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### From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII

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## From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII

Abstract: This paper examines the outcome of two street-renamings in Taipei, the largest city of Taiwan, immediately after World War Two when the Chinese Nationalists, representing the victorious Allied forces, took over Taiwan from Japan. The Taiwan Administrative Office conducted the first street-renaming in June 1946 and the second street-renaming in January 1947. The first wave was characterized by the themes of local reminiscence and cityscape, anti-Japanese significance, and the ethos of Chinese nationalism. The second instance of renaming predominately features Chinese nationalistic ideas in that the streets were renamed after geographical names of China proper, we well as Tibet, East Turkestan (or Uyghurstan), Mongolia and Manchuria. This was a common practice in 1947, and one that persists in present times. The paper discusses the state ideologies behind the

aforementioned two types of street-naming by examining the ideas and the spatial layouts of the two naming practices.

**Keywords:** Taipei, street-naming, Chinese nationalism, Taiwan.

## Du Caire à la géographie nationaliste de la Chine : création de noms de rues dans la ville de Taipei immédiatement après la Seconde Guerre mondiale

Résumé: Nous étudions le résultat de deux changements de noms de rues à Taipei, la plus grande ville de Taiwan, immédiatement après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, lorsque les nationalistes chinois, représentant les forces alliées victorieuses, ont pris le contrôle de Taiwan sur le Japon. Le bureau administratif de Taiwan a procédé au premier changement de nom de rues en juin 1946 et au deuxième changement de nom de rues en janvier 1947. La première vague était caractérisée par les thèmes de la réminiscence et du paysage urbain locaux, de la signification anti-japonaise et de l'éthique du nationalisme chinois. Le deuxième cas de changement de nom reprend principalement les idées nationalistes chinoises en renommant les rues d'après les noms géographiques de la Chine proprement dite, comme au Tibet, au Turkestan oriental (ou Uyghurstan), en Mongolie et en Mandchourie. C'était une pratique courante en 1947 et qui persiste encore aujourd'hui. Nous étudions aussi les idéologies des États qui sous-tendent les deux types susmentionnés de dénomination de rues, en examinant les idées et la disposition spatiale de ces deux pratiques de dénomination.

Mots-clés: Taipei, nom de rue, nationalisme chinois, Taiwan.

#### Von Kairo zur nationalistischen Geographie Chinas: Straßenbenennung in Taipei City unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg

Zusammenfassung: Dieser Beitrag untersucht das Ergebnis von zwei Umbenennungswellen in Taipeh, der größten Stadt Taiwans, unmittelbar nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als die chinesischen Nationalisten, die die siegreichen alliierten Streitkräfte vertraten, Taiwan von Japan übernahmen. Das taiwanesische Verwaltungsbüro führte im Juni 1946 die erste Straßenumbenennung und im Januar 1947 die zweite Straßenumbenennung durch. Die erste Welle war gekennzeichnet durch die Themen: lokale Erinnerung und Stadtbild, antijapanische Einstellung und chinesischen Nationalismus. Die zweite Umbenennungswelle umfasst vorwiegend chinesisch-nationalistische Vorstellungen, indem Straßen nach geographischen Namen von China, Tibet, Ostturkestan (oder Uyghurstan), der Mongolei und der Mandschurei umbenannt wurden. Dies war eine übliche Praxis im Jahr 1947, die auch heute noch besteht. In dem Beitrag werden die Ideologien und Benennungsmotive des Staates hinter den beiden vorgenannten Arten von Straßennamen diskutiert, indem die Ideen und räumlichen Layouts der beiden Benennungspraktiken untersucht werden.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Taipei, Straßenbenennung, chinesischer Nationalismus, Taiwan.

### From Cairo to the nationalistic geography of China: Street-naming in Taipei City immediately after WWII\*

PETER KANG

#### 1. Introduction

In the year of 1945, the end of World War Two in East and Southeast Asia witnessed the disintegration of the Japanese Empire, which precipitated scrabbling among the Allies for the territories formerly seized by the Japanese during, and even before, World War Two. Those that had been annexed by the Japanese Empire during the Great War were immediately reclaimed by the victorious Allied forces, whereas the territories Japan had obtained since the late nineteenth century were regarded as new trophies to be distributed among the Allies as they decided, as what we may see from the declaration issued after the conference among the Allies in Cairo, Egypt in 1943. Thus, it was the Russians who represented the Allied Forces in accepting the Japanese surrender in Manchuria, North Korea and Sakhalin, while the Americans played this role in South Korea, the Ryukyu Islands, the Pacific islands and the Philippines, and the Chinese did the same in North Vietnam and Taiwan. The immediate postwar transient military take-over and occupation of the aforementioned territories have led to the subsequent geographical demarcation of new international boundaries (Yahuda 2004: 21–23). For instance, the legacies of North and South Vietnam in this regard lasted until the year of 1976, about three decades after the end of World War Two, and those of the two Koreas endure until today. A similar case to that seen on the Korean Peninsula could be said to apply to Taiwan, or Formosa as it was then called, as the Taiwan issue remained unsettled during the Cold War (Lim 2005: 149), and the island remained under postwar Chinese Nationalistic rule until recently. The current paper will therefore explore how the Chinese Sinicized its trophy by street-renaming, creating, in the process, the symbolic landscape of a nationalistic China in the immediate postwar era. The case of Taipei, the former colonial capital of the Japanese Empire on this island, and then called Taihoku, will serve to illustrate the point.

<sup>\*</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Pek Wee Chuen for his assistance with excellent cartographic works. I am also greatly indebted to the valuable comments from the reviewers. Any errors and mis-interpretations in the article remain only my own.

#### 2. The postwar new occupation authority and the principles for street naming

On 25 October 1945, under the authorization of Douglas MacArthur's General Order No. 1, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of the Chinese Nationalist Force had Chen Yi 陳儀 represent the Allied forces in receiving the official surrender from General Andō Rikichi 安藤利吉, the commander of the Japanese 10th Area Army and Governor-General of Formosa, in Taipei City Hall. This event officially concluded the war in Formosa.

On 30 October, Chen, acting as the Governor of the newly established Taiwan Administrative Office (Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ 臺灣省行政長官公署),¹ which was designed to replace the Government-General of Formosa (Taiwan Sōtokufu 台湾総督府) under the Japanese Empire to govern the entire island, ordered all Japanese troops to turn in their weapons and equipment. The ethnic Japanese on Formosa, both military and civilian, were relocated to camps to await deportation to Japan. Nevertheless, as late as February 1946, it was reported that more than 320,000 ethnic Japanese were still in detention camps on Formosa, in addition to thousands who were required to remain at their posts in the civil administration and police (Lai et al. 1991: 63). Meanwhile, the Taiwan Administrative Office in November of 1945 issued an order for the overall place-renaming throughout the entire island.

The decree in November 1945 required the local city and county governments to rename the streets within two months.<sup>2</sup> Those with Japanese implications, such as designations styled after Japanese figures, geography, history and culture were to be removed and replaced with nomenclature in

The spelling of street names in 1946 in this article is based on Taiwanese vernacular (Pėh-ōe-jī) since most of the street names followed the original ones used in Taiwan, and it was the Taiwanese-led Taipei City Government that designed the city-wide street-naming, whereas the spelling in 1947 is mainly based on the official spelling in Chinese published by the Chinese Nationalist Government at a later stage, as the entire renaming was conducted by the Chinese-led Taiwan Administrative Office. The Romanization of Chinese in this text follows the Hanyu pinyin system, but the contemporary usage of Wade-Giles spelling, as utilized by the Chinese Nationalist Government at the time, is also provided for critical terms such as Chung-hua (China) or Fu-hsing (Glory Reviving) advocated by the Chinese Nationalists. Please also refer to the Appendix for a complete list of denominations and their various Romanized spellings in Chinese Mandarin, Taiwanese, Japanese, etc.

