the 1920s: The Accounts of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke and Tanizaki*

More than anything, this is a typical Akutagawa sketch. All manner of characteristics of Shanghai as a semi-colony and behind it a certain nihilism in which China is beyond help are vividly thrown into relief. Unfortunately, though, Akutagawa did not continue in this vein of observation in an effort to dig down into the facts. Bewildered by the “confusion” of semi-colonial Shanghai, he harshly judged “the kind of obscene, cruel, greedy [contemporary] China that you find in fiction” against the “China of poetry and essays” that he had dreamt of.

As a result he regarded Shanghai as the West “out-of-place” or a “second-rate” West, and he expressed his sharp revulsion with “modernity.” This rejection of Shanghai ultimately hindered genuine conversation with such Chinese political figures as Zhang Binglin 章炳麟 (1868-1936) and Zheng Xiaoxu 鄭孝胥 (1860-1938), and never reviving his feeling for the place, he went off afterward to visit Beijing which he actually much enjoyed.

Having left Shanghai on his way north, Akutagawa sailed on a pleasure boat, among other things, all along the way, and made a point of using the waterways to enjoy the Jiangnan region as sites of riverside beauty. Aside from a few exceptions, such as Suzhou and Hangzhou, Akutagawa readily and stunningly rejected all such sites. For example, he saw West Lake at Hangzhou, which had stirred up such a collection of illusions for Tanizaki, as simply a “muddy pond.” And, he dispensed with the Qinhuai Canal at Nanjing as an “ordinary ditch.” He out and out condemned Lake Dongting as “other than summertime, merely a single stream running through a muddy field.”

He thus never found fantasy in the “waterways” of Jiangnan as did Tanizaki, nor did he abstract the “beauty” of decadence from it as would Kaneko, as we shall see. He recognized the “realities” of these scenic riverside locations as befit an author of fiction. While in one aspect of the fiction writer he was raised on these riverside scenes, Akutagawa discovered a thoroughly different type of woman from Tanizaki.

For example, in a novella written in his last years, entitled “Konan no ōgi” 湖南の扇 (The folding fan of Hunan),¹³ the setting is Hunan Province where Chinese revolutionaries were born. Two courtesans who both loved the leader of a rebel group has just been executed are described. One of them starts to tremble at the death of this man, though she holds herself together enduring the news. The other woman, in recognition of her love, proceeds coolly to eat a biscuit that has been soaked in the blood of the man’s severed head. This “small incident,” as the narrator notes at the start of this story, “indicates the dignity of the people of Hunan, rich in passionate feelings,” and then he makes a point of refusing a biscuit. One cannot help but think that the local color of this “indefatigably strong will” of Hunan as represented by this female protagonist is portrayed here in contrast to the “fast and loose” semi-colonial chaos that Akutagawa had observed here and there in Shanghai.

In the final analysis, be it in the “West” or “China,” Akutagawa was ultimately looking for some sort of “authenticity,” and some sort of “fusion” could only be seen as sorely out of place. In this sense, what he admired in Hunan and Beijing was rooted in its

Jun'ichirō, ed. Joshua A. Fogel, special issue of *Chinese Studies in History* 30.4 (Summer 1997); the passages cited here appear on pp. 14, 17—JAF.

¹³ In *Chūō kōron* (January 1926).

indigenous quality or authenticity, and by contrast what he was critical of in Shanghai was marked by his rejection of the non-“homogenous” space of modernity. This was always the determinant for him.

Cultural Border-Crossers, from Inoue Kōbai to Muramatsu Shōfū

“Five Great Pastimes”: Inoue Kōbai Examines Shanghai

Among Japanese writers who fashioned themselves “China experts” (*Shinatsū* 支那通), Inoue Kōbai 井上紅梅 (Susumu 進, 1881-1950) paid attention to Shanghai customs and practices from early on and introduced this information to Japan over a long stretch of time. Even today we are still not completely certain of his birth and death dates, but in the 1920s and 1930s he was for a time the darling of journalists. According to one theory, he spent his time through the early Taishō era in Shanghai, living a profligate’s life and losing management of a restaurant as well.¹⁴

