

THE BODY OF EMPIRE AND THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF DETERRITORIALIZATION: A STUDY ON YOKOMITSU RIICHI'S *SHANGHAI*

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Introduction

Since its opening in 1843 because of the First Opium War, Shanghai started to be rapidly incorporated into Western capitalism. Western powers divided the city into several concessions early on: the British established their concession in 1845 and the French in 1849, making Shanghai one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Asia. Compared to the Western powers, the Japanese Empire was a latecomer. It was after the Russo-Japanese War when the number of Japanese in Shanghai rose rapidly, as the Japanese companies headed by spinning industry made forays into the city. Japan seized the opportunity to further expand its influence on Shanghai in 1910s, since a large portion of European young adults returned to their homelands to take part in the First World War, and the Russian Empire lost its extraterritoriality due to the Russian Revolution. As of 1915, the largest group of foreigners in Shanghai was Japanese, with the population of approximately 11,000.¹

Along with the increase in Japanese influence, it is important to note that revolutionary sentiments began to grow in China in 1920s. The Chinese Communist Party was established in 1921 and formed an alliance with Guomindang in 1924, agreeing to eliminate warlord separatism and fight against foreign imperialism. Radical intellectuals organized in these parties were eager to lead public movements, and the public also started to share a yearning for national unification, national independence, and hostility to horrendous living conditions in industrialized cities. Shanghai, as the city that symbolized imperial invasion as well as terrible working conditions, became the site where simmering anti-imperialist sentiments exploded. Numerous strikes took place in Shanghai in the first few months of 1925, and one of them involved a death of a Chinese laborer shot by a Japanese foreman. On May 30th, workers and students went on a demonstration, which was suppressed by the British police that killed twelve Chinese. This May Thirtieth Movement triggered ferocious protests in other major cities including Guangzhou and Hong Kong.²

As this shows, Shanghai in 1920s was the site of conflicts among various international forces: the Western powers, the Japanese who were increasingly gaining

¹ Hirofumi Wada, *Gengo toshi shanghai* [Shanghai, the City of Language] (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 1999), 9-10.

² Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1999), 20-24.

influence, and the Chinese intellectuals and laborers motivated by revolutionary thoughts. It was under these circumstances when a number of Japanese writers and intellectuals visited Shanghai, where they reflected on their "mental ambivalences and ambiguities between nationalism and internationalism."³ Among them, here I focus on Yokomitsu Riichi (横光利一, 1898-1947). Inspired by the recommendation of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, one of the most prominent novelists of the time, Yokomitsu visited Shanghai for approximately one month in April 1928.⁴ He was deeply impressed by the uniqueness of the city conjured up by Western imperialism and wrote a novel titled *Shanghai*. Published in book form in 1931, this novel takes place in Shanghai 1925, when the May Thirtieth Movement occurred.

Interestingly, Yokomitsu did not depict Shanghai as a splendid modern city. Rather, he focused on the dark side of Shanghai: laborers and prostitutes from various parts of Eurasian countries, among which were also fallen Russian aristocrats. This shows a stark difference from other Japanese writers who visited the city before: Nagai Kafū who romanticized Shanghai exclaiming that it was "as if wandering around in an international exposition," or Tanizaki Jun'ichirō who recollected historical characters in Chinese classics during his travel.⁵

The spectrum of vagabonds that Yokomitsu portrays is truly wide. The novel features multi-layered conflicts between the East and the West, empires and colonies, capitalists and proletariat, and men and women. Among the wide range of people who carries on their lives in this complex set of conflicts, it is without doubt the Japanese characters that form the core of the novel. To understand the complex relation of these characters and Japanese Empire, it is worth referring to Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Territory can be defined as the extent of land that the sovereignty of a nation reaches. This 'sovereignty' represses and controls our flow of desire to move beyond the boundaries, forcing us to remain in the limited territory and to repeatedly carry out certain duties. Deterritorialization is the escape from this structure or system, which is accompanied by reterritorialization. That is, when the flow of such escape is captured, the new land eventually becomes the extension of the territory.⁶

In *Shanghai*, the Japanese characters experience the process of deterritorialization, moving from mainland Japan to Shanghai. However, they are not

³ Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 316.