At the moment when the Taiwan Administrative Office issued the decree of street-renaming, only the local governments of Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Keelung were able to follow the order. The other districts were still to some extent disorganized. The Taiwan Administrative Office acknowledged the chaotic situation everywhere and thus granted a grace period for the districts other than the aforementioned three in its decree. See: 23 November 1945, *Bîn-pò* 民報.

line with the following four points. First, to carry forward the Chinese national spirit (Fāyáng zhōnghuá mínzú jīngshén 發揚中華民族精神); second, to promote the Three People's Principles (Xuānyáng sānmín zhǔyì 宣揚三民主義)³; third, to commemorate the great national figures (Jìniàn guójiā wěidà rénwù 紀念國家偉大人物); and fourth, to be suitable for local geographies or habits, and also meaningful (Shìhé dāngdì dìlǐ huò xíguàn qiĕ jùyǒu yìyì 適合當地地理或習慣且具有意義). The decree also provided several examples for the first three categories (see Table 1).

Categories	Examples
Chinese national spirit	China (Chung-hua / Zhōnghuá 中華)
	Fidelity ( <i>Hsin-i / Xìnyì</i> 信義)
	Peace (Ho-p'eng / Héping 和平)
Three People's Principles	Three People (San-min / Sānmín 三民)
	Nationalism (Min-tsu / Mínzú 民族)
	Civil Rights (Min-ch'üan / Mínquán 民權)
	People's Livelihood (Min-sheng / Minshēng 民生)
Great national figures	Sun Yat-sen (Chung-shan / Zhōngshān 中山)
	Chiang Kai-shek (Chung-cheng / Zhōngzhèng 中正)
Local geographies or habits	N/A

Table 1: Examples of street-names prearranged by the Taiwan Administrative Office

Note: *Fidelity* and *Peace* in the category "Chinese national spirit" which are mentioned in the decree are from Sun Yat-Sen's *Three People's Principles* on nationalism. Both go together with Loyalty (*Zhōngxiào* 忠孝) and Benevolence (*Rén'ài* 仁愛) to constitute the so-called Eight Virtues (*Bā dé* 八德) since the total number of characters total eight. However, the Eight Virtues are commonly summarized into four phrases by treating two characters as one phrase in both colloquial usage and street-naming.

#### 3. The enterprise of street-renaming in 1946

The Taipei City Government, led by an assigned Taiwanese mayor and also a member of Chinese Nationalists Party, or Kuomintang, named Ng Tiâu-khîm (Huang Chao-chin 黃朝琴),<sup>4</sup> on the first day of January 1946

The Three People's Principles is a political philosophy proposed by Sun Yat-sen, who is regarded as the "Father of the Nation" by the Chinese Nationalists or Kuomintang (KMT). The three principles are translated into and summarized as nationalism, civil rights, and the people's livelihood. This philosophy has been claimed as the foundation of the policy of Republican China by the Chinese Nationalists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ng Tiâu-khîm (1897–1972) was born in Kiâm-chúi-káng 塩水港/鹹水港 in South

bulletined the list of 115 new street names under its jurisdiction. It announced a 10-day probation period in which civilians could offer their own comments and propose alternative street names. The bulletin also affirmed four additional principles for street-naming. First, to eliminate Japanese elements (Chǎnchú rìběn sècǎi 剷除日本色彩); second, to use the original street names wherever possible to make them easy to remember (Biànlì jìvì, jǐnliàng cǎivòng vuán vǒu jiēdào míngchēng 便利記憶、 儘量採用元有街道名稱); third, to commemorate the national heroes associated with [Taiwan] Province (Jiniàn yǔ běnshěng yǒuguān zhī mínzú yīngxióng 紀念與本省有關之民族英 雄); and fourth, to advocate the Three People's Principles and to extol the great achievements of Chairman [Chiang Kai-shek] (Gǔchuī sānmín zhǔyì, gēsòng zhǔxí wěiyè 鼓吹三民主義, 歌頌主席偉業).5 There are ostensible differences between the list of street renaming principles promulgated by the Taipei City Government in January 1946 and that bulletined by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945. The Taipei City Government not only changed the sequence of the list of principles by having those related to Taiwan appear before those associated with the Chinese Nationalists, but also emphasized the use of original street names as much as possible. In addition, the commemoration of national heroes associated with Taiwan was surely a newly added theme, and one that deviated from the convention of naming after great national figures that was advocated by the Taiwan Administrative Office. In terms of the latter approach, the only contemporary figures honored in this way were Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen.<sup>6</sup>

On 24 January 1946 the Taipei City Government submitted to the Taiwan Administrative Office a list of 112 street names, 2 park names and 3

Taiwan, graduated from Waseda University 早稲田大学 in 1923 and later obtained a Master degree in political sciences from the University of Illinois in 1926. Ng was recruited into the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1925 when he was a student in the U.S. After graduation he went to China to work for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China, and was later appointed as the Consul General in San Francisco, Yangon, and Calcutta. After World War Two, Ng was appointed as the Commissioner of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Taiwan and the Mayor of Taipei City. His position as Mayor was discharged by Governor Chen on 28 February 1946.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See: 1 January 1946, *Bîn-pò* 民報.

<sup>6</sup> Attention should be given to the fact that the official urban coding and naming system under the Japanese Empire before 1945 was not based on a linear pattern, such as that made up by streets. The fundamental spatial coding unit was based on street blocks instead, and several adjacent blocks shared an official sub-district name such as Shinkichō 新起町, Wakatakechō 若竹町, or Suehirochō 末廣町. In other words, it was a spatial pattern, rather than a linear one, that was used for naming. Thus, theoretically, the new street names proposed by the Taipei City Government in 1946 did not match up directly with the names being replaced.

bridge names for usage. The list of street names submitted by the city government was slightly different from that which had been publicized earlier. For instance, Bamboo Allev or Tek-hāng Street 竹巷街, a legacy from an old ward in the townscape, was changed into Longevity or Tng-siū Street 長壽街 to convey the meaning of auspicious aspiration. Dragon Cave or Lōng-tōng Road 龍峒路, which came from a local place name, was changed to become into Great Harmony or Tāi-tông Road 大同路, after the idea promoted by Sun Yat-sen in his *Three People's Principles* or Sunology.<sup>9</sup> Vegetable Garden or Chhài-hng Street 菜園街 was merged into Lotus or Liân-hoe Street 蓮花街. Both are legacies from the old local street names. The idea for the removing of *Vegetable Garden* was similar to that behind the renaming of Bamboo Alley, and reflected the approach of getting rid of those appellations with less- urbanized or less-modernized imagery attached to them. Attention should also be paid to those street names with commemorative implications. Thus, Peace or Hô-pêng Road 和平路 was changed into Retrocession or Kong-hok Road 光復路. Museum or Phokbùt-koán Street 博物館街, named after the former Taiwan Governor Museum located nearby, was transformed into Cairo or Khai-lô Street 開羅街, after

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<sup>7</sup> See: 24 January 1946, "Submitted case of comparison table of old and new street-names of Taipei City" (Táiběi shì jiēdào xīn jiù míngchēng duìzhào biǎo chéngsòng àn) 臺北市 街道新舊名稱對照表呈送案, in *Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ dǎng'an 臺* 灣省行政長官公署檔案 [Archives of Taiwan Administrative Office], Vol. 009, No. 003, Collection No. 00344100009003.

