

World Display, Imperial Time: The Temporal and Visual Articulation of Empire
in Japanese Exhibitions (1890-1945)

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates how Japanese expositions held from the 1890s to the 1940s, both abroad and at home, represented Japan itself as a ‘guardian of Asian culture’ while promoting the expansion of its empire. Japan’s governing stance over other Asian nations at expositions during the prewar period appeared to imitate the imperial exhibitions of its Western counterparts, and yet the Japanese engagement of Asia in these exhibitions was portrayed as “almost the same, but not quite” the same empire. This study thus proposes to interpret Japan’s exhibitionary practices toward other Asian nations as “mimicry,” borrowing Homi K. Bhabha’s conception, in order to challenge the totalizing vision of the West that was commonplace at exposition sites.

I argue that the preoccupation with exhibitionary techniques provided Japan with a cultural, aesthetic, and ethnic claim over other Asian nations in terms of time and space. Further to this point, I argue that the importance of the visual technologies used by Japan in their expositions – technologies that were mimicked from Western empires – lies in their spatialization of time and temporal re-organization. This study thus aims to investigate the processes whereby Japanese expositions re-contextualized the aesthetic, cultural, and racial and ethnic identities of other Asian nations in terms of time and space.

This dissertation investigates multiple sites of Japan’s expositions, as well as numerous major figures who were involved in these exhibition practices. Each chapter deals with multiple exposition sites with a consideration of the visual technologies they employed, in tandem with the expansion of Japanese

imperialism and its engagement with Asian nations. Each chapter of this study therefore concerns specific exhibitionary techniques, such as re-territorialization and panoramas, which were used in the representation of other Asian nations – and their temporality in particular – at multiple exposition sites. Chapter 2 concerns three (pre-)exhibitionary sites where Japanese traditional art and its art history were reorganized by modern art programmers such as Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa: national treasure survey sites, the National Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the Official Catalogue for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle (*Histoire de l'Art du Japon*). More specifically, I argue that these three exhibitionary sites were specific instances where Japanese traditional art and Asian art became “de-territorialized and re-territorialized” through the techniques of preservation, presentation and cataloguing. Chapter 3 examines the Japanese pavilion at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition in terms of the visual technique of panoramas. The Japanese pavilion in this show self-adjusted to the panorama technique using a Western perspective, wherein Britain emerged as the temporal norm to be emulated in the logic of imperialism while Japan was relatively viewed as a “different” empire. Yet Japan, by mimicking the temporal logic of the Western empire, re-enacted its own temporal operations toward other Asian nations. While chapter 2 and 3 discuss the sites of international fairs in relation to Japan-West dynamics, chapter 4 and 5 shift attention to Japan itself and the colonies that it held within the frame of multi-ethnicism. Chapter 4 explores the ways in which anthropological exhibitions rearticulated the racial and ethnic identities of Asian nations under the name of a multi-ethnic empire. The Tokyo

Anthropological Association and its leader, Tsuboi Shōgorō, made extensive use of visual technologies, like Western anthropologists, such as composite photography and anthropological expositions, and I thus investigate how they attempted to redefine racial and ethnic identities by way of these modern visual technologies. Chapter 5 considers the climax of Pan-Asianist expansion at the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition, held in Seoul, in the middle of Asia-Pacific War. This chapter examines how the visual practice of panoramas incorporated people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds under the inclusive umbrella of a multi-cultural East Asian empire, to encourage their participation in the war. I further contend that the performance of these panoramic imageries displayed both the inclusiveness and yet the simultaneous contradictions of multi-cultural empires. In each of these chapters I analyze how these multiplex exposition sites spatialized the temporality of Asian nations through the visual technologies of expositions.

Résumé

Cette thèse explore comment les expositions japonaises de type universel, tenues entre les années 1890 et 1940, au pays comme à l'étranger, représentaient le Japon lui-même comme étant « gardiennes de la culture asiatique » alors qu'elles promouvaient du même coup l'expansion de l'empire japonais. Le point de vue japonais sur les autres nations asiatiques lors de ces expositions impériales d'avant-guerre semblait imiter celui de ses homologues occidentaux, à la nuance près, qu'il a été dépeignait comme étant « semblables, mais pas tout à fait pareilles » à son empire. Cette étude propose en ce sens d'interpréter les pratiques japonaises d'exposition en ce qui concerne les autres nations asiatiques, selon l'angle du « mimétisme » – pour emprunter le terme à Homi K. Bhabha – de façon à remettre en question la vision totalisante à l'occidentale, qui était monnaie courante dans ce type d'expositions.

Cela m'amène à postuler que c'est précisément cet intérêt hâtif pour ces techniques qui a permis au Japon de prétendre avoir une mainmise culturelle, esthétique et éthique sur les autres nations asiatiques. J'avance dans cette veine que l'importance des technologies visuelles utilisées par le Japon au sein de ces expositions – technologies en grande partie empruntées, par « mimétismes », aux empires occidentaux – reposait sur leur déploiement et leur réorganisation spatiotemporels. Mon étude souhaite, en ce sens, investiguer les processus à travers lesquels les expositions japonaises décontextualisaient et recadraient les identités esthétiques, culturelles, raciales et ethniques des autres nations asiatiques en lien avec l'espace et le temps.

Cette thèse se penche sur plusieurs expositions menées par le Japon et s'intéresse à l'implication de différentes personnalités influentes en ce qui concerne les pratiques d'exposition. Ayant pour toile de fond l'expansion impériale japonaise et ses liens avec les autres nations asiatiques, tous les chapitres prennent plusieurs expositions en exemples afin d'évaluer les différentes techniques de présentation visuelles employées – comme la reterritorialisation et les panoramas – pour représenter les autres nations asiatiques. Chapitre 2 s'intéresse à trois cas de figure où l'art japonais traditionnel et son histoire furent revisités par des commissaires d'art moderne comme Okakura Tenshin et Ernest Fenollosa, notamment avec les études menées sur l'héritage national du Japon, avec le Pavillon national japonais de l'exposition lors de Chicago de 1893 et avec le catalogue officiel de l'exposition universelle de Paris de 1900 (*Histoire de l'art du Japon*). Plus précisément, je postule que ces trois cas ont été des moments où l'art japonais traditionnel et l'art asiatique furent « déterritorialisé et reterritorialisé » à travers des techniques de préservation, de présentation et de catalogage. Chapitre 3 se penche le pavillon du Japon lors de l'exposition Japon-Grande-Bretagne (*Japan-Britain Exhibition*) de 1910 en ce qui a trait à la technique visuelle du panorama. Lors de cette exposition, le pavillon japonais s'est inspiré de la technique occidentale du panorama, alors que la Grande-Bretagne, avec sa perspective impériale, semblait être l'exemple à suivre. En « imitant » de la sorte la logique temporelle de l'Empire britannique, le Japon recréait les mêmes types d'opérations temporelles par rapport aux autres nations asiatiques. Tandis que les chapitres 2 et 3 abordent la place des foires

internationales en ce qui concerne la relation entre le Japon et l'Occident, les chapitres 4 et 5 se concentrent principalement sur le Japon et sur sa façon de représenter ses colonies à travers un point de vue pluriethnique. Chapitre 4 explore comment les expositions anthropologiques réarticulaient les identités raciales et ethniques des autres nations asiatiques au nom d'un empire multiethnique. L'Association anthropologique de Tokyo, sous l'influence de son directeur Tsuboi Shōgorō, a fait un usage important des techniques visuelles telles que les photographies composites et les expositions anthropologiques (employées notamment par les anthropologues occidentaux), je m'intéresse à cet égard sur la manière dont l'usage de techniques modernes de visualisation a tenté de redéfinir les identités raciales et ethniques des autres nations asiatiques. Chapitre 5 traite de l'apogée du panasianism lors de la Grande exposition Chosŏn (*Chosŏn Great Exposition*) qui s'est tenue à Séoul au milieu de la guerre en Asie et dans le Pacifique. Ce chapitre examine comment la pratique visuelle du panorama, en incorporant des personnes de différentes ethnies et cultures sous l'étiquette multiculturelle de l'empire de l'Asie de l'est, tentait d'encourager leur participation à la guerre. J'affirme à cet effet que le déploiement de ces représentations panoramiques affichait une forme d'inclusion des empires multiculturels qui comportait néanmoins diverses contradictions. Enfin, dans chacun de ces chapitres, j'analyse comment ces différents lieux d'exposition ont mis en scène la temporalité des nations asiatiques à travers des les technologies visuelles d'expositions.

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Figure 74.2 Holy War Pavilion and the Streets of Holy War: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940).

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The temporal scope covered by this study coincides with the expansion and climax of the Japanese empire. Since this study moves from international exhibitions to domestic expositions held in Japan and other parts of Asia, this dissertation may appear to explore how the Japanese empire learned to use the exhibitionary technologies of Western empires and then used them to represent other Asian nations. However, my aim is neither to study how Japanese expositions were influenced by their Western counterparts, nor to regard the Japanese displays as derivative, secondary or imitative practice. This study does not intend to naturalize this directionalism; rather, by analyzing how the directionalism functioned, I attend to the way in which exhibitionary practices constructed a privileged space. I then attempt to challenge the assumption that the Western production of knowledge was the model for all the exhibitions that followed, making them mere copycat attempts. Japan's display of its governing stance over other Asian nations appeared to imitate the displays of colonial domination that were put on by Western empires, and yet Japanese exhibitions displayed the other Asian nations under its influence as "almost the same, but not quite" the same empire. This study thus proposes to interpret Japan's exhibitionary practices toward other Asian nations as "mimicry," borrowing Homi K. Bhabha's conception.¹

¹ See Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

According to Thomas LaMarre, “Mimicry is not like imitation.”² If imitation is based upon the relationship between original and copy, then labelling something as an imitation invariably presumes the original as a reference to which all the qualities of its copies need to be evaluated. Within the imperialist practices, use of the word imitation thus cannot help but to bring in a certain lag; the West emerges as the advanced nation and reference point while Japan is the follower and the secondary example.³ To avoid the perception that Japanese colonial practices are tacitly copying and captured by the panoptic vision of the West, this study investigates certain aspects of mimicry in the examination of expositions.

Throughout this study, I argue that the importance of visual exhibitionary technologies, which Japan mimicked from the Western empires earlier than other Asian nations, lies in their spatialization of time and temporal re-organization. This study thus focuses its attention on the shared logic between the visual technologies of exhibitions and Japan’s imperial policy – that is on their temporal re-organization. It further investigates how these temporal operations were captured earlier than others and enacted toward the culture, race and ethnicity of other Asian nations. This dissertation therefore does not aim to trace the history of expositions in Japan per se; rather it aims to explore a variety of expositions from the views of visual exhibitionary technologies along with the expansion of Japanese imperialism.

² Thomas LaMarre, “Introduction,” in *Impacts of Modernities*, ed. Thomas Lamarre and Kang Nae-hui (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 25.

³ Ibid; As for this temporal structure, Dipesh Chakrabarty states “first in the West, and then elsewhere.”:Dipesh Chakrabarty. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 6.

1) *Hakurankai* (Exposition), *Bankoku hakurankai* (International Exposition) and *Shokuminchi hakurankai* (Colonial Exposition)

The moment when a Japanese section was first introduced into an international exposition goes back to the 1862 London International Exhibition. The Japanese exhibit in the 1862 Exhibition was, in actuality, a showcase of a private collection of Japanese handicrafts gathered by Sir Rutherford Alcock, a British diplomat stationed in Yokohama. Though it was a relatively small showcase of Japanese objects in London, this display soon led to the country's active participation in a variety of international fairs. Between 1862 and 1910 alone, the Japanese government – either as Tokugawa shogunate or as the modern government – participated in 36 out of the 88 exhibitions held across the globe.⁴ Subsequently, the period covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Japan is often called as “Age of Exposition” (*hakurankai no jidai*).⁵ Japan's various experiences at world fairs during this time produced the term *hakurankai*, the Japanese translation of the word “exposition.” As Douglas Howland suggested in his study of the importation of Western concepts during Japan's Westernization

⁴ Ellen P. Conant, “Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions 1862-1910,” in *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, ed. Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe (London: Lund Humphries in association with Barbican Art Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum, 1991), 79. See also Yamamoto Mitsuo, *Nihon hakurankai shi* (Tokyo: Risōsha, 1970), 199-205.

⁵ Kuni Takeyuki, *Hakurankai no jidai: Meiji seifu no hakurankai seisaku* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2005). A great amount of literature on Japanese expositions equally reflects the wealth of Japan's experiences with expositions during this time. For example, see Kuni Takeyuki, *Hakurankai to Meiji no Nihon* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2010); Ikeguchi Kotarō, *Nihon no bankoku hakurankai* (Tokyo: Tōyō Keizai Shimpō, 1968); Yoshida Mitsukuni, ed., *Bankoku hakurankai to kenkyū* (Kyōto-shi: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2004); Mamiko Itō, *Meiji Nihon to bankoku hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008); Siina Noritaka, *Nihon hakubutsukan seiritsushi: hakurankai kara hakubutsukan e* (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 2005); Shunya Yoshimi, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1992).

process, the translation of Western terms into Japanese was not simply a transferring of ideas from one culture to another; the terms underwent many recreations and alterations in the course of their usage and circulation.⁶

Hakurankai literally means an event where things are widely viewed and experienced. It is believed that the word *hakurankai* was used for the first time by Kurimoto Joun, then a bakufu officer, when he was told by the French diplomat Leon Roches about the plan for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867.⁷ The term, however, came into wider use thanks to Fukuzawa Yukichi, who described the word *hakurankai* as referring mostly to utilitarian practices happening in the West:

In the metropolises of the West a great meeting for products is held every few years at which are brought together, by appealing to the world, noted products, useful devices, antiques, and unusual objects from various countries so that they can be shown to the peoples of all nations. This is called an exposition [*hakurankai*]. As the intent of expositions is equally to teach and to learn, one takes the merit of the others and turns it into one's own profit. To use a metaphor, this is like conducting a trade of ideas and inventions.⁸

This passage is from Fukuzawa's three-volume work *Seiyō jijō* (*Conditions in the West*, 1866), which was a report on his observations during his visits to the United States between 1860 and 1862. That Fukuzawa's account of the term "exposition"

⁶ See Douglas Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). See also, Alice Y. Tseng, *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), 21.

⁷ Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and the Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 103.

⁸ Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshu* (Collected works of Fukuzawa Yukichi), Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 312; this translation is from Kentaro Tomio, "Visions of Modern Space: Expositions and Museums in Meiji Japan" in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Leiden & New York: Brill, 1997), 723.

appears right next to a section on the term “museum” demonstrates that these institutions were considered to be inseparable during this time. Importantly, both were deemed to be sources of teaching and learning, not simply sites of spectacle and entertainment. This intention of teaching and learning clearly marks the difference between *hakurankai* and the traditional exhibitionary practices in Japan.

The act of putting things on display was by no means new to Japan. As Peter Kornicki described, the rapid urbanization of Edo produced many sites for public and private displays, such as pictorial art exhibitions (*shogakai*), exhibitions for natural produce (*bussankai*) and the unveiling of temples (*kaichō*). Furthermore, much of the literature on Japanese expositions attempted to frame its modern exhibitionary practices as a continuation of these displaying activities, which were commonplace in the Tokugawa and early Meiji periods.⁹ The recent studies on *misemono* (side shows or street spectacles), in particular, have identified many spectacles of the Tokugawa period – including living dolls (*iki ningyō*) and oil painting exhibitions at tea houses (*abura-e chaya*) – as the domestic precursors to modern exhibition activities.¹⁰ These so-called *misemono* studies are telling in the history of Japanese expositions; they explore the early history of visual activities starting from a moment when the notions of fine arts and crafts and decorative

⁹ See Edo Historical Museum, *Hakuran Toshi Edo Toko – Hito wa nani o mita ka? Kichō, Sakariba, soshite bussankai kara hakurankai e* (Edo Tokyo: Rekishi Zaida, 1993), cited in Angus Lockyer, “Japan at the Exhibition, 1867-1970” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2000), 82.

¹⁰ See Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu misemono: abura-e chaya no jidai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993); and Kawazoe Yu, Kinoshita Naoyuki and Hashizume Shin'ya, *Misemono wa omoshiroi* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2003). For English materials, see Andrew L. Markus, “The Carnival of Edo: *Misemono* Spectacles from Contemporary Accounts,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45.2 (December 1985); and for *shogakai* in particular, see Andrew Markus, “Shogakai: Celebrity Banquets of the Late Edo Period,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.1 (June 1993).

arts were not yet distinct. And yet, as these *misemono* studies note, it is equally important to attend to how these indigenous visual activities shifted after Japan's exposure to Western exhibitionary experiences.

One of the major changes to note was that the exhibitions after Japan's exposure to Western influences – for instance, the Meiji government's participation in the Vienna Fair of 1873 – were suddenly being held as national events from the initiative of the nation-state, whereas the pre-Meiji exhibitions were primarily held as local events. Another impact was the shift from displays showing a mere disarray of antiques and curiosities (either from *bussankai* or *kaichō*, as Peter Kornicki suggests) into a sorted and categorized collection in accordance with the more sophisticated classificatory systems found at world fairs. Simply put, if the precursors to the Meiji exhibition practices were cabinets of curiosities, the exhibitions held after Japan's Western experiences emerged as much more organized, systemized and classified practices. The aim of this study is to examine these exhibitionary practices in terms of the new visual technology with which modern Japan came to be preoccupied – in advance of other Asian nations – in the course of its contact with the Western world. I will begin by linking international fairs to domestic expositions in terms of three aspects: the shaping of the national identity, visual training, and imperial practices.

First, the story of the country's participation in the international exhibitions matches the history of the shaping of its national formation on the international scene. Indeed, one of Japan's overriding aims in its participation in international expositions was to present its national identity to the world. As Satō Dōshin

pointed out, the initial intention of the Meiji government in its engagement with world's fairs was to promote its industry and manufacturing, (*Shokusan kōgyō* policy), particularly under the Ministry of the Interior. As a result of this policy, the Japanese sections of international expositions – and particularly at the 1873 Vienna and 1876 Philadelphia exhibitions – were concentrated on its decorative arts and craftworks, catering to the tastes of the Western audience and thereby promoting its exports.¹¹ This desire to simultaneously enhance its exports and industry came from Japan's consciousness about its position on the international political scene as well as the world economy. Accordingly, after its first participation in an international exhibition in 1862, the country invested a great deal of resources in the practice, since international expositions were perceived as important sites for staging the country's national identity.

As argued by many scholars, international fairs were special stages on which each participating country could present the image of itself as a civilized nation. The fair sites, in this sense, functioned as a mirror – in the Lacanian sense – in which the self-image of modern Japan could be formulated.¹² Therefore, the self-imaging of modern Japan was in part a product of its contact with the many international and domestic exhibitions that saw its participation. For example, at the Vienna Exposition, one of the first international fairs in which the Meiji

¹¹ Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art*, 103-15.

¹² The term “mirror” here refers to the Mirror-phase in Lacanian conception. Lacan explains that the Mirror-phase takes place between the age of 6 months and up to the age of 18 months during childhood. This phase is often understood as “identification,” a time when the baby can recognize the unified self, rather than just a fragmented body, through image. See Jacques Lacan, “The Mirror-Phase as Formative of the Function of the I,” in *Écrits*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Tavistock, 1977), 1-6. If it is through the outside image, not through one's inner self, that the notion of the unified self is formulated – despite this being something of a misrecognition – then Japan's self-imaging as a modern nation was similarly a product of its interaction with many expositions.

government officially participated, the country exhibited books such as *Introduction to Japan*, which included its history, geography, its current state system and the like.¹³ This was a direct example of Japan's formulation of its own self-image in accordance with how its outside image was reflected. Not only was the national image shaped through its active participation in the exhibitions, but a part of its political status was also reconstituted through the fair sites.¹⁴ Given the fact that Japan was suffering from the 1858 unequal treaties imposed by the Western empires during this time period, the country felt an urgent need to demonstrate that it was as civilized as the Western powers. For instance, Tateno Gozo, a Japanese minister to the United States by the time of the 1893 Chicago Exposition, in his hope for the removal of the treaties wrote in the *North American Review* that the Columbian Exposition might prove that Japan had achieved "a position worthy of the respect and confidence of other nations."¹⁵ As a result of its investment in various international fairs, the transformation of Japan's national image seems stunning: if the Paris and the Vienna exhibitions presented Japan as a small island country from the Far East that could be best represented by its exotic craftworks, the displays of Japan by 1910 showed it standing on par as a colonial power with the British empire, the two countries holding the joint exhibition of the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition.¹⁶ The sites of international fairs were, indeed, spaces for self-imaging and self-promotion.

¹³ Ellen Conant, "Refractions," 84-6; Mamiko Itō, *Meiji Nihon*, 15.

¹⁴ See Lisa Kaye Langlois, "Exhibiting Japan: Gender and National Identity at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2004), chapter 2.

¹⁵ Tateno Gozo, "Foreign Nations at the Fair," *North American Review* 15 (January 1893): 33-43.

¹⁶ Ellen P. Conant, "Refractions," 79.

However, as Harry Harootunian suggested in his discussion of the comparative method in area studies, it is important to recognize that the systems of classification and categorical organization that Japan needed to follow at international fairs were in accordance with “criteria based on geopolitical privilege.”¹⁷ Rather than being blank and flat spaces whereby national image can be formulated, world’s fairs were in fact the spaces where “societies were invariably ranked according to their spatial distance from an empowering model ... – namely the countries of Euro-America.” This system of classification at expositions, due to the “inevitable impulse to compare,”¹⁸ functioned as a self-monitoring system in which the members of all the other nations could come to regulate themselves in accordance with the ideal model – i.e., the Western notion of modernity. Given the fact that most of the imperial (international) expositions in the West were centred around this notion of modernization and its ideals of progress, the fair site was the space where all the other nations’ modernities and social developments could be compared and measured from the point of view of the Euro-American model. The temporality – in terms of modernization and civilization level – of each nation was spatialized within these world’s fairs, and thus the distances between the model country and other nations came to naturalize the understanding of these nations as different, reinforcing their hierarchical relations.¹⁹ Put simply, while taking part in international exhibitions, the

¹⁷ Harry Harootunian, “Ghostly Comparisons,” *Impacts of Modernities*, ed. Thomas Lamarre and Kang Nae-hui (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 41-3

transformation of Japan's image from the exotic to the civilized was the result of Japan's self-regulation in accordance with a particular temporality.

Second, another impact of modern Japan's experiences in international exhibitions lay in the notion of a "visual lesson or visual training," which could be found throughout nineteenth-century European visual culture. In his report on the museums and expositions of Europe after a trip to Vienna, Sano Tsunetami stressed one of the effects of having expositions as "training the eye (*ganmoku no kyō*)" and so developing people's "technical knowledge and skill."²⁰ In a list of the ten advantages of holding exhibitions, Sano included the following:

1. All the products of the realm will be gathered in a single place. 2. When the people of the country hear about the plan for the exhibition, they will exert themselves furiously to broadcast their reputation and win prizes, and so will refine and improve their skill. ... 4. By comparing domestic and foreign goods, and observing their strengths and weaknesses, craftsmen will see how they measure up. They will strive to discard their shortcomings, build on their strengths, change the old, move toward the new, leave behind the ugly and approach the beautiful. And by polishing their craft and refining their manufacture they will contribute to the wealth of the nation. ... 10. We will be able to observe the standards of morals [*fuzoku*] and the degree of enlightenment.²¹

Put simply, expositions were no longer being seen as simple spectacles, as in *misemono*; instead, Sano recognized that the importance of expositions included the ability to teach its audience how to see. The first National Industrial Exposition (*Naikoku kangyō hakurankai*) in 1877, one of the first domestic shows

²⁰ This idea comes from Sano Tsunetami and his visit to the Vienna Exhibition. For Sano's report on museums and expositions after his return from the Vienna Exhibition, see Yoshio Tanaka and Shigenobu Hirayama, *Okoku Hakurankai sandō kiyo* (Tokyo: Meiji Bunken Shiryo Kankokai, 1896; repr. 1964); see also Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition," chapter 2.

²¹ Sano's discussion on the ten advantages of exhibitions appears in Yoshimi Shunya, *Pangnamhoe: Kūndaeui sisōn*, trans. Yi Tae-mun (Seoul: Nonhyōng, 2004), 139; this translation of Yoshimi's passage is from Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition," 93-4.

after Japan's early experiences at world's fairs, used display techniques in an attempt to help the audience compare and distinguish the "good" from the "bad" objects on display. So, where the first national exposition simply divided the displays into six sections of mining, metallurgy, manufacturing, arts, machinery, agriculture and horticulture, the second national exposition in 1881 improved its display formats and focused more intently on managing the audience's perceptions as they walked through the sections.²² The development of these exhibitionary techniques and the concerns about how to choreograph the audience's attention showed that expositions were emerging as spaces for civic lessons aimed to train people's minds via vision in the aftermath of Japan's experiences at the world's exhibitions.

Third, the story of Japan's international fairs does not end here, however; its lessons of imperial exhibitions came to be applied toward other Asian nations – "Japan's Orient" so to speak.²³ One of the most important aspects of international fairs lies in their representation of imperialism, or what Yoshimi Shunya called the "imperialist gaze" (*teikoku no manazahi*).²⁴ According to Shunya, along with the development of international fairs, what became reinforced at the fair sites was Japan's imperialist gaze toward its colonies. Inclusions of colonial pavilions became the most popular activities in these fairs, and expositions were also held on colonial soil, often for the purpose of mobilizing people and legitimizing

²² Yoshimi Shunya, *Pangnamhoe*, 144-5; for the Japanese text, see Yoshimi Shunya, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: Manazashi no kindai* (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1992); for the way Japan domesticated Western display techniques in the first National Industrial Exposition in 1877, see Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition," chapter 2.

²³ For more about the construction of Japan's Orient in its study of China and other Asian nations, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering pasts into history* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²⁴ See Yoshimi Shunya, *Pangnamhoe*, chapter 5.

political dominance. I argue, however, that the imperialist gaze was used as a staged universal norm to measure the degree of civilization and temporality of other nations. This imperialist gaze was not only reflected in the colonial villages constructed for the exhibitions, but was also incorporated into the entire fair site. As in the case of the Midway Plaisance at the 1893 Chicago fair, exposition spaces were often imagined as a showcase for the demonstration of an evolutionary “sliding scale of humanity,”²⁵ from the highest Western civilization down to the most primitive, and this became a justifying logic of imperialism. Exhibitionary sites functioned as a space where all “human progress” could be measured and compared by a specific temporal norm.

These practices of measuring and comparing other nations by a particular temporality were exactly emulated by the Japanese empire when they brought aboriginal people to their expositions. In the wake of the 1894 Sino-Japan war, Japan began to incorporate this imperialist practice into its displays. The 5th National Industrial Exposition, held in Osaka in 1903, was one of the first examples of Japan’s inclusion of anthropological others, such as Ainu, Taiwanese aborigines, Okinawans, Chinese and Koreans, in their exhibits. Native villages for these groups were built, as they had been at European international fairs, and they were then staged as living “in a different temporality.” In the national expositions that followed, including the 1914 Tokyo Taisho exposition and the 1922 Peace Commemorating Exposition, constructing native villages and showcasing living humans became an expected part of the exposition culture.

²⁵ See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), chapter 2

However, it would be misleading to argue that Japan simply copied and imported these imperialist practices and their visual techniques from European expositions. My aim is neither to study how Japanese colonial expositions were influenced by their Western counterparts, nor to regard the Japanese case as derivative and secondary. Unlike European empires, which colonized a variety of different people from places far away from their homelands, Japan colonized the neighbouring people with whom they had long been historically connected. It is thus only in the Japanese empire that both racial hierarchy and regional solidarity were simultaneously invoked. To put it differently, it was only through the mobilization of these other Asian nations that the modern Japanese empire could be staged. The Japanese empire invariably called for regional cooperation from other Asian nations in order to stand up against the Western powers, and yet it claimed leadership over them on the basis of its level of wealth and modernization. Expositions were great opportunities for the Japanese empire to demonstrate, via visual technologies, the commonality of culture and race along with its seemingly contradictory self-claimed hierarchy among the other Asian nations. I henceforth argue that Japan's early adoption of exhibitionary techniques – not as imitation, but as mimicry of Western practices – provided the nation with a cultural, aesthetic and ethnic claim. This study thus aims to investigate the processes whereby Japanese expositions decontextualized and reframed the aesthetic, cultural, and racial and ethnic identities of other Asian nations in terms of time and space, thus presenting its self-imaging of the Asian empire.

2) Review of Exhibition/Museum Studies

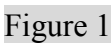
Within the discipline of museum studies, there have mainly been two different poles in regards to how to read exhibitionary representations and their displays. At one end of the spectrum, exhibitions are frequently deemed as a disciplinary machine controlled by exhibition organizers and display planners. The other end, however, pays more attention to the visitors and their receptions, rather than the show designers. The former view is largely influenced by Foucauldian disciplinary power and panopticism. Tony Bennett's influential article, "The Exhibitionary Complex," for instance, by drawing on Foucault's discussion of the panopticon, analyzes the exhibitionary complex as the co-existence of "spectacle and surveillance." Bennett writes:

One of the architectural innovations of the Crystal Palace consisted in the arrangement of relations between the public and exhibit so that, while everyone could see, there were also vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance. ... The nineteenth century was quite unprecedented in the social effort it devoted to the organization of spectacles arranged for increasingly large and undifferentiated publics.²⁶

In this interpretation, the exhibition is seen both as spectacle and surveillance as it is considered from both sides of the panopticon-inspired machinery. The effect of exhibitionary spectacle was not only to render the whole world visible but also to put the mass itself on display, subordinate to the totalizing vision of the spectator. The aim behind the exhibitionary machine's encouragement for visitors to accept the order of things along with civic lessons via looking was "namely, that of

²⁶ Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot, Hants, England & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 418

making large and diverse populations governable.”²⁷ The advantage of reading these exhibitions as disciplinary machines is that it lets us challenge the neutrality and authoritative claims of the displays, and thus examine exhibitions as matters of knowledge production and power. The problem with this reading, however, lies in the fact that it sees exhibitionary practices as a simple binary between the observer and the observed through dominance of spectacle. Bennett does not only render the whole world subordinate to a visual dominance, but also attends to how the specular dominance became accessible to the multitude – and yet he still identifies in the mechanism of exhibition the binary tension between the seer and the seen surrounding this visual dominance. This view of the exhibitionary mechanism as being dominated by one controlling eye has also persisted in most of the available analyses of expositions.

Robert Rydell, one of the seminal figures in the studies of world’s fairs, specifically examines how to transform the exposition site into object lessons of evolutionary theory. The aforementioned Midways Plaisance at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition was transformed by exhibition designers into a showcase that could teach the evolution of man by arranging native villages into “the sliding scale of humanity,” from its “highest phases down almost to its animalistic origins.”²⁸  Figure 1, for instance, demonstrates a typically panoptic perspective toward the fairground, taken from the exhibition’s Ferris wheel and looking down

²⁷ Donald Preziosi, “Introduction: Observing Subjects/Disciplining Practices,” *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot, Hants, England & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 366.

²⁸ See Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, chapter 2.

the street of the Midway at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition.²⁹ This is, as Curtis M. Hinsley suggested, a “pictorial representation of the fairground [that] stressed the static and formal,”³⁰ where everything is placed in its own position within a grid-like exhibition panopticism. The exhibitionary complexes at the nineteenth-century world’s fairs, especially when seen from the above, tended to stress what is called “human progress.”

While these analyses pay particular attention to the ways in which the relations between knowledge and power were invested in these exhibitionary displays, they often disregard visitors’ perceptions completely, treating the viewer merely as passive consumer. In contrast, the other dominant view in exhibition analysis attempts to highlight the visual mobility of visitors. Curtis Hinsley’s article, entitled “The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the Worlds’ Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” for instance, shows how the same Chicago Columbian Exposition was differently interpreted by the exhibition planners and by its viewers, especially from the notion of “flâneur.” His citation from Julian Ralph’s review of the Midway demonstrates how the planners’ intentions can be differently received:

It will be a jumble of foreignness – a bit of Fez and Nuremberg, of Sahara and Dahomey and Holland, Japan and Rome and Coney Island. It will be

²⁹ For the phenomenon that a variety of world’s temporalities are seen through panoptic eye at world’s fairs, Anne McClintock described it as *panoptical time*. “By Panoptical time,” McClintock states, “I mean the image of global history consumed – at a glance – in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility.” See, Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York : Routledge, 1995), 36-37.