⁴ Kenki Ryū, *Mato shanhai: nibon chishikijin no kindai taiken* [Demon Capital Shanghai: The "Modern" Experience of Japanese Intellectuals] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 2010), 245.

⁵ Mareshi Saitō, *Kanbunmyaku to kindai Nihon: mō hitotsu no kotoba no sekai* [Kanbunmyaku: The Literary Sinitic Context and the Birth of Modern Japanese Language and Literature] (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 2007), 150-165; Eunkyong Jung, "A Study on Memory for Shanghai: Sensation of Colonial Joseon and Imperial Japanese - Focused on Kim Kwangu and Yokomitsu Riichi," *The Journal of Korean Literary Creative Writing* 17, no.1 (2018): 88.

⁶ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, "Year Zero: Faciality," in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 167-191.

freed from the fact that the territory of Japanese Empire is incised in their body and are eventually reterritorialized in different ways. In this essay, I will analyze how each Japanese character goes through the process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. First, I examine the cases of Miyako, Kōya, and Yamaguchi. As reterritorialized bodies of the Japanese Empire, they try to compete with the Western powers, while showing a sense of superiority to the Chinese people. Next, I focus on Sanki, the problematic protagonist of the novel who endeavors to escape from the power of reterritorialization by refusing to seek financial profit and pursuing morality. Then follows the case of Osugi who is located outside of the sphere of influence of reterritorialization. Depicting the operation of two confrontational powers in this diverse set of characters, Yokomitsu shows how the loyal territories of the empire are jeopardized in the vortex of a revolution, and the pursuit of deterritorialization is frustrated. I argue that this novel reveals the power of reterritorialization exerted by the empire, which prohibits the characters from living as individuals not as territories.

The Japanese in Shanghai: Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization

The Japanese characters in the novel flowed into Shanghai through various routes. They commonly experience deterritorialization from Japan as they left their own country to live in an international colonial city. At first sight, it seems that they have obtained freedom from the yoke of Japan. Yet it is still the power of Japanese Empire that manipulates their body and emotion. Although living in a cosmopolitan city, the thoughts and actions of these characters are constantly dominated by the fact that they are Japanese, or that they live with 'the Japanese body'.

Miyako, a dancer who works at a dance hall called Sarasen, entertains numerous white elite customers with her Japanese body. Her customers include a Frenchman working at the French radio telegraph station, a German businessman from Allgemeine Gesellschaft, and other white elite men at major international corporations such as Mercantile Marine and General Electric. What drives her to attract them by dancing is strongly connected with the ambition of the Japanese Empire to territorialize Shanghai. She tells Kōya, a Japanese man who competes with white men at Sarasen to win her heart, that "foreigners are guests" and "gentlemen like you ought to conspire with me and try to plunder as much money as possible from them."⁷ This implies that Miyako thinks herself as a part of the Japanese Empire. In this sense, her greatest weapon, the Japanese body, is not merely the body of a Japanese who left Japan. It is the body that represents the ambition of imperial aggrandizement, or the body that functions as a 'territory' of the Japanese Empire.

When Kōya proposes to Miyako to go to Singapore with him, she answers, "There is no place more precious to me than this city. If I leave here, I would be just like a fish without scales. If there is no other option, I am always determined to die.

⁷ Yokomitsu Riichi, *Shanghai* (Tokyo: Shomotsu Tenbosha, 1935), 84.

But I am still fond of this city."⁸ Miyako feels that she is strongly tethered to Shanghai, and it is obvious that the power that binds her to this city comes from the Japanese Empire. In this context, her fondness for Shanghai is not her personal preference; it shows that she is regarding herself as the spearhead of Japanese imperialism. Miyako becomes a reterritorialized body, playing a role of extending the territory of the Japanese Empire.

Kōya demonstrates another example of reterritorialization. He shows a sense of inferiority to the West and a sense of superiority to China, as if he cannot separate himself from the international position of the Japanese Empire. A salaryman working at a Japanese lumber company in Singapore, Kōya comes to Shanghai to ask Miyako for marriage, but tastes the bitterness of defeat in the competition with her white lovers.