Lōng-tōng is from the local place name Tōa-lōng-tōng, literally meaning 'Big Dragon Cave'. Tōa-lōng-tōng is the sound imitation from a local Austronesian village name, which was also recorded by the Dutch in the 17th century as Pourompon. It results from choosing the characters possessing both close pronunciation and the meaning of 'Big Dragon Cave' as a single phrase. The dropping of the first syllable Tōa into Lōng-tōng turned out to both retain the meaning of 'Dragon Cave' and follow the instruction of a street name with 2-character (2-syllable) dictated by the Taiwan Administrative Office.

Sun, in his lecture in 1924, claimed that his idea of People's Livelihood (Mínshēng 民生) is identical to Socialism, which often appears under the alias Communism, and also to the doctrine of Great Harmony, which could be interpreted as 'the great communion' or 'era of world brotherhood'. The idea of Great Harmony is a classical Chinese philosophy and was also advocated by reformer Kang Youwei 康有為 in the late nineteenth century (Chang 2015: 203n34).

Retrocession essentially appeared before the building of the Government-General of Formosa on the list of 1 January 1946. It disappeared in favor of Chen Yi or Kung-ch'ia Road 公治路 on the list of 24 January 1946, which was intended to celebrate the new Governor. Chen, nevertheless, did not accept this compliment, perhaps seeing it as flattery, and replaced it with Philanthropy or phok-ài 博愛, after one of the ideas promoted in Sunology, when the Taiwan Administrative Office officially announced the conclusive list of street names on 25 June 1946.

the Cairo Declaration issued on 27 November 1943. Activating or Kiàn-sêng Street 建成街, which took its name from the local street name in use in the late 19th century,  $^{11}$  was converted to  $\bar{U}i$ -súi Street 渭水街, after a local Taiwanese doctor and social activist who founded a hospital on that street.  $^{12}$  The substituting of street names showed a preference for using modern urban imagery, as well as commemorative meanings emphasizing themes such as the restoration of Taiwan to China and anti-Japanese jingoism.

In addition, some street names on the submitted list were relocated, rather than replaced, in order to superimpose a symbolic layout on the urban space. For instance, the initial spatial arrangement was in anticipation of the city expanding eastward in the future. Right in the center of the projected Taipei city there were five planned thoroughfares. The longitudinal one was named after China or Tiong-hôa Road 中華路, and the latitudinal ones after the three main themes of Sunology and Sunology itself. On top of the five planned thoroughfares an existing main road running in an East-West direction and intersecting with China was named after Koxinga or lân-pêng Road 延平路.<sup>13</sup> It is obvious that the initial design was to align a popular historical figure among the Taiwanese with the idea of China and Sunology as the foundation of a newly-imagined nation. The submitted list, however, changed the street name from Koxinga to Chiang Kai-shek or Chung Cheng Road 中正路. Koxinga was repositioned in order to substitute Peaceful or Thài-pêng Road 太平路, which occupied a relatively less significant position in the spatial configuration of the city as a whole, in the old quarter. 14 The

Kiàn-sêng was originally the brand name of the major business on that street. It was also treated as the street name in the late 19th century and later evolved into the sub-district name as Kenseichō 建成町 before the end of World War Two. Note that the term, although composed of the identical characters 建 and 成, is pronounced somehow differently in Japanese, Taiwanese and even Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese. The characters are pronounced as kensei, kiàn-sêng and jiànchéng, wanseong, kiến thành respectively.

<sup>12</sup> *Ūi-súi* is named after Chiú<sup>n</sup> Ūi-súi 蒋渭水 (1890–1931), a doctor and also one of the founders of the Taiwanese Cultural Association or Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hiap-hōe / Taiwan bunka kyōkai 台湾文化協会 and the Taiwanese People's Party or Tâi-oân Bîn-chiòng Tóng / Taiwan-minshutō 台湾民衆党. He is widely regarded as one of the most important figures in the Taiwanese resistance movement against Japanese rule in the 1920s.

Koxinga (1624–1662) was a Hokkien-Japanese maritime merchant and warlord who fought against the Manchu Empire along the southeastern coast of China and later established a regime in Taiwan by conquered the Dutch outposts there. Nowadays the Taiwanese folk religion has transformed Koxinga into a popular deity with the titles such as "the Prince of Iân-pêng" (*Iân-pêng Kūn-ông* 延平郡王), or "the Saint Lord who cultivates Taiwan" (*Khai-Tâi sèng-ông* 開台聖王).

The street name *Thài-pêng* had been used in the late nineteenth century and later was transformed into a Japanized subdistrict named *Taiheichō* 太平町 without changing the street name that had been in use since the early twentieth century.

spatially emblematic implication apparently shifted toward a more contemporary political and less localized direction.

The Taiwan Administrative Office did not immediately publicize the list received from the Taipei City Government. In early February 1946, the Taiwan Administrative Office first decreed that the local governments had to ensure to all the new street names contained only two characters, with meaningful connotation, for the sake of brevity. It was not until 25 June 1946 that the Taiwan Administrative Office finally announced the 110 new street names, 2 park names and 3 bridge names, In which the Taiwan Administrative Office retained most of the names submitted by the City Government in January. Some minor changes were applied in furtherance of the principle of standardization, at the expense of local geographies or habits. For instance, Meiji Bridge 明治橋IT in the north of the city, erected in 1901 mainly as a mostly wooden structure and then upgraded to a modern reinforced concrete arch bridge in 1933, was initially proposed to be renamed as Sword Lake or Kiàm-thâm Bridge 劍潭橋,IB after the local place name, in the list submitted in January. The Taiwan Administrative Office, nevertheless,

<sup>15</sup> Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Spring, 1946), 53-54.

<sup>16</sup> Táiwān shěng xingzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Summer, 1946), 818-821.

Meiji is coined after Emperor Meiji (1852–1912), who ruled Japan from 1867 until his death. During his reign, Japan quickly changed from a pre-modern feudal state to a capitalist and imperial world power.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The place name Sword Lake was said to be associated either with the Dutch, who established a factory in 1624 on the southwestern coast of Taiwan and then developed it into a fort and later ruled the lowland areas of the entire island, or with Koxinga, who expelled the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662 and whose son later established an independent kingdom on the island. The first version, which was popular at an earlier stage in history and recorded in the gazette of the Manchu Empire in the 18th century, declared that there used to be a lot of huge Bishop wood trees (Bischofia javanica) near that section of the river and the Dutch once stuck a sword into a tree trunk. The tree continued to grow, swallowing the sword inside it, and thus the local place was named Sword Lake. The second version, which is still popular nowadays, asserted that Koxinga and his soldiers ran into the stormy waves caused by a monster while approaching the river. Koxinga then threw one of his treasured swords into the river, subduing the monster. Scholarly research has revealed that the Dutch once contracted some local Austronesian villagers to log for them in order to supply materials for ship maintenance. This did not turn out to be a successful enterprise, due to the quality of wood failing to meet expectations and the local villagers fearing the area and surrounding it with mysterious taboos. This is probably the origin of the legend of the Dutch sword being stuck in the trunk of a tree. As for Koxinga, he had never been outside the areas surrounding the newly conquered Dutch strongholds before his death in 1662. In either case, the place name Sword Lake has not only been used in the local area but is also widely known in the rest of Taiwan.

changed it to Sun Yat-sen or Chung Shan Bridge 中山橋 since it was at the end of the proposed Chung Shan Road.