³⁰ Curtis M. Hinsley, “The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 356.

gorgeous with color, pulsating with excitement, riotous with the strivings of a battalion of bands, and peculiar to the last degree.³¹

Here, what was intended to be well-organized scenes of human progress are read with a strikingly different account – a jumbled portrayal of the same Midway. According to Hinsley, Ralph’s choice of adjectives – “jumble,” “bit,” “pulsating,” for example – especially presents “sensual energies loosened, defying categorization or even pause for analysis. There is barely time to take it all in, none to reflect.”³² Hence, the experiences of the visitors to these fair sites, rather than being simply a passive acceptance of the imposed human classifications, are those of the flâneur who strolls through the streets of the fairground. The exotic cultural exhibits are not seen as a display of the anthropological order, but as an experience of simply passing and strolling around.³³

Anne Friedberg’s “The Mobilized and Virtual Gaze in Modernity: Flâneur/Flâneuse” similarly describes this possible virtual gaze at exhibitions as that of the flâneur, and reads it as having the potential to overcome the panoptic apparatus.³⁴ These readings are of significance to this study, since they provide alternative views from those describing the totalizing dominance of vision at exhibitions. Yet, by focusing simply on the viewer’s interaction with the authoritative exhibitionary complex, these latter readings often leave the actual

³¹ Julian Ralph, *Harper’s Chicago and the World’s Fair* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), cited in Curtis M. Hinsley, “The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 351.

³² Hinsley, “The World,” 352.

³³ Hinsley, “The World,” 356.

³⁴ See Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), chapter 2.

mechanism of the exhibitions' engagement with viewers untouched. Like much of the criticism against Foucauldian ideas, these two different views on exhibitions tend to produce the binary of the observer and the observed.

This same binary tended to persist in the studies of colonial exhibitions, in part due to the influence of Edward Said. Thanks to the wide scholarship on the social and ideological contexts of exhibitions and museums, which has developed over the last two decades,³⁵ research into colonial expositions has further questioned how the cultural politics of imperialist power is represented at world fairs. However, in these colonial perspectives there persists the binary view of the displayer as colonizer and the displayed as colonized. This outlook has failed to see the dynamic process of exhibition practices, focusing instead on how imperial powers merely (mis)represented their colonies.³⁶ Put another way, regardless of whether these images of the Other were produced by the colonial exhibitions or re-conceptualized from the viewer's position, both viewpoints presuppose the binary relations between the displayer as the colonizer and the displayed as the colonized. Recent research in the field of colonial expositions, however, has shifted the focus away from the oppositional relations to a more dynamic interplay between the imperial displayer and the colonized Other. Historian Carol

³⁵ See Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London & New York: Routledge, 1995).

³⁶ See Paul Greenhalg, *Ephemeral Vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988); Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn et al., *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994); Robert W. Rydell, *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), especially chapter 3, "Coloniale Moderne"; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Patricia A. Morton, *Hybrid Modernities: Architecture and Representation at the 1931 Colonial Exposition, Paris* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

Breckenridge, for instance, brought the question of the relationship between metropole and colony to the fore. While her investigation of international exhibitions underscored the ways in which transnational cultural flows served the aim of the imperial culture,³⁷ Saloni Mathur pushes this focus on interconnectedness further and highlights the exhibitions' "reconstructing the multiple and intersecting contexts, the competing fields of power, and the complex acts of social management."³⁸ She thus focuses more on the multiple interplaying elements between the metropole and colonies by looking at multiple sites of colonial visual productions such as department stores, international exhibitions and postcard images.³⁹ However, these readings still fail to observe the dynamic process of exhibition practices; they end up representing exhibition sites as passive repositories, either of the displayer's intention or of the visitor's perception.

What, then, is the advantage of seeing the exhibition process as a dynamic experience, moving beyond the totalizing vision of the static machinery of the exhibition? According to a survey that investigated the experiences of visitors to museums, contrary to the general perception that the museum experience is one of aesthetic contemplation, the average visitors tend to look at each piece in passing, rather than focusing at length on individual works – in fact, "One curator estimated that the average visitor devotes 1.6 seconds to each of the works he or

³⁷ Carol Breckenridge, "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World's Fairs," *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 31 (1989): 195-216.

³⁸ Saloni Mathur, *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 54.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 54-5.

she looks at.”⁴⁰ This factor indicates that the museum experience can be neither the passive contemplation of the ordered and classified spaces organized by the singular scopic viewer nor the free-holding experience solely dependent upon the viewer, regardless of what is shown. As Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge rightly pointed out, “museums and exhibitions are frequently characterized not by silent observation and internal reflection, but by a good deal of dialogue and interaction among the viewers, as well as between them and whoever is playing the role of guide. Here the museum experience is not only visual and interactional, it is also profoundly dialogic.”⁴¹ Appadurai and Breckenridge go on to argue that “viewers do not come to these museums as cultural blanks.”⁴² People come to museums and exhibitions along with their own visual and verbal literacy, and thus museum experiences should be deemed as complex dialectics, constituted through a variety of sites.

Michel de Certeau’s book, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, suggests alternative views on the totalizing discourse of the exhibitionary complex, away from the idea of a static panoptic power, by focusing on the mobility and instantaneous movement of walkers in their everyday encounters with the site. De Certeau seeks to turn away from the “geometrical or geographical space of visual, panoptic or theoretical constructions,” and rather attends to “the microbe-like,

⁴⁰ Michael Compton, ‘Validating Modern Art,’ *Art forum* (Jan. 1977): 52; cited in Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, “The Universal Survey Museum,” *Art History*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (Dec., 1980): 448. Although the aim of Duncan and Wallach’s article was to show the totality of museum experience, rather than reducing it to one of contemplation; or, in their words, “to show the way the museum’s ensemble of art, architecture and installations shapes the average visitor’s experience.” I am citing this passage to demonstrate how the museum experience can happen on the move.

⁴¹ Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, “Museums are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India,” in Preziosi and Farago, eds., *Grasping the World*, 695.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 694.

singular and plural practices which an urbanistic system was supposed to administer or suppress, but which have outlived its decay.”⁴³ Among other things, in studying the practitioners’ pathways, De Certeau reads not only a consequence of panoptic constructions, but also “the reciprocal, of Foucault’s analysis of the structures of power.”⁴⁴

In contrast to other exhibition studies literature, Timothy Mitchell’s discussion of the exhibition seeks to move beyond the totalizing narrative of how exhibitions are classified and organized – the understanding of exhibitions as pre-determined experiences. Where much of the literature in the field of colonial expositions has been concerned with the way that colonized people have been “misrepresented” or “distorted,” Mitchell’s discussion shifts focus to the mediating and performative functions of the exposition sites themselves. In other words, Mitchell focuses his analysis on the mechanisms and techniques of exhibitions themselves rather than a predetermined panoptic exhibition. He maintains that,

The problem [...] was that, in revealing power, to work through misrepresentation, it left representation itself unquestioned. It accepted absolutely the distinction between a realm of representations and the “external reality” which such representations promise, rather than examining the novelty of continuously creating the effect of an “external reality” as itself a mechanism of power.⁴⁵

⁴³ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 96.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁴⁵ Timothy Mitchell, “The Stage of Modernity,” in *Questions of Modernity*, ed. Timothy Mitchell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 18-19. See also Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 18-19.

Therefore, rather than either unveiling a false representation or correcting the misunderstanding of the exhibited, Mitchell focuses on the ways the exhibitionary order (re)created its reality as external: in particular, the temporal and spatial order was recreated in the exhibition of colonized people, to borrow his words, the way that colonial modernity was staged. He focuses on the effects and process of representation itself, which can be understood only through both the organizers' vision and the viewing experience, rather than the pre-calculated outcome of the exhibition. What is crucial for Mitchell is that time and space in colonial modernity are not experienced as an immediate phenomenology, but occur only through the machinery called "representation."⁴⁶ When Mitchell states that the world and everything in it can be rendered up as an exhibition, "the world-as-exhibition," it is not that he is concerned with "image-making," but more with the way that exhibitions "creat[e] an effect we recognize as reality, by organizing the world endlessly to represent it."⁴⁷ In other words, via the study of representation at exhibitions, Mitchell attempts to explore the exhibition not as a place of reflecting and representing reality but as a novel method of mediating time and space – "colonial modernity's distinctive apprehensions of space and time."⁴⁸

The representation of time and space at expositions can be characterized – borrowing Walter Benjamin's term from his study of the experience of modern

⁴⁶ Mitchell, "The Stage," 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 22.

time – as “homogenous empty time.”⁴⁹ If modern social practices such as calendars, clocks and timetables re-codified the experience of our heterogeneous temporality into “homogenous time only by laying out in a spatial sequence,”⁵⁰ exposition spaces similarly impose a homogenous system on all the different temporalities of the nations on display for the viewer’s comparison. Most world’s fairs applied a unified classification system (as in Benjamin’s “homogenous empty time”) when exhibiting items, rather than showing them as a disarray of collected objects. For instance, “Draft for a System of Classification for the World’s Columbian Exposition ” announces that all the items are arranged in accordance with specific departments – for example, Agriculture, Viticulture, Fish, Mines, Machinery, Transportation, Manufacturing, Electricity, Fine Arts, Education and Ethnology. Within each department, all the items are once again classified into several groups and classes.⁵¹ In doing so, the fair aimed to represent “an Illustrated Encyclopedia of Civilization.”⁵² This means that each exhibit was to be displayed in the same format, along with a unified presentation of labels and glass boxes, under universally understandable categories. As mentioned earlier, when comparing all the exhibits in terms of temporality and spatiality, “one must assume an underlying or overarching simultaneity or synchronicity, a time frame

⁴⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 263.

⁵⁰ Mitchell discusses Benjamin’s “homogenous empty time” in relation to Bergson; see Henri Bergson, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness*, trans. F. L. Pogson (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1910); cited in Mitchell, “The Stage,” 14.

⁵¹ G Brown Goode, *First Draft of a System of Classification for the World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington: Gov't Print. Off., 1893), 645

⁵² Robert W. Rydell, “All the World’s a Fair,” 45.

in which all these different identities exist at once, somehow equally and evenly.”⁵³

This overarching synchronicity in exhibitions tends to show a specific orientation in temporality and spatiality.⁵⁴ We can see examples of this in specific sections of expositions; in the machinery department, for instance, once varied tools and instruments were categorized as “machinery,” they were then all displayed in the same formats and arranged in a sequence, thus producing a certain spatial arrangement. And the spatially arranged sequence tends to give the sense of a certain developmental movement, in part because its similar items get continuously compared within the same frame. For example, the sequence tends to begin with simple tools and gadgets and then move toward more advanced and sophisticated machines, producing a specific spatio-temporal orientation. A particular orientation in time and space is often led to the spatialized time zone. Put another way, from the view of the categories most often used in the displays at world’s fairs, the Western world is often seen as the most modern due to its advanced technology and sophisticated social system. By contrast, the Other countries are seen as temporarily “behind” and often uncivilized. Therefore, the fact that each nation and culture is allocated to a particular time zone is in part because of the effects of exhibitionary techniques, since the exhibiting country imposes the self-claimed universal category and display formats on all other nations. What is crucial to note about this exposition practice is that it eventually

⁵³ LaMarre, “Introduction,” 7.

⁵⁴ This also applied in other creative disciplines. For the way in which the continuity of style in screenplays gave a certain time and space orientation in modern Japanese cinema, see Thomas LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and “Oriental” Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005), chapter 16.

led to the “spatialization of time,” whereby “the Modern” and “the West” were frequently deemed to be equivalent.

Johannes Fabian argued that “there would be no *raison d’être* for the comparative method, if it was not the classification of entities or traits which first have to be separate and distinct before their similarities can be used to establish taxonomies and developmental sequences.”⁵⁵ This distancing practice is necessary in order to register a different temporality between us (exhibiting countries in general) and other cultures. In other words, the spatialization of time and the framing of certain other places as living in “another time” are premised upon the concepts of distancing and separation. This study proposes this “distancing” and the simultaneous effect of what Johannes Fabian called “allochronism” as the elements that the visual technologies of exhibitions share in common with imperialist policies. The technologies of exhibitions first distanced their exhibited items, including everyday objects, from their surrounding contexts, and then rearranged them within a different temporality. In this way, exhibition practices hold something in common with the discipline of anthropology; although those who are exhibited might live contemporaneously with the exhibitors, the time of the exhibitor’s present “must be distinguished from the time of the observed.”⁵⁶ This is what Johannes Fabian called the “denial of the coevalness.”⁵⁷ Fabian defines the denial of the coevalness as “a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the

⁵⁵ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 27; cited from Harootunian, “Ghostly Comparisons,” 41.

⁵⁶ Harootunian, “Ghostly Comparisons,” 41.

⁵⁷ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 11-32.

producer of anthropological discourse.”⁵⁸ Similarly, the imperialist practices of this time aimed first to distance the colonized, and then to present them as living in “another time,” which became the justification for their colonial dominance. When discussing the displaying practices of expositions, Curtis M. Hinsley also correctly discusses the underlying logic of the exposition in terms of the concepts of “distancing” and “separation.” While illuminating a cartoon in the *Chicago Sunday Herald* [figure 2], Hinsley contends that the cartoon has “one central element: a horizontal fence dividing the fairgoers from the dusky female subjects.” He goes on to describe that “lines must be drawn, and they are drawn in telling ways. On the simplest level, frequently a fence, chain, rope, bench row, or other physical boundary demarcated visitor and performer spaces.”⁵⁹ Imperialist policies equally tended to set up a certain distance through which a hierarchical relationship could be established. In particular, the Japanese empire – unlike European empires during the same time period – set up colonial relations with its neighbouring people from nations that had long shared the same history and culture, and thus it needed to establish a certain (temporal) distance before achieving full dominance. Through this distancing practice and the de-territorialization of temporality, the Japanese empire could display other Asian nations as “living in different time,” and their coevalness was thus ambivalently denied.

⁵⁸ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 31: According to Fabian, the noun coevalness covers both synchronicity and contemporaneity. In other words, coevalness means the sharing or occupying of the same temporal scheme. Fabian goes on to illuminate that although the discipline of anthropology is premised upon the researchers’ coevalness with the things they observe, evidence of the coevalness tends to be disavowed by the time of presenting their research: see Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 31-32.

⁵⁹ Hinsley, “The World as Marketplace,” 358.

The goal of this study is to move beyond these investigations into the way things were organized and how they were viewed – the idea of panopticism within the exhibitionary complex – and to focus instead on the exhibition technologies and techniques used to organize temporality and spatiality. This dissertation aims to examine how Asian nations were distanced and de-territorialized through exhibitionary technologies, and how their temporalities were re-enacted within a “different timeframe” than that of the Japanese empire. As Harootunian pointed out, “this denial of coevalness implies a refusal to acknowledge that all temporal relations (including contemporaneity) are embedded in socially-economically – and culturally- organized practices.”⁶⁰ By exploring the underlying common logic between imperial policies and the visual technologies used at exhibitions, this study seeks to investigate how expositions staged the Japanese empire, rather than the ways they (mis)represented or deceived other nations.

3) Expositions as Visual Technology

“You will not gain anything but mere exchange of glances wandering through the exposition ground even for tens of days if you were to look past things idly,” advised the “Instructions for the Fairgoer” from Japan’s second National Exposition in 1881.⁶¹ This was a part of the impact that Japan’s experiences at Western world’s fairs had on its subsequent displays: as mentioned above, if exhibitions were previously regarded as sites of spectacle and cabinet curiosities,

⁶⁰ Harootunian, “Ghostly Comparisons,” 42.

⁶¹ Cited in Kentaro Tomio, “Visions of Modern Space,” 728.

here they were beginning to be deemed as a means of “training the eye (*ganmoku no kyō*), the idea learned from international fairs.”⁶² Indeed, the idea of expositions as visual training was not restricted to Japan. The emergence of museums and expositions as visual apparatuses coincided with the development of a new visual regime in nineteenth-century Europe. It is thus reasonable to say that the evolution of those museums and expositions was inseparably entwined with what Jonathan Crary regarded as those “new [visual] forms by which vision itself became a kind of discipline or mode of work.”⁶³ The new practices of museums and expositions were a part of the overall development of visual technologies at that time, which was mainly targeted toward the managing of viewer attention either for satisfying visual pleasure or for giving visual lessons. It was G. Brown Goode, the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who regarded the displaying methods of expositions as “visual lessons.” Goode had much interest in the techniques of visual order and visual training. For instance, in his 1889 article, entitled “The Museums of the Future,” Goode mentions, “There is an Oriental saying that the distance between ear and eye is small, but the difference between hearing and seeing very great.” He continues by saying that “more terse and not less forcible is our own proverb, ‘To see is to know,’ which expresses a growing tendency in the human mind.” His belief in the eye and learning via looking goes on as follows:

⁶² The main members who organized the first Domestic Exposition in 1877 consisted mostly of those experts who participated in the 1873 Vienna World’s Fair. According to Tomio, in the aftermath of Japan’s participation in the Vienna fair, expositions became understood as the “promotion of competition, mutual learning and business, all for production.” See *ibid.*, 726.

⁶³ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: MIT Press & October Books, 1990), 18; cited in John Tagg, “A Discourse (with Shape of Reason Missing),” *Art History* 5, no. 3 (Sept. 1992): 365.

In this busy, critical, and skeptical age each man is seeking to know all things, and life is too short for many words. The eye is used more and more, the ear less and less, and in the use of the eye, descriptive writing is set aside for pictures, and pictures in their turn are replaced by actual objects. In the schoolroom the diagram, the blackboard, and the object lesson, unknown thirty years ago, are universally employed. The public lecturer uses the stereopticon to reinforce his words, the editor illustrates his journals and magazines with engravings a hundredfold more numerous and elaborate than his predecessor thought needful, and the merchant and manufacturer recommend their wares by means of vivid pictographs. The local fair of old has grown into the great exposition, often international and always under some governmental patronage, and thousands of such have taken place within forty years, from Japan to Tasmania, and from Norway to Brazil. ... The museum of the past must be set aside, reconstructed, transformed from a cemetery of bric-a-brac into a nursery of living thoughts.⁶⁴

In other words, Goode's ideas are premised upon his belief that museums and expositions are not simply spaces for visual pleasure, but also places for knowledge production and visual civic lessons. To do so, Goode encouraged curators to actively utilize the visual technology of exhibitions, such as displaying and labelling. With regard to labelling in particular, he claimed that "the ideas which a museum is intended to teach can only be conveyed by means of labels." He further insisted that "labels describing the specimens in a collection are intended to take the place of the curator of the collection when it is impossible for him personally to exhibit the objects and explain their meaning."⁶⁵ In other words, where the museum and expositions of the previous era (or "cabinet of curiosity episteme") were considered to be spaces for amusement, modern museums became sites that would provide visual instructions as well as control over the

⁶⁴ G. B. Goode, "The Museums of the Future," in *A Memorial of George Brown Goode, Together with a Selection of his Papers on Museums and on the History of Science in America* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 243; cited in Robert W. Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums," *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 139.

⁶⁵ Goode, "The Museums," 1901; cited in Rydell, "World Fairs," 140.

visual movement of the audience.⁶⁶ In addition to labelling, as John Tagg pointed out, other new techniques – such as “managing attention, partitioning and cellularizing vision, fixing and isolating the observer and imposing homogeneity on visual experience” – ought to be situated within the development of visual and optical devices that emerged in the nineteenth century, including photography, diorama and stereoscope.⁶⁷ To put this another way, the practices of knowledge production and visual training that were used within exhibitions and museums were bound up with the emergence of new visual technologies and the transformation of older practices. Just as new visual devices were concerned with ways of shaping perception and managing attention, exhibition technologies were equally concerned with how to organize the attention and choreography of their spectators. The changes in exhibition spaces during this time were thus a part of the emergence of a new visual regime or the restructuring of the existing fields of vision. And “this was the condition for their reframing or, as Deleuze and Guattari would say, their ‘re-territorialization’ into new institutions, new hierarchies and new forms of exchange.”⁶⁸

Japan’s engagement with expositions was also part of this re-territorialization. The introduction of new exhibitionary practices became possible during the country’s national transformation project, intended to help Japanese society keep up with the modern systems of the West. As mentioned above, exhibition practices had existed in Japan for a long time in more traditional artistic

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Tagg, “A Discourse,” 365.

⁶⁸ See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London: Athlone Press, 1987); cited in Tagg, “A Discourse,” 365.

and religious activities such as *shogakai* and *kaichō*. However, it was only during the Meiji period that Japan encountered modern types of exhibition practices such as labelling and partitioning. Like other social systems, exhibitions also needed to speak in a modern language, as well as to adopt new ways of arranging objects and developing new relationships with their audience. Indeed, most of the National Industrial Expositions held after the country's participation in the Vienna and Philadelphia exhibitions employed the same display formats as those used in Western examples. Satō thus deftly pointed out that “all display formats had to be Western, in essence, and even traditional Japanese paintings had to be mounted in Western frames for display.”⁶⁹ What I intend to argue is that exposition practices in Japan were bound up with Japan's recognition of new institutions and new techniques of reframing and reorganizing activities – that is, innovative ways of displaying, labelling and rearranging. It is problematic to read the emergence of these practices as merely a transmission of Western exhibitionary techniques to Japan, with Japanese expositions copying Western techniques in the display of its colonies; in this view, Japan's colonies are trapped by a double imperialism. To move beyond the view of exhibitions as the totalizing eye, this dissertation rather focuses on exhibition technology itself and its unique mechanisms. Thus, I argue that Japanese exposition practices mimicked the Western exhibitionary techniques of managing and choreographing the spectator's vision in partiality toward other Asian nations. In doing so, the following chapters will examine the ways in which exhibition technology reoriented what was envisaged as Asian art (*tōyō bijutsu*),

⁶⁹ Satō, *Modern Japanese Art*, 111

Asian culture (*tōyō bunka*) and Asian race (*tōyōjin*), with a consideration of multiple exposition sites.

In the field of Japanese studies, despite a growing interest in Japanese colonialism, there is scant literature on Japan's expositions and their representation of its colonies. Much of the existing scholarship on Japan's expositions follows a few set paths of inquiry: the collection and display of traditional Japanese art; the portrayal of Japan as an exotic "Oriental"⁷⁰; or the documentary and historiographical account of Japan's participation in world's fairs. The social and political issues behind the Japanese expositions – and specifically their colonial relations – have been largely ignored despite the recent attention on the role of expositions in the construction of imperial power. While the problem with the majority of these existing studies lies in their reading of expositions as mere reflections of reality, neglecting the dynamic relationship between exhibitions and the world, recent scholarship on exhibitions has sought to suggest new angles such as the dynamic relationship between the West and Japan.⁷¹ However, this more recent research has merely concentrated on the ways in which Japan's exhibition practices can be read in terms of the relationship between Japan and West, while the roles played by the colonies, including Korea, at these expositions are not highlighted – and are often dismissed completely. In pointing out the importance of colonial relations, however, my aim is neither to speak for the suppressed voice of the exhibited subjects, nor to discuss how Japan misrepresented its colonies. Instead, my project examines how the temporal,

⁷⁰ See Conant, "Refractions."

⁷¹ See Lockyer, "Japan at the Exhibition"; Langlois, "Exhibiting Japan."

spatial and ethnic identities of Asian nations were redefined through the visual technologies of exhibitions in order to shape Japan's self-claimed identity as an Asian Empire.

From the perspective of the Korean studies field, the topic of the colonial exposition has received a great deal of attention due to the issues of modernity. The sites of expositions have been largely discussed as embodying a core part of modern and urban cultures, similar to visual spectacle and the experience of the urban crowd. However, the existing research on colonial expositions in Seoul has in large part focused on the influence of Japan, while the larger contexts of how Western visual culture was acquired by Japan and used to enact Japan's Asian empire have been mostly overlooked. The 1940 Chōsōn Great Exposition in Seoul, the focus of the last chapter of this dissertation, needs to be rethought in terms of exhibition technology's role in mobilizing people. This study thus endeavours to shed light on how these visual techniques were used in reorganizing the temporal-ethno relations of Japan's colonies in the face of the war.

4) Re-articulation of Asian Nations: Ambivalence of the Japanese Empire

“The Japanese now become the sole guardians
of the art inheritance of Asia.”

- Okakura Tenshin

The temporal scope covered by this study, 1890s-1940s, signifies the broader history of Japan's engagement with Asia, ranging from Okakura Tenshin's Pan-Asian aesthetics to the 1940 exposition featuring the Greater East Asian Empire during the wartime period. As Carol Christ argued, it is largely true that Japan tried to take a colonizer's stance toward other Asian nations through its displays at international fairs, even though Japan was not quite an empire during this time.⁷² Japan's attempts to demonstrate its governing stance over other Asian nations appear to imitate the displays of colonial domination by Western empires, and yet Japanese engagements of Asia are "almost the same, but not quite," to borrow Homi K. Bhabha's conception. As I mentioned above, if Japan's colonial expositions are taken as imitative of Western practices, Japan's colonies are simultaneously trapped by the double negatives of both Western and Japanese imperialism. In order to avoid the totalizing vision of exposition sites in which the West is frequently taken as universal norm to be copied and as the tacit standard for comparison, this dissertation interprets Japan's relation to Western imperialism in its position toward other Asian nations to be what Bhabha defined as "mimicry."

In Bhabha's concept, mimicry indicates an image of colonized people who desired to mimic practices of the colonials but in a flawed form.⁷³ However, Bhabha's idea does not simply imply the incapability of the colonized but also disclose the failure of colonial discourse. As Anne McClintock pointed out, in its

⁷² See Carol Ann Christ, "'The Sole Guardians of the Art Inheritance of Asia': Japan at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Positions*. Vol. 8, No. 3 (Winter, 2000): 693-4.

⁷³ Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

ambivalence and double vision, “the normalizing authority of colonial discourse is thrown into question.”⁷⁴ Mimicry thus becomes “at once resemblance and menace.”⁷⁵ In the schema of Japan’s mimicry of Western practices, the concept is of importance since it does not simply assume the limitation of mimicking, but challenges the logic of the West as universal and the other as particular. Thomas LaMarre explains further in his account of Bhabha’s idea in Japan’s context:

Mimicry, on the contrary, entails a mode of relation in which Japan may act as if it were the West. Its operations are analogous to the simultaneous production and repression of Asia. The operative logic of mimicry allowed Japan to be as the modern West toward Asia – before the fact, so to speak. Mimicry does not involve a studious, step-by-step reproduction of Western institutions and paradigms but rather captures the temporal anomaly at the heart of Western modernity in order to act ahead of time.⁷⁶

By seeing Japanese pavilions side by side with those of other Asian nations, rather than comparing the universal Western models to Japan in particular, this study shows how the Japanese empire’s double vision and ambivalences challenge the Western commanding view due to partial resemblance and partial difference. According to Bhabha,

Mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference ... Mimicry is thus the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which “appropriates” the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an imminent threat to both “normalized” knowledges and disciplinary powers.⁷⁷

Furthermore, rather than silently being seen by the totalizing Western gaze, the Japanese empire’s use of mimicry enacted its own temporality and colonial

⁷⁴ McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 63.

⁷⁵ Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” 88.

⁷⁶ LaMarre, “Introduction,” 25.

⁷⁷ Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” 86.

practices in relation to other Asian nations, thus making the Western observer itself into an object. In arguing for the mimicry strategy of the Japanese empire, this study does not intend to justify Japanese colonialism or portray it in a positive light; rather, the same theory of mimicry can also be applied to the relations between the Japanese empire and its colonies, complicating the totalizing vision of Japan toward the rest of Asia. Through a returning gaze from the disciplined, according to Bhabha, “the observer becomes the observed, and ‘partial’ representation rearticulates the whole notion of identity and alienates it from essence.”⁷⁸ Importantly, Japan’s ability to stage itself as an empire at expositions was possible only through the mobilization of other Asian nations.

This study argues that the significance of Japan’s use of mimicry lies in the way it captured, to borrow Thomas LaMarre’s words, “the temporal anomaly at the heart of Western modernity” before other Asian nations and re-enacted its own temporal reality toward them.⁷⁹ Following Timothy Mitchell’s discussion, this study analyzes how specific exhibitionary techniques re-enacted this temporality in displaying other Asian nations at expositions. Japan’s representations of Asian art, race and ethnicity in the exhibitionary sphere were staged within a specific time frame. This study, rather than being attentive to the way in which the exhibitionary complex mistreated other Asian nations, focuses instead on what kinds of exhibitionary mechanisms were used to recreate temporal and spatial order when exhibiting colonized peoples.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 88-9.

⁷⁹ See LaMarre, “Introduction,” 25.

Moreover, as Yoshimi Shunya pointed out, in its displays at Western international fairs, Japan reversed the Western gaze onto itself, and thus displayed many exhibits that catered to the Western desire for an exotic Japan. Japanese pavilions that were modelled after traditional Japanese temples or tea houses and Japanese gardens – seen, for example, in the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition or the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle – were all arranged precisely to fit the totalizing view of the West. To put it differently, they reversely applied the temporal norm of the West onto themselves – assuming the role of the exotic, unchanging Other in opposition to the modern Western civilization.⁸⁰

Yet, to borrow Yoshimi's term, this imperialist vision turned into a "refracting gaze" in the Japanese exhibition. In an attempt not to be labelled as the Other of Western powers, many Japanese exhibition organizers at world's fairs positioned their country vis-à-vis the rest of Asia as an emerging modern empire in the Far East. The Japanese pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, according to Yoshimi, was located in a symbolic site in terms of the structure of human progress. It was situated in between the Midway, which featured a jumble of other cultures, and the White city, where Western civilization was prevalently exhibited; the Japanese display thus seemed appropriate, but did not quite fit the human classification system suggested by the exposition – that it turned out as "refracting gaze."⁸¹

By the time of these exhibitions, Japanese art historians, including Okakura, had already been claiming for years that Japan had become the most capable

⁸⁰ Yoshimi Shunya, *Pangnamhoe*, 236-7.

⁸¹ Yoshimi Shunya *Ibid.*, 240.

conservator of Asian Art – a sentiment that is well known in his phrase, “Japan as the museum of Asiatic civilization.”⁸² Beginning with the 1893 Chicago Exposition, Okakura presented specific narratives on the history of Japanese art, which usually proclaimed that Japanese art had originated in China, India and Korea, and yet had continued to progress since then while other Asian arts all remained the same.⁸³ In the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, the *Official Catalogue* for the national pavilion (in which Okakura was involved) specifically reinforced this view:

It was under the dynasties of Sui and Tang that our country came to build, for the first time, the relations with China. ... However, it would be in vain, if we seek the same wonders in China and India today. It is only with us ... This is only by Japan that the scholar can find enough materials and recover the general characteristics of the artworks, whereas China and India have poor understanding of the history.⁸⁴

In other words, the temporality of other Asian nations is here described as being the past of Japanese art and culture in order to stage Japanese art with an imperialist account.

Japan’s attempt to take advantage of other Asian nations’ vulnerability was not solely applied to the areas of art and aesthetics. Japanese exhibitions frequently brought in a variety of races and ethnicities from other Asian nations, including Ainu, Taiwanese, Chinese, Korean and Okinawans, among others, and furthermore attempted to redefine their ethnic identities. Under the sway of European imperialism as explained above, the Japanese empire, beginning with

⁸² This well-known phrase is from Okakura Tenshin, *The Ideals of the East* (London: John Murray, 1903).

⁸³ See chapter 1 of this dissertation.

⁸⁴ Kuki, “Preface,” in *Histoire de L’Art du Japon*, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan (Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900), xiii.

the 1903 Osaka National Industrial Exposition, employed the same colonialist exhibition strategy of showing native people and their villages. The gesture of presenting native people seems to be imitative of the Western imperialist exhibition, and yet it would be better understood as mimicry since it bears only partial resemblance. Japanese exhibitions brought these races in to represent their Others, much like the Western exhibitions did, and yet in the Japanese displays these Other groups were often presented as the Japanese past or even prehistoric ancestors. The Japanese empire, to put it another way, acted the operation of the Western temporality earlier than others,, and further recreated the temporal sphere in exhibiting Asian nations.

This dissertation investigates multiple sites of Japan's expositions both at home and abroad, as well as a variety of major figures who were involved in these exhibition practices. However, this project does not aim to trace the history of expositions in Japan per se; rather, each chapter deals with multiple exposition sites, viewing the visual technologies of the exhibitions in tandem with the expansion of Japanese imperialism and its engagement with Asian nations. Therefore each chapter of this study concerns specific exhibitionary techniques, such as re-territorialization and panoramas, which were used to represent Asian nations – and their temporality in particular – at multiple exposition sites. The first two chapters deal with Japanese pavilions at world's fairs and the way that they represented other Asian nations to the international scene in order to take an imperialist stance. Chapter 2 concerns three (pre)exhibitionary sites where Japanese traditional art and art history were reorganized: domestic treasure survey

sites, the National Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the Official Catalogue for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle (*Histoire de l'Art du Japon*). More specifically, I will argue that these three exhibitionary sites were specific locations where Japanese traditional art and Asian art became “de-territorialized and re-territorialized” – to use the Deleuzian concept – through the techniques of preservation, presentation and cataloguing. As a result I will discover – along with the sites where Japan increased its self-perception as the conservator of other Asian cultures – the ways that Japan’s exhibitionary technologies rearranged Asian nations within each time frame of art history. Modern museological and exhibitionary technologies thus removed Chinese and Korean culture from their prior contexts, and re-oriented them in relation to a Pan-Asian aesthetic in the service of the Japanese empire.

Chapter 3 examines the Japanese pavilion at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition in terms of the visual technique of the panorama. The 1910 Japan-British Exhibition was Japan’s first joint exhibition with a Western empire, and yet it was less a display of a reciprocal relationship than it was an event to exhibit every aspect of Japan for European audiences. The Japanese pavilion in this show self-adjusted to the panorama technique using a Western perspective, wherein Britain emerged as the temporal norm to be emulated in the logic of imperialism while Japan was relatively viewed as a “different” nation than the “Western empires in the early twentieth century.” Yet Japan, by mimicking the temporal logic of the Western empire, re-enacted its own temporal operations toward other Asian nations. Through the mimicry, not imitation, of Western temporality in its

framing of Asia, Japan only demonstrated the fact that the Western self-claimed universalism staged through panoramas at world's fairs was merely contingent and subject to be re-hegemonized by different contents.