Although it is unknown how he made a living in his initial years in Shanghai, in 1918 he began publishing his own personal periodical, *Shina fūzoku* 支那風俗 (Chinese customs),¹⁵ with support from some forty Chinese and Japanese personages of note, including Sahara Tokusuke 佐原篤介 (1874-1932, editor of *Shanghai shūhō* 上海週報 [Shanghai weekly]), Yu Gumin 余穀民 (editor of *Shanghai Shenzhou ribao* 上海神州日報 [Shanghai China daily]), Ouyang Yuqian 歐陽予倩 (1887-1962, playwright), Zhang Chunfan 張春帆 (d. 1935, novelist), Ishii Hakutei 石井柏亭 (1882-1958, Western-style painter), and Kinoshita Mokutarō 木下杢太郎 (1885-1945, poet), among others. Using this platform, over the next three years Kōbai energetically introduced what he dubbed “China’s five great pastimes: eating (*chi* 吃), drinking (*he* 喝), prostitutes (*piao* 嫖), gambling (*du* 賭), and theater (*xi* 戲).” At this stage he was just beginning to show a bit of himself as a journalist. The following is a piece from one essay in *Shina fūzoku* which concerned new customs in Shanghai. It was titled: “Jo gakusei tsuri” 女學生釣り (Fishing for female students).¹⁶

Lovely female students with fashionable chrysoberyl glasses—this is a song of fishing for female students. It is an extremely novel occupation.

They’re depraved male students, a flying column of beauty hunters, a gang of young hoods. One way or another, they approach female students. For example, at an athletic meet or an exhibition, at every possible opportunity they always show up as family members of female students. They watch for when classes

¹⁴ Mitsuishi Zenkichi 三石善吉, “Gotō Asatarō to Inoue Kōbai” 後藤朝太郎と井上紅梅 (Gotō Asatarō and Inoue Kōbai), in *Kindai Nihon to Chūgoku* 近代日本と中国 (Modern Japan and China), ed. Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好 and Hashikawa Bunzō 橋川文三 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1974), vol. 2.

¹⁵ Translator’s note. The terms *fūzoku* 風俗 carries a host of nuances, from customs and practices to public morals to outright sexual behavior. Inasmuch as the last of these was much on Inoue Kōbai’s mind much of the time, it has been difficult to translate as such.—JAF

¹⁶ Inoue Kōbai, *Shina fūzoku* (Shanghai: Nihondō shoten, 1921-22), 3 vols.

are dismissed around 3:00 or 4:00 pm on weekdays, and loiter about the main gate of women's schools. They then tail the young female student that they have their eye on. They sing in a low voice the "girl student song." The notes are taken from an athletic meet ditty: "Fresh, green grass, the field is level...." The music of the athletic meet comes from a Japanese [student victory chant]: "Anareshi, yorokobashi" (Ah, happy and joyous [are we]).

Of these "five great pastimes," Kōbai had an overwhelming predilection for *piao*, or sexual culture. He translated Zhang Chunfan's *Jiu wei gui* 九尾龜 (Nine-tailed turtle), the most popular, prurient novel at the time, and when he put the issues of his magazine *Shina fūzoku* together into a three-volume work, also titled *Shina fūzoku*, he did not forget to include this translation under the title "Hyōkai shinan" 嫖界指南 (Guide to the world of prostitutes). He later translated *Jin ping mei* 金瓶梅 (Plum in the golden vase), the most famous of "sexually explicit works" in Chinese literary history, but his translation was apparently banned from sale within Japan. While he had come with an irrepressibly debauched side to him, the flourishing demimonde of Shanghai at the time may have exerted an influence on him.

Lu Xun's Discomfort

Some time after 1921, Kōbai slipped out of Shanghai, taking up residence thereafter in Nanjing and Suzhou. He noted that in Nanjing "my studies of Chinese customs may have helped me somewhat." For a time he was living together with a widow by the name of Bi Bimei 畢碧梅 from Suzhou and her children, but because she was an opium addict and he began using as well, he saw no choice but to leave her. Works by him that chronicled his activities in Nanjing and Suzhou would include *Shina ni hitaru hito* 支那ニ浸ル人 (A man immersed in China; Shanghai: Nihondō shoten, 1924) and *Sake, ahen, maajan* さけ・あへん・まあじゃん (Alcohol, opium, mahjong; Tokyo: Banrikaku shobō, 1930). These works would lead one to believe that he spent all of his time vigorously investigating the "customs" of the city.

In the 1930s, though, Kōbai underwent a sudden and major transformation from the person we have seen thus far. Returning to make Shanghai his base once again, he translated the complete writings of Lu Xun 魯迅 (1881-1936), the "father" of the new Chinese literature. He also published a report entitled "Shanghai Ran'isha no tero jiken" 上海藍衣社のテロ事件 (Terrorist incidents of the Blue Shirts Society in Shanghai) which exposed the dictatorial regime under Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975).¹⁷ As one might expect, Lu Xun himself was greatly surprised at the translation of his collected oeuvres. "I was stunned that Mr. Inoue Kōbai had translated my works," he noted with clear discomfort. "He and I have traveled different paths, but now that it has been translated, there is nothing to be done."¹⁸ Behind this "regret" on Lu Xun's part was a concealed bias toward Kōbai as a "journalist of customs."