He went to Miyako's dance hall for ten days, but her eyes were always saying, "The Japanese should come later." [...] Kōya was staring at the back of Miyako. He thought that the legs of robust foreigners were attracting her feet. But why is it that the Japanese must be disparaged as such? Bemoaning the shortness of his legs, Kōya walked to the park gate. But it was too much of a bother for him to ponder over the reason why only the Chinese could not enter the park.⁹

Although specific names of places are not shown in this novel, the park in the above quotation is presumably the Public Garden, located in Huangpu Riverside of Shanghai International Settlement. There was a sign at the park's gate put up by the secretary of the international settlement council room which banned the entrance of Chinese, and such prohibition was still active when Yokomitsu wrote this novel.¹⁰ It is worth noting that contemplating on such a discriminatory regulation against the Chinese was "too much of a bother" [う る さ い] for Kōya. This shows an important aspect of Kōya's mentality: as a Japanese, he wants to place himself superior to the Chinese people by regarding such regulation as a trivial matter. Meanwhile, Kōya reacts sensitively to the sense of inferiority that he cannot win against Miyako's white lovers. The sense of inferiority that Kōya feels to Western people stems from the fact that his legs – a part of the Japanese body – are shorter than theirs, which is a visualization of Japan's inferiority compared to other Western forces in Shanghai. Condemned with his short legs, it is impossible for him to free himself from the sense that he is living as territory of the Japanese Empire.

The fact that the body of the Japanese characters in Shanghai are reterritorialized by the Japanese Empire also shapes their gaze toward the Chinese protesters. In this novel, China is not called as *chūgoku* [中国] but as *shina* [支那], which

⁸ Ibid at 248-249.

⁹ Ibid at 85-87.

¹⁰ Maeda Ai, *Tosbi kūkan no naka no bungaku* [Literature in Urban Space] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1983), 457-469.

according to Stefan Tanaka “emerged in early-twentieth-century Japan as a word that signified China as a troubled place mired in its past, in contrast to Japan, a modern Asian nation.”¹¹ As this shows, China is represented as ‘the inferior nation of the Orient’ for the Japanese in Shanghai reterritorialized by their empire. Therefore, when they observe the Chinese people protesting in May Thirtieth Movement, they cannot grasp them as individuals. In the scene where the spinning mill workers go on a violent demonstration in their factory, the protesters are represented as bubbles: “From large black holes a new mob surged like bubbles.”¹² As Shindo Masahiro aptly pointed out, the Chinese protesters in the eyes of the Japanese observers lose their individuality, or even humanity, being nothing more than a component of a collective movement.¹³ Such representations of the Chinese people reflect the gaze of the Japanese reterritorialized by the Japanese Empire.

Yamaguchi, an architect friend of Kōya whom he got along with before moving to Singapore, more explicitly shows what a Japanese could do or think as a territory of the empire under these circumstances. Yamaguchi makes a living by selling the skulls of dead bodies and buys fallen aristocrats of Russia as concubines. He thinks that Asia should form an alliance under the leadership of Japan to fight against Western imperialism, and thus called an Asianist by other characters. When an Indian patriot called Amuli criticizes Japanese militarism and appeals to the superiority of Indians in numbers, Yamaguchi thinks:

But isn't Japanese militarism the only weapon to protect Asia from the threat of Caucasians? Is there any other country? Think of China, India, Siam, and Persia. To admit Japanese militarism, that is the axiom of Asia.¹⁴

In addition, in a meeting of Asianists, a Chinese called Li Yingpu claims that to liberate Asia from Caucasians, Japan and China must affiliate with each other as nations that share the same race and letters. Yamaguchi's Asianism has a different expectation, as he rebuts Li's argument as follows:

The alliance of Asia becomes possible only when China and India accept Japanese militarism. Should we let Asia perish just because the Japanese lease of Southern Manchuria has extended to 99 years? We must not forget that Asia had its life prolonged for 99 years thanks to Japan.¹⁵

Unlike that of Amuli and Li, which endorses the sovereignty of India or China, it is clear that Yamaguchi's Asianism is based on the hierarchy which sets Japan over other

¹¹ Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 4.