While chapter 2 and 3 discuss the sites of international fairs in relation to Japan-West dynamics, the chapter 4 and 5 shift attention to Japan itself – and to the colonies that it held within the frame of a multi-ethnic empire. Furthermore, an investigation of these multiple exhibition sites embodies the process whereby the imperialist identity of the Japanese empire was constituted and transformed through the representation of other Asian nations. Chapter 4 explores the ways in which anthropological exhibitions rearticulated the racial and ethnic identities of Asian nations under the name of a multi-ethnic empire. The Tokyo Anthropological Association and its leader, Tsuboi Shōgorō, made extensive use of visual technologies such as composite photography and anthropological expositions; I investigate how they attempted to redefine racial and ethnic identities by way of these visual technologies. This chapter specifically concerns how the anthropological exhibitions endeavoured to mediate the temporality of each Asian race within the frame of a multi-ethnicism. By displaying the artifacts left from the ancient Japanese people in direct comparison with current artifacts from other Asian ethnicities, such as Ainu and Taiwan, these anthropological events recreated a spatio-temporal sphere within the exhibitions.

Chapter 5 considers the climax of Pan-Asianist expansion at the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition, held in Seoul amidst the Asia-Pacific War. The event site was replete with panoramic images; this chapter thus examines how the visual practice

of panoramas incorporated people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds under the inclusive umbrella of a multi-cultural East Asian empire to encourage their participation in the war. More specifically, through the layout and arrangement of its exhibits, this event did not simply portray the Korean nation as an exotic colony but also attempted to incorporate it as a member of the multi-ethnic empire alongside Japan. Yet equality and brotherhood between the Japanese and the Koreans could only be promised through the (self)negation of Korea, in the form of a will to die for the Japanese empire. I contend that the panoramic imageries at the exposition were used to perform both the inclusiveness and yet the simultaneous contradictions of a multi-cultural empire. In each of these chapters I analyze how these multiplex exposition sites spatialized the temporality of Asian nations through the technologies of re-territorialization and panorama techniques.

Thoughts and discourse on Asia nations have been omnipresent throughout the existence of the Japanese empire. Indeed, the conception of Asia was not organized as a coherent ideology, but was rather expressed through a wide variety of arguments and tendencies surrounding Japan and Asia as a whole. In this regard, Satō rightfully questioned whether the notion of *tōyō* – referring to Asia in Japanese, consisting of two Chinese characters of “East” and “Sea” – is meant to refer to the “Orient,” the “East” or the “Far East.” While explaining a public contest in the *Yomiuri* Newspaper called “Painting Themes on East Asian History,” which was advertised on New Year’s Day of 1899, Satō goes on to explain that the term *tōyō* in this context specifically indicated “Japan, China,

Korea, India, et cetera.” However, in Okakura’s account, *tōyō* extends its limit so far as to “include India, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and such, in addition to these main areas.” In other words, Okakura’s *tōyō* was more of an exact translation of “Orient,” which specifically refers to the land east of the dividing line of the Ural and Altai mountains, which form the boundary between the East and the West.⁸⁵ Hence *tōyō* is a discursive sphere, conceptualized as opposed to the West. The Japanese empire thus regarded the category of “Asia” more as a trope whose race, culture and geography could be seen as similar, but simultaneously differentiated from those of Japan.

Thanks to this ambivalence and polysemy, the representation of Asian nations at expositions emerged as a useful tool for the Japanese empire; it could easily be mobilized for a variety of intentions and political purposes. Kevin Doak rightfully pointed out that “the most important contribution to regionalism [of Asia] made by this approach to ethnic national theory was the notion that there must be a hierarchical ordering of nationalities.”⁸⁶ To put this differently, by using Asia as a category, the Japanese empire wanted “simultaneously to assert a common sense of Asian difference *from* the West, while maintaining distinctive identities *among* Asians, particularly between Japanese and the rest of the peoples of Asia.”⁸⁷ In a particular example, Okakura proclaimed that Asia ought to be united in order to restore Asian values, envisaged as an antithesis against the Western invasion; and yet his respect of Asian civilization was deeply rooted in

⁸⁵ Satō, *Modern Japanese Art*, 176-7.

⁸⁶ Kevin Doak, “Ethnic nationality and Pan-Asianism in Imperial Japan,” in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*. ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), 173.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 169.

his ethnocentrism – namely, the idea that Japan was the most advanced nation while other Asian nations still remained in the past. Due to this hierarchical time frame, his self-promoted ideals of Asia were often used to promote the leadership of Japanese culture. Okakura stated that “it was Japan’s privilege that it can unite Asia amidst of the historic complexities.” Further, he considered Japan to be the only “museum of Asiatic civilization” which could truly store the culture and thoughts of Asia.⁸⁸ By taking this ambivalent stance toward Asia – situating itself both as Asia’s colonizer and as its brother of the same race – Japan’s representation of Asia at expositions can thus be seen as “mimicry,” rather than an imitation of the displays put on by Western powers. At the same time, the Asian nations who were addressed both as brothers and as followers of Japan may return the gaze of otherness with their “double vision,” according to Bhabha. This double vision, the result of the ambivalence of colonial discourse where Asian nations were recognized as the same race as those in Japan, yet never fully seen as equal citizens in the Japanese empire, had the profound effect of disrupting Japan’s colonial authority.

⁸⁸ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Asia Is One: Visions of Asian Community in Twenty-First Century Japan,” in *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past*, ed. Brij Tankha (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009), 58-9.

Chapter 2: Exhibitionary Sites: Re-territorializing Asian Art

A Shôçoin, à Nara, à Kôyasan dans la province de Kii, à Toji et à Daïgoji à Kyoto et dans d'autres temples célèbres, vous découvrirez, admirablement conservés, presque tous ces chefs-d'œuvre dont la perfection et la noblesse nous ravissent. De tout temps, le Japon les a estimés à leur prix. ... Sans entamer en rien le caractère particulier, national, des artistes qui ont travaillé, depuis douze siècles et plus, à la constitution de notre patrimoine artistique, ils ont guidé pendant de longues périodes leur effort, stimulé leur activité, soutenu leur génie naissant et leur zèle.

- Kuki Ryūichi⁸⁹

1) Exhibitionary Technologies and De-territorialization

Okakura Tenshin begins his *The Ideals of the East* with one of his most famous passages:

Asia is one. The Himalayas divide, only to accentuate, two mighty civilizations, the Chinese with its communism of Confucius, and the Indian with its individualism of the Vedas. But not even the snowy barriers can interrupt for one moment that broad expanse of love for the Ultimate and Universal, which is the common thought-inheritance of every Asiatic race, enabling them to produce all the great religions of the world, and distinguishing them from those maritime peoples of the Mediterranean and the Baltic, who love to dwell on the Particular, and to search out the means, not the end, of life.⁹⁰

The idea that “Asia is one,” according to Noriko Murai, probably came to Okakura’s mind during a conversation he had with Henry James in London, on May 19, 1908, while surveying the East Asian Art collection at major European museums for the Museum of Fine Art in Boston. In the conversation, Okakura

⁸⁹ Kuki Ryūichi, “Preface,” in *Histoire de L’Art du Japon*, ed. Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan (Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900), xiii.

⁹⁰ Okakura Tenshin, “The Ideals of the East,” in *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings* (hereafter *CEW*) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), Vol. 1, 13.

was told by Henry James that “England is a second-rate nation in a first-class position. No great originality.” Okakura agreed with this opinion and simultaneously reflected the situation on that of Japan, writing in his diary: “The same relationship exists between Japan and China.” He went on to state that Japan will equally need the “backbone of the continent” to nourish a “great originality.” To put this differently, he sensed a need to bring Japan’s continental heritage into its artistic endeavours in order to stand up face to face with the Western culture.⁹¹ Noriko Murai swiftly pointed out that “[Okakura] believed that Japan alone was not adequate to be presented as an alternative mode of civilization to that of the West, a geocultural construct that was also supranational.”⁹²

Yet Okakura’s Pan-Asianist thought quickly moves to the claim that Japan is the only place to actualize the ideals of the pan-Asian culture as follows:

It has been, however, the great privilege of Japan to realise this unity-in-complexity with a special clearness. ... The unique blessing of unbroken sovereignty, the proud self-reliance of an unconquered race, and the insular isolation which protected ancestral ideas and instincts at the cost of expansion, made Japan the real repository of the trust of Asiatic thought and culture.⁹³

This vision is similarly reflected in Kuki Ryūichi’s introduction to *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi* (A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan, 1901; hereafter *Kōhon*), the Japanese version of the catalogue for the 1900 Paris Exposition, which will be further explained later in this chapter. Kuki’s introduction clearly declares Japan’s role toward other Asian nations:

⁹¹ Noriko Murai, “Authoring the East: Okakura Kakuzō and the Representations of East Asian Art in the Early Twentieth Century” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2003), 33.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Okakura, “The Ideals of the East,” 13-14.

By compiling the great art history, this will raise Asian art history; and furthermore, by adding materials from Asian history, this project aims at a larger benefit. Certainly, we should not hope for this project from India and China. This can begin with and be accomplished though Japan, the museum of Asiatic civilization.⁹⁴

The perception of Japan as the “museum of Asiatic civilization,” which symbolizes both the influence Japan took from other Asian nations and its perceived dominance over them, was probably born during Kuki’s domestic treasure surveys with Okakura. The accounts by both Okakura and Kuki contend that Japanese history and civilization is not merely Japan’s own, and attempt to claim that Japanese art and culture need to take a leading role toward other Asian nations, making Japan the “guardian of Asian art.”

What is essential to note in these two accounts is that the aesthetics of pan-Asianism emerge while they rethink traditional Japanese art through their contact with the new, modern visual museological technologies. Where Okakura rearticulated the notion of traditional Japanese art through the conception of modern art history, Kuki was, along with Okakura, re-examining and documenting traditional art through his use of modern cataloguing techniques.

It is important to recognize that the pan-Asian aesthetic was fostered when Japanese art was introduced to the international scene. In other words, in a process of self-definition while presenting its art and culture to the Western world, Japanese art programmers rearticulated Japan’s cultural and aesthetic identities to present a specific relation to other Asian nations. This chapter explores three (pre)exhibitionary sites where Japanese traditional art and its art history were re-

⁹⁴ “Introduction,” in *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi*, ed. Tōkyō Teishitsu Hakubutsukan onzōban (Tōkyō: Nihon Bijutsusha, 1908), 1-2.

organized with specific relation to the international scene: treasure investigation sites, the national pavilion at 1893 Chicago Exposition and the Official Catalogue for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle (*Histoire de l'Art du Japon*; hereafter *Histoire*). These three sites are particularly salient examples of the rearticulation of ancient objects through the new, modern exhibitionary techniques of the time – preservation, museological and curatorial presentation, and cataloguing, respectively. Where treasure investigation survey sites re-oriented the notion of traditional art through the techniques of preservation, the national pavilion at the Chicago Exposition and *Histoire* both made use of curatorial presentation and cataloguing techniques. This mimicry of Western exhibitionary practices – not as imitation – provided Japan with a cultural and aesthetic claim over other Asian nations in a temporal scheme. The exhibitionary enterprise, as Alice Tseng suggested in her study of the formation of museums in modern Japan, was almost entirely conducted “during a juncture of radical political and social change.”⁹⁵ These three exhibitionary sites symbolize the process whereby Japanese art and culture became a leading imperial player in Asia. These exhibitionary practices were initially derived from the immediate need to protect ancient objects; and yet, while investigating these objects and presenting their findings to the international stage, these exhibitionary practices came to embody a process of self-definition and self-staging of the “guardian of Asian art” in relation to the cultures of other Asian nations. This chapter endeavours to investigate the process whereby these exhibitionary technologies redefined Japan’s national art and culture by working to present the nation as the “guardian of Asian art” to international audiences.

⁹⁵ Tseng, *The Imperial Museums*, 4.

Central to these exhibitionary sites were the major art administrators of exhibitionary enterprise – Ernest Fenollosa, Okakura Tenshin and Kuki Ryūichi. These three figures, according to Alice Tseng, played major roles in “the orchestration of a comprehensive national system linking the enterprises of preservation, presentation, and production of art.”⁹⁶ By looking at the practices used by these art programmers, I will investigate how the exhibitionary sites employed the techniques of preservation, presentation and cataloguing in order to “de-territorialize and re-territorialize” traditional Japanese and Asian art – using the Deleuzian concept of territorialization.

Deleuze and Guattari trace the ways in which the flows of various codes are decoded into the abstract and into privatization when entering into the capitalist socius from the previous socius. These decoded materials are then immediately re-territorialized into the exchange of relations within the state-capitalist society.⁹⁷ Drawing upon the notion of recodification and the effect of an encounter with a different social system, this chapter seeks to investigate how traditional objects, when entering into the scene of international fairs, were de-territorialized into an abstract image of visual currency and then re-territorialized into the global art scheme, using such techniques as category, classification and value system. First, by examining the national treasure investigation project (with a focus on the work of Fenollosa), I will discuss the way that ancient objects, as pre-exposition sites, were decoded into abstract visual images through the technology of preservation; and secondly, by exploring the national pavilion at the

⁹⁶ Tseng, *The Imperial Museums*, 85.

⁹⁷ Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (London: Continuum, 2003).

1893 Chicago Exposition and the Official Catalogue for the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle (the *Histoire*), I will demonstrate how these decoded visual currencies were then reframed into national art, especially in relation to the global art network.

The latter two exhibitionary sites – the national pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the *Histoire* for the 1900 Paris Exposition – can be thought of as what Deleuze terms “the surface.” According to Deleuze, “It is the surface on which the whole process of production is inscribed, on which the forces and means of labor are recorded, and the agents and the products distributed.”⁹⁸ In this sense, I propose to consider these sites/instance as “territorial machines” through which the abstract visual images of ancient art are re-inscribed.

At the heart of these exhibitionary techniques is the mediation of temporality – the freezing of time, and the simultaneous (re)creation of the temporal reality. The technique of preservation tends to freeze a particular temporal moment and then attempts to conserve this frozen time. Once the time has been frozen, its temporality becomes manageable. The temporality in exhibitions, for instance, is largely modelled after the Hegelian historical framework in which respective regions are seen through particular time frames. I will thus investigate how Okakura’s exhibitionary practices and the *Histoire*’s cataloguing techniques contributed not only to the promotion of Japanese art, but also to the recreation of the temporality of Asian art, including Chinese and Korean art. It is true that the new, modern exhibitionary technologies – and

⁹⁸ Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, 141.

particularly those learned from the West – helped Japan to conceptualize its imperialist stance over other Asian nations, and yet these Western visual technologies were captured and mimicked only in partiality. Japanese culture not only claimed the same hierarchical rank as that occupied by Western nations, but also presented itself as the conservator of Asian civilization.

2) Fenollosa and the Technology of Preservation

The 1893 Chicago and 1900 Paris Expositions employed the concept of “tradition” as a nation-building tool vis-à-vis the West on the international stage. The idea of tradition here, however, does not simply mean a simple collection of ancient practices, but rather a rearticulated notion within a very specific agenda. In discussing the promotion of Japanese traditional art, Fenollosa’s influence is vital to consider. Specifically, Fenollosa’s process of decontextualizing Japan’s cultural and religious objects was a crucial strategy in the use of traditional art at the national pavilions of world’s fairs. By exploring the domestic treasures investigation process, in which Fenollosa took part to survey traditional works, I will discuss how he de-territorialized old artifacts from their original sites and surrounding contexts. The aim of this section is to explore the (pre)exhibitionary technology that Fenollosa employed – that is, the technique of preservation – with special attention to the way in which he intervened in the objects’ temporality. The decoded images that were created by Fenollosa are not simply abstract images, ready for any classification, categorization and display; they also

symbolize the violence of exhibitionary technologies due to their intervening nature.

Fenollosa and Okakura, two leading art programmers during the Meiji period, were both involved in two special commissions – the Fine Art Commission and the Temporary National Treasures Investigation Bureau (*Rinji zenkoku hōmotsu chōsa*; hereafter *Rinji*) – as preparatory work for drafting provisions for the Imperial Museum. While the Fine Arts Commission was created to investigate the foreign models for art schools and museums used in Europe and the United States from 1886 to 1887, the *Rinji* was meant to survey ancient domestic objects. These two tasks, however, were not directly linked or conceived of as a single project; they were rather a part of the process of reorganizing the national art system. The national pavilions at the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the 1900 Paris Exposition are inseparable from these two commissions in the sense that both Okakura and Kuki were involved in designing the pavilions, which were based upon the findings and the basic conceptions of the commissions.⁹⁹ Since it was Fenollosa who was the leading figure in the survey project (while Okakura was rather assisting him) – and since Fenollosa's practices, recorded mostly through his personal notes and letters,¹⁰⁰ were more closely related to the notions of preservation and intervention, – this section will focus on the activities of Fenollosa. Among other things, his personal records

⁹⁹ Kuki also played his role in supervising the two commissions as a head of imperial museum.

¹⁰⁰ Okakura's field notes can be found in his Okakura's zenshū and Fenollosa's personal notes on the treasure investigation are contained in the Fenollosa collection of documents; the latter is available at Harvard's Houghton Library.

allow us to understand the extent to which the treasure investigation process was decided by individual practices.

The surveys of Japan's cultural heritage, which all of three researchers (Fenollosa, Okakura and Kuki) took part in, either through government funding or for personal interests, are some of the most exemplary cases for illustrating the de-territorialization process. Importantly, the Chicago Columbian Exposition and the Paris Exposition were held while Japan's domestic treasure survey was in progress under the tutelage of Kuki, and thus the survey sites became the pre-stage for the objects discovered before they made their way to the international fairs. The following will explore the ways that Fenollosa, as a main member of the survey project, de-territorialized and intervened in the ancient cultural materials that were discovered, and then how he compiled and edited them – the practice of preservation. As Satō deftly pointed out, these national investigations were initiated as a part of the Ministry of the Imperial Household's policies of protecting old Japanese art from religious politics, but while preparing for the international exhibition, the sources and the history of these objects became closely intertwined with the national and imperial identity of Japan.¹⁰¹

Fenollosa began his career in Japan, as many of other foreigners in the country did, as a foreign expert at Tokyo University.¹⁰² After graduating from Harvard University, he taught philosophy and political economy at Tokyo

¹⁰¹ Dōshin Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and The Meiji State: The Politics of Beauty* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 155. See also Takagi Hiroshi, "Nihon bijutsushi no seiritsu shiron – kodai bijutsushi no jidai kubun no seiritsu," *Nihonshi kenkyū*, no. 400 (1995): 74-98.

¹⁰² For more information about Fenollosa's life and his career, see Lawrence Chisholm, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture* (New Haven: Yale University, 1963); Van Wyck Brooks, *Fenollosa and His Circle* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1962); and Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Fenollosa: Nihon no Bunka no Senyo ni Sasageta Issei* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1982).

University and became the University's first chair in philosophy in 1878. As is well known, his teaching of Hegelian philosophy and Spencerian conceptions of evolution influenced Okakura's later thoughts and work in the field of art history. Using his background in philosophy and his short study at the art school of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Fenollosa soon emerged as an "authority" on Japanese art.¹⁰³ Later, he changed his role from that of art expert to a government service and art educator while working for the Ministry of Education's Art Bureau. Among other things, it was his interests in the traditional Japanese art and his private collecting that made him an art expert. In 1884, Fenollosa "discovered" the Guze *kannon* during his personal research along with Okakura and his friends. He also participated in the domestic treasure investigations of 1886 and 1888,¹⁰⁴ and then left Japan in 1890 to take the position of curator for Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

During the Meiji period, from 1872 to 1897, there were as many as six different national projects to investigate Japan's national treasures, which were later designated as *kokuhō* (national treasure). Fenollosa and Okakura's participation in these investigations was mostly concentrated in the 1880s under the direction of the *Rinji*, which was established under the Imperial Household Ministry with the lead of Kuki Ryūichi.¹⁰⁵ Fenollosa, however, was occupied with

¹⁰³ Victoria Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004), 5-6.

¹⁰⁴ After his death, his wife compiled the two-volume *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* from his personal notes, most of which were based on the findings of these investigations.

¹⁰⁵ The *Rinji* surveys of the Kyoto/Nara area began in the summer of 1884 and lasted for about three months. Participating members included Fenollosa, Okakura, William Sturgis Bigelow and the painter Kanō Tessai. This survey is particularly famous for its discovery of the Guze *kannon* (also known as Yumedono *kannon*). Another brief investigation was carried out in Nara area in April and May of 1886; this was conducted by Fenollosa, Okakura, Kanō Tessai, Kanō Hōgai and

surveying even before his involvement in the governmental investigation project; he began his personal surveys as early as 1879, either for his personal collection or for the preparation of a survey book on Japanese art history.¹⁰⁶

Significantly, in the course of his fieldworks, Fenollosa continuously photographed and sketched ancient relics of Nara and Kyoto [figure 3]. He began to photograph ancient materials along with William S. Bigelow as early as 1882. Later, in the *Kinai*¹⁰⁷ survey – which included Ogawa Kazumasa as the government’s official photographer – Fenollosa actively utilized photographic techniques to record objects and artifacts. The processes of photographing and sketching in themselves transformed the ancient artifacts into abstract visual images; this chapter investigates these visual recordings as disruptions and displacements both from surrounding contexts and from the flow of time – reflecting the Deleuzian notion of de-territorialization. As one of obvious instances of this de-territorialization process, when Fenollosa documented the

the sculptor Fujita Bunzō. A more comprehensive and nationwide survey called the *Kinai* survey began in April of 1888. The *Kinai* involved various government groups, ranging from The Imperial Household Ministry (宮内省) to the Ministry of Home Affairs (内務省) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (文部省). Participating members included: Kuki Ryūichi (九鬼 隆一, from the Household Ministry), Maruoka Kanji (丸岡 莞爾, from Home Affairs), Hamao Arata (浜尾 新, from Education and Culture), Fenollosa (Tokyo Fine Arts Academy), Okakura Kakuzo (Okakura Tenshin: 岡倉 覚三, Tokyo Fine Arts Academy), Imaizumi Yusaku (今泉 雄作,

Tokyo Fine Arts Academy), Yamagata Tokuzou (山県 篤蔵, from the Household Ministry) and Bigelow (Household). Officially headed by Kuki, the survey’s agenda was to conduct a nationwide investigation and then register and evaluate the material holdings of temples and shrines: see Julie Christ Oakes, “Contestation and the Japanese National Treasure System” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2009), 17-20; for Fenollosa’s participation, see Yamaguchi Seiichi, *Fenollosa: Nihon bunka no senyō ni sasageta isshō*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1982), 197-207; and see also Takagi Hiroshi, “Nihon bijutsushi,” 82

¹⁰⁶ See Yamaguchi, *Fenollosa*, vol. 1, 188-97.

¹⁰⁷ *Kinai* (or *Kinki*) refers to the national survey which began in April of 1888. This survey’s investigation was more focused on the Nara, Kyoto, Osaka, Wakayama and Shiga prefectures, and it was known as a more comprehensive and systemic survey system among the government’s treasure investigation master plan. See Oakes, “Contestation.”

Bronze Trinity (a bronze Amida Triad), at Hōryūji Golden Hall, he described how he physically detached the circular halo from the Trinity and then photographed it to show the details of its style [figure 4, 5]:

But to realize what is the true scale of remove here from decorative weakness, rather, what is its supreme vitality and power, in a formal aesthetic of which elsewhere Greek art is the typical example, we must refer to the detached circular halo, which I photographed separately in 1882. This consists of a single flat disc, which has not only been perforated in the Korean manner, but had every one of its thin surfaces undercut, so that not a single member of this narrow scale that does not pulsate with finely modeled surfaces in space of three dimensions.¹⁰⁸

This actual displacement from the object's original setting, along with the photo's plain background and mild lighting, had the effect of stressing only the stylistic and formal aspects of the sculpture, away from any other contexts. In this process, Fenollosa not only separated the halo from its original context as part of the Trinity sculpture, but also displaced it from its religious and functional circumstances, thereby making it ready for any stylistic and aesthetic analysis. These detached images are simultaneously re-mapped and compared via Fenollosa's art historical knowledge. He went on to describe the situation before his intervention:

As the reign passes towards its close, these forms grow stouter and heavier, a proportion that, for male figures especially, is not without its dignity. These are found everywhere in temples throughout Yamato province ... As temples fell or were burned, those statues, or parts of them, which could be saved were transferred to neighboring sites. In this way we find some splendid heavy, semi-Greek male figures in Todaji, Shodaiji, Yakushiji, and Akishino. The Kondo of Shodaiji is almost filled with them

¹⁰⁸ Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art, an Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (London: Heinemann, 1921) vol.1, 71; see also Seichi Yamaguchi, *Fenollosa*, vol. 1, 197.

-knights, Indras, and Buddhas. The sweetly stooping Bodhisattwa of Art at Akishino is a specially well-preserved example. But to get a conception of the masses of remains of such statues, it is necessary to see the photograph which I took in 1882 of the rubbish heaps at the back of the Chukondo altar, and the Tokondo also, at Kofukuji. Here the broken “bones” of composition statues mingle with splendid contours of Buddha torsos or the armour of knights. It is possible that what remains to us to-day is only a very small percentage of what once existed.¹⁰⁹

If these religious artifacts had existed as a total mass for a long time, Fenollosa, thanks to his photographic techniques, appears as one who can rearrange these “broken bones” with the arms of his historical knowledge.

The episode of Fenollosa’s discovery of Guze *kannon* at *Hōryūji*, as eloquently illuminated by Stefan Tanaka, captures the moment of his intervention and disturbance. The moment is narrated in his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* as follows:

Buddha, or possibly Bodhisattva, or the Yumedono pavilion at *Hōryūji*. This most beautiful statue, a little larger than life, was discovered by me and a Japanese colleague in the summer of 1884. I had credentials from the central government which enabled me to requisition the opening of godowns and shrines. The central space of the octagonal Yumedono was occupied by a great closed shrine, which ascended like a pillar towards the apex. The priests of *Hōryūji* confessed that tradition ascribed the contents of the shrine to Korean work of the days of Suiko, but that it had not been opened for more than two hundred years. On fire with the prospect of such a unique treasure, we urged the priests to open it by every argument at our command. They resisted long, alleging that in punishment for the sacrilege an earthquake might well destroy the temple. Finally we prevailed, and I shall never forget our feelings as the long disused key rattled in the rusty lock. Within the shrine appeared a tall mass closely wrapped about in swathing bands of cotton cloth, upon which the dust of ages had gathered. ... But at last the final folds of the covering fell away, and this marvelous statue, unique in the world, came forth to human sight for the first time in centuries. ... But it was the aesthetic wonders of this work that attracted us most.

¹⁰⁹ Fenollosa, *Epochs*, vol. 1, 106; see also Yamaguchi, *Fenollosa*, vol. 1, 197.

From the front the figure is not quite so noble; but seen in profile it seemed to rise to the height of archaic Greek art. ... But the finest feature was the profile view of the head, with its sharp Han nose, its straight clear forehead, and its rather large – almost negroid – lips, on which a quite mysterious smile played, not unlike Da Vinci's Mona Lisa's. Recalling the archaic stiffness of Egyptian Art at its finest, it appeared still finer in the sharpness and individuality of the cutting.¹¹⁰

Clearly, the discovery of the *kannon*, as described by Fenollosa, was full of contrast between the rational governmental investigation group vs. the backward Buddhist practices they encountered. Fenollosa, as a representative of the governmental sector, capable of systematically comparing and exploring artistic development, stood in drastic contrast to the more primitive religious sector who simply gathered things as “a tall mass.” Stefan Tanaka swiftly diagnoses Fenollosa's account as “indicative of a reconceptualization of society and the world in which elements of the past, indeed, the past itself, gain new meaning.” In other words, by connecting the *kannon* with “Greek aesthetics, with Da Vinci's Mona Lisa and Egyptian art,” suggests Tanaka, Fenollosa was able to save Japan's ignored past from the dust and the hand of superstitious priests and also to discuss Japan's particularity within universal world history.¹¹¹ At the same time, this incident epitomizes Fenollosa's interruption. The group's investigation clearly disturbed the social, religious and historical contexts it encountered, and moreover it removed age-old objects from the superstitious world, preserving them in

¹¹⁰ Fenollosa, *Epochs*, vol. 1, 67-9; see also Stefan Tanaka, “Imaging History: Inscribing Belief in the Nation,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 53, No. 1 (Feb. 1994): 24-44.

¹¹¹ Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 104-6; Stefan Tanaka, “Discoveries of the Hōryūji,” in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, ed. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 117-47.

Fenollosa's own visual documentations and writings. What is important to note about this national treasure survey, however, is that the group's probing into ancient objects was not an act of saving or recovering the past, but that of discontinuity and rupture. In the process of treasure investigation, Fenollosa de-territorialized ancient objects into visual currency images in such forms as sketches and photographs. In other words, while encountering the international scene and the world economy, the aged materials were decoded into visual currencies that could be communicated and exchanged universally across the globe.¹¹²

One of the major purposes of Fenollosa's treasure surveys, either those that were government-sponsored or those meant for his personal research, was to protect and preserve the ancient materials from potential decay. In other words, Fenollosa survey's goal was, by disrupting the flows of time and other contexts, to conserve these archaic objects – “the preservation.” Murakata Akiko deftly pointed out that Fenollosa's basic approach toward the relics he discovered, such as the practices of sketching and taking pictures of objects, is differentiated from the previous techniques of investigating artifacts in its use of the modern visual technology, and it embodies the very methods that were used to construct art history and museum displays.¹¹³ [See figure 3] Fenollosa's treasure investigation therefore needs to be seen as a museological technology of preservation.

¹¹² See Julie Christ Oakes, “Japan's National Treasure System and the Commodification of Art,” in *Looking modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*. ed. by Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, Dept. of Art History, University of Chicago : Art Media Resources, 2009), 220-242; As for the relations between currency of photography and money, see John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

¹¹³ Murakata Akiko, “Fenollosa no homotsu chosa to teikoku hakubutsukan no koso,” *Museum*, no. 347 (Feb. 1980): 26.

Fenollosa himself continually expressed his concerns about preservation throughout these investigations. For instance, he was concerned about the age-old objects disappearing and claimed to protect these cultural relics from mismanagement, hardship and commercial trafficking.¹¹⁴ While investigating Nara temples, Fenollosa spelled out the problems with the management of cultural relics as follows: the failure of “thorough and systematic exploration of treasure”; the private ownership of many items, which may lead to “selling things on their official list” or leave objects “in danger of being sold secretly”; and the “dispersal of temple and shrine property from the Yamato region.”¹¹⁵ Furthermore, his note in 1887, entitled “On Preventing the Sale by Priests of Rare Japanese Temple Art,” continues to depict this situation of decay: “Since we visited Koyasan two years ago, we know that many things have been sold. We have also yet before us the whole question of examining the many private collections in all these places. ... The importance of haste in collecting rests upon the danger of future sales, fires, and careless treatment by priests.”¹¹⁶ More important is that, in order to prevent these objects from degeneration, he actively intervened in their physical and social contexts; and the visual imageries that he created in his sketches and photographs embody the disruption and de-territorialization of these objects.

With regard to the interruption and disruption that characterized Fenollosa’s surveys, this chapter aims to stress two aspects of the preservation

¹¹⁴ Fenollosa, “Configuration of Imperial Museum,” *Ernest Fenollosa Papers* (hereafter EFP), n.d., bMS Am 1759.2 (63) (Houghton Library, Harvard University). Most of EFP are preserved in Houghton Library.

¹¹⁵ Fenollosa, “Nara Imperial Museum – Report on the Results of the Examination of the Temple of Nara,” EFP, n.d., bMS Am 1759.2 (62) 1-6.

¹¹⁶ Fenollosa, “On Preventing the Sales by Priests of Rare Japanese Temple Art,” A.MS. [n. p. 1887], bMS Am 1759.2 (70).

technique: (1) his act of freezing and subsequently preserving the past was clearly selective intervention; (2) as Susan A. Crane noted, “preservation deliberately interrupts time’s natural order.”¹¹⁷

First, the sketches and photographs taken by Fenollosa and his colleagues functioned as a visual currency that could be listed, classified, exchanged and compared in any part of world. However, it is significant to note that these visual documentations were never original recordings or facsimiles of the past, but rather the very selective freezing of history.¹¹⁸ Just as in the moment of the encounter with the Guze *kannon*, when he associated the statue with “Greek aesthetics, with Da Vinci’s Mona Lisa and Egyptian art,” Fenollosa continued to compare ancient Japanese art to that of the West, which suggests that he probably searched for specific objects with his knowledge of world art history in mind.¹¹⁹ Not surprisingly, the efforts to reorganize the relics and objects of Japan’s past into more classified, cultural, “national” treasures were the result of Japan’s consciousness of its image on the international stage and its attempts to enter the world system. For instance, the 1873 *Jinshin* survey,¹²⁰ one of the earliest national

¹¹⁷ Susan A. Crane, “The Conundrum of Ephemerality: Time, Memory, and Museums,” in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 100.