#### 4. The official street names in 1946: Local legacies

The list of street names publicized by the Taiwan Administrative Office in 1946 was the first conclusive official list for the postwar Taipei City under the occupation of the Chinese Nationalists. Most of the street names were after the local geographies or habits, but those which had Japanese connotations were not to be preserved. For instance, Mountain Hoa or Hôasan Road 華山路 was proposed on 1 January 1946 by the City Government for the thoroughfare running through the sub-district formerly known as Kabayamachō 樺山町 after use of the Japanese spatial unit chō was abolished. Kabayama was named, in fact, after Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資 紀 (1837–1922), who was the first Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan, from 1895 to 1896. Kabayama is written in Kanji, the adopted logographic characters widely used in East Asia, as 樺山, which is pronounced as *Hôa*san in Taiwanese. The City Government initially proposed the street name Hôa-san by following the local custom, but changed the characters to 華山, which has an identical pronunciation to 樺山 in Taiwanese. The literal meaning of the characters 華山 thus turns out to be Mountain Hoa, the name of a sacred mountain in East China. Nevertheless, this delicate arrangement aimed at preserving both the local colloquial practices and conveying a meaning symbolic of Chinese physical geography did not make it onto the list presented to the Taiwan Administrative Office on 24 January. This is most likely due fear of causing offence due to its Japanese undertones, since Governor-General Kabayama was indeed a historical figure of considerable renown. Moreover, the minor modification of characters may not have easily erased the memory of the common people about Kabayama whenever they uttered the street name Hôa-san. Thus, Hôa-san was replaced by and annexed into Chiang Kai-shek or Chung Cheng Road 中正路.

Table 2 displays the numerical distribution of officially publicized street names in 1946 based on the naming principles decreed by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945.

Categories	Number	Percentage (%)
Chinese national spirit	1	0.9
Three People's Principles	7	6.2
Great national figures	7	6.2
Local geographies or habits	93	83.0
[Others]	4	3.6
Total	112	99.9

Table 2: Numerical distribution of street names on the official list in 1946

- Notes: 1. The second category "Three People's Principles" includes *Great Harmony* or *Tāi-tông* 大同, *Philanthropy* or *phok-ài* 博愛, and *Glory Revival* or *Hök-heng* 復興, in addition to the three major themes of Sunology and Sunology itself.
  - 2. The third category "Great national figures" consists of *Koxinga*, *Chiún Ūi-súi* 蒋渭 水, *Û Chheng-hong* 余清芳, *Fukusei Ra* 羅福星, *Liû Yún-fuk* 劉永福, in addition to Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek.
  - 3. The fifth category "Others" refers to the four street names not belonging to any of the above four categories identified by the Taiwan Administrative Office. They are *Rebirth* or *Sin-seng* 新生, *Retrocession* or *Kong-hok* 光復, *Cairo* or *Khai-lô* 開羅, and *Franklin D. Roosevelt* or *Lô-su-hok* 羅斯福. The first three insinuate the idea of a "return" of Taiwan to China.

There were 93 streets named after local geographies or habits, accounting for 83% of the total street names in Taipei. Those in the old quarters prior to the Japanese take-over, such as the one inside the demolished city wall called  $Si\hat{a}^n$ - $l\bar{a}i$  城内, the area in the north called  $T\bar{o}a$ - $ti\bar{u}$ - $ti\hat{a}^n$  大稻埕, and the one roughly situated in the west, called  $B\acute{a}ng$ - $k\grave{a}$  艋舺, were mostly named after the earlier local place naming legacies. Nevertheless, those in the south and in the adjacent east, where urbanization happened only after the Japanese takeover, developed different strategies for street-naming.

The street naming in the south took an old place name there and further extended it into something that would convey a spatial symbolic image. There was a village in the south named Entrance of Dragon Cave or Liông-ah-kháu 龍匣口庄 in the late nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, it developed into a street being named Dragon Mouth or Liông-kháu Street 龍口街 and also a sub-district labeled Ryūkōchō 龍口町. Both the words entrance and mouth share the same character 口. Nevertheless, the village name Entrance of Dragon Cave was derived from an Austronesian village name being written down by the Dutch as Rieuwwerowar in the seventeenth century, which was recorded as Liáu-a 了阿 by abbreviating the syllables during a later stage. The Hokkien immigrants subsequently established a new village in front of Rieuwwerowar, and thus the new village was given the name Entrance of Liáu-a, which gradually turned into Liông-

*ah-kháu*, with the characters literally meaning *Entrance of Dragon Cave*. In fact, the entire scenario had nothing to do with the image of a dragon, in terms of either mythology or landscape morphology, but the juxtapositioning of characters created the meaning out of the original phrase.

The list in 1946 took *Dragon Mouth Street* as the base, and further christened several surrounding streets after the imaginary dragon. Thus, we had *Dragon Throat* or *Liông-âu Street* 龍喉街, *Dragon Throat Ahead* or *Liông-âu-chiân Street* 龍喉前長, *Dragon Saliva* or *Liông-chin Street* 龍津街, *Dragon Flying* or *Liông-hui Street* 龍飛街, and *Dragon Peaceful* or *Liông-an Street* 龍安街 scattered around in the former sub-district called *Ryūkōchō* and nearby neighborhoods. Collectively, all these street-names associated with the character for dragon turned out to be an imposition of a mythological creature on the urban symbolic landscape.

As for the area in the adjacent east, the street-naming utilized the image of the East Gate for spatial nomenclature. As a matter of fact, 13 streets were christened after the demolished city wall or city gates, among the 93 instances of naming after local geographies or habits, accounting for 14% of the total. The aforementioned 13 are East Gate or Tang-mng 東門, North of East Gate or Tang-mng Pak 東門北, South of East Gate or Tang-mng lâm 東 門南, Interior of East Gate or Tang-mng lāi 東門内, Exterior of East Gate or Tang-mng gōa 東門外, Northern Exterior of East Gate or Pak Tang-mng gōa 北東門外, West Gate or Se-mng 西門, Exterior of East Gate or Se-mng gōa 西門外, South Gate or Lâm-mng 南門, Auxiliary South Gate or Sió Lâm-mng 小南門, North Gate or Pak-mng 北門, and Exterior of North Gate or Pakmng gōa 北門外, in addition to the one named after the city wall itself, West of Wall or Siân-sai 城西. Of note is the fact that 6 of these are associated with East Gate, accounting for more than two fifth of the total. The high proportion of street-naming after the image of the East Gate explains the naming strategy in the adjacent east.<sup>19</sup>

The map in Figure 1 shows the distribution of 6 street names related to the dragon image in the south and the 14 streets related to the demolished city wall or city gates.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The cases of street-naming after the image of a Dragon and East Gate here are similar to what we call "thematic grouping" in some naming practices used in Finland when there are no enough previously existing local toponyms for street-naming. The theme mostly has a connection to the neighborhood itself. For instance, the oldest themes of streets in Vuosaari are named after rowing and sailing vessels, seafaring, and fishing, to commemorate the marine history and the traditional livelihoods of its residents (Ainiala 2016: 108).

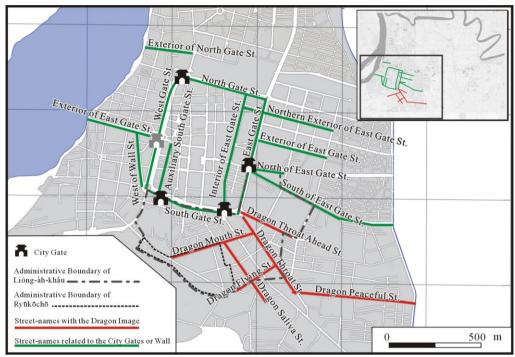


Figure 1: Distribution of street-names with the Dragon Image or related to the City Gates or Wall

#### 5. The official street names in 1946: Nationalistic commemoration

In addition to following the aforementioned 4 points of nomenclature announced by Taiwan Administrative Office, the official list of street names in 1946 revealed the theme of Chinese nationalistic commemoration. Especially deserving of attention is the street-naming associated with Taiwan. We may roughly divide street names according to two aspects: the commemoration of anti-Japanese rule, and the emphasis of Taiwan as the territory of China.