¹² Riichi, *Shanghai*, 201.

¹³ Hirofumi, *Gengo toshi shanbai*, 65-73.

¹⁴ Riichi, *Shanghai*, 107.

¹⁵ *Ibid* at 108.

Asian countries. Clinging to such discriminatory notions, Yamaguchi functions as a loyal territory of the Japanese Empire. By infusing the Japanese characters living in Shanghai with the contempt for the Chinese people, the sense of inferiority to the West, and the following rhetoric of Asianism which disregards the sovereignty of other Asian countries, the Japanese Empire strongly reterritorializes them.

Sanki the Don Quixote and Osugi as 'the Territory Outside'

Sanki, the protagonist of this novel, shows the process of reterritorialization as well. One of Kōya's childhood friends, Sanki is an employee at a Japanese bank in Shanghai. He has no affection to his profession where the only thing he does is manipulating the amount of deposit to conceal his superior's embezzlement, and constantly wanders throughout the city. In the following quotation, he clearly recognizes that living in Shanghai with a Japanese body he cannot be released from yoke of the Japanese Empire.

Here, people of various races live as the suckers of their native countries, sucking in each other's money. Therefore, the body an individual plays a very patriotic role here, no matter how nonchalant he is. [...] *'My body is a territory. Both my body and Osugi's body.'* (俺の身体は領土なんだ。この俺の身体もお杉の身体も。).¹⁶
[emphasis added]

The terms "suckers of their native countries" and "My body is a territory" expresses the reterritorialization of the Japanese body by the Japanese Empire more directly. Moreover, imagining the death of himself, Sanki thinks that "Japan gets stronger diplomatically when a Japanese is murdered. Then it is better to be killed by a Chinese."¹⁷ This shows that he is regarding himself as a territory of Japan even when imagining the moment of death. In this sense, Sanki represents the reterritorialized Japanese body living in Shanghai as a sucker of one's native country, which is identical to Miyako and Kōya.

However, it would be hasty to conclude that this novel only shows the operation of identity politics by the Japanese Empire. This is because unlike Miyako and Kōya, Sanki shows the pursuit of deterritorialization once more. To demonstrate how the power of deterritorialization works in Sanki's case, it is worth pointing out how his appearance is portrayed. He has "white skin and an intelligent-looking face, similar to the face of an ancient or medieval knight."¹⁸ As I have discussed, it is important to have 'a Japanese body' to be reterritorialized by the Japanese Empire. In this sense, Sanki's non-Japanese appearance alludes to his potential to resist to the reterritorializing power of the Japanese Empire.

¹⁶ Ibid at 75-76.

¹⁷ Ibid at 265.

¹⁸ Ibid at 17.

Moreover, Kōya calls Sanki by the name of "Don Quixote". At first glance, this can be interpreted as a mocking name, since Sanki was voluntarily dismissed from the bank, he was working for by raising objections to his superior's embezzlement. However, Don Quixote also has the meaning of the guardian of rightness. Don Quixote pursues rightness when the era of chivalry has already culminated. Since he not only thinks but acts out his faith for rightness, he cannot avoid being ridiculed by others who live in Shanghai where capitalist competition is at its highest.¹⁹

The first rightness that Sanki pursues is represented by his resignation from the bank. This distinguishes him from other Japanese characters in the novel whose priority is making money by fair means or foul: Miyako sucks money out of her white lovers, and Yamaguchi continues selling the skulls of dead bodies to keep concubines. Kōya follows the logic of capitalism trying to win against the Philippine lumber company. Oryū becomes a concubine of a Chinese capitalist Qian Shishan and runs a Turkish bath exploiting the homeless Osugi. These characters function as 'suckers' their native country by avariciously seeking financial profit. Contrary to these characters, Sanki prioritizes rightness over financial profit gained by concealing his superior's embezzlement. His decision goes against functioning as a 'sucker' of the Japanese Empire in Shanghai, where "people of various races live as the suckers of their native countries, sucking in each other's money."