¹⁷ In *Kaizō* 改造 (August 1933).

¹⁸ Letter to Masuda Wataru 増田渉 (1903-77), dated November 7, 1932.

If, however, we may see the leftwing literary movement that Lu Xun led as one “intellectual customary practice” of the 1930s, then there is no particular reason to criticize Kōbai. Perhaps from the latter’s perspective, leftwing literature was, just like the White Terror, a “customary practice” of the new era. In other words, it was not Kōbai but the “temporal customs” in Shanghai surrounding him that were changing greatly.

“Emotion Difficult to Describe”—Muramatsu Shōfū

After reading Akutagawa’s *Shina yūki* which belittled Shanghai as a “barbarian city” and actually becoming interested in Shanghai, Muramatsu Shōfū 村松梢風 (1889-1961) crossed the sea to visit. Eventually recognized in the literary world for such works as *Danwa baibai gyōsha* 談話賣買業者 (Conversation traders), he was full of expectations to catch a glimpse of this “bizarre world” and so traveled to this “strange city” in 1923. On this first visit, he stayed there roughly two and one-half months. During that time he “experienced many things” and enjoyed Shanghai which he took to be a “modern” (*modan* 摩登) city, dubbed by him a “demon capital” (*mato* 魔都). The record he kept of these many and sundry experiences at this time became his most famous work, *Mato* (Tokyo: Konishi shoten, 1924), even among Shanghainese. It was the dark side of the demon capital of Shanghai, its decadence, that Muramatsu described in detail and realistically.



Muramatsu Shōfū

Take, for example, the following image conveyed when he visited the teahouse Qingliange 青蓮閣 located in Shanghai’s largest pleasure quarter, Sima Road 四馬路:

One evening I entered this teahouse together with a friend. As is always the case, there was a crowd going up and down the stairs. Just as I was thinking of taking the stairs, my friend and I were suddenly grabbed by a chicken [a prostitute]. Perhaps as many as several thousand guests were accommodated on the expansive second floor with its pillars here and there. Some people were seated at tables drinking tea, some were looking down at the traffic below while

holding onto the balustrade, and some were walking around making small talk. A large number of chickens were moving about left and right in confusion. Some were following customers around, some were flirting and having fun, and some were seated at tables chatting and drinking tea. Cigarette smoke swirled around and densely clouded the shining electric lights. I was in a daze before this congestion and uproar, but when we eventually looked at the chicken who had seized us, my friend thought she was quite young with big, circular eyes on a round face, while I felt she was a young girl, perhaps fourteen or fifteen years of age, delicate like a celluloid doll. Neither of us thought her beautiful. My friend spoke to her in Shanghai dialect and tried to get rid of her, but she was very hard to get away from.

At this stage, Shōfū was still “dazed” by Shanghai’s distinctive “congestion” and “uproar.” With the passage of time, though, he gradually became addicted to a “disorderly, disunited state of affairs” and to “places whose character cannot be known amid the confusion.” The following is an instance he found stimulating:

Standing among them, I called out in great delight. I was drowning in all manner of a fiendish life, dazzled by all the splendor, bleary from all the dissipation, and having lost my soul to self-indulgence. I was happy, stunned, and sad, struck by emotions difficult to describe somehow. Why was that the case? I don’t know now. Yet, what was fascinating to me was the free life of a human being. It’s not that such places have no traditions, but all promises are revoked. Everyone does as he or she wishes. Only the emotion of doing as one pleases squirms about in a lively and brunt fashion.

Perhaps in an effort to realize this conviction, Shōfū soon began living with a Japanese woman by the name of Akagi Yoshiko 赤木芳子, who was working as a teacher of social dancing.

A woman who appears in the pages of his work *Mato* with the name “Yko” Y子 originally worked as a substitute teacher in elementary schools in Japan, but then came to the demon capital with a certain longing regarding Shanghai.¹⁹ When she makes Shōfū’s acquaintance, it is with the patronage of a middleman. There were at this time numerous Japanese “modern girls” who had gone broke and come to Shanghai, and Akagi may have been one of the many such modern girls who made the voyage. Although she later returned with Shōfū to Japan, she soon moved to another man’s home and before long had drifted back to China, this time to Qingdao.