The commemoration of anti-Japanese rule was manifested through street naming after historical figures. Unlike the commemoration of great national figures proposed by the Taiwan Administrative Office, the final list in 1946 admitted five Taiwan-related figures that may not have been considered as *great* national figures on a level with Sun Yat-sen or Chiang Kai-shek in the eyes of Chinese Nationalists. They were *Koxinga* for *Iân-pêng Road* 延平路, *Chiún Ūi-súi* 蒋渭水 for *Ūi-súi* Street 渭水街, Û Chheng-hong 余清芳 for Chheng-hong Street 清芳街, Fukusei Ra (Lo Fuhsing) 羅福星 for Hok-seng Street 福星街, and Liû Yún-fuk (Luru Vĩnh Phúc)

劉永福 for Éng-hok Street 永福街. Except for Koxinga, the remaining four were all associated themselves with the period of Japanese rule in Taiwan, beginning in the late nineteenth century.

 $\hat{U}$  Chheng-hong (1879-1915) was known as the leader of the Tapani or Ta-pa-nî 噍吧阵 uprising of 1915, which was one of the largest armed revolts against Japanese rule and based on the elements of millenarianism and folk religion. Fukusei Ra (1886–1914) was a member of a secret society called the United Allegiance Society or Tóngménghuì 同盟會 founded by Sun Yat-sen, and also an overseas martyr in the eyes of Chinese Nationalists. Of Hakka-Dutch-Indonesian ancestry and born in Batavia (today's Jakarta, Indonesia), he was executed in Taihoku (today's Taipei) for his part in a plot to overrun the Japanese authorities in Taiwan. Liû Yún-fuk (1837–1917) was a soldier of fortune hailing from the Sino-Vietnamese border area, and later a commander of the celebrated Black Flag Army fighting against the French in Tonkin (today's northern Vietnam) in the 1870s, where he was also known as Luu Vĩnh Phúc to contemporary Vietnamese. Liû was also the second and last President of the short-lived Republic of Formosa in 1895, after the Manchu Empire ceded Taiwan to the Japanese Empire in the same year. Nevertheless, attention should also be paid to the earlier mentioned  $Chi\dot{u}^n$   $\bar{U}i$ súi. Among all these figures, he was the only one not originally proposed as a namesake by the Taipei City Government but later added to the list in 1946. His case was also the only one where the street honoring his name commemorated his actual physical presence there, as it was the locus of both his medical and socio-political careers. In contrast, the rest of the figures chosen as namesakes for street-naming had nothing physically to do with the streets bearing their names.<sup>20</sup>

The placing of emphasis on Taiwan being the territory of China was achieved by street-naming in front of the grand public buildings erected during the Japanese period, in particular. The road facing Taipei City Hall (today's Ch'ung-shan Hall 中山堂, after Sun Yat-sen), where the new Governor Chen received the official surrender from Japanese Governor-General Andō, was named as *Retrocession Road*, replacing the proposed *Peace Road* in early January 1946. The street in front of the former Taiwan Governor Museum (today's National Taiwan Museum 國立臺灣博物館), established in 1908 and renovated into one of the largest public buildings in 1915, was referred to as *Cairo Street*, substituting for the *Museum Street* 

It is worth noting that Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), the 32nd U.S. President and the only Westerner chosen for street-naming, was also included on the list in 1946 as Lôsu-hok Road 羅斯福路 as recognition for his role in supporting Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist China and declaring war against the Japanese Empire.

appellation that had been recommended earlier.

Retrocession unequivocally denotes the meaning of the return of Taiwan into Chinese hands after the former was "stolen" from the Manchu Empire by the Japanese, who then ruled the island for 50 years. Later, in August 1946, Governor Chen proclaimed the day he received the official surrender from Andō (i.e., 25 October 1945) as Taiwan Retrocession Day (Táiwān guāngfū jié 臺灣光復節), which has always been regarded as controversial, since Japan did not actually give up legal sovereignty over Taiwan in any treaty until the year of 1952. Cairo refers to the Cairo Declaration issued on 27 November 1943. The Cairo Declaration is related to Taiwan, as it announced that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, including Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China". Together with their associations with public buildings, both Retrocession and Cairo were undeniably utilized because of their connotation of the territorial claim advocated by the Chinese Nationalists.

The map in Figure 2 shows the distribution of 6 instances of streetnaming after the commemoration of anti-Japanese rule or for placing emphasis on Taiwan as being the territory of China.

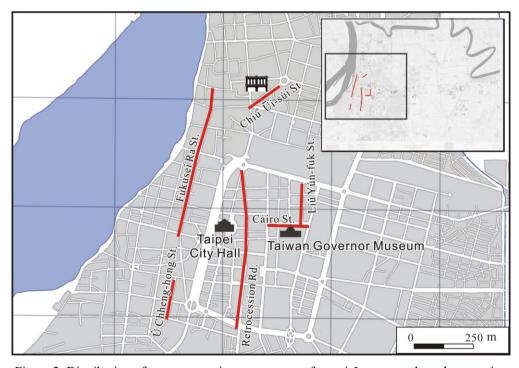


Figure 2: Distribution of commemorative street-names for anti-Japanese rule and restoration in Taipei, 1946

## 6. The street names in 1947: Boulevardization of naming for political ideologies

On 15 January 1947 the Taiwan Administrative Office announced the new list of street names to replace most of those that had been proposed by the Taipei City Government about half a year previously.<sup>21</sup> The new list was designed by Cheng Ting-pang (Zhèng dìngbāng 鄭定邦), an architect from Shanghai who had worked as a Deputy Technical Specialist in the Office of Civil Affairs (mínzhèng chǔ dàilǐ jìzhèng 民政處代理技正) of the Taiwan Administrative Office since 13 July 1946. The Taiwan Administrative Office had Cheng modify the street-naming practices used in Shanghai City since the mid-nineteenth century for use in Taipei. The Shanghai model had initially been proposed by Sir Walter Henry Medhurst (1822–1885), the British counsel in Shanghai, in 1862, when the British and the French failed to reach an agreement on the streetnaming within their joint-settlement in Shanghai. Medhurst proposed the use of geographical names of China, namely provincial names for the streets running in a North-South direction, and city names for streets running South-East, rather than following the contemporary European tradition for street-naming. The City of Shanghai accepted his proposal.

Cheng's street-naming model, adapted from Shanghai practice for Taipei in 1947, involved first setting up a focal point in the City of Taipei as the center of the quadrant graphs, for which the site of Taiwan Administrative Office was chosen. Then the four major thoroughfares in the four cardinal directions became the two axes intersecting at the projected center. The new project used the two axes to serve as base lines. If a street under one name cut cross one of the axes, that road's name would be split into two, designated as either east or west, or north or south. Thus, according to the official street names publicized in 1946, the longitudinal axes would be Sun Yat-sen or Chung Shan Road 中山路 in the north, and East Gate or Tang-mâg Street 東門街 in the south; whereas the latitudinal axes were North Gate or Pak-mâg Street 東門街 in the west and Chiang Kai-shek or Chung Cheng Road 中正路 in the east. The list from 1947 changed Sun Yat-sen, East Gate, North Gate, and Chung Cheng into Sun Yat-sen North (Chung Shan North), Sun Yat-sen South (Chung Shan South), Chiang Kai-shek West

Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào 臺灣省行政長官公署公報 [Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office] (Spring, 1947), No. 10, p. 160; No. 11, p. 176; No. 12, pp. 191–192.

The spellings of street names in 1947 follow the English version of the Taipei City Map (Chen 1964), available in the Special Collection of the Leiden University Library. Note that the official Romanization of street names in Taipei is not fully in accordance with Wade-Giles spellings, as we have Swatow 沖頭 on the map rather than Shan-t'ou (Shàntóu in pinyin).