Sanki follows another sort of morality, which is empathy for the Chinese people. Discussing this novel, Naoki Sakai argued that Sanki starts to form different social relations with people in Shanghai by freeing himself from subjugation to the imperialist nation.²⁰ This means that he begins to sympathize with the Chinese people who protest against imperialism. The day after the May Thirtieth Movement, he wanders around the streets in Chinese costumes, once again recognizing that he is Japanese.²¹ While having to suppress the movement as a secretary in a textile factory, the fact that he wears Chinese costumes and walks in the middle of the Chinese mob shows his endeavor to identify himself with the Chinese. Although such endeavor cannot succeed with ease, it is certain that he strives to move beyond the limits of his reterritorialized body.

Osugi is another important character when discussing the various reactions of Japanese characters. Osugi worked at Oryū's Turkish bath, but soon gets fired due to Oryū's jealousy and becomes a homeless prostitute. Even though she lives in Shanghai with a Japanese body, she is not represented as the spearhead of the empire. Rather, she strays into the dark backstreets of Shanghai. At the same time, unlike Sanki, she does not resist to the imperial power of reterritorialization. Here I call her 'the territory outside.'

¹⁹ Yeongchae Seo, *Punggyeong i onda* [The Landscape is Coming] (Goyang: Namu Namu Chulpansa, 2019), 141.

²⁰ Naoki Sakai and Meaghan Morris, *Translation and Subjectivity: On Japan and cultural nationalism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 137.

²¹ Riichi, *Shanghai*, 239.

The territory outside refers to the territory (=the Japanese body) that does not function at all. Osugi does not make use of her Japanese body to play a role as the sucker of the empire. This is because she had not come to Shanghai in her own volition; her migration is close to banishment. Back in Japan, she was living on the pension paid to her in compensation for the death of her father who was a colonel. However, for some unaccountable reason, the pension ceased to be paid and she was told to recompense all the money. Her mother committed suicide and Osugi drifted into a Turkish bath in Shanghai. In this sense, it would be more logical to consider Osugi as a character banished into the backstreets of Shanghai where drug trafficking and prostitution was pervasive, rather than a territory planted in modern Shanghai by the Japanese Empire.

The fact that Osugi is depicted as a silent character also emphasizes her inability to function as the territory of the empire. Kuroda Taiga pointed out that Osugi hardly utters a word until the end of the novel, even when she is raped by Kōya.²² Osugi's reticence makes a striking contrast to Shanghai, a city where one could hear languages from all around the world. Kuroda also argues that her reticence influences how her eyes observe the world around her. When Sanki comes to the Turkish bath, the only thing that Osugi could do is to “look at” [眺める] him. As a silent character, she can only observe the reality that surrounds herself rather than actively engage in it. Thus, she cannot make relationships with other Japanese characters who function as the territory of the empire. In this sense, Osugi is contrary to Miyako who, as a sucker of the empire, constantly participates in conversations with white lovers in an active way.

In addition, even though Osugi drifted into Shanghai with a Japanese body, she does not have a clear memory of Japan. She recalls her mother when seeing an old woman knitting, and reminisces about Japan as follows:

At that point, she had almost no knowledge of Japan. What she remembered were stone walls of a castle which formed a long and beautiful line, wind blowing on the branches of pine trees, the thick roofs on autumn days when cold showers of rain came, anxiously crying chickens under the sasanquas, and a black post box standing forever at the street corner just like a face of a man. She remembered such vague scenes without knowing where she saw them.²³

This shows that Osugi almost lost the memory of Japan. While she retains a relatively accurate memory of the tragedy that swept her family, other landscapes of Japan is recalled only with vagueness. This weakens Osugi's bond with Japan, making it harder to consider her as a territory of the empire.

²² Taiga Kuroda, *Yokomitsu Riichi to sono jidai: modanizumu, media, senso* [Yokomitsu Riichi and His Era: Modernism, Media, and War] (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2017), 103-104.

²³ Riichi, *Shanghai*, 213.