¹⁹ Muramatsu Ei 村松暎, *Iro kigen: onna, onna, mata onna, Muramatsu Shōfū no shōgai* 色機嫌：女、おんな、また女、村松梢風の生涯 (Sexual temperament: Women, women, and more women, the career of Muramatsu Shōfū) (Tokyo: Saiko shobō, 1989).

“Debauchery in the Demon Capital”

Among the many activities in which Shōfū engaged while living in Shanghai, one is particularly worthy of note. This involves his contacts with young writers in China’s new literary scene. He carried a letter of introduction from Satō Haruo 佐藤春夫 (1892-1964) to Tian Han 田漢 (1898-1966), and when he went to visit Tian Han he got to know members of the Creation Society. These included, in addition to Tian Han, three men who had only just returned to China from Japan: Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892-1978), Yu Dafu 郁達夫 (1896-1945), and Cheng Fangwu 成仿吾 (1897-1984). His interactions with Chinese writers was especially important for Chinese literary history in light of the fact that Tanizaki and Akutagawa had earlier both wanted to have such contacts but had been unable to do so. These pleasant, friendly interactions between Chinese and Japanese men of letters were later continued by Tanizaki (during a subsequent trip to Shanghai), Satō Haruo, and Kaneko Mitsuharu 金子光晴 (1895-1975).

Shōfū returned to Shanghai in 1925. The event was his undertaking the management of performances at the Imperial Theater of the Peking opera, “Lu mudan” 綠牡丹 (Green peony). Later, though, the manager on the Chinese side, a man by the name of Zhu Qisui 朱啟綏, embezzled the advances on the actors’ pay, and Shōfū was forced to travel back and forth between China and Japan to pay back the money involved. Ultimately, Zhu Qisui was apprehended, but the stolen money was never returned. As a result of all this, Shōfū forged a close bond with the city of Shanghai. He wrote a number of accounts of his experiences—such as *Shanghai* 上海 (Shanghai; Tokyo: Sōjinsha, 1927); *Shina mandan* 支那漫談 (Chats about China; Tokyo: Sōjinsha shobō, 1928), and *Shin Shina hōmon ki* 新支那訪問記 (Account of a trip through the new China; Tokyo: Sōjinsha shobō, 1929)—all prima facie evidence testifying to his life of “debauchery in the demon capital.”

Confessor of a Decadent Shanghai: Kaneko Mitsuharu

Even today, Shanghai with its plaster and bricks, its red-tiled roofs, spreading as far as the eye can see, is a city of no interest whatsoever. A jumble of motley customs, the trash of the world, a meeting place for vagrants to settle, wretchedly bewitching, attracting all eyes, it continues like a dried up red scab. The stone pavement of the city with the pain of the scab, the blood, soft and flabby with pus, is smeared with coal cinders and red rust; its surface filthy with feces and fresh phlegm baking in the setting sun, wrapped by a long rain; the brutishness and bitterness of all living things penetrates people’s bodies all the more, taking its toll on men’s minds.



Kaneko Mitsuharu (on the Ginza, Tokyo)

After the war, the poet Kaneko Mitsuharu who visited Shanghai a number of times wrote lines above in his *Dokurohai* どくろ杯 (Skull cup).²⁰ Even the splinters of the “modern” city of Shanghai cannot be seen here. The poet’s vision is literally captivated by the “ground” of Shanghai. Furthermore, he captures it altogether with a sense of touch. A number of people have introduced us realistically to Shanghai, the demon capital, but it is rare to find someone who resorts to such sensuousness. Thus, the reality described here provides one aspect of this demon capital wriggling unmistakably beneath the immense “scab” of “modernity.”

Known to be a vagabond poet, Kaneko visited Shanghai altogether three times in the latter half of the 1920s. The first time was in April 1925, but this occasion was purely for enjoyment’s sake, and he spent about a month there with his wife Michiyo 三千代. The second trip was two years later in March 1927. He was asked by Kunikida Torao 國木田虎雄 (1902-70), who was in a quandary as to how to make use of a sizable amount of money acquired by his father, the writer Kunikida Doppo 國木田獨歩 (1871-1908), in royalties for one-yen books. The aim of this trip, then, was to guide young Torao and his wife around. On this occasion, he spent roughly three months in China. At the time Yokomitsu Riichi 横光利一 (1898-1947) visited Shanghai by chance, and the two men took walks together and quickly warmed to one other as if they were old friends. When he returned to Japan, however, he discovered that his wife, Michiyo, had fallen in love with the anarchist Hijikata Teiichi 土方定一 (1904-80), and Kaneko was thrown into utter confusion.