¹¹⁸ In regards to the selectiveness of preservation practices, Donna Haraway demonstrated how the seemingly factual copying of nature in late nineteenth-century German and American natural history museums was shaped less by “natural” conservation of timeless nature than it was by bourgeois ideologies. See Donna Haraway, “Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936,” in *The Haraway Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 151-98.

¹¹⁹ See Tanaka, *New Times*, 104-6; and Tanaka, “Discoveries of the Hōryūji,” 117-47.

¹²⁰ After the Meiji Restoration, many of ancient artifacts and treasures of temples became ruined or literally destroyed. To protect these cultural assets, in 1871 the Meiji government issued “The Plan for the Preservation of Ancient Artifacts,” the very first law in relation to the preservation of cultural treasures in Japan. The passing of this law was followed by the investigations project for cultural assets, which mostly focused on shrines and temples in Nara, Kyoto, Shiga and Mie in

treasure investigation projects, had two main intentions: “to discover and protect a variety of religious and secular items listed in the declaration from ‘loss and destruction’ and to find suitable artifacts to display at the upcoming Vienna exposition.”¹²¹ This means that the international expositions provided Japan with a sort of displaying platform where things and objects could be categorized and classified according to a universally communicable language. Once traditional objects had been de-territorialized, they would be ready to become more (self-claimed) universally recognizable objects such as paintings, crafts and sculptures, so-called *bijutsu* (fine arts), via the language of Western art.¹²² In his letter to Morse, Fenollosa once boasted that he, “for the first time,” had made an “accurate” list of the treasures in Japan:

We have been through all the principal temples in Yamashiro and Yamato armed with government letters and orders, have ransacked godowns, and brought to light pieces of statue from the lowest stratum of debris in the top stories of pagodas 1300 years old. We may say in brief that we have made the first accurate list of the great art treasures kept in the central temples of Japan, we have overturned the traditional criticism attached to these individual specimens for ages, the Dr. [William Sturgis Bigelow] has taken 200 photographs and I innumerable sketches of art objects (paintings and statues); and, more than all, I have recovered the history of Japanese art from the 6th to the 9th centuries A. D. which has been completely lost. ... I have found Chinese things called Japanese, and vice versa, many Japanese called Corean, new things called old, and even some old ones called new; and as to names of individual artists hopelessly mixed up. Yet this is the result of native criticism for centuries.¹²³

1872. The survey project was called the “*Jinshin* Survey,” named after the oriental zodiac sign of that year.

¹²¹ Oakes, “Contestation,” 18.

¹²² The term *bijutsu* is believed to have been coined just before the Vienna World Exposition. See Yokomizo Hiroko, “Wien bankoku hakurankai shushin mokuroku sōkō –bijutsu kōgei hen (1),” *Bijutsu kenkyū* (July, 1993): 260.

¹²³ Ernest Fenollosa’s Letter to Morse, Sept. 27, 1884, Phillips Library, Peabody Museum of Salem. The same passage appears in Lawrence W. Chisolm, *Fenollosa: The Far East and American Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), 53.

In other words, the use of photographs and drawings de-territorialized these ancient relics into currency images, which were thus ready for any documentation.

Indeed, based on the findings from the *Rinji* survey and from Fenollosa's personal surveys, Okakura classified the examined objects into five categories: old documents (*kobunsho*), paintings (*kaiga*), statues (*chōkoku*), decorative arts (*bijutsu kōgei*) and calligraphy (*shoseki*).¹²⁴ These findings were categorized again in 1897, which saw the reporting of the results of the ten-year nationwide survey, along with eight ranking systems for the cultural relics. However, these rankings and levels of categorization, far from being objective standards, were rather arbitrary creations. As Julie Oakes has pointed out, the problem with ranking systems of this kind lies in the fact that the evaluation and the judgment of rank are very much subjective and inconsistent. Oakes goes on to explain:

For example, the only distinction between [rank] one and [rank] two is the word “essential” (*yōyō*, 要用), between two and three the term “sign” (*chōkyō*, 徴拠), between four and five the reference to *yōhin* (要品), or a “necessary item.” However, when it comes to substantive clarity, there is a much room for interpretation in these categories. What makes one ancient treasure “essential” as a sign of history or model of art and another merely acceptable?¹²⁵

To put it differently, these ancient objects were decoded into abstract visual equivalencies that seemed to represent objective facts of history; and yet the processes of freezing time and of de-territorialization cannot avoid containing a

¹²⁴ For the list of cultural material examined, see Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan hyakunenshi* 東京国立博物館百年史 vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Shiryōhen, 1973), 298; cited in Christine M.E. Guth, “Kokuhō: From Dynastic to Artistic Treasure,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* vol. 9 (1996-7): 318.

¹²⁵ Oakes, “Contestation,” 37; the eight categories include the following: (1) Objects that are essential as signs of history as well as models of art, artistic handicraft or architecture; (2) Objects that show signs of history and are models of art, artistic handicraft, or architecture ... (4) Objects necessary as reference sources of history, art, artistic handicraft and architecture. See *Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan hyakunenshi*, 298; the translation is cited from Oakes, “Contestation,” 36-7.

selective intervention and some amount of personal taste.

Another important point is that the result of the nationwide survey and of Fenollosa's efforts to preserve ancient materials was the disruption of the flows of time and the objects' other contexts. According to Susan A. Crane, "The irony lies in the fact that the preservation is the antithesis of progress. Change occurs as a phenomenal aspect of the immutability of time, within which progress occurs."¹²⁶ Crane goes on to contend that, in preservation, by way of its deliberate interruption of time's natural order, "collected or conserved objects are frozen in the moment of their most emblematic value – of singularity, of implementation, or representativeness – and denied their natural, or intended, decadent lifespan."¹²⁷ Just as I described the practices of Fenollosa as "de-territorialization," his surveys of traditional artifacts resulted in the freezing and preserving of the very specific value and temporality of those objects.

In the many descriptions of "discovery" in Fenollosa's personal notes, we can see how during his surveys he never stopped searching for a certain "emblematic value" of ancient objects. For instance, about a portrait of the Standing Kwannon, [figure 6] which is a copy of a Godoshi (Wu Tao-tzu) painting that was presumably done by some great Sung Master,¹²⁸ Fenollosa freezes and extracts the object's historical and artistic awareness.

The superlative grandeur, however – far beyond ordinary Sung reach and clearly Tang in flavour – proves that the main elements of the design must have belonged to Godoshi. ... Here is where I think I detect a trace of Sung imagination. The Sung Kwannon with a fish is dressed as a

¹²⁶ Crane, "The Conundrum," 99.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ The Standing Kwannon was brought to America from Japan in 1904, and now belongs to the collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer: see Fenollosa, *Epochs*, vol. 1, 132.

fisherman's daughter. The tai here is too large, too much in evidence, and its somewhat coarse symbolism is not in harmony with that treatment which only suggested a dragon in the green cold.¹²⁹

Fenollosa searched this portrait for such emblematic values as its time frame – “a trace of Sung imagination” – and the creator’s style – “belonged to Godoshi.” By using his expertise in old Asian artwork, he captured specific values from the object’s surroundings and then attempted to freeze and preserve them. This was, in other words, the denial of the work’s natural flow of time and lifespan. As the process of the separation and freezing of particular time indicates, the practices of preservation embody the violence of intervening in the natural order.

One of the significant results of the violent intervention of preservation was the object’s subsequent readiness for entering into any archive, collection, history or museum. Once the emblematic value of an object – such as its temporality, rarity or patronage relationship – can be fixed, it can be placed in multiple contexts. As a result of the national treasure survey projects, as many as 215,000 cultural objects were surveyed between 1888 and 1898, and they were all registered and ranked within more systematic classifications. In the following section, I will discuss the sites of the national pavilions at the Chicago Exposition and the 1900 Paris Exposition as one instance where these frozen and preserved objects can be rearticulated.

It is not the case that art historical writings were non-existent before Fenollosa, Okakura and their influences invented the entire history of art in

¹²⁹ Ibid., 132-3.

Japan from scratch. Even before Western impacts on Japanese art history, there existed so-called art historical archives in Japan. Takagi Hiroshi, for instance, located *Shūko Jisshu* (集古十種) – where many famous works in temples, shrines and private collections were examined and recorded by nativist scholars as a part of a *kokugaku* (National Learning) movement – as one of the first attempts to catalogue works of art.¹³⁰ Takagi, however, while comparing *Shūko Jisshu* to the list from *Rinji*, dismissed it as no more than a simple enumeration of biographies of the artists and descriptions of each piece. In the time between *Shūko Jisshu* and *Rinji*, as well as Okakura and Fenollosa's art histories, according to Takagi, there had been important alterations in the process. Okakura, in particular, attempted to see artworks from the larger vision of the spirit of the period – the *Zeitgeist* – associating visual arts with literature, religion and the impacts of art from neighbouring countries. Each period, Takagi suggests, was then placed within the context of its larger social upheavals and socio-political situations.¹³¹ Whereas the *Shūko Jisshu* was a simplistic list of works, Okakura and Fenollosa's stories of art, which were based on the findings from *Rinji*, attempt to place each piece within a particular

¹³⁰ Takagi Hiroshi, "Nihon bijutsushi," 74-98. See also Guth, "Kokuhō," 318-19. While comparing the recordings by Kokugaku with that of the classifying system of kokuhō, Guth discusses them as follows: "The Kokugaku movement was also the impetus for a national survey of antiquities conducted in 1895-6 by Tani Buchō and others under the auspices of Matsudaira Sadanobu, chief councilor to the shogun. Many of these works are reproduced in *Shūko Jisshu* (集古十種), a wood block printed compendium of antiquities compiled by Sadanobu. Both the selection and organization of works reveal a strong art historical consciousness foreshadowing that of the Meiji era. The opening volume, for instance, is devoted to paintings and statues of Japanese emperors, distinguished courtiers, and other national luminaries arranged in roughly chronological order. [...] Like the selection of mirrors, arms and armour, and other artifacts, they are included in this publication as valuable and informative relics of the past and are organized in such a way that they can be studied and contrasted with other objects of the same genre. Just as Sadanobu published *Shūko Jisshu* to provide useful data for artists and scholars of his generation, so too did the Meiji government classify as kokuhō exemplary works that could serve as models for theirs."

¹³¹ Ibid., 87.

temporal paradigm – and, among other things, within a Spencerian and Hegelian temporality. It is important to recognize that it was only after the freezing of a specific temporality, such as the production time of the piece, that they were able to reorganize time into particular temporal paradigms. As Foucault claimed in his book *The Order of Things*, “it is in this classified time, in this squared and spatialized development, that the historians of the nineteenth century were to undertake the creation of a history that could at last be ‘true’ – in other words, liberated from Classical rationality, from its ordering and theodicy: a history restored to the irruptive violence of time.”¹³² In other words, it was on the basis of “the irruptive violence of time” that Okakura and Fenollosa established the modern discipline of art history.

Once objects are interrupted from their surroundings and frozen in time, they embody a “non-place,” representing no place of binding.¹³³ Yet these decoded non-places tend to entail museological impulses. While complaining of the lack of a full list of traditional artworks in Japan, Fenollosa’s report describes:

The Osaka Fu office has only a very incomplete list of the treasures kept in old temples and on this list, even, the things are so inadequately described as to be incapable of identification. For instance, in many cases the list has mention only of the ... although twenty other important statues may be kept in the same temple. This list was made out many years ago, under the old Nara Ken, from hasty notes of a few private investigators; and no thorough exploration was even attempted by Ken, Sankai Ken, or Osaka Fu. As soon as the priest found out what was being done, they shut up all their best things from view, and only a very small portion of things, which they could not hide, were recorded on this list.¹³⁴

¹³² Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage, 1973), 12; cited in Crane, “Conundrum,” 100-1.

¹³³ I am grateful to Professor LaMarre for this suggestion.

¹³⁴ Fenollosa, “Nara Imperial Museum,” n.p.

About these problems Fenollosa concluded that “these things can be done only by constituting museums.”¹³⁵ So, if he intervened in these traditional objects and decoded them into abstract visual currency, the next logical step would be, as he anticipated, the relocation of the objects within a national place such as a museum or an exhibition. As Alice Y. Tseng suggests, “Less than one year into the survey work,” the treasures from local temples and shrines were placed within the Imperial Museums “as centralized, regulatory places for objects, both secular and religious, that were representative of the nation.”¹³⁶

These decoded visual images from the domestic treasure surveys were simultaneously restructured at national pavilions and in the exhibition catalogues of international fairs in order to symbolize the nation state: its architectural styles, paintings, furniture and cultural objects were removed from their original contexts and re-inscribed within the field of world fair to present their national culture. The following section will examine national pavilions of world’s expositions as instances of re-territorialization where traditional artifacts are rearticulated in accordance with the global system. This does not necessarily mean that the national pavilions literally displayed the national treasured objects discovered by Fenollosa and Okakura; and yet, since Okakura did participate in both the treasure survey projects and the designing of the national pavilion at the Chicago exposition, there seems to be a connection between them. Moreover, both sites were a part of the process whereby the field of Japanese art history became reconstituted in tandem with the national building project.

¹³⁵ Fenollosa, “Configuration of Imperial Museum,” n.p.

¹³⁶ Tseng, *The Imperial Museums*, 141-9.

3) Spatialization of Hegelian Time: Okakura and Hō-ō-den at the 1893 Chicago Exposition

Working at the heart of the de-territorialization and preservation of Japanese traditional art, along with Fenollosa, was Okakura Tenshin. Though Okakura and Fenollosa together contributed to the research and preservation of Japanese art, Okakura furthermore attempted to promote traditional Japanese art through his curatorial works. In presenting Japanese art to the international scene, as Victoria Weston rightfully pointed out, one of Okakura's "most sustained arguments," which persistently appeared in his English writings, was his proclamations of "pan-Asian ideals."¹³⁷ With consideration of the fact that, in confronting the Western imperialist cultures, he sought to mobilize Asian cultures either through a racial, communal or spiritual bond, the following will examine how Okakura presented Japanese art at international fairs in relation to the cultures of other Asian nations by way of exhibitionary technology.

Okakura¹³⁸ was born to a low-ranking samurai family from the Fukui domain in northern central Japan and raised in Yokohama. In the hopes that education in English would further his son's opportunities in Japan, his father decided to give Okakura a Western-style education which was conducted almost entirely in English. As Fred Notehelfer and other scholars have pointed out, the English capability that Okakura received through his early education helped him

¹³⁷ Victoria Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity*, 4. See also Fred Notehelfer, "On Idealism and Realism in the Thought of Okakura Tenshin," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Summer 1990).

¹³⁸ He is also known as Okakura Kakuzō, his name by birth.

to engage with international art scene.¹³⁹ At the age of fifteen, Okakura was able to attend the Tokyo Imperial University— one of the best elite schools at the time — as part of the first entering class. There, he met Fenollosa who came to Japan in 1878 to teach philosophy and political economy.¹⁴⁰ It was Fenollosa who introduced Okakura to Hegelian philosophy and Spencerian ideas of evolution. Under Fenollosa's sway, his historical writings were largely based upon the Hegelian model.

In this section, I will investigate the Japanese national pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition, in which Okakura was involved, as a site of re-territorializing Japanese art history. I will focus my attention on the exhibitionary technology — museological and curatorial technology in particular — through which he rearticulated Japanese art history. As mentioned above, while the decoded visual currencies from the treasure surveys embodied a “non-place,” or no place of being fixed, the national pavilion at the Chicago Exposition provided one instance where Okakura could reorganize Japanese art history through the use of curatorial technology. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, the significance of exhibitionary technology lies in its novel effect of “(re)creating the reality as external” in terms of time and space. More importantly, once the temporality of Japanese traditional art became frozen and preserved by Fenollosa and Okakura's survey project, the time and history of that art become manageable. If Okakura purported Japanese art to be the conservator and museum of Asian cultures, the national pavilion at the international fair became a site where he

¹³⁹ See Notehelfer, “On Idealism.”

¹⁴⁰ Okakura entered the university in 1877 and Fenollosa became a faculty member in 1878, as one of many foreign employees hired at the university.

could reorganize the temporality of Asian art through specific time frames. I will focus this particular investigation on the curatorial and museological techniques of the Japanese pavilion at the Chicago Exposition, called Hō-ō-den, where Okakura participated as a main planner. The Japanese national pavilion, Hō-ō-den, [figure 7] consisted of objects that were copied from those of particular historical periods, and thus the pavilion did not directly display the findings from domestic treasure survey; and yet Okakura's involvement in those surveys with Fenollosa influenced his historical framework, especially in terms of his reorganization of Japanese art into a museologically and chronologically organized sphere.

At the 1893 Chicago World's Exposition, Okakura was invited to participate as one of the council members tasked with advising on the style and planning for the construction of the national pavilion.¹⁴¹ The architectural structure of the Hō-ō-den was designed by government architect Kuru Masamichi, and its rooms were decorated and designed by students of the Tokyo Fine Arts Academy under the direction of Okakura, who also explicated the design and purpose of the Hō-ō-den in the catalogue. The Hō-ō-den therefore needs to be read largely from Okakura's vision of national art, in association with Asian art in general, both of which are made clear in his other essays, *The Ideals of the East* (1903), *The Awakening of Japan* (1903-4) and *The Book of Tea* (1906).

¹⁴¹ Mishima Masahiro, "1893 nen Shikago bankokuhaku ni okeru Hō-ō-den no kensetsu keii ni tsuite," *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai keikakukei ronbun hokoku shu* (Journal of architecture, planning and environmental engineering) (Nov., 1991): 153-4.

In the history of Japanese art, the Hō-ō-den had not yet received any proper attention,¹⁴² but it should be reconsidered as an important constitutive moment, after the domestic treasure surveys and before the *Histoire*, in the constitution of pan-Asiatic aesthetics. The following will attend to the museological structure of the Hō-ō-den in terms of how it attempted to present the aesthetics of pan-Asianism through a specific time frame. Importantly, the Hō-ō-den was structured as a museum space, as if anticipating the concept of “the museum of Asiatic civilization” that would come to be propagated by Okakura and Kuki. In a sense, the idea of the museum of Asiatic civilization is key to understanding Japan’s national image in relation to the West and other Asian countries. Accordingly, I will focus below on how the Hō-ō-den was constituted as a museum space in presenting Japan’s relation to Asian culture in general.

The architectural and design styles of the Hō-ō-den were intended to represent this art historical periodization as if it were being presented in a museum space. While the exterior design was based on the Fujiwara period, specifically styled after the eleventh century Hō-ō-do (Phoenix Hall) in Uji, each interior room reflected the style of a particular period, and each was modelled after a famous architectural site. For example, the left wing of the building was constructed in accordance with the features of the Fujiwara era; the right wing was based on the style of the Ashikaga period; and the central hall represented the style of the

¹⁴² See Ellen P. Conant, “Japan ‘Abroad’ at the Chicago Exposition, 1893,” in *Challenging Past and Present: The Metamorphosis of Nineteenth-Century*, edited by Ellen P. Conant (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006.), 254-280.

Tokugawa dynasty.¹⁴³ More specifically, the Fujiwara room was styled after the Imperial Palace in Kyoto, reflecting the Fujiwara style; the Ashikaga rooms were based on rooms in Jishōji's Silver Pavilion (Ginkaku); and the Tokugawa suite followed the Old Edo Castle in Tokyo. Each room held architectural features such as furniture, musical instruments and utensils, which also followed the style of each period.¹⁴⁴ For instance, the Fujiwara room was designed by Kose Shōseki, who decorated the fixed and sliding *shōji* panels with yamato-e style paintings. In the Ashikaga room, *fusama* wall panels and hanging scrolls were painted in “sesshū” style by Kawabato Gyokushō¹⁴⁵ [figures 8, 9, and 10].

In actuality, Hō-ō-den's architectural program itself was constructed according to the chronology of Japanese art, from the Fujiwara period to the Tokugawa period, and set up like a museum space [figure 11]. The *Shikago Hakurankai Jimukyoku Hōkoku* (Official Report for Chicago Columbian Exposition; hereafter *Shikago Hakurankai*) spells out that it was initially the Muromachi period alone that was considered in the planning stage. According to the *Shikago Hakurankai*, this was mainly because the Chicago Exposition was a celebration of the discovery of the American continent by Columbus, and Japan's Muromachi period temporally corresponds to this event. As discussion over the construction of the building progressed, however, the Edo period was also brought up, since it was during that period when the U.S. first signed a treaty with Japan,

¹⁴³ Okakura, “The Hō-ō-den (Phoenix Hall), An Illustrated Description of the Buildings Erected by the Japanese Government at the World's Columbian Exposition, Jackson Park, Chicago,” reprinted as “The Hō-ō-den,” *CEW*, vol. 2, 5-29.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-29.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-6; cited in Weston, *Japanese Painting*, 112-14.

establishing a connection between the two countries.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Mishima Masahiro contends that the Fujiwara period was chosen for its particular artistic importance, according to Okakura, in the development of a “pure” Japanese style. As is seen in Kuru’s original plan, the Fujiwara period was initially considered to be more important than the others, which makes us assume that the selection of the periods for this building was heavily influenced by Okakura’s notions of Japanese art history.¹⁴⁷ [See figure 12].

However, the presentation of the history of Japanese art was not merely to show its stylistic development; Okakura in fact reconstructed it in order to elevate the status of Japanese art and culture. Indeed, at world’s fairs throughout the nineteenth century, Japanese artwork had often been enjoyed merely as exotic objects, and Okakura sought to revise this outlook by rearranging geographic, religious and historical relations. He thus paid special attention to the way that Japanese visual art could be displayed within a “fine arts museum” in order to be deemed as “high art,” not as the so-called “applied arts.” Okakura stated that Japanese arts, since the Vienna Exposition of 1873, had been exhibited as “applied” or “industrial” arts, and were considered to be incapable of being displayed at a fine art museum. In this regard, Okakura stated that Japan should take advantage of the Chicago Exposition as a chance to elevate Japanese art to the level of “fine arts.”

Today we should no longer be satisfied with the display of Japanese art as applied arts [at the Universal Expositions]. Nations such as England and

¹⁴⁶ Mishima, “1893 nen Shikago,” 113. See also Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku, *Shikago Hakurankai Jimukyoku Hōkoku* (Tokyo: Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku, 1895), 503-509.

¹⁴⁷ Mishima, *ibid.*, 109-13.

France possess their own unique art, and it may not be easy to persuade these nations to understand the true meaning of Japanese art. The United States, on the other hand, alone does not have a fixed national art ideal, which I believe will be advantageous to our efforts.¹⁴⁸

Okakura went on to argue that the saturated distinction, made primarily in the West, between “fine arts” and “applied arts” could not be applied to Japanese art in part because the ways in which Japanese visual arts were produced and consumed were in vastly different contexts from those of the West. What Okakura sought to display within the Hō-ō-den’s museological structure was not the conventional displaying method in which objects are presented simply according to their media and uses, but special curatorial techniques where they are on exhibit within a specific and synthetic context.¹⁴⁹ Okakura wished for the exhibition to be understood and consumed as a whole environmental setting, not merely as a display of exotic curiosities. In Chicago, in order to avoid representing Japanese art as that of an Oriental country, Okakura attempted to reconfigure its spatial and temporal network by using museological techniques, moving beyond the linear narrative of stylistic changes. It is important to note that the modern museological and exhibitionary systems that Okakura used were, as is well known, invested with Hegelian theory in which the progressive temporality is spatially arranged. I will thus explore how Okakura, through his use of

¹⁴⁸ Okakura Tenshin, “Shikago hakurankai shuppinga ni nozomu,” *Okakura Tenshin zenshu*, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibon Sha, 1980-1981), 188; translation cited in Murai, “Authoring,” 133

¹⁴⁹ Murai, “Authoring,” 132-134.

exhibitionary techniques, sought to re-territorialize Asian art within a specific time frame.¹⁵⁰

As many scholars have pointed out, the history of Japanese art as it was conceived by Okakura Tenshin was established within a Hegelian framework largely under the influences of Ernest Fenollosa. This Hegelian influence is more clearly pronounced in Okakura's *The Ideals of the East*:

The East has had its own form of that period called *Symbolic*, or better still, perhaps, *Formalistic*, when matter, or the law of material form, dominates the spiritual in art. The Egyptian and Assyrian sought by immense stones to express grandeur, as the Indian worker by his innumerable repetitions to utter forth infinity in his creations. Similarly, the Chinese mind of the Shū [Chou] and Han dynasties pursued sublime effects in their long walls, and in the intricately subtle lines which they produced in bronze. The first period of Japanese art, from its birth to the beginning of the Nara era, however, imbued with the purest ideal of the first Northern development of Buddhism, still falls into this group, by making form and formalistic beauty the foundation of Artistic excellence. Next comes the so-called *Classic* period when beauty is sought as the union of spirit and matter. To this impulse, Greek Pantheistic philosophy in all its phases devotes itself, and the works of the Parthenon, with the immortal stones of Phidias and Praxiteles, are its purest expression. ... Japanese art ever since the days of the Ashikaga masters, though subjected to slight degeneration in the Toyotomi and Tokugawa periods, has held steadily to the Oriental Romantistic ideal – that is to say, the expression of the Spirit as the highest efforts in art.¹⁵¹

In other words, Okakura, taking guidance from Hegelian ideas, perceived the unfolding of Japanese art history as a dialectic movement between “matter” and “spirit.” For Okakura, the Nara period was considered as the Classic period, comparable to the ideal of Greek art; “[Buddhist] sculpture [in Nara] is, par

¹⁵⁰ See Stefan Tanaka, “Imaging History: Inscribing Belief in the Nation,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, no. 1 (Feb. 1994): 24-44.

¹⁵¹ Okakura, “The Ideals of the East,” in *CEW*, Vol. 1, 93-5.

excellence, the form best adapted to this conception [of Classic].”¹⁵² Furthermore, the Ashikaga period was discussed as the time when art gained self-consciousness (*jikaku*). To put it differently, in *The Ideals of the East*, Okakura discusses the way in which the East reached the stage of self-consciousness with the conquering of Matter by Spirit in the Romantic age, especially with the influence of Neo-Confucianism in Sung China and later in Ashikaga Japan.¹⁵³ All in all, on the basis of the Hegelian framework of the dynamics between matter and spirit, Okakura’s *Japanese Art History* (*Nihon bijutsushi*) divides Japanese art history into three periods: Ancient (上古), Medieval (中古) and Modern (近世). Each period is then respectively described as follows: “In terms of the spirit of the period, the Nara period represents ‘idealism,’ the Heian period ‘emotionalism,’ and the Ashikaga period ‘self-consciousness.’”¹⁵⁴

Of central importance to understanding Hegelian history is that it is a universalization of European history. Hegel, in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, stated that there exists a “temperate zone” within the theatre of world history, where Asia is the beginning and Europe is the absolute end of history.¹⁵⁵ In other words, as explained by Edward Said, for Hegel, Asia and Africa were “static, despotic, and irrelevant to world history.”¹⁵⁶ What is problematic about the incorporation of Hegelian historicity into museums lies in

¹⁵² “ibid., 68.

¹⁵³ Okakura, “Nihon bijutsushi,” in *Okakura Tenshin zenshū* (hereafter OTZ), Vol. 4, 109-11. See also Murai, “Authoring,” 39.

¹⁵⁴ Okakura, “Nihon Bijutsushi,” 159-66.

¹⁵⁵ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History*, translated from the German ed. of Johannes Hoffmeister by H. B. Nisbet (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 155-60.

¹⁵⁶ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993). 1st ed., 168.

the fact that the specificity of the European schema has now become a universal framework that is applied to museums across the globe. Okakura's museological point of view and his vision of art history are not very different. Under the influence of Hegelian time and history, Okakura posits that Japanese art is the absolute end in Asian art history. And Okakura's Japanese art history is thus not a mere unfolding of the Japanese spirit through the dialectics between matter and spirit, but the actualization of "the ideals of the East" through the dialectic movement between Japan and foreign impulses. It is important to recognize, however, that each period of Japanese art that was represented at the Chicago Exposition was viewed in such a way that revealed the dynamic movement toward Japanese cultural authenticity, with specific relations to foreign nations presented as its antithesis. In other words, the museological techniques of Hō-ō-den spatialized the Hegelian temporal movement from the Symbolic to the Classic, and finally to the Romantic Stage. What is critical to note, however, is that in the course of actualizing the Japanese spirit, the entire field of Asian art was de-territorialized and redrawn within a specific temporal scope. In this context, I will now explore how Hō-ō-den spatialized this Hegelian temporality by investigating Okakura's curatorial techniques.

In his catalogue for the Columbian Exposition, Okakura explains that the Japanese art of the ancient period demonstrates the influence of Chinese art, as well as Indian, Greek and other Western schools, which affected the purity and simplicity of the art's Japanese-ness. However, these foreign influences were eliminated in the Fujiwara period, when Japanese art achieved "a renaissance of

pure Japanese taste.”¹⁵⁷ This point is also illuminated in Okakura’s *The Ideals of the East*, written in 1903, where he examines Japanese art in terms of the nation’s interactions with China, India and other parts of the world:

“[During the Heian period], the Japanese, by their greater Indian affinity, enjoyed an advantage over the Chinese ... Those disturbances in China ... prevented the exchange of diplomatic amenities between the two countries, and the conscious dependence which Japan began to place on her own power, induced the statesmen of the time ... to resolve on sending no more embassies to Chōan, and to cease borrowing further from Chinese institutions. A new era began, in which Japan strove to create a system of her own, based on the revival of purely Yamato ideals, for the administration of civil and religious affairs.”¹⁵⁸

To put it more concretely, Okakura considered the Fujiwara period to be the peak moment in the development of pure Japanese ideals, which became possible with the nation’s overcoming of China’s influences.

The Ashikaga period, in the catalogue for the Hō-ō-den, is spelled out as follows: “Once more the influence of the Chinese school made its appearance, an influence which has not been eradicated to this day.”¹⁵⁹ Again, Okakura speaks of Japanese art in relation to Chinese art and external influence. On the whole, he perceived Japanese art history as the realization and development of a pure Japanese spirit, which was accomplished through the dialectical relationship between Japan and Asia.

Indeed, Okakura was one of the first people who understood Japanese art history within the context of international relations, especially with regard to the network of Asian countries. His vision of Japanese art history within the global network was explored not only in the national pavilion but also in other essays, in

¹⁵⁷ Okakura, “The Hō-ō-den,” in *CEW*, Vol. 2, 8-9.

¹⁵⁸ Okakura, “*The Ideals of the East*,” in *CEW*, Vol. 2, 82.

¹⁵⁹ Okakura, “The Hō-ō-den,” 9.

which he usually mentioned that Japanese art originated in China, Korea and India,¹⁶⁰ who shared what became known as the “aesthetics of pan-Asianism.”¹⁶¹ In Japan’s national pavilion, Okakura, through his pan-Asian aesthetics, called for the unification of Asia in order to counter the Western powers at the heart of the Euro-American imperialist site, but in this view of unification the cultures of Asian nations were still seen through a particularly Japanese lens. For example, in his writing for the Chicago Fair, Okakura discussed Chinese and other Asian art only as an “origin” or “source,” which means that he saw them as never-changing territories that functioned only as an inspiration for Japanese art. By contrast, he emphasized the historical progress of Japanese art. For instance, he describes the Central Hall at Hō-ō-den and its representation of the Tokugawa era as follows: “The art of that time did not differ materially from that which flourished in the days of the Ashikagas. It shows, however, decided progress in many respects, owing to the peace and general prosperity enjoyed by the country for nearly three hundred years.”¹⁶² To put it differently, from Okakura’s perspective, Hō-ō-den therefore spatialized the temporality of Asian art: Chinese and Korean art were seen as the origins and the beginnings, or irrelevant to the overall course of world history, while Japanese art was seen to represent the contemporary and progressive aspects of Asian art – and yet its progress and prosperity was due to its conservation of the heritage of other Asian cultures. This implies that Japan is situated within the broader Asian network, and yet Japan is distinctive from other

¹⁶⁰ Okakura, “Nihon Bijutsu,” *OTZ*, Vol. 4, 15.

¹⁶¹ See Aida Yuen Wong, “Okakura Kakuzo: Aesthetic Pan-Asianism,” in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600-2000* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 139-40.

¹⁶² Okakura, “The Hō-ō-den,” 16.

Asian nations due to its power, knowledge and progress. Japan is therefore able to function as “a museum” where it can treasure all the artifacts from Asia, simultaneously protecting them from the West and unifying the civilization of Asian nations. In other words, to Okakura, the museological displays of the Hō-ō-den were not only presenting re-territorializing moments of Japanese art history, but also the key moments to be preserved, permanently frozen, as the apex of Japanese art history with its current power and technology. As Okakura goes on to say: “Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilization; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideal of the past...”¹⁶³ By building the Japanese pavilion as a museological space, he was acknowledging Japan’s debt to Asia’s artistic achievements from the ancient eras, but at the same time pronouncing Japan as the ultimate culmination of the spirit of Asia. The following section will investigate how the idea of Japan as a museum of Asian art and culture was pushed to the forefront in *Histoire*; and how *Histoire* thus tried to document and rearticulate the notion of Asian art through the techniques of cataloguing.