“An abandoned stone” [捨石] is the term that shows how Kōya thinks of Osugi, which most explicitly demonstrates that Osugi is located in the outside of the territory of the empire.²⁴ For Kōya, who works for a Japanese lumber company in Singapore as a loyal territory of the empire, Osugi is nothing more than a stone abandoned by the empire, since a homeless prostitute like her cannot function as a territory. On the contrary, Sanki regards Osugi as “a prospective bride.” Through the marital bond with a body alienated from the empire, Sanki attempts to deterritorialize from the empire once more.

In this way, Osugi is ‘the territory outside’ which does not function as a territory of the Japanese Empire even though living in Shanghai with a Japanese body. This is why she looks attractive to Sanki who has internalized the pursuit of deterritorialization as we will see in the following discussion on the meaning of the union of Sanki and Osugi.

The Impossibility of Deteritorialization

Having dismissed from the bank, Sanki becomes a beggar and visits Miyako to beg for bread. In this scene, his attention focuses more on the food (bread) rather than the giver of the food (Miyako) and soon leaves her house after a quarrel. Sanki’s extreme hunger and obsession with bread is contrary to the reterritorializing power of the empire represented by Miyako. This is because hunger is an instinctive feeling irrelevant to the power of the empire. Moreover, even if he relieves hunger by begging for bread, his action does not benefit the Japanese Empire at all. While Kōya’s competition against the Philippine lumber company contributes to the expansion of the Japanese Empire, Sanki’s begging does not have any meaning other than satisfying his own physiological desire.

Wandering around the streets after nearly being kicked out of Miyako’s house, Sanki encounters a decisive incident that leads his body to deterritorialize. Blankly looking down at the surface of a muddy ditch, he is suddenly thrown into a ship full of excrement by two or three Chinese and realizes that his head is freed after waking up.

Suddenly, Sanki realized that his body was holding on to one end of the tree tightly. Stretching out his feet he thought, "But where is here?" It was inside the ship that he was looking down a while ago. Looking around, the flat side, which was squishy due to excrement, was wetting him up to his neck. (...) He lay down on the excrement, closed his eyes, and felt his head moving freely again. He tried to follow how far his head was moving.²⁵

As Sanki is thrown down to the ship by the Chinese, he is in the position of being gazed by them. This direction of gaze is contrary to that of the characters who

²⁴ Ibid at 284.

²⁵ Ibid at 314-315.

are territories of the Japanese Empire. That is, when the territory of the empire is incised in the body of Japanese characters, it is inevitable that they disparage Chinese people as the inferior other, and regard the Chinese as the object of their gaze. However, as Sanki is thrown down by the Chinese, the gaze changes its direction. At this point, Sanki ceases to internalize the gaze as a territory of the empire that despises the Chinese. Kamei Hideo argued that the nationalism of Japanese characters in this novel is “the unwanted approval to let the body serve as a symbol of the nation, which lacks the voluntariness from the bottom of their heart.”²⁶ This means that although the territory of the empire is deeply incised in the body of the Japanese characters, it is incised *only in the body*. Since the nationalism evoked by the territory of the empire engraved in the body “lacks the voluntariness from the bottom of the heart,” Sanki could liberate himself from such nationalism after being thrown down by the Chinese people. Eventually, Sanki achieves a deterritorialized body through the baptism of the ship of excrement.

After this incident, Sanki recalls his mother in Japan and a Chinese woman called Fang Qiulan. Fang Qiulan is a communist who leads the strike of Chinese workers in the textile factory. On May thirtieth, she had saved Sanki from the ferocious mob and started to admire him. For Sanki, she is an adorable woman but also a communist with whom he cannot reconcile. After this contemplation, Sanki heads to the red-light district where Osugi is working. Some of the preceding researchers had interpreted that this scene shows Sanki’s return to the rhetorical territory of empire. For example, Maeda Ai explained that Sanki in this scene represents “the pursuit of returning to Japan, triggered by the extreme situation of the international city seething with revolution,” mentioning that it is ‘motherland Japan’ that Sanki is thinking of when recalling his ‘mother.’²⁷ Also, Kanei Keiko thought that Sanki “went back to Osugi, a *Japanese* who unconditionally greets him,” and Jung Eunkyong argued that Osugi symbolizes “motherland Japan corrupted by militarism and imperialism,” whose fate Sanki decided to embrace.²⁸ According to such interpretations, Sanki is a character that eventually allows himself to be reterritorialized after the long oscillation between the power of reterritorialization and deterritorialization, and this novel shows the close connection of Yokomitsu to imperialist ideology.