(Chung Cheng West), and Chiang Kai-shek East (Chung Cheng East) roads, respectively. In addition to East Gate and North Gate, the streets after West Gate and South Gate were also renamed China and Patriotism West or Ai Kuo (àiguó 愛國) West Road, respectively. Thus, the urban symbolic landscape was composed of two nationalist figures for the urban cardinal axes, and the old walled city was enclosed by the aforementioned two nationalist figures, along with China, and patriotism, at the expense of local geographies and customs.

Nevertheless, before Cheng's modified version of Shanghai street-naming formula was imposed on Taipei, the Taiwan Administrative Office first applied the first two points for street-naming it had decreed in 1945, namely the use of *Chinese national spirit* and *Sunology* for major thoroughfares. Examples of street-naming after Chinese national spirit on the new list of 1947 are *China* or *Chung Hua* (zhōnghuá 中華), *Loyalty* or *Chung Hsiao* (zhōngxiào 忠孝), *Benevolence* or *Jen Ai* (rén'ài 仁愛), *Fidelity* or *Hsin Yi* (xìnyì 信義), and *Peace* or *Ho Ping* (hépíng 和平). Cases of street-naming after the Three People's Principles on the new list of 1947 are *Nationalism* or *Min Tsu* (mínzú 民族), *Civil Rights* or *Min Chuan* (mínquán 民權), and *People's Livelihood* or *Min Sheng* (mínshēng 民生), and the themes of *Glory Revival* or *Fu Hsing* (fūxīng 復興) were also added. All these were either newly named or relocated to the existing and the planned extended thoroughfares. Among them, *Peace* and all the five streets named after the Three People's Principles were further divided into East and West or South and North roads.

Table 3 displays all the street-naming in 1947 with cardinal directions.

Table 3: Street-naming in 1947 with cardinal directions

North-South Direction	East-West Direction
	Pin Chiang (Bīnjiāng 濱江)
	Nationalism / Min Tsu (mínzú 民族)
River Loop / Huan Ho (huánhé 環河)	Civil Rights / Min Chuan (mínquán 民權)
Hsi Ning (Xiníng 西寧)	People's Livelihood / Min Sheng (民生)
Koxinga / Yen Ping (Yánpíng 延平)	Nan King (Nánjīng 南京)
Chung Ching (Chóngqìng 重慶)	Chang An (Cháng'ān 長安)
Sun Yat-sen / Chung Shan (zhōngshān 中山)	Chiang Kai-shek / Chung Cheng (中正)
Hsao Hsing (Shàoxīng 紹興)	Ching Tao (Qīngdǎo 青島)
Heng Chou (Hángzhōu 杭州)	Patriotism / Ai Kuo (àiguó 愛國)
Rebirth / Hsin Sheng (xīnshēng 新生)	Peace / Ho Ping (hépíng 和平)
Glory Revival / Fu Hsing (fùxīng 復興)	

Note: Smaller font size indicates less significant naming as evidenced by the assignment of the generic term "street" or *chieh* (jiē 街) rather than "road" or *lu* (lù 路). In general, "street" refers to a thoroughfare that is either shorter or narrower than a "road". Use of italic indicates street-naming after geographical names.

If we look at the spatial layout of the street-naming for major thoroughfares, in addition to *Sun Yat-sen* and *Chiang Kai-shek* as the major urban cardinal axes, we see the major three themes of Sunology running in a horizontal direction north of *Chiang Kai-shek*, and south of *Chiang Kai-shek* are the four major thoroughfares bearing the names of the *Eight Virtues* of Chinese National spirit set out by Sun Yat-sen. South of *Sun Yat-sen*, where *Franklin D. Roosevelt* starts to turn southward it is intersected by another thoroughfare called *Patriotism*. East of the major urban cardinal axis *Sun Yat-sen*, we have *Rebirth* and *Glory Revival* running vertical courses. The former indicates Taiwan being taken into Chinese hands by evoking the metaphor of resurrection, whereas the latter implies the future goal of China on the world stage.

The map in Figure 3 illustrates the spatial layouts of the street naming of major thoroughfares in 1947.

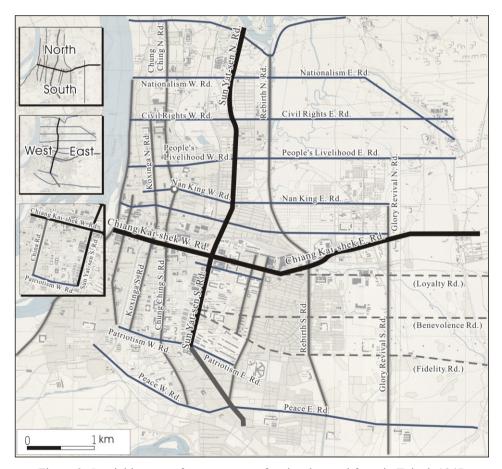


Figure 3: Spatial layouts of street names of major thoroughfares in Taipei, 1947

#### 7. The street-names in 1947: A nationalistic geography of Great China

The second step of Cheng's model was to superimpose the map of China on the street map of Taipei City.





Figure 4: Place names from China utilized for street-naming in Taipei, 1947

The projected center and two axes served as the quadrants for assigning place names from China. The site of the Taiwan Administrative Office was roughly matched to the projected center of China in Cheng's project, which was

around the meeting point of three provinces, namely today's Hebei, Henan and Shangdong. The streets on the northeast side of the Taiwan Administrative Office would be named after place names corresponding to the same direction, based on the projected center of China such as Pei Ping (Běipíng 北平, i.e., Beijing), Tien Chin (Tiānjīn 天津), and Lung Chiang (Lóngjiāng 龍江). Likewise, those on the southwest side would have place names like *Pao Ching* (Bǎoqìng 寶慶), Cheng Tu (Chéngdū 成都), O Mei (Éméi 峨眉), Nei Chiang (Nèijiāng 内江), Kuei Yang (Guìyáng 貴陽), Kuei Lin (Guìlín 桂林), and Liu Chou (Liŭzhōu 柳州). However, there were some exceptions that did not match well with Cheng's quadrant scheme. For instance, place names from the southeastern coast of China such as Swatow (Shàntóu 汕頭), Canton or Kuang Chou (Guǎngzhōu 廣州), and Chuan Chou (Quánzhōu 泉州) should have been applied to the southeast of the Taiwan Administrative Office, rather than on the southwest side, as they were on the list in 1947. However, the latter arrangement prevailed, since the area in the southeast direction was mostly rural, with few urban streets.

The map in Figure 4 illustrates the geographical distribution of place names from China which were utilized for street-naming in Taipei in the year of 1947.

Table 4 presents the numerical distribution of officially publicized street names in 1947 based on the naming principle decreed by the Taiwan Administrative Office in November 1945. About 70% of street bore place names from China, or more precisely speaking, representing the nationalistic geography of China. This came at the expense of local geographies or habits, the use of which dropped considerably, from 83% of all street names in 1946 to less than 7% in 1947. Therefore, the symbolic landscape of postwar Taipei turned out to be a terrain which manifested the nationalistic geography of China.

Categories	Number (A)	Percentage (%) (A)	Number (B)	Percentage (%) (B)
Chinese national spirit	5	4.8	6	4.9
Three People's Principles	7	6.8	12	9.8
Great national figures	5	4.8	8	6.6
Local geographies or habits	7	6.8	8	6.6
[Geography of China]	76	73.8	84	68.8
[Others]	3	2.9	4	3.3
Total	103	99.9	122	100.0

Table 4: Numerical distribution of street names on the official list in 1947

- Notes: 1. Column A counts street names by treating streets with a cardinal direction (i.e. South vs. North or West vs. East) as a single street name. Column B treats the same thoroughfares as two street names instead.
  - 2. The second category "Three People's Principles" includes *Great Harmony*, *Philanthropy*, *Glory Revival*, and *Patriotism* in addition to the three major themes of Sunology.
  - 3. The third category "Great national figures" consists of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang

Kai-shek, Koxinga, Lin Sen (Lín Sēn 林森), and Long Live Chiang Kai-shek or Chieh Shou (Jièshòu 介壽).