4) The *Histoire de L’Art du Japon*¹⁶⁴ and Cataloguing

It was through the *Histoire* [figure 13] that the task of documenting Japanese traditional art and the writing of Japanese art history were officially

¹⁶³ Okakura, “Ideals of the East,” 15-16.

¹⁶⁴ For more about *Histoire* and *Kōhon*, see Takagi Hiroshi, “Nihon bijutsushi no seiritsu shiron – kodai bijutsushi no jidai kubun no seiritsu,”; and Mabuchi Akiko, “1900 Pari bankoku hokurankai to *Histoire de l’Art du Japon* wo megutte,” in *Kataru genzai katarareru kako: Nihon no bijutsushigaku 100-nen* (Tokyo: Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyujo, 1999); and see also Satō Dōshin, “*Nihon bijutsu*” *tanjō: kindai Nihon no “kotoba” to senryaku* (Tōkyō : Kōdansha, 1996).; and Dōshin, *Modern Japanese Art and The Meiji State*.

achieved. The importance of *Histoire* lies in the fact that it was one of the first inclusive projects to chronologically order the history of traditional Japanese art on the basis of the nation's various treasure survey projects. Julie Christ Oakes claims that,

What primarily sets *Histoire* apart is that most of the objects selected for inclusion were Japan's first actual "national treasures," the designation having been officially inaugurated in the 1897 Ancient Shrines and Temples protection law. For the first time, and in one place, the international community was introduced to a "Japan" made possible by the existence of this formally (and imperially) designated cultural patrimony.¹⁶⁵

Although there were many other efforts to document and historically organize these artifacts, the most final list of Japanese national treasures, especially in terms of those entered into the international scene, became officially determined through the *Histoire*. This section investigates the *Histoire* for the 1900 Paris Exposition from the lens of another exhibitionary technology – that of cataloguing. The process of selection, chronologically reordering and adding captions and explanations are all technologies of cataloguing.

The *Histoire*, one of the most important art historical publications in Japan, was planned as a guidebook for the Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1900, with the aim of introducing the history of Japanese art to the international scene. Despite being targeted toward a French audience, it became the first official Japanese art history to be published in Japan. It was soon followed by the publication of *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku bijutsu ryakushi* (A draft of the brief history of the art of the empire of Japan, 1901; hereafter *Kōhon*), which was the Japanese version of the *Histoire*. The fact that the first Japanese art

¹⁶⁵ Oakes, "Contestation," 147-8.

history was inseparable from the presentation of art at international fairs demonstrates that the writing of Japanese art history itself was, as Takagi Hiroshi argued, “that of self-portrait.”¹⁶⁶ After its completion, a total of 1000 copies were printed and 279 of them were distributed to the world, including the European powers, the U. S. and China via their respective embassies. It was originally intended to be used as a guidebook for Japanese art, but it was published right before the closing date of the exposition. It is notable that the *Histoire*, unlike the previous writings for the Japanese national pavilions, was based upon highly scrutinized field research and a systemized chronological scheme.

It was Okakura and Kuki who took the main responsibility for cataloguing the *Histoire*, since Okakura was the chief editor until he was ousted in 1898 while Kuki supervised the entire cataloguing project as a head of the imperial museum – and also wrote the foreword. I will discuss this exhibitionary or cataloguing technology from the views and writings of both Okakura and Kuki. Despite the fact that Okakura was expelled in the middle of the *Histoire*’s completion due to his personal affair, he was probably the only person who could connect the results of the *Rinji* survey to the writing of national art history. Also, most of the *Histoire* reflects Okakura’s influences in terms of the selection of pieces and the overall historical vision. For example, the list of works that he created while participating in the domestic treasure investigation and a great

¹⁶⁶ Takagi, “Nihon bijutsushi,” 74. The same article can be found in Takagi Hiroshi, *Kindai tennōsei no bunkashi-teki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1997): 345-81.

number of pieces he discussed his *Nihon bijutsushi* (Japanese Art history)¹⁶⁷ were equally included in the *Histoire*.¹⁶⁸

Kuki was one of the most influential art administrators of his time; he became the head of the *Rinji* survey in 1888 and the head of the three imperial museums in 1889. It is not an exaggeration to say that most of the cultural property protection policies from this time were influenced by him. This section seeks to examine the *Histoire* as another re-territorializing instance where the visual images that were decoded through the *Rinji* project were redrawn into national art history through the *Histoire*'s exhibitionary technology. I especially attend how the *Histoire* presented Japanese art history as a museum wherein other Asian art is preserved and presented through a particular time frame.

The importance of publishing an art historical text during the exhibition was explained by *Pari Bankoku Hakurankai Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku hōkoku* (The Official Reports on the 1900 Exposition; hereafter *Pari Hōkoku*) as follows:

By explaining the fluctuation and principles of Japanese art, this publication aims to show that there is a difference between Western and Asian art, and that Japanese art has Asia's own authenticity; and therefore, we can argue that our art has its own values to be viewed ... The fact that Japanese art has originated from India via China and Korea indicates that it has the long history from the Nara, Heian, Kamakura, through the Asikaga, Toyotomi, and to the Tokugawa period. This not only means that its history is as long as that of Western art, but also that its techniques are by no means inferior to its Western counterpart. The techniques are often more advanced. Henceforth, by letting artists explain the detailed principles and history of our nation, it is necessary to make the Western

¹⁶⁷ This book is based on a lecture that Okakura delivered at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1891, but it was published in this format much later; see Okakura Kakuzō, "Nihon bijutsushi," *OTZ*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Heibon Sha, 1980-1).

¹⁶⁸ Takagi, "Nihon bijutsushi," 94.

world recognize our national art.¹⁶⁹

As the *Pari Hokoku* contended, the *Histoire* had the intention, out of a sense of nationalistic desire, of demonstrating its long national heritage on par with the Western tradition. And yet, as Satō Dōshin deftly pointed out, the construction of “Japanese art history” should be considered not only in terms of its aim of shaping the country’s national identity, but also in terms of its goal of restructuring global relations at that time. Given the presentation of the larger East Asian context within the *Histoire*, the staging of Japanese art history in Paris equally implied Japan’s self-perception as Asia’s leader in the wake of Sino-Japanese war.¹⁷⁰ It is important to note that the Japanese pavilion at the 1900 Paris Exposition included and presented more artwork from other Asian nations than was ever done before within the Japanese sphere; I argue that this was part of Japan’s efforts to present itself as the guardian of Asian art and cultures within the Asian empire.

Significantly, the *Histoire* employs the framework of the universal, so-called Western art historical schema. Among other things, the larger structure of the *Histoire* consisted of three main epochs – Ancient, Medieval and Modern.¹⁷¹ Also, the collected cultural objects from the treasure surveys were here reclassified in accordance with the very Western concept of arts categories such as painting, sculpture, applied art and architecture. Under the *Histoire*’s

¹⁶⁹ Nōhōmushō, *Sen-kyūhyakunen Pari Bankoku Hakurankai hōkoku* (Tokyo, Nōshōmushō, 1902), 10-11.

¹⁷⁰ Satō Dōshin, *Bijutsu no aidentitī: dare no tame ni, nan no tame ni* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 41.

¹⁷¹ *Kōhon* consists of three major sections, and *Histoire* of five main sections, but *Histoire*’s five sections can largely be divided into three parts.

chronological structure, each period began with its own social milieu followed by the characteristics of visual arts in each period, much like the presentation structure of any museum or art history book in the West. Moreover, the prefaces for the *Histoire* and *Kōhon* both contained an explanation of the geologic, climatic and psychological attributes of the nation, from which Japanese arts were produced. That these publications also put a significant emphasis on religious art and royal heritage in the Ancient period also reflects a Western type of art history writing.¹⁷² In sum, it was through the international stage and the use of cataloguing techniques that these Japanese traditional objects were translated into the *Histoire de l'Art du Japon*, a general survey of Japanese art.

According to Takagi Hiroshi, the *Histoire* mostly employed the results from the *Rinji* survey due to financial restrictions.¹⁷³ Indeed, the preface of the *Histoire* states that, thanks to the *Rinji*'s "careful and assiduous examination of the treasures contained in the various temples of the empire ... the detailed, accurate and scrupulous surveys" were made possible, especially in terms of indicating the names, dates, forms and qualities of the artworks.¹⁷⁴ One of the major tasks of the *Rinji* was to collect cultural treasures and then gather information on the objects' manufacturing years, the genealogical connection among them and the creator of each piece; this information became the basic foundation for the *Histoire*.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Satō, *Bijutsu no aidentitī*, 43-4.

¹⁷³ Takagi, "Nihon bijutsushi," 91-93.

¹⁷⁴ Kuki, "Preface," in *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan (Paris, M. de Brunoff, 1900), xiv.

¹⁷⁵ Takagi, "Nihon bijutsushi," 81.

One of the main functions of cataloguing is to select and organize artworks. It should be recognized that the *Histoire* incorporated and presented more Chinese and Korean art to the forefront than had ever been done before within the Japanese boundary, and it self-promoted the exhibit as a museum wherein this art could all be conserved and protected. With its political and militaristic power, as well as the fact of its heritage coming from ancient Chinese and Korean culture, Japanese art seemed to reach its climax moment in the Meiji period; a preservation of this moment was attempted through these cataloguing and museological techniques. Among other things, it was only after Japan's ancient visual materials were decoded and preserved as abstract visual currency, as in *Rinji*, that the cataloguing and reorganization of Japanese art history became possible.

Kuki's introduction for the *Histoire* begins with a melancholic feeling regarding China and India as the source of Japanese culture:

In effect, Japan sees China and India. These are some of the oldest empires on earth. What impression do they leave you? Considering them from their current conditions, a melancholic feeling penetrates us deeply. Once they both have reached the highest degree of prosperity, and their civilization was extremely refined; and yet nothing today can attest to their ancient splendor other than their ruins. And nothing that is left to the present there can be compared to the energetic and sustained efforts of our race.¹⁷⁶

It is noteworthy that Kuki smoothly compared the regrettable situations of China and India to the energy and desire of Japan. This first Japanese art history book is now connected to the global context, not simply the Japanese history of art.

¹⁷⁶ Kuki, "Preface," *Histoire*, xii.

Almost all of the early objects included in *Histoire* and presented in Paris – especially those of the periods from Empress Suiko (554-628) to Emperor Shōmu (701-756) – cannot be discussed without reference to the art of China and Korea. Due to the presence of Chinese and Korean art in Japanese art history, Japanese culture was thus presented as the “museum of Asiatic civilization,” whose concept Kuki probably developed in collaboration with Okakura. The *Histoire* describes the early stage of Japanese art as follows:

From the reign of Emperor Kimmei (509-71), Korea has been an intermediate role of Chinese arts and has transmitted the time of six dynasties. ... Since Empress Suiko supported Buddhism, temples and pagodas, Buddhist statues and many religious objects were created so that the architecture and sculpture began to develop and more adequate and delicate forms were introduced. But many works during those times were done by the naturalized Koreans, and are, therefore, stamped with purely Korean characteristics.¹⁷⁷

The *Histoire* therefore explains that the culture and society of ancient Japan demonstrated Chinese and Korean influences. For example, the account of the Suiko period (from the late 6th century to the early 7th century) states that Japanese art in this era was still struggling with the new technologies from the continent, so that “all of visual arts, including painting, temples, sculpture, and architects had to borrow the hands of the Koreans and the Chinese.”¹⁷⁸ It goes on to describe that during this period, new thoughts, literature and beliefs (specifically the Confucianism of China) came to be passed on to Japan, and most of these transmissions impacted on every aspect of Japanese society.

For instance, a number of objects from *Hōryūji* temple, which were mostly made under Empress Suiko’s reign, were influenced by or often had been made

¹⁷⁷ *Histoire*, 11.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

by the Koreans. The bronze Buddhist statue called *Kwanzeon Bosatsu*, which had originally been situated in the *Hōryūji* but was now placed at the Imperial Museum, was also displayed at the national pavilion of the 1900 exposition and shows the hint of Korean influence. [figure 14] The *Histoire* specifically discussed the statue as an example of the impacts of Korean techniques – specifically a process in which two thin metal sheets are made separately, then later assembled and riveted together by the edges. The catalogue goes on to state, “In fact, a great number of ancient Buddhist sculptures that remained in Korea were manufactured in this technology, so we can assume that this country is the birthplace of this technique.”¹⁷⁹

Hundreds of Miroku Bosatsu bronze statues, in particular, were imported from Korea, and these were often copied by Japanese artisans. Hence, the styles of Japanese Miroku Basatsu statues were mainly under the sway of Korean models. The *Histoire*, in fact, discusses many Miroku Bosatsu statues made under the Suiko reign at *Hōryūji*, judging from the statue’s hands and feet that their construction held strong connections to the Korean school.¹⁸⁰ Moreover, in case of the Yakushi Butsu from the 7th century, it is discussed with consideration of the influence of Indo-Greek style, which came to Japan via Chinese imports.¹⁸¹ In sum, the national pavilion of the 1900 exposition tried to cover and present the spectrum of East Asian art within the cultural domain of the Japanese empire. What is most important to note in the presentation of Chinese and Korean art within the Japanese cultural boundary is that Chinese and Korean art forms are

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 43.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 59.

considered to be both cultural sources and early stages of East Asian art, imposing a specific time frame upon them.

Almost half of Kuki's "preface" discusses the relation of Japanese art to that of China:

It was under the dynasties of Sui and Tang that our country came to build, for the first time, the relations with China, and afterward, the regency became prosperous particularly in the Asuka period in connection to India. These relationships became more frequent, more intimate, and then settled; and those of who visited in China and India, either for the purpose of consolidation, or to learn the religious doctrines, in turn brought the wonders of Chinese and Hindu arts. And they awakened our art and culture, and we are still today surrounded by these works in temples and in our museums.¹⁸²

Kuki went on to describe this further:

However, it would be in vain, if we were to seek the same wonders in China and India today. It is only with us ... It is only by Japan that the scholar can find enough materials and recover the general characteristics of the artworks, whereas China and India have poor understandings of the history.¹⁸³

These cultural treasures, despite having been transferred from China and India, to this day can be viewed within Japan, at Shōsōin in Nara and at Daigo-ji in Kyoto.¹⁸⁴ Kuki demonstrates that the ancient masterpieces have been beautifully

¹⁸² Kuki, "Preface," *Histoire*, xii-xiii.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, xiii.

¹⁸⁴ The Shōsōin (正倉院) is an imperial treasures house located within Tōdai-ji, Nara. The Tōdai-ji Shōsōin began when Empress Kōmyō donated over 600 items to the Tōdai-ji, and it further expanded later in Heian period when a great number of treasures were transferred from a different warehouse in Tōdai-ji. Therefore, much of the collection originated in the 8th century and came mostly from Japan, and yet there are also a great number of materials that came from Tang China. Some other items are from Korea, India, Greece, Rome and Egypt. Fenollosa depicts Shōsōin in his book *Epochs* as follows: "the first impression one gets is of being in a second resurrected Rome, of the continental scale of an Asia. Apparently the whole range of the massive continent had poured its treasures into the lap of Nara: Babylon and the Persia of the Sassanids, and India and Ghandara, and Annam, and the Amoor, and of course China and Corea, all contributing substantial quota"; see Fenollosa, *Epochs*, 112.

preserved since Japan has historically appreciated these cultural heritages. Thanks to these well-kept “artistic patrimonies,” Japan, according to Kuki’s preface, now continues to stimulate artistic activity and support artistic passion.¹⁸⁵ *Histoire* henceforth shows off Japanese culture’s capability to function as a museum and moreover presents it as the conservator of Asian art.¹⁸⁶ A passage from Okakura’s *The Ideals of the East* states:

It is in Japan alone that the historic wealth of Asiatic culture can be consecutively studied through its treasured specimens. . . . The treasure-stores of the daimyos, again, abound in works of art and manuscripts belonging to the Sung and Mongol dynasties, and as in China itself the former were lost during the Mongol conquest . . . some Chinese scholars of the present day to seek in Japan the fountain-head of their own ancient knowledge.¹⁸⁷

This implies that Japanese culture was now functioning as “a museum” where it could treasure all the artifacts from other Asian nations, simultaneously protecting them from the West and using them to represent Asiatic civilization. As mentioned above, Okakura goes on to conclude: “Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilization; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of

¹⁸⁵ Kuki, “Preface,” *Histoire*, xiii.

¹⁸⁶ Kuki’s views of Japan as the museum of Asia are also illuminated in his preface for *Shinbi taikan*’s inaugural issue: “The Japanese people, who possessed an inborn idea of the beautiful, obtained abundant materials for expressing it in concrete forms, when Buddhism was brought into them. . . . That Buddhism was at once accepted by the Imperial family as soon as it was brought in and for thirteen hundred years continued and still continues to hold the belief of the Japanese people, when it has almost disappeared in its native land, India, has degenerated into mere superstition in Tibet and Mongolia, and is believed only by the low and ignorant classes of people in China and Korea, is in a large measure attributable to the help of the fine art which it called forth.” Kuki Ryūichi, “Preface,” *Shinbi taikan*, 1899: cited by Oakes, “Contestation,” 109.

¹⁸⁷ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, 7; the same logic is also repeated in his *The Book of Tea* (Tokyo: Heibonsha Ltd., 1983), which was originally published in 1906 in New York: “It is in the Japanese tea ceremony that we see the culmination of tea-ideals. Our successful resistance of the Mongol invasion in 1281 had enabled us to carry on the Sung movement so disastrously cut off in China itself through the nomadic inroad. Tea with us became more than an idealisation of the form of drinking; it is a religion of the art of life,” 7-8. See also Tsuruma Kazuyuki, “Tenshin to Chūgoku,” in *Okakura Tenshin to Izura*, ed. Morita Yoshiyuki and Koizumi Shin’ya (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 1998), 330-1.

the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideal of the past, in that spirit of living Advaitism which welcomes the new without losing the old.”¹⁸⁸ Significantly, as this passage indicates, both Okakura and Kuki regarded contemporary Japanese art as the apex of its historical development, and believed that it must be preserved and sustained as such. It is upon the consideration of this culmination that the cataloguing technology was able to present the idea of Japan as the conservator and museum of Asian art.

This framework of Asian art history in terms of its temporal-geographic relation to Japan was, in fact, more clearly materialized in Okakura’s curatorial activities in the U.S. By examining his curatorial designs in the displays of Asian art, we can draw conclusions about the way in which his notion of the “museum of Asiatic civilization” was actually realized. And this will also help us to guess at how the actual objects from the *Histoire* were displayed within a specific temporal scheme. Okakura worked as an expert and a curator of the Asian Art collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (hereafter MFA) from 1904 until his death. The recreation of the Asian Art collection at the Museum was largely associated with the spatial organization of the Japanese pavilion at the 1900 Exposition as well as Okakura’s book, *The Ideals of the East*. Around the 1890s – thanks to the donations from three Bostonian collectors, Bigelow, Fenollosa and Morse – the MFA emerged as one of the most significant museum spaces in North America, preserving a number of Japanese and Chinese artworks. Despite its expansive collection of Japanese art, the museum did not have an expert to classify and organize them on the basis of historical knowledge, particularly after

¹⁸⁸ Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, 7

Fenollosa's departure from the museum. Around 1904, Okakura was first hired as an "Asian art expert" through his connection to the collectors, and then was appointed as an advisor to the Department of Chinese and Japanese art in 1905. According to Noriko Murai, Okakura's primary contributions to the museum collection were first the expansion of the Chinese collection, and second his reframing of the Asian collection and its exhibitions. Accordingly, after his arrival, "the method of display changed from a crowded, comprehensive presentation of the collection to an anthological show of select works."¹⁸⁹ More specifically, where the previous displaying method was organized based on the collectors or the media of each piece, the East Asian art collection was restructured by Okakura primarily in accordance with chronological order. This change occurred in part because the MFA was following the new museological trend of the time that emphasized the "aesthetic nature of the museum experience," and moreover because it was equally Okakura's lifetime goal to reframe Japanese art in line with the universal art historical schema.¹⁹⁰

The displays of the Department of Chinese and Japanese art, staged in the new building of the MFA on Huntington Avenue, were significant examples of the new curatorial techniques that Okakura employed. For instance, the Japanese and Chinese art collections had previously been exhibited depending either on their media – such as ceramics, sculpture or hanging scrolls – and often alongside

¹⁸⁹ Murai, "Authoring," 135.

¹⁹⁰ According to Anne Nishimura Morse, this was in part because the MFA rejected the old South Kensington model in displaying methods, instead following new methods of arranging items by culture and date. See Anne Nishimura Morse, "Promoting Authenticity: Okakura Kakuzō and the Japanese Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," in *Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Nagoya and Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999), 145-6.

European artwork; or else they were organized by their collectors, such as the Morse collection or the Fenollosa collection.¹⁹¹ Once Okakura was involved, he reorganized the East Asian section, beginning with Chinese objects and moving toward Japanese art, in a combined method of an ethno-historical manner.¹⁹² While rearranging the collection, Okakura's own temporal-geographical vision of Asia emerges, equally reflecting that expressed in the *Histoire*. One of his goals in reframing the Asian art collection lay in his building of a "representative collection of Oriental art," not solely based on Japanese art, through a "systematic strengthening of the collection." Notably, his vision of the overarching pan-Asian art collection and its chronological reorganization, which was realized in the MFA collection, had already been anticipated in *Histoire* and *The Ideals of the East*.¹⁹³ Such a pan-Asian history of art tends to begin with Indian and Chinese art, with a trajectory toward Japan. For instance, displays for the Chinese and Japanese art collection in the new building on Huntington Avenue "follow[ed] chronological sequence as far as possible, beginning the circuit with the parent art of China, and thence proceeding to Japan."¹⁹⁴ Upon entering the East Asian galleries, visitors would face a long corridor in which ceramics from China and Korea were arranged in chronological order. This corridor led to the two Chinese rooms where

¹⁹¹ This is described by Nishimura as follows: "In Boston, plaster casts of celebrated classical and Renaissance sculptures dominated the lower floor, and in the European galleries on the second floor were densely hung groups of paintings. Turn-of-the-century photographs of the Japanese galleries reveal cramped arrangements of objects with example after example of lacquerware or metalwork arranged side by side." Morse, "Promoting Authenticity," 145.

¹⁹² "The Department of Chinese and Japanese Art," *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, vol. 7, nos. 40-2 (December, 1909): 56-8.

¹⁹³ Kuze Kanako, "Okakura Kakuzo (1862-1913) to Boston Bijutsukan," *Bijutsushi*, vol. 159, no.1 (Oct., 2005): 5; see also Okakura, "Conversation with Mr. Okakura," November 27 (1904), in *CEW*, Vol. 3, 352.

¹⁹⁴ "The Department of Chinese and Japanese Art," 56.

early Buddhist arts and stone sculptures were displayed as along with bronze vessels and jade works. These were followed by a number of Japanese rooms where objects were arranged historically. So, the first two Japanese rooms were devoted to Buddhists arts and porcelains from the Heian and Kamakura periods, while the next room displayed ink paintings from the Muromachi period. The third and fourth rooms were then devoted to the Momoyama and Edo periods, showing scrolls and screen paintings.¹⁹⁵ [see figure 15] In other words, the East Asian art collection at the MFA was primarily focused on Japanese art, and yet Chinese art and Korean art were considered to be historical resources and a beginning point for East Asian art, fixing specific time frames to each region.¹⁹⁶ In regard to these museological methods, Sato Dōshin argues that “the history of Asian art was conceived on the basis of works of Chinese art in Japan that had already gone through the filter of Japanese taste; therefore, we may say this situation resembles the view of the history of Japanese art constructed by Japonisme in accordance with Western taste.”¹⁹⁷ Specifically, the studies of Indian art and Chinese art that were done within the discipline of Japanese art history concentrated on the very particular periods that had the greatest impacts on Japanese art, and therefore the conception of Asian art that was represented by Okakura was filtered through his own perspectives.¹⁹⁸ Through the process of being reframed through the lens of a particular chronological structure toward

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 56-8.

¹⁹⁶ Kanako, “Okakura Kakuzo,” 8.

¹⁹⁷ Satō, *Modern Japanese Art and The Meiji State*, 175-6.

¹⁹⁸ Satō adds to this: “the problem of studies on Asian arts in Japan lies in the fact that they were focused on the works residing within Japan, without any field research in their original countries.” Sato, *Bijutsu no aidentitī*, 44.

Asia, and through the use of new curatorial techniques, Chinese and Korean art is shown to remain static in the Ancient period, whereas Japanese art is shown to progress toward the present.

Using this museological schema, what the 1893 Chicago Exposition project and *Histoire* from the 1900 Paris Exposition both set out to reframe was the temporal map of Asian culture. As described above, though the Chinese and Indian cultures were highlighted as the sources of Asian civilization, Japan was singled out as the current leader of Asia thanks to its sufficient preservation of the cultural heritage that it benefitted from China and India. By spatially distributing this particular time frame across the Asian continent, what emerged was the perception of contemporary Japanese art as the culmination of Asian art and culture – a culmination which needed to be conserved as it was for Japan. The way in which these exhibitionary techniques featured each region in a specific temporal frame is equally reflected in Okakura's description of Chinese history. In his "*Shina nanboku no kubtsu* (Distinction between the South and North of China)," written right after his visit to China in 1894, Okakura questions whether China is really one nation. While rejecting the general assumption of China as one unified entity, he suggests that China is culturally and ethnically divided into a Southern region and a Northern region on the basis of the Yangtze and Yellow rivers. This spatial distinction and disconnection similarly led to a sense of spatial temporalization. In his account of the history of Chinese art and culture, Okakura describes "the spirit of the Yellow River area during the late Zhou period, the purity of the Yangtze River in the Sung periods, and the simultaneous prosperity

in the Yangtze River and Yellow River area in Tang period reach[ing] its peak in Chinese cultural history.”¹⁹⁹ In other words, the fact that Okakura assigned each region its distinctive time zone in the historical development of China – which is seen here through contemporary eyes – demonstrates his understanding of spatial-temporal distribution.

In line with his vision of the spatialization of time within history, Okakura similarly saw the region of Asia as having a varied spatial arrangement of its temporal zone, as clearly illustrated in his curatorial works and the cataloguing technology of the *Histoire*. Japan, within this logic, surfaces as an important cultural hub which contains all the different stages of history, a so-called “museum of Asiatic civilization.” However, it should not be forgotten that this conception of Asia’s temporality and time zone was derived from the specific point of view of contemporary Japan, which itself was revealed by Okakura and Fenollosa. Throughout the national treasure survey project, cultural objects – including even Chinese and Korean materials – were removed from their original sites and reframed through new exhibitionary technology, which was based upon the Western art schemata, using categories such as painting, sculpture and industrial art as well as an ancient-medieval-present time frame. It was only after these traditional objects were decoded from their original contexts that they were put into a particular time zone, providing a constant comparison between them

¹⁹⁹ Okakura Tenshin, “Shina nanboku no kubtsu,” in *OTZ*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibon Sha, 1980-1981), 97-101. See also Kazuyuki, “Tenshin to Chūgoku,” 323-8.

and Japanese contemporary art.²⁰⁰ The practices around the decoding of cultural artifacts, however, are not acts of making things neutral, but in themselves involve a number of historical and political contexts. The objects that were preserved through Fenollosa's projects, and their rearrangement within specific time frames in Chicago Exposition and the *Histoire*, were absolutely made from the point of view of contemporary Japan. This means that the spatialized time frames used in these museo-exhibition techniques are extremely contingent upon the current situation, and are subject to change along with any historical context. Seen in this light, Okakura's discussion of Japanese culture as a "museum" is probably not derived from any reference to the actual condition at the time, but rather from his desire to permanently preserve the current situation of Japanese culture.

This chapter examined three exhibitionary sites from the Deleuzian notion of "de-territorialization and re-territorialization." The traditional artifacts on display at these (pre)exposition sites were de-territorialized through a number of new modern exhibitionary technologies – preservation, musicological and cataloguing techniques. These exhibitionary sites embody the process whereby Japan's imperialist identity, in its encounter with the international scene, was self-defined through the mobilization of other Asian nations. What is crucial to note is the way that the temporality of these nations was rearticulated through the exhibitionary technologies. In other words, the temporality of these display objects was frozen through the techniques of preservation, and then spatialized

²⁰⁰ This art history, written from a particularly Japanese point of view, also influenced Korea's art history through the work of Sekino Dadashi. About the comparison between Japanese art history by Okakura and Korean art history by Sekino, see: Takagi Hiroshi, "Ilbon misulsa wa Chosŏn misulsa ūi sŏngnip," in *Kuksa ūi sinhwa rŭl nŏmŏsŏ*, ed. Im Chi-hyŏn and Yi Sŏng-si (Seoul: Humanist, 2004), 167-96.

according to their specific regions. These modern exhibitionary technologies were first learned from the West, but were mimicked only in partiality; and they captured ambivalently toward Asia, which subverted the dominant conception of the West as universal and all other parts of the world as particular.

Chapter 3: Panorama of the 'Oriental': the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition

1) Panoramas and the World's Fairs

In his account of the Japanese Pavilions at the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Neil Harris evaluates Japan's image-making at world's fairs in general as a success, in comparison with China's. He goes on to state that "the energy put by Japan into the fair argued that it was demanding more respect than the world had paid it previously,"²⁰¹ and this is because:

The Japanese were the bearers of the new order and stood confronting the Chinese, representing the old. We are, therefore, inclined to read in this attempt of Japan the effort to put itself into line with the world-historical movement of the Occident. It allies itself with the nations of the West, especially does it appeal to the United States.²⁰²

He goes on to quote Denton Snider's argument, explaining that "one cannot help noticing here the care with which the Japanese man explains that he is not Chinaman."²⁰³ The reason he appreciates Japan's success at the world's fairs lies in the nation's ability to demonstrate modernization, unlike China. While describing Japan's manufacturing and educational sections at the 1893 Chicago

²⁰¹ Neil Harris, "All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876-1904." In *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations*, edited by Akira Iikura (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 44.

²⁰² Ibid., 45.

²⁰³ Denton Snider, *World's Fair Studies* (Chicago, 1895), 229-30; cited in Harris, "Melting Pot," 44-45.

Exposition, Harris portrays the modernized aspects of those sections from the perspective of how Japan has caught up with the West:

There were 72 exhibits of rice, 215 exhibits of tea and tobacco, specimens of vermicelli, hemp, mineral waters, umbrella handles, artificial fruits, photographs of railroad lines and telegraph systems, surgical instruments, textbooks, statistics of life insurance [...] in short, everything that any Western nation was producing could be found in the Japanese display.²⁰⁴

Harris therefore considers the modernization of Japan in terms of its Westernization. Consequently, he concludes that the Japanese message [at the exposition] was “I am one of you. Japan will remain Japan, but it had nonetheless joined the march of Western civilization.”²⁰⁵

In this analysis, Neil Harris anticipates the problem of modernity at expositions; for Japan, the problem of modernity was simply to join and ally with powerful nations (the West), and also to break with its past (i.e., China). Within this context, the problem of modernity at international fairs shifted from a temporal rupture to a geopolitical rupture. As Sakai points out, the question of whether Japan was modernized can be comprehended only with reference to existing spatial categories such as climate, geography, race, nation, culture, and so on. The problem of modernity at expositions thus becomes not a temporal or chronological problem, but a spatial and relational one.²⁰⁶ Following this logic, the West at international fairs became a universal reference against which all the

²⁰⁴ Harris, “Melting Pot,” 40-41.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 45.

²⁰⁶ Naoki Sakai, “Modernity and Its Critique: The Problem of Universalism and Particularism.” In *Translation and Subjectivity: On “Japan” and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press), 164.

other nations' modernity was to be measured; in turn, the West emerged as a universal point and horizon to which all the other societies were destined to refer. This situation is best illuminated in the phenomenon of the panorama, where the horizon of synchronously encompassing all the possible objects came into being.

However, as Sakai points out, universalism is merely a sort of particularism that thinks of itself as universal, and thus universalism as utopianism can never exist.²⁰⁷ In his account of the Western search for universalism, Sakai continues: the West is

always urged to approach the other in order to ceaselessly transform its self-image; it continually seeks itself in the midst of interaction with the Other ... In short, the West must represent the moment of the universal under which particulars are subsumed. Indeed, the West is particular in itself, but it also constitutes the universal point of reference in relation to which others recognize themselves as particularities.²⁰⁸

This suggests that the situation wherein the West is self-claimed as a universal reference point is merely contingent upon a particular historical moment. Given this contingency, the West needs to constantly stage itself as the universal; and the Japanese pavilions at world's fairs in the nineteenth century were, in fact, particular instances of Japan endeavouring to adjust itself within what Slavoj Žižek calls a "concrete universal."²⁰⁹ Considering the fact that the concept of the universal which engulfs all the particularities never exists in reality, Žižek explains the Hegelian notion of concrete universality as follows: "a process

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 157.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 154-55.