However, although Sanki recalls his mother and eventually chooses Osugi over Fang Qiulan, it is hard to confirm his transformation into a nationalist. First, Sanki’s memory of his mother is evoked by an unpleasant experience of the nasty odor of excretion. This implies that the attachment to the motherland is also unpleasant, and eventually, needed to be excreted. Especially, considering that Sanki increasingly shows the urge to deterritorialize his body, “motherland Japan” is rather depicted as a

²⁶ Kamei, *Shintai, kono fushiginaru mono* [Body, a Mystical Being] (Tokyo: Renga Shobo Shinsha, 1984), 134.

²⁷ Maeda, *Toshi kukan no*, 498.

²⁸ Kamei, *Shintai, kono fushiginaru*, 134; Jung, "A Study on," 103.

place to leave. Also, the mere fact that Osugi possesses a Japanese body does not make her symbolize motherland Japan. For Osugi, the motherland is about traumatic memory and irreconcilable past, which made her drift into Shanghai. Therefore, the possession of “Japanese” body of Osugi, in contrast to Fang’s “Chinese” body, is not a return to the motherland but a departure from it. Hence, a different interpretation must be provided.

Fang Qiulan represents the Chinese Marxist force who were protesting to imperialism in Shanghai, including that of the Japanese Empire. Although Sanki is physically attracted by Fang’s appearance, the impassable barrier of different ideologies prevents him from further attachment, especially as her fate is intertwined with her revolutionary pursuit in Marxism. As Sanki could not think of Marxism as the destination of his deterritorialization, he visits Osugi, the ‘territory outside.’ By starting a conversation, Sanki tries to make a relation with Osugi who had been a ‘silent body’. The union of these two is not the union of territories since they are deterritorialized body (Sanki) and the territory outside (Osugi). In particular, the fact that this union has been a long-cherished wish for Osugi shows that this is the union of individuals based on love, not on the imperial power of territorialization.

Nonetheless, their union takes place in the middle of a dark room, where no one can expect bright future. In the last scene of the novel, Osugi remains silent, looking at the dark ceiling.

If the army force lands and the disturbance calms down tomorrow, I [Osugi] will have to stay absent-mindedly again. Then, oh, with that rough skin, tongues that smell terribly like garlic, greasy hair, long nails, and unorganized sharp teeth that bite my skin. Thinking of those things, she drooped like a sick man who gave up everything and looked at the dark ceiling.²⁹

Thinking that she must face her customers again, Osugi falls into despair, and it seems clear that neither can Sanki who ended up as a beggar expect a hopeful future. The fact that their union does not promise any hope demonstrates how the power of reterritorialization emasculates the power of deterritorialization pursued by the characters who try to treat and love each other as individuals rather than as territories of the empire. Shanghai seems to be a cosmopolitan place far away from the empire, but even in such a city, the characters cannot promise their futures of not being territories of the empire.

Besides Sanki and Osugi, there remains the stories of people who served as faithful territories of the empire. Unlike Sanki who as the guardian of rightness let himself be fired from his workplace, Kōya works as a loyal employee of a Japanese lumber company in Singapore, succeeding in winning three contracts faster than his rival Philippine company. Nevertheless, as the May Thirtieth Movement occurs, the

²⁹ Riichi, *Shanghai*, 332-333.

dock workers go on a strike and port factories close down, which causes the lumber to rot in ships. Kōya, just like Sanki, becomes penniless in the middle of the revolution. He goes to Yamaguchi's place and ends up staying with one of Yamaguchi's mistresses, Olga. A fallen Russian aristocrat, Olga reveals the tragic story that her family had to go through after the Russian Revolution and goes into a convulsion because of recalling a traumatic memory. Kōya finds beauty from her body under seizure and thinks of her as his future wife. This is the last scene of Kōya. As a loyal territory of the empire, he competed with white lovers of Miyako and worked conscientiously for a Japanese lumber company, but eventually suffers hunger and stays next to Olga. If Yokomitsu understood the territorialization of the Japanese characters by the empire in a positive sense, he would not have written Kōya's ending in this manner since he has functioned as the most faithful Japanese territory in Shanghai.