- 4. The fourth category "Local geographies or habits" contains *River Loop* or *Huan Ho* (huánhé 環河), *Keelung* (Jīlóng 基隆), *Park* or *Kung Yuan* (Gōngyuán 公園), *University* or *Ta-hsüeh* (Dàxué 大學), *East Garden* or *Tung Yuan* (Dōngyuán 東園), *West Garden* or *Hsi Yuan* (Xiyuán 西園), and *Waterhead* or *Shui Yuan* (Shuǐyuán 水源).
- 5. The sixth category "Others" refers to Rebirth, Retrocession, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Attention should also be paid to the two streets named after important cities to the Chinese Nationalists, namely Nan King (Nánjīng 南京) and Chung Ching (Chóngqìng 重慶). Nan King was the state capital of the Republic of China, and Chung Ching the provisional capital during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). In the new list of street names in 1947, we had Nan King as Nan King East and West Roads whereas Chung Ching featured Chung Ching North and South Roads. Both Nan King West Road and Chung Ching North Road intersected at the roundabout hub of six streets, located to the northwest direction of the Taiwan Administrative Office. This indicates that the naming of a street after Nan King did not follow the ostensible rule of Cheng's quadrant scheme, as the naming itself seemed to deliberately have Nan King intersect with Chung Ching at the only roundabout hub beyond the outskirts of the razed Taipei City Wall. Moreover, among all the streets named after place names of China, both Nan King and Chung Ching are the only two with cardinal directions in their nomenclatures that are also regarded as "road" or lu (lù 路) instead of "street" or chieh (jiē 街), which indicates both nomenclatures are the most revered among all the place names of China (see Table 3).

Among all the place names of China used for the street-naming of Taipei, we should also take note of those from outside China proper. For instance, Kumul or Ha Mi (Hāmì 哈密), Ürümqi or Di Hua (Díhuà 迪化), meaning "Enlightening and Civilizing" in Chinese, and Kulja (Ghulja) or Yi Ning (Yīníng 伊寧) are all in East Turkestan or Uyghurstan, the area Chinese Nationalists called the New Frontier or Hsin-chiang (Xīnjiāng 新疆) Province, after the naming system in place since 1884 during the Manchu Empire. Mukden or Shen Yang (Shěnyáng 瀋陽), Barga or Hsing An (Xìng'ān 興安), and Chang Chun (Chángchun 長春) are all in Manchuria. Hohhot or Kuei Sui (Guīsuí 歸綏), meaning "Naturalizing and Pacifying" in Chinese, is in inner Mongolia. All the aforementioned place names are outside China Proper, but were inherited by Republican China at the turn of the 20th century from Manchu Empire.<sup>23</sup> In addition, South China Sea or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The streets named after *Tibet* or *Hsi-tsang* (Xīzàng 西藏) and *Ulaanbaatar* (*Ulan Bator*) or *Ku Lun* (Kùlún 庫倫) in Mongolia were later added to the city of Taipei.

Nan Hai (Nánhǎi 南海) appears to be the only water body used for the street-naming of Taipei. The street-naming for Taipei City in 1947 was thus utilized for the purpose of claiming it as integral territory by the Chinese Nationalists.

The map in Figure 5 displays the streets named in Taipei after the aforementioned place names from outside China proper.

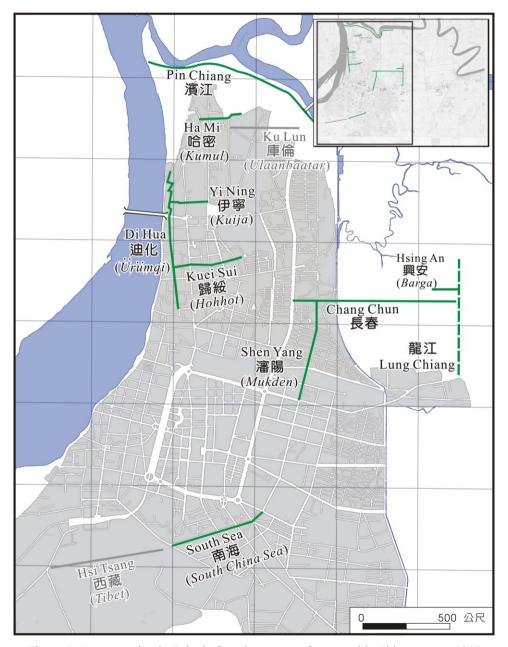


Figure 5: Street-naming in Taipei after place names from outside China proper, 1947

#### 8. Conclusion

After World War Two, the new occupation authority representing the Chinese Nationalists was the Taiwan Administrative Office. The Office issued two waves of street naming and renaming in Taipei within one-and-ahalf year immediately following the official surrender of Japan. The first one. in June 1946, was mainly conducted by the Taipei City Government, which was led by a Taiwanese who was also a member of Chinese Nationalist Party. The second one, in January 1947, was orchestrated exclusively by the Taiwan Administrative Office and commanded by the Allies who had backed the Chinese force. The first wave predominately stressed the local legacies of urban symbolic space, whereas the second emphasized national integrity and to its inspiration from a greater Chinese territory inherited from the early modern Manchu empire. These two waves of street-naming were both permeated with the nationalistic ethos, albeit in a slightly different way. If we use the street-names after foreign toponyms as metaphors, then the first version emphasized the proclaimed establishment of a linkage between Taiwan and China by the use of "Cairo", whereas the second version simply imprinted an image of greater China by using different geographical names from China or territories claimed by the Nationalist Chinese.

The 1946 version was dominated by local legacies, as the images of the demolished city gates and the old city quarters were preserved, although a conspicuous preference was shown for the use of modern urban images, at the expense of others. The earlier version also comprises a few cases emphasizing the commemorative meanings, such as the alleged restoration of Taiwan to China and the anti-Japanese allusions. The former was achieved by the naming of the streets in front of the grand public buildings erected during the Japanese colonial era, whereas the latter took the form of commemorating figures related to Taiwan in street names. In contrast, the 1947 version is overshadowed by the geographical names borrowed from Nationalistic China. In addition, not only were the urban cardinal axes based on the two Nationalistic leaders, along with *China* and *patriotism*, which encircled the area of what had formerly been the old walled city. The naming of major thoroughfares embodied the main themes of Sunology and referred to the Chinese national spirit. Thus, an overall emblematic idealization of China was manifested by way of street-naming when it came to the Nationalists' newly occupied trophy.

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# Appendix: List of names and their various Romanized spellings in Chinese Mandarin, Taiwanese, Japanese, etc.