²⁰⁹ Following Hegel, Žižek refers to the concretely particularized instance of the universal as the "concrete universal." Universality of this kind is not determinant, but merely temporarily achieved and subject to change. Žižek thus accounts for it as a "battleground on which the multitude of particular contents fight for hegemony." See, Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: the Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (New York: Verso, 1999), 100-101.

or a sequence of particular attempts that do not simply exemplify the neutral universal notion but struggle with it, give a specific twist to it – the Universal is thus fully engaged in the process of its particular exemplification; that is to say, these particular cases in a way, decide the fate of the universal notion itself.”²¹⁰ Where most of readings of Japan’s pavilion at world’s fairs focus on how Japan attempted to self-monitored in accordance with the universalistic reference of the West, this chapter attempts to read the 1910 exhibition, for Japan, as a particular instance of the struggle for the universal. Japan used this exhibition to adjust itself to this particular situation of universality wherein the West, not China, emerged as hegemony in East Asia, and simultaneously mimicked the operative logic of the Western empire toward Asia.

It is not a surprise that almost all of the Western (imperial) expositions during this time set up panoramas where they could stage themselves as the locus of universality. Panorama techniques were especially used to serve as the universal point against which all other exhibits could be measured, particularly in terms of temporality. Paul Greenhalph compared international exhibitions to the notion of the encyclopedia in terms of their “attempt to present a vision of total knowledge,”²¹¹ a total display of encompassing and comparing all things and all people. And yet, to compare them all, there must be an overarching synchronicity through which all different contents can exist at once and be evaluated

²¹⁰ Žižek, *Ticklish*, 102.

²¹¹ *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition*, 3 Vols (London, 1867), Vol. I; cited in Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1988), 18-19.

simultaneously.²¹² In this sense, the total display – panorama technique – is not a mere space of putting everything together, but a particular instance of situating and measuring things simultaneously from a specific point of view – the temporality in this particular sense. In relation to the panoramas at world's fairs, Tony Bennett explains it further:

This was also true of museums and department stores, which, like many of the main exhibition halls of expositions, frequently contained galleries affording a superior vantage point from which the layout of the whole and the activities of other visitors could also be observed. It was, however, expositions that developed this characteristic furthest in constructing viewing positions from which they could be surveyed as totalities: the function of the Eiffel Tower at the 1889 Paris exposition, for example.²¹³

The Eiffel Tower at the 1889 Paris exposition embodies the peak moment of the panoramic technique where the whole world across the globe and time was subordinate to a privileged reference point.²¹⁴ What is at issue in international expositions is that the panoramic technique functions as “a self-monitoring system of looks” in which the crowd and members of all the other nations come to regulate themselves through “interiorizing the ideal moment,” or the ideals of progress.²¹⁵ If most of the imperial (international) expositions in the West were premised upon the ideals of progress, their horizontal point of view embodied the situation against which all the other nations' development and social temporality was meant to be measured, thus allowing those nations to educate themselves. To

²¹² See, Thomas LaMarre, “Introduction,” *Impacts of Modernities*, ed. Thomas Lamarre and Kang Nae-hui (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 6-7.

²¹³ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 69.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 84.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

put it differently, the staging of panoramas at these expositions played an important role in normalizing the Western time by casting other peoples as existing in a “different time,” and subsequently confirming their own “imperial superiority.”²¹⁶

This chapter explores Japan’s pavilion at the 1910 Exhibition with a focus on the technique of panorama; a form in which all nations are seen from the viewpoint of a particular temporality – or degree of modernity. In the 1910 show, Japan particularly self-adjusted their display to the panorama technique through which Britain and its temporality was staged as a ‘concrete universality’ at that particular historical moment. The presentation of Japan’s exotic traditional cultures and its age-old garden and tea cultures seemed to exactly fit the commanding Western view of Japan from that time, wherein Britain emerged as the temporal norm to be emulated in the logic of imperialism while Japan was viewed as relatively “different” than the “Western empires in the early twentieth century.” Yet, as I mentioned in my introduction, by capturing “the temporal anomaly at the heart of Western modernity,” Japan was able to re-enact its own temporal logic toward other Asian nations. Through the mimicry of temporality, rather than its imitation, it is probable that Japanese expositions had the effect of suspending the logic of the West as the universal and Japan as the particular.²¹⁷ That Japan at least partially captured and mimicked the operative logic of the Western empire toward Asia demonstrated the fact that Western self-claimed universalism, staged through panoramas at world’s fairs, was merely contingent

²¹⁶ Ibid., 79.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 25.

and subject to be re-hegemonized by different contents. To be accepted as member of the colonial powers and as an emerging empire, Japan also brought its colonies into these expositions; and yet it did so by enacting its own temporal realm wherein its colonies could be compared and measured. This was not an imitative operation since Japan's colonies were displayed both as 'temporal others' and as culturally related Asian nations. This partial resemblance, as a consequence, overturns the totalizing vision of the West. The aim of this chapter is thus to examine both Japanese pavilions' self-adjustments to the panorama technique of the West and their simultaneous mimicry of temporal logic toward its colonies.

One commentary on Japan from the British side, made during the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, seems interesting in terms of the West's claim of itself as the leader of imperialism and Japan as the follower:

One curious similarity runs through the whole, that is the striking similitude between Japs and our people. This resemblance manifests itself in manner, physical stamp and shape of head. To anyone acquainted with the principles of phrenology the resemblance is very marked. This last point is indicated by the large proportion of the brain in front and above the ear. The structural conditions are distinctive indications of considerable mental power, and are emphasized by the portraits of some of the most highly placed representatives. Taken as a whole, they constitute a good augury for the growth of sympathy between east and west.²¹⁸

These anthropological and phrenological assumptions, despite seemingly being based in scientific judgment, signal the situation wherein the West staged itself as

²¹⁸ John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester University Press, 1985); quoted from Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemera Vistas*, 96-97.

the universal reference point from which every aspect of other cultures needed to be emulated, including even physical traits. However, the same logic is simultaneously applied to Asian other nations in partiality, and the self-claimed logic of the universality of Britain and the Japanese empire as particularity was subsequently subverted.

2) The 1910 Japan-British Exhibition

The 1910 Japan-British exhibition was held at the White City in Shepherd's Bush, London, from 14 May to 29 October, 1910. [figure 16] It is reported that the event attracted over 8,000,000 visitors during its six months of existence. The exhibition marked a milestone in the history of Japan's participation in international exhibitions since, as the first joint exhibition with a European country, it presented visitors in London with an up-to-date picture of Japan. Seen from the other side of the coin, for Britain, the exhibition was a part of a series of imperial exhibitions; these included the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition, the 1909 Imperial Exhibition, the 1912 Latin-British Exhibition, and the 1914 Anglo-American Exhibition. Notably, all of these exhibitions were held at the White City, an exhibition complex operated by the Shepherd's Bush Exhibition company. Despite the general assumption that the Japan-British Exhibition was initiated by the two representative governments, it was in fact Imre Kiralfy [see figure 17] who initiated the organization.²¹⁹ Kiralfy was an international figure

²¹⁹ The idea of holding an Anglo-Japanese exhibition had actually been proposed by Kiralfy to the Japanese twice before, in 1902 and in 1906. At first, Japan rejected the idea since the time was not

known as an exhibition organizer and famous for planning various extravagant exhibitions, most of whose themes were related to the spectacle of empires, such as the ‘Empire of India Exhibition’ at Earl’s Court (1895) and the ‘Greater Britain Exhibition’ (1899).²²⁰ Given his enthusiasm for eye-catching shows, it can be presumed that this time, too, he envisioned a show that could exploit the Orientalist spectacle of Japan – a culture that was seen as living in a different time than the British Empire.

From this context, Angus Lockyer analyzes the Exhibition as being “riven with conflicting interests,” partly because it was a private entrepreneur with whom the Japanese government cooperated to produce the show. Due to Kiralfy’s position in Britain as a top exhibition organizer, a great deal of criticism on the show arose in Japan. For instance, a few Japanese politicians who visited the Exhibition criticized exhibition commissioners for its making their contract with “a businessman who had a bad reputation as an entertainment entrepreneur.” And the fact that the British side displayed only a few cultural sectors, compared to the Japanese side where the whole aspects of the country were on display, received much criticism from Japanese politicians.²²¹ While the Japanese government wished to take the exhibition as an opportunity to demonstrate its national image

yet considered ripe for such a display; and moreover, Japan was more occupied with much bigger plan of having a *Nippon Dai-Hakurankai* (The Grand Japanese Exhibition) in Tokyo in 1912. But in 1908, when the 1912 *Nippon Dai-Hakurankai* in Tokyo was postponed, Komura Jutarō, the ambassador to Great Britain at the time, met Kiralfy and strongly supported his plan of holding a joint exhibition. See Angus Lockyer, “Japan at the Exhibition, 1867-1970,” (PhD. diss., Stanford University, 2000), 125-127; and Ayako Hotta-Lister, *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1999).

²²⁰ Hotta-Lister, *Japan-British Exhibition*, 39. He even registered a company called London Exhibition Ltd. to successfully manage these exhibitions, and the White City in west London became its own exhibition ground. “His taste in orientalism was reflected in the white stuccoed oriental-style buildings on this new site, which formed enormous stage sets catering to the Edwardian taste for spectacle.”

²²¹ Itō Mamiko, *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), 195.

as a modern empire on the international stage, Kiralfy was more interested in Japan's traditional aesthetics as spectacle.²²² To put it differently, whereas Japan considered the exhibition to be a diplomatic matter between the two countries, the British side considered the show through a more commercial lens.

Both Hotta-Lister's book and Angus Lockyer's dissertation have paid a great deal of attention to this exhibition.²²³ Whereas Hotta-Lister's *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East* focuses on the political and diplomatic intentions of the exhibition, Lockyer's dissertation explores how the exhibition put Japan on display as an Oriental empire from the Far East. In a chapter of his dissertation called "The Note of Orientalism, London, 1910," Lockyer pays particular attention to how the show was primarily commissioned by a private entrepreneur and how he attempted to organize the show replete with Orientalist themes. But while these two studies concentrated just on the relationship between Japan and the West, this chapter moves beyond this bilateral relationship and explores further, comparing the Japanese and its colonial pavilion side by side in order to challenge the logic of the Western empire as universal and the Japanese one as particular.

Around this time, Japan was planning to hold an international exhibition to celebrate its victory in the Russo-Japanese war. This was to be known as *Nippon Dai-Hakurankai* (The Grand Japanese Exhibition) and was planned to be held in 1912, but due to the financial constraints caused by the war, the dream of holding

²²² Angus Lockyer, "Japan," 125-127.

²²³ For more literature on the 1910 Exhibition, see also Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain after 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003); and Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe, eds., *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue, 1850-1930* (London: Lund Humphries, 1991).

the international event in Japan was replaced with the Japan-British show. It can thus be assumed that Japan might have had political, diplomatic, and economic concerns when organizing the 1910 show: for instance, while the exhibition was actively espoused by Komura Jutarō, the ambassador to Great Britain at the time, he also had his concerns with anti-Japanese sentiment in the Western world in mind. After the Russo-Japanese war, while serving as ambassador, Komura witnessed increasing antagonism against Japan surging in Britain and thus sensed the need to improve Japan's image among the British public.²²⁴

As mentioned above, the Japan-British Exhibition was held a mere two years after the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition. However, it would be wrong to say that the Japanese-British show was as reciprocal as the Franco-British Exhibition; the former was aimed more at exhibiting Japan for European audiences. Olive Checkland suggests that putting Japan first in the official name of the Exhibition, rather than the host country, declared that "in reality, this was a Japan Show," not a joint show.²²⁵ Japanese preoccupation with Britain's perception of their culture can be found in most official publications relating to the exhibition. *Japan To-day*, an official souvenir book, explains that the intention of the exhibition was to make the real Japan known: "Europeans and Americans have come to take the keenest interest in the institutions, civilization, industry, customs and manners and general characteristics of our people, but it appears that as yet, the real Japan is not sufficiently known."²²⁶ As was underscored by *Japan To-day*, the problems

²²⁴ Ayako Hotta-Lister, *Japan-British Exhibition*, 74.

²²⁵ Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain*, 172.

²²⁶ "Preface." In *Japan To-Day: A Souvenir of the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition held in London 1910* (Tokyo: Liberal News Agency, 1910).

thus lay in how properly Japan was understood by the West, and how Japan was to be properly visualized from the Western point of view.

Therefore, despite being held as a joint exhibition, by inviting Japanese exhibits and placing them in London for European visitors, the exhibition became, in effect, Japan's introduction to the West. This perspective was obviously confirmed by Kiralfy. In his letter to Mutsu Hirokichi – Japanese diplomat and the main supporter of the exhibition – at the Japanese Embassy, sent on September 5, 1909, he expressed his views on the event:

The ignorant public will expect concerts by Japanese Bands daily, ... the ignorant form, I am sorry to say, a large portion of the public! Nothing should be left undone to make the Exhibition as Japanese as possible, the public won't care for the British Exhibits, which are no novelty to them. I therefore cannot too strongly urge you the necessity of looking at the Exhibition with European eyes and from the standpoint of the British public which we shall have to attract.²²⁷

Accordingly, this exhibition intended to show all aspects of Japan in a comprehensive manner, forming a total vision for the Western observer; this was similar to the goal of the panoramas, which encapsulated the desire to be viewed and understood by the Western observer. This outlook was readily admitted to by the Japanese themselves in *The Graphic* magazine:

The Japanese and things Japanese will become not only the cynosure of British eyes, but indeed the centre of interest for visitors pouring from the countries of Europe and the two continents of America. No event in days of peace and tranquility has yet contributed so greatly towards advertising Japan as the Anglo-Japanese Exhibition will do. Japan will arrest the

²²⁷ The letter is preserved in Gaikō Shiryō kan Shozō, *Eikyō Rondon ni okeru Nichi-Ei hakurankai kaisetsu no ikken*, vol. 2 (hereafter, *Eikyō*).

attention of the whole world; she will have no choice but to yield to the demand, and must advertise herself in the most thorough and effective manner.²²⁸

The magazine's special issue on the exhibition clearly observes the schema of the show as Japan observed by Western eyes, not only by British visitors.

A careful examination of the list of exhibited articles would further reveal this point. The Japanese section, which was organized by the government commissioner, sought to exhibit a comprehensive view of Japan, ranging from finance and government to fine art and gardens; by contrast, the British section was primarily focused on visual art and the military, with displays of such things as oil paintings and battleships. It is thus natural that Mochizuki Kotaro spelled out in his souvenir book that Japan at the Exhibition was presented to European audiences in the form of "true panoramic view of Japan To-day."²²⁹ It is not an exaggeration to say that the intention of the event was to construct a miniature of Japan in London.²³⁰ Yet the construction of the West as the universal standard for referral meant that Japan self-reflectively projected this 'concrete universal' onto itself within the display. In other words, the panoramas of Japan at the 1910 Exhibition were visualized from a particular Western viewpoint (at the historic moment).

Japan's visualization as a panorama by the Western audience was exemplified all over the exhibition grounds. A variety of aspects of Japanese lives was on display in the form of toy-sized miniatures, including models of Tokyo

²²⁸ Published in a special issue of *The Graphic* (May, 1910), a photo magazine in Japan; cited in Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain*, 172.

²²⁹ *Japan To-Day*, n.p.

²³⁰ "Nichi-Ei hakurankai senki," *Taiyō*, vol. 16, no. 9 (1910).

and the Shogun Mausoleum at Shiba temple; the small scale enabled Japan to present more accurate and all-encompassing panoramas.²³¹ The Japanese Garden [figures 18, 19], in this regard, was one of the most important displays, interiorizing the British taste. The *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City* (Hereafter *Official Report*) pays particular attention to the ways in which the panoramas were presented as “authentically Japanese.” It states that “hills were created with characteristic Japanese shrines on the top, half hidden in trees, and goldfish, brought from all over Japan, added life to the lake. ... To make it more Japanese there were also Japanese tea-houses in the garden.”²³² *Official Report* goes on to confirm the authenticity of the Garden: “Designed in Tokyo, the garden was brought into actual existence here by one of the most skillful and artistic of Nippon’s many artist-gardeners; and those who have been in the Far East and have felt, perhaps without understanding, the wonderful significance of such a scene, might well imagine themselves carried away over side oceans and resting once more in the heart of Romantic Japan.”²³³ Other descriptions of the gardens further underscore its romantic mood, especially in association with Orientalist ideas: “The whole scene was suggestive of peace. The tiny goldfish swimming lazily in the waters ...; the quaint little shrines suggestive of prayer and meditation; the placid surface of the lake repeating with strange mystery the beauty of all around, impressed the mind with a sense of

²³¹ Checkland, *Japan and Britain*, 174.

²³² “Japanese Gardens,” *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911), 242-8.

²³³ *Official Report*, 101

blissful rest and quietude.”²³⁴ Importantly, the Japanese side of this exhibition self-staged this representation, projecting the Western temporal norm – Japan as an exotic and unchanging culture – and this particular panoramic gaze inversely onto itself. The gardens, in miniaturized form, provided the British viewer with a vantage point from which everything could be seen, thus rendering the whole of Japan consumable. This relation between the Western observer and the Japanese side as the observed was, however, displaced and rearticulated through the Japanese empire’s ambivalent stance toward representation of its other Asian nations.

Henceforth, this chapter will take a step further and focus on Japan’s colonial relations and its desire for recognition as an Asian empire, away from the bilateral relationship between Japan and Britain. As Paul Greenhalgh pointed out, it should be noted that Japan’s ambition to present itself as an empire was first expressed at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition, in the aftermath of its victory over Russia.²³⁵ Indeed, the year of 1910 was a critical turning point for Japan because after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, along with its colonization of Taiwan, Japan began to expand its influence into East Asia and emerged as a continental power. Given the Western powers’ concern over Japan’s expansion into the Asian continent, Japan wished to self-stage its identity as a strictly Asian empire. By having a joint show with one of the major European nations and adjusting itself to the particular logic of Western empires, Japan hoped to join them in the league of world powers. Yet the Japanese pavilion at the 1910 show

²³⁴ *ibid.*, 101.

²³⁵ Greenhalgh, *Ephemera Vistas*, 74.

simultaneously acted as if it were the West toward other Asian nations – in partial resemblance.²³⁶ This interplay between ambivalence and partial resemblance creates a certain tension where “the observer becomes the observed and ‘partial’ representation rearticulates the whole notion of identity and alienates it from essence.”²³⁷

3) Historic Palace: A Temporal Panorama

Japan’s attempts to present itself panoramically under the commanding Western view are clearly illustrated in the “Historic Palace” at the 1910 exhibition. Specifically designed as a temporal panorama of Japan, the palace was an effort to put all the periods of Japan together on one site. The purpose of the palace is explained in the report as follows: “To show to Japan’s Western ally that Japan’s civilization has not been of modern acquisition, as is often believed in the West, but that she has had long and varied history of progress. The Imperial Japanese Commission provided a series of twelve tableaux representing the manners, customs, and attainments of different periods in Japan’s history of more than 2500 years.”²³⁸ Itō Mamiko also pointed out that if this exhibition intended to help the ordinary British audience to better understand Japanese culture, the Historic Palace equally attempted to show that present-day Japan had not been established all of a sudden, but developed throughout the historic “evolutionary”

²³⁶ These terms of ‘partial resemblance’ and ‘ambivalence’ were borrowed from Homi K. Bhabha. See, Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994)

²³⁷ Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” 89.

²³⁸ “Japanese Historical Palace,” *Official Report*, 199.

process.²³⁹ To put it another way, the Historic pavilion, by representing all of its times within the frame of Western history – or by self-adjusting to the Western temporal norm – allowed the British audience to understand the evolutionary pace of Japan in familiar terms.

When visiting the Exhibition site, the Historic Palace could be approached through the exhibition complex's Wood Lane entrance, where "there stood a large temple gateway, an exact replica of the red gateway to the Kasuga shrine at Nara, the ancient capital of Japan." [figures 20, 21] Moreover, on either side of the approach to this gateway were "rows of artificial cryptomeria trees and stone lanterns, with a group of deer reposing or disporting themselves, in order to give an appropriate setting to the edifice as it actually stands in its original place."²⁴⁰ Passing through these mock-ancient trees and lanterns and the temple gateway itself, visitors got the impression that they had journeyed to another country or travelled back to ancient times. It is important to recognize that the Historic Palace, with its ancient contents, had put a vast array of traditional cultures on display, such as tea ceremony culture, traditional poems and old musical instruments. The *Official Report* thus describes the Japanese section as follows: "with their native attendants and their charming display of Japanese goods, [the Japanese] formed a fascinating and true picture of Orient."²⁴¹ Moreover, the very entrance to "the fair Japan" itself was a huge, lifelike model of *Torii* (shrine gate) in Miyajima, which was one of Japan's most famous tourist destinations. This

²³⁹ Itō Mamiko, *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), 178.

²⁴⁰ *Official Report*, 199-200.

²⁴¹ *Official Report*, 91.

image reinforced the impression that visitors had indeed travelled to another country. [figure 22]

The historic tableaux consisted of twelve historical settings, arranged consecutively from the time of Emperor Jimmu to that of modern Japan, providing a comprehensive history of the country.²⁴² [figures 23, 24] The report goes on to explain that “the Imperial Japanese Commission has striven to give a comprehensive survey of the whole history of Japan, bringing into prominence the characteristics of different periods and illustrating the progress of the people.”²⁴³ By the means of the tableaux and also by showing the historic development at one site, the history of Japan had now been visualized as a totality, a temporal panorama that metonymically encompassed people and things from Japan through time.

Another important point in the Historic Palace is the fact that each period, the people’s lives and their customs were represented in the form of ‘life groups,’ a popular display method in nineteenth-century natural history museums. *Official Report* describes that each historic tableau was composed of human figures dressed in traditional clothes against backdrops representing each period. According to *Nichi-Ei Hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (the Japanese version of the Official Report hereafter *Nichi-Ei hōkoku*), the clothes, musical instruments and other stage props had been borrowed either from the Tokyo Imperial Museum or the Tokyo School of Fine Arts.²⁴⁴ This means that the 3-dimensional setting in the Historic Palace had been built not simply as an imagined reality, but as the staging

²⁴² *Official Report*, 199-202.

²⁴³ *Official Report*, 202.

²⁴⁴ Nōshōmuchō, *Nichi-Ei Hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (Tokyo, 1912), 431-2.

of a historic reality on the basis of these academic materials. In regards to the use of human figures, Allison Griffiths characterizes scenery composed of life groups as a ‘panoramic one’ – a sort of prototypical ethnographic film, based on the mobility of the viewer’s gaze and the illusionistic aspects of the scene.²⁴⁵ Due to the stage-like setting, narrative movement, and the trompe-l’oeil technique, these living pictures of life groups were often compared to panoramas and Daguerrean dioramas. Indeed, Japan’s Historic Palace, based upon the scenes and materials it drew from history museums, allowed viewers to feel as though they were in the middle of history.

Panorama in general refers to a circular vista, an overview of a real landscape; in other words, panorama means an enlarged form of pictorial representation that often encircles viewers. While panorama aims at offering a view at a glance by using a circular – often a full 360-degree – representation of its subject, Daguerrean diorama tends to provide more of theatricality and illusions.²⁴⁶ Griffiths explains that dioramas, mostly by using semi-transparent illusionistic paintings, “were subjected to dramatic lighting effects that would create the illusion of movement and different times of day.”²⁴⁷ Importantly, most of these nineteenth-century illusionistic techniques were dependent upon what Anne Friedberg has called “a mobilized virtual gaze,” where the viewer’s

²⁴⁵ Allison Griffiths, *Wondrous Difference: Cinema, Anthropology, and Turn-of-the-Century Visual Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 17-41.

²⁴⁶ Panorama is known to be invented by Robert Barker and his panorama structure was built in 1793. Daguerre’s Diorama is believed to first open in Paris 1822. Both panorama and Diorama at the time required a special built space, mostly closer to a conventional theatre. Where panorama aims at providing all-embracing, limitless overview, Diorama was to offer the illusion of three-dimensional space. However, both were the products of the nineteenth-century visual spectacle culture: see Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History, Spectacle* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

²⁴⁷ Griffiths, 19.

mobility was in stark contrast to the motionlessness of the objects on display. Because of the mobility of the viewer's gaze, Griffiths states that "the representational technologies of the life group hailed the museum goer a member of a civilized race who was a privileged spectator, as opposed to the passive object of a scrutinizing gaze."²⁴⁸ Thus, if the exhibition of life groups relied on the relationship between mobile viewers and passive objects, the palace invited the Western audience to view docile historic exhibits with their privileged gaze. To put it differently, the Japanese side here unabashedly attempted to fit within the panorama technique, situating itself as a docile, disciplined body. It should be remembered that in order to put the entire temporal scope of Japan under the panoramic eye of the West, Japan's own history needed to be structured within the framework of Western historiography. Indeed, like the Japanese art history discussed in chapter 2, the panoramic displays rearticulated the chronology of Japanese history to correspond with those progressive temporal categories of the West: the ancient, the medieval and the modern.

The Japanese notion of the Middle Ages, among other Western time periods, was fabricated in order to establish comparability with the West. It is generally known that the term Middle Ages (*chusei*) was used for the first time by Hara Katsurō, a professor at Kyoto Imperial University whose work on the Japanese Middle Ages came out in 1906.²⁴⁹ According to Pierre François Souyri,

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 11; see Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993)

²⁴⁹ Pierre François Souyri, *The World Turned Upside Down: Medieval Japanese Society*, trans. by Käthe Roth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2; see also Thomas LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō on Cinema and "Oriental" Aesthetics* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2005), chapter 2.

by applying the notion of the Middle Ages to Japan, Hara “tried to establish correspondence between the major periods in Western history – antiquity, the Middle Ages, the modern period, and the contemporary period – and those in Japanese history.”²⁵⁰ The Middle Ages was an intermediate period, symbolizing Western civilization’s break with the ancient and its preparation for modern society. More importantly, with the hybrid aspect of the Middle Ages as a time in which contact with foreign elements took place, a similar notion of progress can be established in Japan, unlike other static Asian nations.²⁵¹ Put another way, the notion of the Japanese Middle Ages became proof that Japanese society was dynamic, as opposed to stagnant other Asian societies, finally enabling Japan to follow the path of Western European societies. Souyri went on to argue that, thanks to the “invented” Middle Ages, “Japan gradually distanced itself from the Asian – especially Chinese – social models, becoming less ‘Asiatic’ and more ‘European.’”²⁵² In general, the Heian period in Japan became comparable to the Western classical period; the Kamakura period to the medieval period; and the Tokugawa period to the early modern period.²⁵³ In the wake of the Japanese military victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Hara probably sensed the necessity for Japan to self-modify its historical development according to the temporal frame of Western Societies, and to differentiate itself from the enervated Asian

²⁵⁰ Souyri, *The World*, 2.

²⁵¹ For the “evolution-by-hybridization” scenario, see Thomas LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen*, 31-2.

²⁵² Souyri, *The World*, 3.

²⁵³ Thomas Lamarre, *Shadows on the Screen*, 31.

nations.²⁵⁴ By capturing the operative paradigm of Western time, in other words, Japan situated itself as a ‘concrete universal’ within the panorama technique.

In a similar way to Souyri’s argument, the Historical Palace at the 1910 exhibition presented a comparison with the West in relation to the foreign impulse – such as influences from China and Korea – and its dialectic progress, staging displays from a number of different time periods in Japanese history. First, the Heian (784-986 A.D.) period, this is largely deemed to be comparable to the Western classical period. [figure 25] In the Heian tableau, Ōtenmon Gate is seen in the background, and there are a couple of man-pulled carriages as well, showing viewers the palace’s architecture and the means of transportation at that time. In the foreground, civil service officers and military officers are seen. The period is compared to the Western classical period because it is seen to demonstrate Japan’s own development and its moving away from the foreign influences of China and Korea. And the tableau thereby “also showed the style of architecture [from that time period], which lost in a way some traces of the Chinese influence.”²⁵⁵ Next, the Gempei and Kamakura periods are now seen to correspond with the Western medieval time, the age of warriors and militarization. The tableau for the Gempei period (1159-1219 A.D.) shows armed warriors advancing toward the warfront. [figure 26] A warrior holds a bow in one hand and a golden fan in the other. This period is described as the time when

²⁵⁴ Katsurō Hara, *Histoire du Japon: Des Origines à Nos Jours* (Paris: Payot, 1926). The notion of Middle Ages was significant in Japanese history because of its ‘revolutionary’ aspects, which cannot be found in Asian history. Hara explains that “La féodalité [...] est une phase nécessaire dans l’évolution historique d’un peuple. C’est une phase part laquelle toute nation est obligée de passer avant de devenir homogène.”

²⁵⁵ *Official Report*, 200.

“there arose in Japan what may be likened to the English Wars of the Roses. Civil war broke out between the rival houses of Taira and Minamoto during the years when Japanese chivalry was at its height.”²⁵⁶ Next, the tableau for the Kamakura period (1186-1333 A.D.) shows a hunting scene with Mt. Fuji in the background. [figure 27] In the foreground, a couple of horse-riding warriors are seen participating in the hunt. According to *Official Report*, “the different forms of sport” of the Samurai can be compared to those of the Western knight.²⁵⁷ This representation of the Japanese “age of the warrior,” like that of the West, demonstrates the medieval militarization in Japan during this time, as well as the powerful break from the Ancient society – unlike the static models in other Asian countries.

This new chronology of Japanese history was, in fact, developed alongside the construction of Japan as a modern nation-state. At this time, the Meiji government put a great deal of effort into writing its national history. According to Stefan Tanaka, since the Meiji reform, Japan’s past had been turned into a strict chronology in accordance with specific Western periods through a process of “placing select events, things, or ideas.”²⁵⁸ Tanaka goes on to argue that “chronology is a seemingly innocuous organizing device; it takes advantage of our reckoning of time as a linear progression, the continual advance of the second hand (or digital face), and the constant move of the present into the future and into

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 200-1.

²⁵⁸ Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton University Press), 112-13.

the past. ... It gives the idea of the national form, that is a reality, through a narrative of unfolding, reinforced by verifiable data.”²⁵⁹

Another notable factor of the Historical Palace is its acknowledgment that its civilization was in large part constructed along with the external influences of China and Korea, like the national pavilions at the Chicago and Paris expositions. The *Official Report* pays particular attention to Japan’s ancient (or Nara) period, which was influenced by these other countries: “It was illustrative of an epoch when intercourse was begun between Japan and continental countries, Korea and China. ... The Chinese influence was clearly visible in the architecture.”²⁶⁰ Notably, in modern Japanese historiography, the Middle Age (*chusei*) is particularly highlighted to provide an example of the dynamism of Japanese history as a location for the encounter and assimilation of foreign impulses. These expressions of dynamism and openness in Japanese history, which Western audiences had in large part regarded as closed, made Japanese society appear distinct from other Asian societies. With the acknowledgment of these external influences, Japan was able to argue for its historic development as dynamic, unlike other ‘static’ Asian countries.²⁶¹ In particular, whereas the Japanese exhibit represented the history of the colonies in a way that kept them timelessly placed in the past, by exhibiting “evolution-by-hybridization” in Japanese history from the ancient period up to the present day, Japan itself was displayed as active and progressive.²⁶² The inclusion in the Historic Palace of a scene from modern Japan,

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ *Official Report*, 199-200.

²⁶¹ See Pierre François Souyri, *The World*, 2-3

²⁶² See LaMarre, *Shadows on the Screen*, 31.

where the Japanese-British alliance was celebrated with a representation of the two countries against the background of Hibiya park, made Japan appear endlessly progressing. [figures 28, 29] Equally, the dynamism between Japan and its foreign influences enabled this display of Japanese history to demonstrate the shared progressive paradigm between it and Western history, evolving to the modern.²⁶³

It was thus through the Western panorama technique that Japan self-conceptualized its imperial identity. In other words, the Japanese empire mimicked the same imperial structure as the West by showing off its colonies and managing its external territories. Yet, this was only a partial resemblance in its imperial operation, as is ambivalently shown in its relation to the other Asian nations— Japan was at once colonizer and a cultural brother of the same race.

4) Exhibiting Colonies: The Construction of an Asian Empire

Paul Greenhalgh, as was mentioned above in passing, defined this exhibition in terms of Japan's desire to be considered equivalent with European powers.²⁶⁴ Indeed, throughout the exhibition, its attempts to represent itself both as an Oriental nation and as a modern empire prevailed. If much of the previous literature on this exhibition was mostly preoccupied with Japan-British relations, in the following section I will endeavour to shed more light on the colonial pavilion in relation to Japan's continental expansion. As I mentioned above, Japan wished to take this opportunity to promote both its continental expansion and its

²⁶³ This is often explained as an 'evolution-by hybridization' scenario: see *ibid.*, chapter 2.

²⁶⁴ Greenhalgh, *Ephemera Vistas*, 96-97.

capacity to colonize its newly taken territories. Hence, more attention needs to be paid to the colonial pavilion at the time, and particularly its representation of Korea and Manchuria, in terms of Japan's acting as if it were the modern West toward Asia.