Neither is Yamaguchi's story a happy ending. Leaving his place after introducing Kōya to Olga, he says that Fang Qiulan seems to have been killed due to the suspicion of having a liaison with a Japanese man. He tells Kōya what to do when he dies in the middle of the revolution, and gives him a letter to his Pan-Asianist comrade Li Yingpu. In this scene, it seems that Yamaguchi is foreseeing his death. He had been a loyal territory of the Japanese Empire, endorsing the alliance of Asia under Japanese rule, but similar to Kōya who becomes destitute, his last scene alludes to his death.

In this way, the stories of Kōya and Yamaguchi, who have functioned as reterritorialized bodies of the empire, are hopelessly put to an end. While Sanki and Osugi showed how the pursuit of deterritorialization is emasculated by the power of reterritorialization, Kōya and Yamaguchi represent how the ones who have been faithfully reterritorialized are eventually estranged from the protection of the empire. Even though they served as the spearhead of the empire, when the wave of revolution threatens them, they cannot expect the empire to shelter them; they have no choice but to meet their gloomy fate. What Yokomitsu conveyed in this novel is the violent nature of the power of reterritorialization. The international colonial city of Shanghai he observed was the place where the attempt to break away from the power of reterritorialization is frustrated, and the ones who devotedly follow this power are also abandoned in the vortex of the May Thirtieth Movement.

Conclusion

Under the setting of Shanghai 1925, Yokomitsu shows how two opposing powers operate in the bodies of Japanese characters: reterritorialization by the empire and the pursuit of deterritorialization. The Japanese characters in Shanghai experience deterritorialization in that they have initially left Japan. However, their bodies as Japanese are not free from the reterritorialization by the Japanese Empire. As loyal suckers of the empire, Miyako, Kōya, and Yamaguchi represent how they are reterritorialized.

The protagonist Sanki also cannot completely free himself from the power of reterritorialization. Nevertheless, unlike other Japanese characters, Sanki sympathizes with the Chinese people and endeavors to abide by morality. His effort shows that a pursuit of deterritorialization is in action in the case of Sanki. Meanwhile, Osugi has a Japanese body but does not function as a territory of the empire. As an 'abandoned stone' of the empire, she silently and passively looks at the reality that ruins her life. In this sense, her body floats around as 'the territory outside'.

After losing his job, Sanki falls into a ship full of excrement, which leads him to obtain a deterritorialized body. Subsequently he is attracted to Osugi, and tries to unite with her, but Osugi's last gaze is met by darkness. Eventually, in the city of Shanghai where everyone is living as territories of their nations, there was no place for Sanki and Osugi who refused the power of reterritorialization.

In the meantime, the stories of Kōya and Yamaguchi ends in misery as well. Enduring hunger, Kōya stays next to Olga who suffers convulsion in the basement of Yamaguchi's place, and it is suggested that Yamaguchi will have to face death. In this novel, Yokomitsu tried to reveal the violent nature of the power of reterritorialization on the part of the empire, which both incapacitates the pursuit of deterritorialization and does not shelter the loyal territories of itself when they are threatened in the chaos of a revolution.

Yokomitsu Riichi made up characters of truly multi-layered natures in *Shanghai*, and successfully depicted the scenery of the backstreets of so called 'modern Shanghai' by imparting unique roles to each of them. Under such settings, the novel shows that the power of reterritorialization suppresses the possibility of the characters to live as individuals not as territories of the empire. Trapped in the body of the empire, they could not expect the possibility of deterritorialization, in seemingly the most international city of Shanghai.

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