	English equivalents or denotations	Characters	Chinese Mandarin	Chinese Mandarin	Taiwanese	Japanese
			[Wade- Giles]	[Hanyu Spelling]		
(Street names)	Auxiliary South Gate	小南門			Sió Lâm- mng	
,	Bamboo Alley	竹巷			Tek-hāng	
	Benevolence	仁愛	Jen-ai	Rén'ài		
	Cairo	開羅			Khai-lô	
	Civil Rights	民權	Min- ch'üan	Mínquán		
	Dragon Cave	龍峒			Lōng- tōng	
	Dragon Flying	龍飛			Liông- hui	
	Dragon Peaceful	龍安			Liông-an	
	Dragon Saliva	龍津			Liông- chin	
	Dragon Throat	龍喉			Liông-âu	
	Dragon Throat Ahead	龍喉前			Liông- âu-chiân	
	East Garden	東園	Tung Yuan	Dōngyuán	Tang- hng	
	East Gate	東門			Tang- mng	
	Eight Virtues	八德	Pa-te	Bādé		
	Exterior of East Gate	東門外			Tang- mng gōa	
	Exterior of East Gate	西門外			Se-mng gōa	
	Exterior of North Gate	北門外			Pak-mng gōa	
	Fidelity	信義	Hsin-i	Xìnyì		
	Glory Revival	復興	Fu Hsing	Fùxīng	Hok- heng	

Great Harmony	大同	Ta-t'ung	Dàtóng	Tāi-tông
Interior of East Gate	東門内			Tang- mng lāi
Longevity	長壽	Ch'ang- shou	Chángshòu	Tĥg-siū
Lotus	蓮花			Liân-hoe
Loyalty	忠孝	Chung- hsiao	Zhōngxiào	
Mountain Hoa	華山			Hôa-san
Museum	博物館			Phok- but-koán
Nationalism	民族	Min-tsu	Mínzú	
North Gate	北門			Pak-mng
North of East Gate	東門北			Tang- mng Pak
Northern Exterior of East Gate	北東門外			Pak Tang- mng gōa
Park	公園	Kung Yuan	Gōngyuán	Kong- hng
Patriotism	愛國	Ai Kuo	Àiguó	
Peace	和平	Ho-p'eng	Hépíng	Hô-pêng
People's Livelihood	民生	Min- sheng	Mínshēng	
Philanthropy	博愛	Po-ai	Bó'ài	Phok-ài
Rebirth	新生	Hsin Sheng	Xīnshēng	
Retrocession	光復	Kuang-fu	Guāngfù	Kong- hok
River Loop	環河	Huan Ho	Huánhé	
South Gate	南門			Lâm- mng
South of East Gate	東門南			Tang- mng lâm
Three People	三民	San-min	Sānmín	
University	大學	Ta-hsüeh	Dàxué	Tāi-hak
Vegetable Garden	菜園			Chhài- hng
Waterhead	水源	Shui Yuan	Shuĭyuán	Chúi- goân

	West Garden	西園	Hsi Yuan	Xiyuán	Se-hng
	West Gate	西門			Se-mng
	West of Wall	城西			Siân-sai
(Street names)					
[after place names]	Barga	興安	Hsing An	Xìng'ān	
	Beijing	北平	Pei Ping	Běipíng	
	Canton	廣州	Kuang Chou	Guǎngzhōu	
	China	中華	Chung- hua	Zhōnghuá	
	Hohhot	歸綏	Kuei Sui	Guīsuí	
	Keelung	基隆	Chi-lung	Jīlóng	Ke-lâng
	Kulja	伊寧	Yi Ning	Yīníng	
	Kumul	哈密	Ha Mi	Hāmì	
	Mukden	瀋陽	Shen Yang	Shěnyáng	
	South China Sea	南海	Nan Hai	Nánhǎi	
	Swatow	汕頭	Swatow	Shàntóu	
	Ürümqi	迪化	Di Hua	Díhuà	
		長安	Chang An	Cháng'ān	
		長春	Chang Chun	Chángchun	
		成都	Cheng Tu	Chéngdū	
		青島	Ching Tao	Qīngdǎo	
		泉州	Chuan Chou	Quánzhōu	
		重慶	Chung Ching	Chóngqìng	
		杭州	Heng Chou	Hángzhōu	
		紹興	Hsao Hsing	Shàoxīng	
		西寧	Hsi Ning	Xining	

		桂林	Kuei Lin	Guìlín		
		貴陽	Kuei Yang	Guìyáng		
		柳州	Liu Chou	Liŭzhōu		
		龍江	Lung Chiang	Lóngjiāng		
		南京	Nan King	Nánjīng		
		内江	Nei Chiang	Nèijiāng		
		峨眉	O Mei	Éméi		
		寶慶	Pao Ching	Băoqìng		
		天津	Tien Chin	Tiānjīn		
(Street names)						
[after personal names]	(Chen Yi)	公洽	Kung- ch'ia	Gōngqià		
	(Chiang Kai- shek)	中正	Chung- cheng	Zhōngzhèng		
	(Chiún Ūi-súi)	渭水			Ūi-súi	
	(Franklin D. Roosevelt)	羅斯福			Lô-su- hok	
	(Fukusei Ra)	福星	Fu-hsing	Fúxīng	Hok- seng	
	(Koxinga)	延平			Iân-pêng	
	(Liû Yún-fuk)	永福	Yung-fu	Yŏngfú	Éng-hok	
	(Sun Yat-sen)	中山	Chung- shan	Zhōngshān		
	(Û Chheng- hong)	清芳			Chheng- hong	
(Personal names)	Fukusei Ra	羅福星	Lo Fu- hsing	Luó Fúxīng		Fukusei Ra
	Kabayama Sukenori	樺山資紀				Kabayama Sukenori
	Liû Yún-fuk (Hakka spelling)*	劉永福	Liu Yung-fu	Liú Yŏngfú	Lâu Éng- hok	
		康有為	Kang Yu-wei	Kāng Yŏuwéi		

		蒋渭水 (JP) / 蔣渭水 (TW)			Chiú <sup>n</sup> Ūi- súi	
		黃朝琴	Huang Chao- chin		Ñg Tiâu- khîm	
		余清芳			Û Chheng- hong	
		鄭定邦	Cheng Ting- pang	Zhèng dìngbāng		
(Settlement names)	paddy-drying	大稻埕			Tōa-tiū- tiâ <sup>n</sup>	
	Canoe Entrance of Dragon Cave	艋舺 龍匣口			Báng-kà Liông- ah-kháu	
	Inside the city wall	城内			Siân-lāi	
	Saltwater Harbor	塩水港 (JP) / 鹹水港 (TW)			Kiâm- chúi- káng	Ensuiko
		了阿			Liáu-a	
(District or area names)	Activating	建成 (町)			Kiàn- sêng	Kensei(chō)
,	Dragon Mouth	龍口(町)			Liông- kháu	Ryūkō(chō)
	Kabayama	樺山(町)			Hôa-san	Kabayama(chō)
	Newly-built	新起 (町)			Sin-khí	Shinki(chō)
	Peaceful	太平(町)			Thài- pêng	Taihei(chō)
	Uyghurstan / East Turkestan	新疆	Hsin- chiang	Xīnjiāng		
		末廣(町)				Suehiro(chō)
		若竹 (町)				Wakatake(chō)

(Bridge names)	Meiji	明治		Bêng-tī	Meiji
	Sword Lake	劍潭		Kiàm- thâm	
(Others)	Bulletin of Taiwan Administrative Office	臺灣省行 政長官公 署公報	Táiwān shěng xíngzhèng zhǎngguān gōngshǔ gōngbào		
	Deputy Technical Specialist	代理技正	dàilĭ jìzhèng		
	Taiwanese Cultural Association	台湾文化 協会		Tâi-oân Bûn-hòa Hiap-hōe	Taiwan bunka kyōkai
	Taiwanese People's Party	台湾民衆党		Tâi-oân Bîn- chiòng Tóng	Taiwan- minshutō
	The Office of Civil Affairs	民政處	mínzhèng chǔ		
	The Prince of Koxinga	延平郡王		Iân-pêng Kūn-ông	
	The Saint Lord who cultivates Taiwan	開台聖王		Khai-Tâi sèng-ông	
	The United Allegiance Society	同盟會	Tóngménghuì		

<sup>\*</sup> Also known as Luu Vĩnh Phúc in Vietnamese.