By 1910, due to its recent military victories, Japan began to be recognized as an imperial power, and the 1910 exhibition was a great opportunity for promoting its image as a major Asian power. In particular, this joint exhibition was used to display Japan side by side with Britain as an equal imperial power.²⁶⁵ The juxtaposed portraits [figure 30] of the Japanese and British royal families and heads of state were a powerful symbol of equal status between the two countries. Concerning this new position for Japan, the *Official Guide* acknowledges that "it was sufficient to justify the Eastern empire's claim to respect as a colonizing power."²⁶⁶

However, unlike Britain, it was not until the late 1890s that Japan entered the imperial stage after colonizing outside territories. Therefore, to reach a level of power on par with Britain, and to raise its international status from 'informal' to 'formal' empire, it was deemed essential for Japan to incorporate its colonies into the display. Japan's effort to demonstrate its colonial power was clearly shown in the section called "The Palace of the Orient," which put together all of Japan's colonies under the title of 'Japan's Orient.' If the panoramic display of Japanese

²⁶⁵ Ellen P. Conant, "Refractions of the Rising Sun: Japan's Participation in International Exhibitions 1862-1910," in *Japan and Britain: An Aesthetic Dialogue 1850-1930*, ed. by Tomoko Sato and Toshio Watanabe (London: Lund Humphries in association with Barbican Art Gallery and Setagaya Art Museum, 1991), 87.

²⁶⁶ *Japan-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, 1910, Official Guide* (Derby and London: Bermose and Sons Ltd., 1910), 91 (hereafter *Official Guide*), 46-50.

culture was presented before the Western observer within the European norm of temporality, in Japan's colonial pavilion the temporal anomaly was enacted toward other Asian nations, showing them to reside in a different time than Japanese society. With regards to this Palace, two aspects call for particular attention. First of all, in the English version of the catalogue Japan titled the exhibition 'The Palace of the Orient,' rather than the 'colonial pavilion.'²⁶⁷ The term 'Oriental' was not only flexible enough to represent all of Japan's colonies, but it had also been utilized in the service of their expansionist continental policy. As Itō pointed out, if Japan had named the section the 'colonial pavilion,' it could only have included Taiwan; Korea only became Japan's official colony during the exhibition²⁶⁸ and Manchuria at the time was merely within Japan's sphere of influence.²⁶⁹ By naming the pavilion 'the Palace of the Orient,' Japan likely enjoyed showing off the other nations that were under its influence, and they were able to include specific examples of this influence such as the South Manchurian railway. Indeed, while preparing for the exhibition, Korea was a protectorate state of Japan while the South Manchurian railway was actually run by the Japanese government, thus the 'Palace of the Orient' could duly be deemed as a 'colonial pavilion.' In fact, *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper* did indeed call it the 'colonial pavilion.' In other words, by adding countries under its sphere of influence into its display at the exhibition, Japan could stage itself as the leader of Asia and thus establish its parity with Britain.

²⁶⁷ In the Japanese version of the report, the pavilion was merely called the 23rd pavilion (23 *gōkan*), not 'the Palace of Orient'; see *Nichi-Ei hōkoku*, 512-13.

²⁶⁸ The official annexation of Korea by Japan was ratified in August of 1910, at the height of the Exhibition.

²⁶⁹ Itō, *Meiji Nihon*, 187.

Secondly, it is crucial to note that Japan itself was not included in the Palace of the Orient. Instead, the display encompassed all the Asian others, including Japan's potential colonies, under the name of the 'Orient'.²⁷⁰ Seen in this light, this pavilion was structured in such a way that allowed Japan to look at its colonies from above, excluding itself from the concept of the 'Orient'; Japan here set itself up as a temporal norm through which the temporality – or the degree of modernization – of other Asian nations could be compared. Importantly, by using the technique of panorama, the Japanese pavilion captured the temporal logic of the Western empire and situated Japan as being ahead in time of other Asian nations.

The floor plan for the Orient section shows [figure 31] that a small compartment was assigned to each of the colonies. Apparently, each compartment was designed to visually represent these different cultures and ethnicities. For instance, according to *The Official Report* of the Exhibition,

In preparing the exhibits and in providing proper places for them, much care was taken to present the characteristics of the places from which the exhibits were sent. In the construction of stalls in the Formosan section the architectural style of Formosa was strictly followed, with its strange curves and vividly coloured decorations. The arrangement of the whole section was designed to create the atmosphere of the island which it represented, and the result was successful. The South Manchuria Railway Company, by the reproduction of a drum tower, which is one of the most striking landmarks in Manchuria, and the Kwantung Government, with its peculiar pagodas such as are commonly found in the peninsula, succeeded in presenting in these sections the striking features of their respective localities and proved them a suitable environment for the exhibits. The roofs of fantastic shapes covering the gateway, and the walls which enclosed the exhibit from Korea showed the marked peculiarities of Korean work, and so by these and other similar means a totally distinctive and characteristic setting was

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 186-8.

supplied from the distinctive and separate displays contained in the Palace of the Orient.²⁷¹

In other words, the panorama technique situated each colony within the particular styles and features of their respective cultures – such as the shapes of the roofs, specific architectural structures or unique colors – from the commanding view of the Japanese empire. In the example of the Korean section, [figure 32] the gate was decorated with Korea's traditional tile-capped roofs. Also, there was a topographical map of the peninsula in the centre of the assigned section, representing the territory of Korea. Along the wall, life-sized figures of Koreans were on display, and its history, territory, architecture and agriculture, along with aspects of Korean culture such as Koryō porcelains and the country's royal palaces, were shown in the form of small models.²⁷² In case of Taiwan, [figure 33] rather than focusing on traditional heritage, its everyday customs – such as scenes showing the picking of tea leaves – were visualized through wax-model figures. In front of the gate stood wax figures of tea-picking ladies, giving the impression of a tea garden. From a larger perspective, these displays were all put together under the roof of the Korean or Taiwanese pavilions, as well as under the larger umbrella of Japan's Orient.²⁷³ Accordingly, by miniaturizing entire colonies, the Palace of the Orient could bring all the colonial objects together in one space, creating a panorama of Japan's Orient. To put it differently, the wax models shrank every aspect of the colonies and incorporated them in the Oriental world

²⁷¹ *Official Report*, 284.

²⁷² *Nichi-Ei hōkoku*, 513.

²⁷³ *Official Report*, 291.

presented by the Palace. If the Japanese historical section miniaturized its temporal sphere in order to present itself panoramically toward the Western gaze, Japan similarly exhibited panoramas of colonial people in the form of a shrunken-down reality in order to subsume them within Japan's influential sphere. However, as I discussed above, the panorama technique does not simply embrace all the things and people in one space; rather, it presumes a certain privileging viewpoint through which all the different contents exist at once and can be simultaneously compared. In Japan's colonial pavilion, the traditional customs, less modern lifestyles and exotic objects representing each colony were perfectly set up to represent a 'different time,' seen from the temporal norm of the commanding Japanese view.

These shrunken figures of the colonies can be likened to the miniaturized objects, which Susan Stewart discusses in the context of a modern bourgeois sensibility. According to Stewart, due to its reduced size and its capacity to visualize everything compactly on one site, the miniaturized world can be easily linked to the sense of "seeing from above."²⁷⁴ And, as discussed previously, this sense of 'distance' remote from the immediate reality is quickly associated with a nostalgic feeling – a different temporality. In other words, seen from Japan's panoramic gaze, all of its colonies seem happily and peacefully placed as living in 'another time.' The nostalgic sensibilities of the panoramic vision were created in two ways. First, the panoramic scenery often induced a feeling of a pastoral and idyllic past. For example, the exhibition of Koreans in traditional dress, displayed

²⁷⁴ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore : John Hopkins University Press, 1984), 44-5.

with their traditional housing – or Taiwanese in their native fashion, displayed against the rural landscape – fixed them in a timeless space, hardly touched by the turmoil of modernity. Second, the panoramic settings also generated the sense of a utopian and futuristic time. The imagery of the South Manchurian railway especially contributed to the sense of a utopian future. In this display, the South Manchuria Railway Company presented “a drum tower, which was decorated with photographs showing the views along the Company’s line of railway.”²⁷⁵ [figures 34, 35, 36] Inside the tower, a series of photographs of various industries in operation, which were taken from the South Manchurian train, reinforced the image of Manchuria as a futuristic Asian region. The *Official Guide* also described the tower as follows: “We can ascend the tower and glance down at the magnificent array of stalls, exhibits, tableaux, and pictures which have been gathered here for our inspection. Having feasted our eyes on the scene, we take the display made by the Government of ‘Kwantung,’ on our left, the Japanese Concession in Manchuria, the peninsula on which Port Arthur and Dalny stand.”²⁷⁶ Seen from the tall tower, the panoramic scenery of the miniaturized Asian nations is meant to stress the image of the ‘Orient’ in ‘Oriental’ Japan.

Almost all the descriptions of the colonial section focused their attention on how much effort was put into the modernization of these nations. Exhibits showing the Manchurian railway, for instance, tried to “give an idea of how extensive a work the [South Manchuria Railway] Company is undertaking (in

²⁷⁵ *Official Report*, 289.

²⁷⁶ *Official Guide*, 46.

addition to its railway operations) in mining and electrical enterprises...²⁷⁷ To this end, the report narrated every detail in the history of the company's colonial business operations in Manchuria:

It may be remembered that the South Manchuria Railway Company was organized in 1906 with an authorized capital of £20,000,000 to operate the railway, which was transferred from Russia to Japan by virtue of the Portsmouth Convention of 1905 ... there has already taken place a remarkable increase in the traffic, which may be seen from the returns of the railway receipts for the year ending March 31, 1909, which amount to £1,254,000, against £977,000 for the year ending March 31, 1908.²⁷⁸

Displays featuring life-sized figures of Manchurian people as well as railway constructions demonstrated how the Japanese empire contributed to the modernization of the region, or to the advancement of their temporality.

A similar rhetoric was repeated in the Korea and Taiwan sections of the exhibit. The Korean section in particular attempted to illustrate, by using maps, charts and visual materials, how its past has been “dark,” and yet how the country was now witnessing “the great progress that has been made since the country first came under the influence of Japan.”²⁷⁹ In “A paper read before the Royal Society of Arts,” Mutsu Hirokichi contended that “the country has at last awakened from her long slumber and is realizing the good effects of the administration of the new regime which is being appreciated especially by the more advanced section of the

²⁷⁷ *Official Report*, 289.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 289-90.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.

people.”²⁸⁰ Indeed, the exhibition showed the country’s newly modernized education system and railways as well as the construction of medical colleges and hospitals, all of which had been introduced to Korea under Japan’s influence. The *Official Guide* further demonstrated, through visual representations, how the Japanese empire ameliorated the poor living conditions of Koreans. It went on to state that “Japan’s work in uplifting this State has been great, as an inspection of the models, plans, photographs, and charts make clear. She has awakened Korea out of her long sleep, and improved the country and the condition of their people.”²⁸¹ To put it differently, by way of visually comparing images of Korea from before and after the colonization, the Korean exhibits allowed Japan to portray how the temporality of the colony was advanced. Similarly, in the Formosan section, two pictures [figure 37] were juxtaposed to illustrate the progress of Formosa’s natives from an initial state of savagery to their current civilized status.²⁸² The official report describes how “on one side, the natives were depicted [...] in their primitive state, while on the other side, the Formosan people were shown by a similar method peacefully engaged in work on a tea plantation, thus demonstrating their progress since coming under the influence of Japan.”²⁸³ These images of modernized, progressing Asian nations, together with images of their more traditional practices, marked Japan both as the guardian of Asian heritage and as the developer and modernizer of Asian territories. Among other

²⁸⁰ Hirokichi Mutsu, “Japan at the White City: A Paper Read Before the Royal Society of Arts, London” (London: Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1919), 5. This document is contained in ERNEH, vol. 2.

²⁸¹ *Official Guide*, 47

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 45-9.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 284.

things, the panorama technique in the colonial section of the exhibition posited the modernity of the Japanese empire as a temporal norm through which other Asian nations needed to self-educate in order to advance their own temporality.

However, it would be a mistake to argue that the Japanese empire simply imitated the temporal operation of the Western empire. The traditions and history that Japan shares with its colonies mark differences from the Western model. Japan's claim both as modernizer of, and as part of the same cultural brotherhood as its colonies discloses its ambivalent double vision in the logic of defining itself as an empire. For instance, any historical accounts of the exhibition's Japanese sections stress how many similarities there were between the culture and traditions of Japan and those of the other Asian nations, unlike with the Western empire.

Japanese civilisation finds its source in remote antiquity. It was in the latter half of the third century of the Christian era that a noted "father of the civilisation of the East and the West," a native of Kudara, one of the three kingdoms of Korea, brought with him Chinese learning and was presented to our Imperial Court, thus opening the gates to the inflow of Chinese and Hindoo civilisation. ... The subjects of Confucian discussion consisted of *kō* (filial piety), *tei* (honouring of certain relations), *chū* (loyalty), *shin* (sincerity), *jiu* (benevolence), *gi* (rectitude), *rei* (ceremony), and *chi* (knowledge), which not only coincided with, but also helped, Shinto.²⁸⁴

The situating of Japan side by side with the Oriental pavilion, rather than seeing them within the embrace of temporal panoramas, revealed the Japanese empire's partial resemblance and double vision to its Western counterpart. As Homi Bhabha contended, this ambivalence, in the colonial discourse, has the effect of disrupting the authority of the dominant discourse. "The part-object," Bhabha

²⁸⁴ Ibid, 256-7.

claims, “alienates the modality and normality of those dominant discourse.”²⁸⁵ Among other things, in this process the colonizer’s look of surveillance “returns as the displacing gaze of the disciplined,” and moreover “the observer becomes the observed,” which leads to the re-articulation of the whole notion of identity.²⁸⁶

On the other hand, the panorama technique symbolizes a utopian attempt to embrace everything in the world, and also the impossibility of including all things. In this sense, the panorama is always destined to visualize things in a manner of reduction and distortion. The staging of a colonial empire through the concept of panorama therefore entailed a distortion and warping of reality. This was especially complex in the case of Korea. As the official guide explains, “Korea, of course, is not strictly speaking a Japanese possession, but there is such a strong affinity of interests ... that this attempt to portray Japan as a colonizing power would not be complete if Korea were not represented.”²⁸⁷ What should be stressed is that the inclusion of the Korean section took place at a very delicate moment; the treaty concerning the annexation of Korea by Japan was ratified in August of 1910, at the height of the Exhibition, and there were strong protests against the annexation.²⁸⁸ On top of this, at the time when the exhibition began, *Japan Today*, one of the publications targeting the British public, included a map showing Korea as part of Japan, even though Korea was not yet a colony at the time of publication.²⁸⁹ According to Duus, “it was only when Japan consolidated

²⁸⁵ Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 88.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 89

²⁸⁷ *Official Guide*, 46-50.

²⁸⁸ The Japan-British Exhibition was held from 14 May to 29 October 1910 at the White City, Shepherd’s Bush, London.

²⁸⁹ Hotta-Lister, *Japan-British Exhibition*, 94-5.

its colonial empire that the Meiji leaders finally felt that Japan had been accepted as a full-fledged power by the Western nations.”²⁹⁰ It was thus felt by the Japanese side that Japan could heighten its imperial prestige to be on par with Britain’s only by demonstrating its management of the colonies.²⁹¹

More problematic was the fact that Japan exhibited its concession of Manchuria and the South Manchurian railway under the roof of Japan’s Orient. It was recorded that the Chinese government expressed their particular concerns over the inclusion of Manchuria at the 1910 show. The Chinese ambassador to Britain, having gained knowledge of the Japan’s plans through *The Times*, requested the cancellation of the railway displays. The reason for the request, according to the ambassador, was that those from the area might be offended if they knew that Manchuria was being exhibited together with Taiwan and Korea, as Manchuria did not officially belong to Japan at the time. The concern from the Chinese government was thus based on the uneasy feeling that the exhibition would distort Japan’s perspective of the reality of its relationship with Manchuria.²⁹² However, in order to present an imperial status equivalent to Britain’s, it was necessary for Japan to expand its colonial possessions. In its self-proclaimed conception of the Orient, just as Korea was turned from a protectorate into a colony, Japan also desired to transform Manchuria from merely being a location within Japan’s sphere of influence into being a colonial holding. It was a warping of reality used to highlight Japan’s status as a newly emerging Asian

²⁹⁰ Peter Duus, *The Abacus and the Sword: the Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 15.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

²⁹² Itō, *Meiji Nihon*, 187.

empire.

On the other side of the event, these Asian others were being put on display and tailored into objects of entertainment. In particular, the exhibit marked the first time that Ainu and Taiwanese natives had been presented at an international fair; they were displayed as part of an 'Attractions' section. This section was primarily managed by Kiralfy's Exhibition Company, separate from the Japanese commissioner. Under this entertaining section, Ainu and Taiwan aboriginal people were placed in juxtaposition with Flip-flap, a traditional kiosk and a tea house. The panorama techniques unabashedly situated these members of Japan's colonies as 'living in another time' from the Japanese empire. The history of using other nations as display objects in Japanese expositions began much earlier at the National Industrial Exposition, mostly under the sway of similar trends in international fairs. As mentioned in the introduction, for instance, the 1903 National Exposition in Osaka was one of the earliest examples of displaying other living humans, and so the subsequent display of Ainu, Taiwanese Aborigines and similar Asian others in these expositions came as no surprise.

In the case of international fairs, however, especially by 1910, the Japanese side was reluctant to participate in building native villages since they had often ended up creating inaccurate images of themselves in previous attempts; even Kiralfy acknowledged that "the words 'Japanese Village' which has such a bad name in London must be avoided."²⁹³ This was mainly because the building of native villages at world's fairs tended to give the impression of that culture as a colony – thus Japan, having its new status as a member of the colonial powers,

²⁹³ Letters from Kiralfy on Aug. 25th, 1909. Copies of the letters are included in ERNEH, vol. 2.

tried to distance itself from these native village traditions.

However, as Lockyer pointed out, Imre Kiralfy held a dual position in this exhibition: one as Commissioner-General and the other as Managing Director of the third signatory, the Shepherd's Bush Exhibition Company.²⁹⁴ Particularly in his role as the Managing Director for his private company, Kiralfy's desire was to create a sort of 'Oriental' spectacle which could draw a large audience. Kiralfy thereby created a section called 'Attractions' to be part of the exhibition, which he planned to fill with many entertaining items from Japan. In his letter to Mutsu, Kiralfy even mentioned that "it will be necessary for the general success of the Exhibition to give serious consideration to the attractions." He went on to describe the possible examples of such attractions that could be brought from Japan: "1. An old Japanese street with full life produced, 2. A large Japanese Village, 3. A number of reproductions of interesting Japanese temples."²⁹⁵ While the Japanese side persistently refused to cooperate in designing a model of Japan as entertainment, Kiralfy ultimately sent his own representative, Julian Hicks, to Japan and recruited 235 entertainers for this purpose. These entertainers' contracts were made up by the Company, separate from the Japanese Commissioner.²⁹⁶

In the exhibition, the Ainu people [figure 38] were placed in an area called "The Ainu Home," next to the sumo wrestlers in the Formosan Village, due to their perceived savageness and primitive way of life. These displays caused a sensation in London. A London-based newspaper, *The Daily News*, announced that the Ainu Home would be one of the most popular attractions at the exhibition:

²⁹⁴ Lockyer, "Japan," 153.

²⁹⁵ Kiralfy's letter to Mutsu on Aug. 12th, 1909. Included in ERNEH, vol. 2.

²⁹⁶ *Nichi-Ei hōkoku*, Vol. 2, 866.

“These strange visitors, ... are bringing a large collection of wild animals’ skins that [their] forefathers killed in the forests. ... There they will be seen carving wood, embroidering, or otherwise engaged. The men have long, flowing hair and full beards, and the women are tattooed about the mouth and arms. ... These people, who cannot fail to be interesting, will perform weird native dances and ceremonies.”²⁹⁷ By displaying their hairy bodies, tattooed women and so-called ‘uncivilized’ lifestyles, the Ainu people were projected as living in ‘another temporality.’ Although this entertaining section was run by the exhibition company, not by the Japanese government, the presentation of Ainu and Taiwan natives as uncivilized peoples helped to put Japan in line with the European empires. Yet these representations of backwardness shown through the colonial pavilion, paired with the simultaneous demonstration of modernization, clearly disclosed what Bhabha calls ‘double vision’ and the ‘ambivalence’ of colonial discourse.

One interesting exhibition review of the Ainu display at the 1910 show was written by Uchigasaki Sakisaburō, who later became one of the advocates of Taisho democracy. Uchigasaki discussed his impression from the first day of the event in *Taiyō*, one of the most popular magazines in Japan at that time. While citing Uchigasaki’s review, Lockyer explains as follows: “The Ainu were even more worrisome for Japan. They had been noticeably absent from the official Japanese exhibit, for good reason. The attempts by the colonial administration in Hokkaido to ‘Japanize’ the indigenous people had failed miserably, a radical

²⁹⁷ *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, ed. Hirokichi Mutsu (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies, The University of Melbourne, 2001), 42.

decline in population and a recalcitrant ethnic difference undermining the assimilationist claims that would form one basis for Japanese imperial expansion.”²⁹⁸ Uchigasaki discusses one Ainu man living in the Ainu Home at the show who he happened to interpret for. His name was Kaizawa Kenji and he was born in 1885. Despite his primitive appearance, his manners and his Japanese skills surprised Uchigasaki:

When we parted, he shook hands as they have seen the Western people do. ... While I interpreted for them, he spoke splendid Japanese like the Japanese gentlemen do, which surprised us. He also assumes surprisingly magnificent manners and attitudes which were at once dignified and modest.²⁹⁹

This partial representation of the Ainu – both as a ‘Japanized’ people and an uncivilized one – returns as a threat and has the effect of disrupting the colonial authority. When seeing the British side and the Japanese section side-by-side with the colonial / native village sections, instead of seeing them from the panoramic eye, one can clearly view the process whereby the partial resemblance of the Ainu people rearticulates the notion of identity and returns as the gaze of the disciplined.

This chapter examined the panoramic technique at the 1910 exhibition in terms of its total display where all things and people are encompassed. However, panoramas are not only a method of gathering exhibits into one space, but they also assume a certain privileging point through which all the items are simultaneously referenced and compared, particularly in terms of temporality. Almost all of the (Western) imperial expositions included panoramas, allowing the temporalities of all the other nations (non-Western countries) to be displayed

²⁹⁸ Lockyer, “Japan,” 165.

²⁹⁹ Uchigasaki Sakisaburō, “Kaikai shonichi no inshō.” *Taiyō*, vol. 16, no. 9 (1910): 47-8.

as part of a 'different time' while helping the displaying nation to self-modify toward the Western temporal norm. Yet the use of the panorama technique at the 1910 Exhibition where the European empire self-staged as the universal was a particular instance of the 'concrete universal,' whose position can be re-hegemonized by different contents.

Japan, indeed, had captured the Western panorama technique and acted as the modernizer for its colonies. When seeing Japan-West relations side by side with the links between Japan and its colonies, there seems to be resemblance, but this imperial logic was only partially captured. This mimicry of the Japanese empire – not through outright copying, but by partial mimicry – not only suspended the dominant views of the West as the universal and Japan as the particular, but also disclosed the fact that the staging of the universal at panoramas is merely contingent at a particular historical moment.

Chapter 4: Asian Race Redux: Spatio-Temporal Mediation of Anthropological Exhibitions by Tsuboi Shōgorō

1) Tsuboi Shōgorō and Multi-Ethnic Empire

One autumn day in 1912, Tsuboi Shōgorō gave a public lecture in conjunction with the Colonial Exposition in Tokyo. The talk was entitled “Diverse Races under the Roof of the Japanese Empire within the Colonial Exposition” [figures 39 and 40]. (拓殖博覧会に於ける帝国図版内の諸人種).³⁰⁰ Notably, his lecture

concluded with the following:

Given the expansion of our land, there are many nations, and it is remarkable to note that those different ethnic nations became Japanese during the Meiji era. ... Even if our influence grows from now on, and no new nations are added, they will all be the same races as those who have been already added to Japan. All the nations that are meant to be Japanese have become Japanese. Importantly, we now understand how all these races, who had not been [known] before, were added to Japan during Meiji Era. This is something to commemorate and to be stressed in our era.

His closing remarks clearly declared that many ethnic groups are under the umbrella of the new empire as “Japanese,” rather than simply being considered “colonized.” For this reason, in the early 1910s, Japan was celebrated as a “multi-ethnic” empire.

³⁰⁰ The 1912 Colonial Exposition was supposed to take place in September 1912 in Tokyo, but due to the sudden death of the Meiji emperor on July 30, it was held from October 1 to November 30 instead. Tsuboi’s lecture was published in the *Journal of the Anthropology Society of Tokyo* in 1914, under the title of “Meiji Era and Various Races under Japan.” See Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Meijirendaito Nihon zuhan naino jinshu,” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* (Journal of the Anthropology Society of Tokyo) 219, (1914), 1-20.

The 1912 Colonial Exposition was one of the first colonial exhibitions held in Japan to celebrate the nation's imperial expansion – something that became more frequent after the inclusion of Korea and South Manchuria as its colonies. Ironically enough, this lecture took place at the Tourism Hall as a part of the 28th general meeting of the Tokyo Anthropological Association (hereafter the TAA), which was also held as an event for the Colonial Exposition.³⁰¹ Tsuboi's address, in short, embodied an interesting intersection of anthropology, colonial desire and the exposition as entertainment. One of the particular aims of the exposition was to attempt to bring as many different ethnic groups as possible into one place. Along with the Tsuboi's lecture, then, there was also a social gathering for these people of various Asian nations where they were gathered together to watch films showing Chosŏn customs and the scenery of Karafuto.³⁰² Moreover, people of various ethnic groups were actually on site and on display for the event. Representations of multiplex ethnic groups were thus gathered together not only through the words of Tsuboi, but also via their physical existence as cultural exhibits.

Here at the 1912 exposition, at the dawn of Japanese expansion, these diverse ethnic and racial groups were then regrouped under one roof, that is, under the Japanese empire. What was problematic in this display was the fact that specific features and traits of each ethnic group had been perceived through the eyes of Japanese anthropologists and then brought together under the aegis of the empire. Although Tsuboi proclaimed that all of the racial groups were equally

³⁰¹ Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), 56-7.

³⁰² Ibid., 57.

“Japanese,” it should be noted that the point of gathering them in one place was done according to a specific vision – that of the Japanese empire.

Where the prior two chapters dealt with Japan-West dynamics at international fairs as seen through exhibitionary techniques, there will be a shift of focus in this chapter. The following two chapters will fix their attention on the relations between Japan and the colonies in terms of multi-ethnic dimensions. This chapter will concern how the exhibitionary technology re-articulated racial and ethnic identity of Japan’s colonies; the next chapter will then explore more specific examples of multi-ethnic policy before the Pacific War using an exhibition in Korea as an example.

The study of race and ethnicity in general was not unrelated to the modern attempts to redefine national membership from the point of view of the modern political state.³⁰³ The Japanese empire continued to reproduce knowledge about race and ethnicity, such as *minzoku*, not only from the Japanese nation but also from all Asian nations. This served the particular political frame of what is called a multi-ethnic empire.³⁰⁴ Recent scholarship on the ethnic policies of prewar Japan, including Oguma Eiji’s seminal book, *A Genealogy of ‘Japanese’ Self-image*, have shed light on the multi-ethnic aspects of the prewar empire, contrary to general perception.³⁰⁵ Since WWII, much of the literature on Japanese

³⁰³ Kevin M. Doak, “Culture, Ethnicity, and the State in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” in *Japan’s Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900-1930*, ed. Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu, Hawai’i: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 181-3.

³⁰⁴ Prasenjit Duara, “Ethnos (*minzoku*) and Ethnology (*minzokushugi*) in Manchukuo,” *Asia Research Institute Working Paper* 74 (Sept. 2008): 4.

³⁰⁵ See Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy of “Japanese” Self-images*, Trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Pacific Press, 2002); for the criticism against the perception of mono-ethnic Japanese nation and subsequent discussion of the multi-ethnicism of Japanese empire, see Naoki Sakai, “Subject and Substratum: On Japanese Imperial Nationalism,” *Cultural Studies* Vol. 14 (3/4, 2000): 423-530;

anthropology has focused on the concept of the so-called Japanese race, and particularly the ways in which it is differentiated from other Western and Asian nations, but the last decade has seen emerging discussions on a multi-ethnic Japanese empire, and Oguma Eiji's accomplishment is exemplary among them.

What is at issue in the debates of the multi-ethnicity of Japan, however, is not the matter of whether Japan was truly a multiplex ethnic or rather a mono-ethnic empire. As Sakai Naoki claimed, the postwar image of Japan as a mono-ethnic nation should be reconsidered within the larger picture of "the postwar division of labor," where the U.S. assumed multicultural-universality as opposed to Japan's homogeneous particularity.³⁰⁶ In other words, although multi-ethnic dimensions were prevalent in any of these empires, Japan became reproduced as a single-ethnos nation in the postwar process of rearranging the national identity of the U.S. as the universal and multicultural model.³⁰⁷ In discussing multi-ethnicity away from a single ethnic image of Japan, this chapter does not attempt to portray the prewar Japan as a multicultural and universal empire, as the U.S. is now considered to be. As is well known, it is not that racism and racial issues are less important in the multi-ethnic societies; rather, given the fact that the

John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2001); Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Becoming Japanese: Imperial Expansion and Identity Crises in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900-1930*, ed. Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998); and Michael Weiner, ed. *Japan's Minorities: the Illusion of Homogeneity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

³⁰⁶ Naoki Sakai, "Darega ajiajinna noka," *Sekai* (Jan., 2001); cited from Korean translation of Sakai's article. See Sakai Naoki, *Kungminjuŭi ūi p'oiesisŭ*, trans. Yi Kyu-su (Kyōnggi-do P'aju-si: Ch'angbi, 2003), 63-4. According to Sakai, this 'division of labor' was in part to conceal the aspects of racial war and racism inside the U.S. See also Naoki Sakai, "Introduction: Nationality and the Politics of the 'Mother Tongue,'" in *Deconstructing Nationality*, ed. Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary, and Iyotani Toshio (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2005), 31-3.

³⁰⁷ Naoki Sakai, "Introduction: Nationality and the Politics of the 'Mother Tongue,'" in *Deconstructing Nationality*, ed. Naoki Sakai, Brett de Bary, and Iyotani Toshio (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2005), footnote 2.

multiculturalism of the U.S. has played a role in concealing its racism, a discussion of the multiplex ethnicity of the Japanese empire will help us to reveal the process whereby racism functioned and at the same time was concealed. As Sakai pointed out, if the self-perception of a mono-ethnic society in the postwar period left Japan “not aware of their own racism,”³⁰⁸ and thus removed any possibility of discussing the racism that operated in the prewar era, we will then need to revisit the issues of race and racialism with an approach that considers the multi-ethnicity of the Japanese empire and the use of visual technology.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the Japanese strategies of multi-ethnicity were under the sway of those of Western empires, as the previous chapters have demonstrated in the mimicry cases of other colonial issues. According to Takashi Fujitani, Japan’s prewar multi-ethnic policies were not unrelated to the universal, multi-ethnic American models.³⁰⁹ Yet, unlike the American models, the Japanese empire assumed an ambivalent attitude toward its colonial people. In adopting multi-ethnic and universal racial policies, the Japanese empire, ambivalently, attempted to base its ideologies upon the ethnic and racial associations with what was called the ‘Asian empire’ – biologically and culturally related to ‘Asia.’ The colonial people were, therefore, not only addressed as elements that reinforced the diversity of the Japanese empire, but they were also embraced as being part of the same Asian race – ethnically related.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 31.

³⁰⁹ For his recent publication on the comparative study between the multi-ethnicity of the Japanese empire and that of the U.S. model, see: T. Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Tsuboi Shōgorō was one of the main figures in promoting multi-ethnicism in the field of anthropology. He is also said to have founded Japanese anthropology along with the TAA. Under his leadership, the anthropological association conducted various anthropological studies in Japan and Asia.³¹⁰ The TAA was at first called *Jinruigaku no tomo* (Friends of Anthropology), and it was mainly meetings of young students discussing the Ainu (an indigenous Japanese people) and earthenware. However, in 1886, with the launch of its official journal, the *Jinruigakkai hokoku* (Anthropological Society Bulletin) – whose name was later changed to *Jinruigakkai zasshi* (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo) – the group became an official anthropological institution.³¹¹ Throughout their intellectual activities, Tsuboi and the TAA attempted to do research and discuss other Asian nations in relation to Japan, and they indeed became the sites of redefining Asian racial and ethnic identities. This chapter thus endeavours to investigate the process whereby exhibitions of Tsuboi and TAA decontextualized and recontextualized racial and ethnic identities through exhibitionary technology, with a focus on Tsuboi's multi-nation claim. The group's research, archaeological excavations and visual representations of people gradually redefined the notion of people in Asia, and re-categorized them according to the diverse ethnicities of the Japanese empire. Recent literature on the multi-ethnicity of the Japanese empire has centred around textual and discourse analysis despite the significance of visual effects, which can play on aspects such as physical attributes in relation to

³¹⁰ Akitoshi Shimizu, "Colonialism and the Development of Modern Anthropology in Japan," in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. Jan van Bremen and Akitoshi Shimizu (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1999), 124.