The third trip was an effort to repair his marital relations, then on the verge of collapse, by taking Michiyo to Europe, a long trip which began with a stop in Shanghai. It was December 1928. This stay in the city lasted about five months, and he struggled hard to support their living expenses and to earn the fare for the voyage to Europe. He wrote and sold in mimeographed form the erotic novel *Enpon ginzajaku* 艶本銀座雀

²⁰ (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1971).

(Ginza sparrow, a pornographic tale). It was a one-man show in which he described “one hundred scenes from the famed sights of Shanghai in their breadth and depth.”

A Distinctive Stench

One thing Kaneko discovered and got wind of in Shanghai was a distinctively decadent aspect of the city. In his mid-20s Kaneko had conceptually mastered decadence from his first overseas trip. A poem he composed in this earlier era expressed and sang of this emotion that is probably best termed decadence. The decadence that he found in Shanghai, though, was slightly different from the earlier sensibility. This was now something at less a conceptual and more of a physical level.

In the evening waves above my head, the phantom of a black, broken down
sailing ship continues.

Oh, Shanghai giving off its harmful dust sinks deeply into the waves!

Vagrants from the foot of the numerous beds of this hospital of great aversion,
from the Garden Bridge, from the bridge planks rattling with the leg irons of
the coolies,...look down on the approach of the muskmelon rinds and the
filthy waters full of phlegm.

Prostitutes with yellow goose bumps bite on bits of bread.
A rickshaw coolie's copper coins rolling over rocks while gambling.

.... To Shanghu! A group of junks dancing in sad ardor.

The scorching odor of metal trays for opium pipes stinks all along Sima Road.
Small genitalia the size of an ear rotten.

Ringling gongs and piercing cries can be heard from the French Concession.
All of China in smoke from the vapors of the Jini Yutuan 隼泥湯糰 [restaurant].

Ah, but a heavy, one-wheeled rickshaw coolie calls out “Ei, ei, hotsu, hotsu,”
When will this clamor through the streets die down?

Every cry from birth to death can be found there.
All returning to the great Yangzi River.²¹

What enabled Kaneko to discover the decadence of Shanghai was his advanced sense of smell as a poet. The distinctive “stench” of Shanghai, which he detected with this acute olfactory sense, brought him great delight. He took it in and would not release it.

²¹ Kaneko Mitsuharu, *Fuka shizimu* 鯨沈む (The shark submerges), in *Kaneko Mitsuharu zenshū* 金子光晴全集 (Collected works of Kaneko Mitsuharu) (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1927), vol. 1.

The body smells of the city got stronger. This stench was pounded together with sex and the uncertainty of life and death, the odor of ambition squandered, drunken people ruined and always apparently seething with anguish. Unawares, a white root from my body takes hold and pushes its way between the paving stones into the desolate spirit of the land, and secretly I sense my body gradually being unable to move.²²

Decadent Shanghai, described in *Dokurohai* as a “great place to live comfortably,” for this poet on the verge of “Shanghai grotesque” is revived together with its “body odor” in a work of his written forty years after his visit to the city. As we saw in the poetic citations above from *Fuka shizimu* 鱻沈む (The shark submerges), what most sharply stimulated the poets sense of smell at the time was, for whatever reason, the “filthy waters” flowing here and there in the city. Kaneko had expressed conceptually a variety of images of “water” from earlier on, and in his confronting the “filthy waters” of Shanghai he would later discard completely this idea and begin to pursue it largely through the senses. As he expressed it in his stories, “Awa” 泡 (Bubbles; *Bungaku hyōron* 文學評論, June 1935), “Same” 鮫 (Shark; *Bungei* 文藝, September 1935), and “Senmenki” 洗面器 (Wash basin; *Jinmin bunko* 人民文庫, October 1937), among others, this distinctly privileged image was regularly used by our poet for Shanghai, China, indeed practically all of Asia over a long period of time.

In this sense, Kaneko was altogether different from Tanizaki. Kaneko discovered a Shanghai via waterways filled to the brim with “filthy water” and, as it were, after the wondrous “scenic riverine sights” had collapsed. And, he played “the beautiful melodies which penetrated into nothingness.”²³ Perhaps this was the happiest meeting between the decadent poet and decadent Shanghai.

²² Kaneko, *Dokurohai* (see above).

²³ Kaneko, “Koto Nankin (ichi)” 古都南京 (Nanjing, the ancient capital, part 1), *Tanka zasshi* 短歌雜誌 (October 1926).