³¹¹ Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 7-9.

race. By contrast, this chapter will shift the attention to the roles played by visual technologies— and exhibitionary technology in particular— in re-articulating racial and ethnic identities. The goal of this chapter is to investigate the process whereby Tsuboi and TAA, using visual technologies, redefined the time frame of Asian nations.

This chapter specifically concerns two exhibitions: the 1904 Specimen Exhibition at Tokyo Imperial University and the 1912 Colonial Exposition in Tokyo. Using these shows as my examples, I will probe how their exhibitionary visual technology, such as the classificatory arrangement of ethnic objects and display techniques, rearranged the temporality of other Asian nations within a particular spatial schema. I will demonstrate not simply how other Asian nations were differentiated from the Japanese, but the process whereby the temporality of Asian nations was mediated via visual techniques. In the first section of this chapter, I will analyze composite photography as a way of epitomizing the visual technologies that produced a generic type image. The second section, using composite image techniques, discusses how anthropological exhibitions spatialized ethnic Others within a different temporal scale— primarily a hierarchical time frame. The third section investigates the ways in which the Colonial Exposition spatialized and interacted with each ethnic group within the frame of the multi-ethnic empire. Finally, the last part of this chapter will deal with the resistance and reactions from the people exhibited, through which I will show how they sensed and challenged their temporal allocations.

2) Visual Technologies: Composite Photography and the Production of General Types

Visual images have played a major role in reorganizing the existing academic activities in the modern social sciences, particularly when it comes to new methods of observation and analysis and new forms of documentation. According to David Green, “Scientific knowledge was held to be commensurate with the recording and accumulation of empirically verifiable regularities, the result of a process of disinterested contemplation in which the perceiving subject interposes minimally, and then always passively, between reality and its representation. ... In many ways pictorial representation became the most adequate metaphor of an epistemology based upon empiricist methodologies.”³¹² In this way, visual representations have been marshalled for the presentation of scientific data, and they not only present data scientifically, but also in many ways recontextualize things and objects in a scientific statement.

Throughout the late nineteenth century, along with Japan’s rapid Westernization, most of the country’s scholarly activities underwent institutionalization in keeping with Western social sciences. The discipline of modern anthropology in Japan arose within a climate of national reorganization within the existing fields. Tsuboi Shōgorō, in particular, became a founding father of modern Japanese anthropology and institutionalized the field by taking the position of the first professor of anthropology at Tokyo University. Whereas previous Japanese scholars in the studies of race and ethnicity had focused on

³¹² David Green, “Veins of Resemblance: Photography and Eugenics,” *The Oxford Art Journal* 7, 2 (1985), 3-4.

textual analysis with a reliance on mythical sources, Tsuboi and the TAA scholars stressed the importance of field work and systematic documentation, concepts borrowed from Western anthropology. Specifically, Tsuboi's contribution to the establishment of Japan's scientific anthropology lay primarily in his exclusive reliance on visual methods, which enabled a systemic and comparative approach to the concepts of race and ethnicity. Researchers, when reporting their field work to the journal, for instance, were encouraged to actively use visual technologies such as sketches, photographs and graphs to support their arguments more objectively and evidentially.³¹³ In the first section of this chapter, I argue that it was visual technologies that enabled the reconfiguration of existing intellectual activities into modern Japanese anthropology and the re-articulation of the racial and ethnic ideas in the name of science. Before investigating exhibition practices, it is worth mentioning Tsuboi's discussion of composite photography. His explanation of composite photography is especially insightful in elucidating how he perceived the relations between visual media, race and ethnicity.

Tsuboi came to learn about composite photography while studying at Tokyo University, where a couple of professors were experimenting with the new

³¹³ Torii Ryūzō is especially well known for his use of photographs with his field work. See Hyung Il Paï, "Capturing Visions of Japan's Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryūzō's Field Photographs of 'Primitive' Races and Lost Civilizations" (1896-1915), in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Art Media Resources, University of Chicago, 2009); Ka F. Wong, "Entanglements of Ethnographic Images: Torii Ryūzō's Photographic Record of Taiwan Aborigines (1896-1900)," *Japanese Studies* 24, 3 (Dec., 2004), 283-99. In Japanese, see Komei Sasaki, ed., *Minzokugaku no senkakusha Torii Ryūzō' no mita Ajia* (Suita-shi : Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan, 1993); Torii Ryūzō, *Kanpan ni kizamareta sekai* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Sogo Kenkyu Shiryokan, 1991).

visual method at the time.³¹⁴ His interest in composite photography technology was mostly derived from criminal anthropology, which was just becoming established as a scientific discipline. Tsuboi even participated in the Congress of Criminal Anthropology held in Brussels in 1892 and tried to introduce criminal anthropology to Japan upon his return.³¹⁵

Composite photography was invented by Francis Galton in the 1870s. This technique involves superimposing a number of portraiture photographs [figure 41] by laying one image on top of another. The sensitized plate can capture all the images of a group of people; the final image will thus represent certain “typical” characteristics belonging to that group of people, revealing commonalities between them. The result of the process is that unshared, distinctive features will fade away and only those features in common will remain. More importantly, due to this mechanical and standardized process, Galton believed that this technology was a truly scientific apparatus, arguing that “the merit of the photographic composite lies in its mechanical precision, being subject to no errors beyond those incidental to all photographic production.”³¹⁶ It was designed to extract the typical physiognomic features from a certain group [figure 42]. Galton produced this method in his effort to extract specific physiognomic features particular to certain types of criminals.³¹⁷ Accordingly, after Galton’s composite images were introduced in 1877, by the 1890s they became widely used in the field of

³¹⁴ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “‘Kasane dori shashin’ wo ōyōshitaru kansōho,” *Toyogakugei zasshi* 11.157 (1894): 547-8.

³¹⁵ Sakano Tōru, *Teikoku Nihon to jinrui gakusha: 1884-1952-nen* (Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō, 2005), 48.

³¹⁶ Francis Galton, “Composite Portraits,” *Journal of the Anthropology Institution*, 8 (1878): 134.

³¹⁷ Green, “Veins of Resemblance,” 11.

criminology. The composite images of criminal skulls were featured in both the French and Italian editions of Cesare Lombroso's book, *Criminal Man*, in 1895, and one of Galton's composite photographs appeared in Havelock Elis's *The Criminal*.³¹⁸

Like Galton, Tsuboi's first interest was criminology. In 1894, he published an article called "A Physiognomic Judgment," using superimposed photographs (重ね撮り写真)の術を用いたる観相法) and based on his experiments at a reform school. In the article, Tsuboi showed composite images of each juvenile delinquent found guilty of an offence such as larceny or idleness [figure 43]. In them, he claimed that "by knowing the characters of the prisoners, it becomes possible to remedy their behaviors."³¹⁹

His perception of the relation between this method of superimposition and race and ethnicity is more clearly illustrated in his detailed description of how to use the superimposition method for physiognomy. In an article he contributed to the magazine *Seinenkei* (*The Youth World*), he explained as follows:

- 1) By superimposing portraits from the same region, we obtain a representative image of the region (for example, when saying whether someone is from Sahhyū region or Shinshu region).
- 2) By superimposing portraits from the same tribe, we acquire a representative image of the tribe (for example, when describing whether a person belongs to the Tokugawa family or Maeda family).
- 3) By overlapping portraits from the same racial group, we can have a typical image of that group (for example, in case we describe whether a person is Ainu or Taiwan aboriginal)....

³¹⁸ Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press: 1996), 126.

³¹⁹ Tsuboi, "'Kasane dori shashin' wo ōyōshitaru kansōho," 542-52.

7) By overlapping portraits of madmen with portraits of other sufferers of the same kind of insanity, we get a general image representing the insanity. (For example, whether the madman is a sexual lunatic or melancholic, information which can be obtained from the insane asylum.)

8) By overlapping portraits of those committing the same offense, we can capture a typical image of criminals who perpetrate the same crime (such as a murderer or a swindler).³²⁰

These analyses demonstrate Tsuboi's positivist attempt, by way of overlaying a large number of images, to produce general visual characteristics of a certain group as well as to classify and compare them. The composite images thus reflect the visual positivism of the time, when it was believed that pictorial representations could enable empirical analyses and cataloguing.

In this regard, Allan Sekula correctly points out that Galton's idea was borne out of "the attempt to merge optical and statistical procedures within a single 'organic' operation."³²¹ Specifically, Galton's methods were grounded within the field of social statistics, which had begun to emerge in the 1830s and 1840s, and his composite photography claimed to produce a pictorial version of the "average man" (*l'homme moyen*), a concept which was invented by the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet. Galton was thus known to have invented a powerful method of visualizing Quetelet's composite character; in other words, "the symmetrical bell curve now wore a human face."³²² He further elucidated about the method in relation to the "average man" as follows:

³²⁰ Tsuboi, "'Kasane shashin' no jutsu wo kansō sonotani ōyōsuru kōan," *Seinenkei* 3.12 (1904), 113-14.

³²¹ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October*, 39 (Winter, 1986): 44.

³²² *Ibid.*, 48.

The process is one of pictorial statistics, suitable to give us generic pictures of man such as Quetelet obtained in outline by the ordinary numerical methods of statistics. ... By the process of composites we obtain a picture and not a mere outline ... Composite portraits are, therefore, much more than averages, because they include the features of every individual of whom they are composed. They are the pictorial equivalents of those elaborate statistical tables out of which averages are deduced.³²³

Galton's method was thus portrayed as a sort of "pictorial statistics."³²⁴ Galton and Quetelet shared two important assumptions. First, there was a strong belief in "social mathematics," that exact numbers and a large amount of empirical data can lead to a certain set of social laws or general facts. Quetelet argued "the greater the number of individuals observed, the more do individual peculiarities ... become effaced, and leave in a prominent point of view the general facts."³²⁵ Similarly, Galton claimed that his composite figure is a general image, not based on personal impression, but predicated upon scientific methods, such as measurement and number.³²⁶ Here there was an abrupt move from an individual body to a general type, supported by a large aggregate of empirical data. So, if Quetelet's average man is a numerical-type figure based on social data, Galton's composite photography is a pictorial-type image which was also created through the accumulation of a range of sources. Secondly, both composite characters by Quetelet and Galton were based on the premise of a certain unified schema. All of the individual data were classified and placed within a single geometric system.

³²³ Francis Galton, "Generic Images," *The Nineteenth Century* (July, 1879): 162-3.

³²⁴ Sekula, "The Body," 47.

³²⁵ Adolphe Quetelet, *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties*, trans. R. Knox (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1842), 6; cited by Sekula, "The Body," 20.

³²⁶ Galton, "Generic Images," 158.

For instance, Quetelet charted various individual data, including biological and physical information about each body part according to age, sex and other categories. This individuated information was then aggregated into a graphic curve. Similarly, Galton speaks about the enforcement of a unified frame when creating composite portraits. The photographs “must be similar in attitude and size, but no exactness is necessary in either of these respects. Then, by a simple contrivance, I make two pinholes in each of them, to enable me to hang them up one in front of the other, like a pack of cards, upon the same pair of pins, in such a way that the eyes of all the portraits shall be as nearly as possible superimposed.”³²⁷ In other words, facial features were laid on the top of corresponding parts as shown in the image within the unified frame, producing a general “type” image [figure 44]. Put another way, the composite figures were decontextualized from their original situations and then reformulated into scientific data through the composite photography process.

Tsuboi’s composite figures also share similar foundations. In his article, “A Physiognomic Judgment by Using ‘Superimposing Photographs,’” he collected a dozen images of offenders from officers at a reform school, and then classified them into several types of images representing each offense. For example, the image above [see figure 43] represents idleness, made up on the basis of 15 offenders; the image on the right visualizes larceny, based on pictures of 12 felons; the picture on the left shows us that of a sexual offender, based on

³²⁷ Francis Galton, “Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons into a Single Resultant Figure,” *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879): 132-44.

the photographs of 13 convicts.³²⁸ With regard to the frame of these pictures, Tsuboi put an emphasis on imposing a homogeneous format; he stressed the importance of ensuring they were the same size with the figures looking in the same direction.³²⁹ The resulting images would enable the viewers to easily compare respective offender types. The accumulated empirical data and their arrangement within the unified system, according to Galton, would guarantee the scientific and objective certainty of the resulting image. Like the outcome of the scientific experiments, these composite figures were recontextualized into a scientific image, which seems to be free from prejudice and also mathematically documented.

With the technology of composite photographs in mind, I will investigate below how the method was used in exhibitions to represent race and ethnicity within the frame of a multi-ethnic empire. Both composite photography and exhibition practices are the products of a recontextualizing procedure which removed images from their original contexts and reorganized them within a new syntax. Two aspects of composite photography in particular need to be considered in relation to exhibition practices. First, composite photography is an effort to visually extract a “generic image” of a certain type; second, superimposing techniques are predicated upon the application of a standard and unified frame. By using a number of images, Galton believed that he could obtain a reliable generic image of a certain type.³³⁰ Quetelet’s intent was to create generalization by way of

³²⁸ Tsuboi, “‘Kasane dori shashin’ wo ōyōshitaru kansōho,” 549-50.

³²⁹ Ibid., 549-50.

³³⁰ See Francis Galton, “Generic Images,” in *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1911), 229-33.

accumulated empirical data, while Galton's composite portraiture was more than a generalization, so to speak; it was a concrete and visualized image of a certain type. Similarly, anthropological exhibits based on field research also aim to represent a generalized visual and empirical image of a certain type. Then, just as the superimposed photographs are created within unified frames, the anthropological exhibitions will impose a certain homogeneous system upon all the exhibits so that they can easily be compared and analyzed. In other words, like composite photography, anthropological exhibitions decontextualize exhibits and then rearrange them under systematic categories such as physiology, living spaces or customs. The composite image technique is significant in the context of the multi-ethnicity of the Japanese empire since it blurs and merges multiple images of individual ethnic groups on the basis of samples from these groups. The superimposing technique in itself embodies a technology of a multi-ethnic empire because of the process of incorporating and assimilating many sample images into one image while retaining traces of their individual differences.

Significantly, as a consequence of both generalization and decontextualization, the type image becomes a convenient tool for presentation. Since Galton considers his composite portraits to be pictorial statistics, he can assert that "the object of statistical science is to discover methods of condensing information concerning large groups of allied facts into brief and compendious expressions suitable for discussion."³³¹ Just as the accumulated individual data in statistics are removed from their original conditions and rearticulated in handy

³³¹ Francis Galton, "Statistical Methods" *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (London: Dent, 1907): 33.

informational summaries for presentation, composite portraits and anthropological exhibits are equally displaced from their own original bodies and field sites (respectively), reconfigured into type images and staged for the public.

In the course of readying certain materials for presentation, these staged resources tend to be distanced and separated from their original sites. Johannes Fabian illuminates how this distance can lead to the denial of what he called “coevalness” between the observer and the observed, which is of particular importance in an anthropological context.³³² Fabian explains that the discipline of anthropology, unlike other natural and social sciences, is premised upon the researchers’ coevalness with the things they observe. According to Fabian, coevalness means “living together in the same temporal scheme.” Anthropologists in general live together and share time with the natives to investigate their language, customs and institutions, but presenting the results of their research creates distance and separation. Thus, by the time that their research is presented, evidence of their former coevalness tends to have dissipated.³³³ Moreover, Fabian has examined how anthropology has disavowed temporal coevalness and substituted a spatialization and hierarchization of time. So, in presenting their research, in spite of having lived within the same temporal schema as their participants, anthropologists are staged as living in “another” or a “hierarchically different” time.

³³² Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), chs. 1 and 2; see also Sakai Naoki, *Kungminjuŭi ūi P’oiesisŭ*, trans. Yi Kyu-su into Korean (Kyōnggi-do, P’aju-si: Ch’angbi, 2003), 112-25.

³³³ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, chs. 1 and 2; cited by Sakai, *Kungminjuŭi ūi P’oiesisŭ*, 113.

This distancing and decontextualizing strategy, which was characteristic of Western anthropology, was also reflected in Japanese anthropology. Tsuboi once stated that anthropology regards other ethnicities as “raw materials” that can be presented in anthropological museums. “Our surroundings become the raw materials for our research. Off the shore are mountainous shells mounds ... In the northern region of Hokkaido are the famous Ainu. In the Ryūkyū Islands in southern part of our country are the Ryūkyū people ... We can be thus regarded as living in an anthropological museum or anthropological laboratory.”³³⁴ This indicates how Tsuboi’s anthropology aimed to displace ethnic objects and rearrange them within the anthropological museum. In this rearrangement, what is noteworthy is the denial of coevalness and what Fabian called the “*allochronism* of anthropology.”³³⁵ Especially given the fact that Japan shared most of its history and culture with East Asian nations, this dislocating technique was of significance to Japanese anthropology’s explorations of neighbouring Asian nations. Thus, the aim of this chapter is to illuminate the ways in which the anthropological exhibition, in the course of its presentation, mediated the temporality of its ethnic resources and reframed them within a different temporal scale – primarily a hierarchical time frame. More specifically, these two anthropological exhibitions led not only to the decontextualization of the racial and ethnic identities of other Asian nations but also to the mediation of their own temporality.

³³⁴ Cited by Tomiyama Ichiro, “Kokumin no tanjō to ‘Nihon jinshu,’” *Shisō*, 845, 41 (1994): 46-8.

³³⁵ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 32.

3) Spatialization of Ethnic Types: The 1904 Specimen

Exhibition

In 1904, the TAA organized an Anthropological Specimen Exhibition at the University of Tokyo to take place over three days, from June 3 to 5. Although the exhibition took place within the university, it was open to the public. Records show that there were as many as 6,000 visitors to the exhibition over the course of three days³³⁶ [figures 45, 46].

Tsuboi offers a detailed explanation of the exhibition in an essay written for the *Journal of the Anthropology Society of Tokyo* (*Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*: hereafter *Journal*). He states that the intention of the show was to demonstrate the general vision of anthropology to the public.³³⁷ According to Tsuboi, the Specimen Exhibition consisted of two separate showrooms: the first was meant to explain the purpose of the show and to introduce anthropology as an academic field, while the second room was devoted to various anthropological objects.³³⁸ On the wall of the first room there was an overview of anthropology, in terms of its history as well as its divergent sub-disciplines, along with an outline of the entire exhibition. The entrance to the second room featured a big world map with 50 photographs representing world ethnic groups, intended to show how divergent nations were distributed across the globe.³³⁹ Furthermore, there were illustrations

³³⁶ “Jabbo (Miscellanies),” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 9 (1904): 369.

³³⁷ Tsuboi had a great interest in popularizing the newly emerging discipline of anthropology in Japan at the time. For more on Tsuboi’s effort to popularize anthropology in Japan, see Sakano, *Teikoku Nihon*, 31-5.

³³⁸ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai chinretsu mokuroku,” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 19. 219 (1904): 353-65. Here Tsuboi discussed the five tribes in terms of “race,” but he often interchanged the term “tribe” with “race.”

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 336.

of the human craniums and life-sized models of human skulls from a variety of national backgrounds.³⁴⁰ Right next to the cranium exhibition were a number of anthropological objects on display, including folkloric articles and physiological photographs from each nation. These specimens consisted mainly of objects from five nations, representing five aboriginal groups associated with Japan, including the native populations of Taiwan, the Malay Aborigines, the Aborigines of the South Sea Islands, the natives of New Guinea and the Ainu. Each ethnic group was represented by four sorts of objects: photographs, physical ornaments, various native tools and weaponry [figure 47]. Each nation was on display in a horizontal trajectory with their four different kinds of objects arranged vertically for comparison. For example, from north to south, the five aboriginal groups were arranged in order: Taiwanese, Malay, South Sea Islanders, natives of New Guinea and the Ainu. Then, from the east to the west, four kinds of visual materials were lined up: photographs, ornaments, tools and weaponry.³⁴¹ Matsuda Kyōko claims that this method of displaying native cultures was based on the logic that “the nations are, on the one hand, restructured through the systems of established categories and, on the other hand, the differences among these nations are made through the comparisons of classified materials.”³⁴² To put it another way, the nations in Asia were here systemically classified, categorized and compared with each other to lead to an understanding of the relations among them.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, 332-6. These eight skulls represented eight nations as follows: Ainu, Taiwan Aborigines, Modern Japanese, Ancient Japanese, Okinawans, Koreans, Chinese and Papuan.

³⁴¹ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai kaisai shushi sekkei oyobi kōka,” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 19.219 (1904): 337-8.

³⁴² Matsuda Kyōko, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōshō* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), 162.

As is elucidated in the title of the event, “Anthropological Specimen Exhibition,” the TAA wanted the exhibition to be a scientific study of the human race. First, the show was placed within a laboratory setting against a plain white backdrop, making the exhibits look more objective and academic. Moreover, by labelling the artifacts at the event as “*hyōhon*” (specimens), the exhibition was representing its materials as the results of scientific experiments. According to Elizabeth Edwards, the idea of type specimens, one of the most significant elements in the field of nineteenth-century anthropology, was borrowed from the natural sciences, which were well established in eighteenth-century Europe.³⁴³ Like the specimen in the natural sciences, the idea of this type denies, isolates and suppresses its contexts so that physical characteristics and optical differences can be easily accentuated against a plain background. The resulting images, thanks to their simplified contexts, are easy to classify, compare and quantify. This classificatory and comparative framework employed in the exhibition, in fact, epitomizes the attempt to give scientific credibility to the anthropological field. Indeed, Tsuboi, like many nineteenth-century anthropologists, aspired to elevate the emerging field to the status of a natural science and thus attempted to apply many of the methods of the biological sciences, using not only the notion of specimens but also such methods as categorizing, comparative systems and accurate measurement of the objects, “the stress being on observation, recording

³⁴³ Elizabeth Edwards, “The Image As Anthropological Document: Photographic ‘Types’: The Pursuit of Method,” *Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 3 (1990): 240.

and classification.”³⁴⁴ For instance, at this Specimen show, the displays featuring pictures of craniums and life-sized human skulls made the show look like a scientific study – a laboratory experiment on human beings.³⁴⁵

In the course of establishing the newly emerging discipline of anthropology as a scientific field, Tsuboi applied comparative and systematic methods to the study of human beings, especially by classifying groups of people into several ethnic/tribal types. In his writings on the definition of anthropology, Tsuboi attempted to classify the field into three different areas for the purpose of the study: biological, descriptive and historical anthropology.³⁴⁶ Biological anthropology is the anatomical, physiological and psychological study of humans, and is thus mainly concerned with what the human being is in general, regardless of time and space; descriptive anthropology deals with folk customs and ethnology and is interested in elucidating various cultures from disparate regions; and lastly, historical anthropology explores the origins and the formations of the human race, as well as the living conditions of human beings in the past.³⁴⁷ Hence, the materials displayed in the Specimen show corresponded to the three categorized anthropological sections. In applying these theories to actual surveys in the field, a couple of elements emerged in Tsuboi’s account as essential factors in the systemic research on humans: “the physical type, physiology, language,

³⁴⁴ Elizabeth Edwards, “Introduction,” *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, 1992) 6.

³⁴⁵ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai chinretsu mokuroku,” 336.

³⁴⁶ Tsuboi, “Jinruigaku to kinsetsushogaku tono kubetsu,” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 9 (1894): 425-6.

³⁴⁷ Tsuboi, “Jinruigaku to kinsetsushogaku tono kubetsu,” 425-6. See also Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Fujinto jinruigaku” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 183 (1901).

custom and habits.”³⁴⁸ According to Tsuboi, these units are those by which a group of people can be compared and differentiated from each other. Accordingly, at the 1904 exhibition, each exhibit of photographs, physical ornaments, tools and weaponry represented the five elements – physical type, physiology, language, custom and habits of each ethnic group.³⁴⁹ Systemic arrangement of races was similarly adopted in the Scientific Anthropology Pavilion (学術人類館) of the 5th National Industrial Exposition held one year earlier in Osaka. The Anthropology Pavilion³⁵⁰ [figures 48a, 48b] at the Osaka Exposition was the first exhibition organized by the TAA.³⁵¹ The anthropology section in large part consisted of four different sections: photographs, native villages, a map of the races and anthropological specimens. The photography section was devoted to displaying the physiognomy of selected ethnic people whereas the native villages section exhibited their physical and physiological aspects as well as their customs. Further, the map of races section displayed the ethnic groups in terms of their distribution and organization whereas the specimen section represented their customs and habits.³⁵² Here, it can be assumed that items were categorized as they

³⁴⁸ Matsuda Kyōko, “Seiki tenkankini okeru 'Jinshu' wo kataru ti - jinruigakusha Tsuboi Shōgoro no jinshu gainen wo megutte,” *Nihon shisōshi kenkyukai kaihō* 16 (Nov. 21, 1998), 12-13; Matsuda, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōshō*, 148.

³⁴⁹ Matsuda Kyōko, “Seiki tenkankini okeru 'Jinshu' wo kataru ti - jinruigakusha Tsuboi Shōgoro no jinshu gainen wo megutte,” 12-13.

³⁵⁰ For general information about the 5th Osaka National Exposition, see *Taigokai naikoku kankyō hakurankai hōkosho* (Osaka: Osakashi yakusho shōkōka, 1904). Also, for its anthropological pavilion, see Itō Mamiko, *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), ch. 3; and Matsuda Kyōkō, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōshō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), chs. 4 and 5. See also Sakamoto Hiroko, “Tsūkokoku minzokushui no shinwa – Shinkaron, jinshukan, hakurankai jiken” *Shisō* 849 (1995).

³⁵¹ The details of how the Anthropology Pavilion was set up are known today primarily through Matsumura Akira’s essay, which was also published in the *Journal*: Matsumura Akira, “Osaka no Jinruikan,” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 205 (1903): 289-92.

³⁵² Matsumura Akira, “Osaka no Jinruikan,” 289-92.

were in the 1904 Specimen show, according to physical type, physiology, custom and habits. Furthermore, the effect of passing through these four or five types of displays is analogous to the experience of observing composite photographs. After seeing a couple of portraits and performances by real people representing these different races, viewers would register a number of specific features of each ethnicity in their own minds, supposedly gaining an empirical, visual picture of each ethnic type. At Tokyo University's Specimen show, too, the audience was led to compare each categorized object with those of other nations and come to understand which attributes were different from others and which features were common to a certain group, leading to a typological image. In this sense, the exhibits at both the anthropological pavilion and the Specimen show functioned like three-dimensional composite photography where only specific traits were registered while other unshared images were left to fade away. While Galton's pictures were made on the basis of physical attributes, these three-dimensional composite characters were a compound of the physiology and cultural customs of people. What is more important is that these "type" images, due to their extraction and generalization, not only seemed to be a scientific and observable reality but were also convenient tools for classification, taxonomy and comparison.

These ethnic objects were mostly the result of the anthropological field work done by the TAA. The newspaper *Osaka Asahi* described these exhibits at the 5th Osaka Exposition in 1903 as follows: "The specimens borrowed from the TAA arrived yesterday, and Matsumura, a leading member of the association, came in person to be involved with setting up of their display. The

list of the specimens is as follows: Ainu's daily necessities (three items), Chinese objects (five items), Korean objects (five items), [...] Samoan club (one), Queensland weapon (one)."³⁵³

Most of the objects and artifacts displayed at the 1904 Specimen show were probably the same items used at the Osaka Expositions, obtained from TAA's field research.³⁵⁴ That these archeological objects were brought in by TAA scholars contributed to the perception of the exhibition as showcasing scientific and intellectual activity. To put it another way, by being grounded within a laboratory-like, seemingly academic setting, these typologies no longer looked like simple stereotypical images; rather, they appeared to be "scientific," resulting from years of research and from the accumulation of knowledge.

Much more important was that these visual technologies often turned general assumptions about ethnic and national character into scientific truth.³⁵⁵ In a time when scientific knowledge was equated with the measurement and accumulation of empirical data, visual representation emerged as a material representation of empiricist ideas.³⁵⁶ Hence, as David Green claimed, visual technologies entered the anthropological discipline at a moment when "demand for modes of empirical observation and documentation, and techniques of

³⁵³ *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (March 1, 1903), cited by Kwŏn Hyŏk Hŭi, "A Study on 'Displays of the Koreans' in Industrial Exhibitions of Japan: Focus on the 5th National Industrial Exhibition (1903) and Tokyo Industrial Exhibition (1907)" (PhD dissertation, Seoul National University, 2007), 35.

³⁵⁴ However, the photographs at the exhibit, which represented the physiological aspects of each nation, were mostly borrowed from previously published anthropological books. For example, for photographs of New Guinea, J.P. Thomson's *British New Guinea* (George Philip and Son Ltd., 1892) was used, while for the Malay aborigines, Robert Brown's *The Races of Mankind* (published by Cassell Petter & Galpin, London, late 1800s) was used for the exhibition. Tsuboi Shōgorō, "Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai chinretsu mokuroku," 356-63.

³⁵⁵ Edwards, "Introduction," 6-7.

³⁵⁶ Green, "Veins of Resemblance," 9.

quantitative measurement and analysis were uppermost.”³⁵⁷ Although the visual objects at anthropological shows were themselves made out of certain conditions and intentions of those who presented them, visual images are often regarded as evidence of scientific research or as a transparent reflection of their real context. However, it needs to be understood that objects on display are the product of highly selective procedures and composed within specific sets of exhibitionary codes. Exhibits at the 1904 show, for instance, were the results of a very eclectic search for ethnic and racial signs of what the TAA considered to be representative of the ancient Japanese. Moreover, the method of display followed a very specific pattern that was widely used at the shows for natural sciences. For example, all the patterns of display were uniform and clear and each item was displayed in isolation, clearly defined with labels and placed against a plain background.

Like Edwards’s type image which isolates and suppresses its contexts, typologized images often decontextualize objects when they are removed from their initial surroundings. Edwards, in her introduction to *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*, explains that photography is the “insistent dislocation of time and space.”³⁵⁸ She goes on to discuss the nature of photography’s temporal and spatial dislocation, particularly in terms of photography’s ability to freeze moments in the past and bring them into the present, as well as its technological ability to frame the world. Like photographs used in anthropological fieldwork, the very power of visual technology working at the exhibition was also “the ability to appropriate and decontextualize time and space and those who exist

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 13.

³⁵⁸ Edwards, “Introduction,” 7.

within it.”³⁵⁹ Moreover, the arrested time and framed world of the exhibition system created the possibility of other rearrangements. The dislocated objects of the respective nations at the 1904 exhibition, for instance, were spatially reproduced within a new temporal scope in specific relation to Japan.

In this regard, the spatial arrangement of the belongings of various ethnic groups at the 1904 Specimen show alluded to the temporality of the other regions around them. The ways in which the artifacts of other nations were on display in conjunction with Japanese objects will best explain this aspect. [see figure 47] On the two tables located in the west end of the event room, the specimens from Japan – respectively from “the Japanese Stone Age” and “Japanese Ancient Times” – were on exhibit. Japan’s ancient time was visualized through various archaeological objects, such as stone implements, clay figures, round jade stones and Yayoi pottery, which had been excavated from the Japanese archipelago.³⁶⁰

Much more important was the juxtaposition of the artifacts from Japan’s prehistoric time with the tools and machinery of the Asian natives, allowing visitors to easily compare Japan’s antiquity with present aboriginal peoples.³⁶¹ In other words, by rearranging the archaeological specimens within the display, Japan’s pottery and stone implements were put side by side with the tools and weaponry of the other five ethnicities. Tsuboi wrote about this in detail:

In terms of ethnic objects, since they are on display in the direction of east and west according to the respective tribes, when these antiquities are

³⁵⁹ Ibid., 7.

³⁶⁰ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai kaisai shushi sekkei oyobi kōka,” 337-8.

³⁶¹ Matsuda, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōsho*, 162-3.

looked in line with the north and south direction, it can be assumed that the racial relations between these tribes are not unrelated. ... On the one hand, there is an ancient polished stone slate, which was uncovered in Japan and, on the other hand, there is a polished slate, which is now being used in New Guinea; there is a crescent-shaped jade on display, which was from Japan's ancient times, on the one hand, and there are various ornaments made out of jade on display, which are currently being used in Taiwan ... When studied like this, there is a lot to learn.³⁶²

The ways of life of these other Asian nations were here meant to be compared directly with Japan's past. In other words, people living in other parts of Asia were instantly regarded as "living fossils," which could be useful in illuminating Japan's past.³⁶³

The perception that certain spaces belong to different temporal stages of development is a reminder of Johannes Fabian's "spatialization of time." To put this another way, the idea that indigenous people live in "another time" leads to "a reading of time on the clock of the globe."³⁶⁴ In terms of the Specimen show, this view was predicated upon the hypothesis that other Asian nations were, judging from their present lives at that moment, temporally less advanced than Japan within the hierarchy of racial order.

In line with this logic, Japan was searching for the "missing link" that could show a connection between Japan's prehistoric time and modern "primitive" nations. This search for a missing link was based upon a hypothesis that had already been prefigured among Victorian evolutionists. Peter J. Bowler's article, "From 'savage' to 'primitive,'" nicely illuminates how Darwin and other

³⁶² Tsuboi, "Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai kaisai shushi sekkei oyobi kōka," 337.

³⁶³ Other part of Asia is thus what Anne McClintock called 'anachronistic space,' McClintock, 36-37.

³⁶⁴ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 11-35.

evolutionists' contact with primitive nations affected their attitude toward the origin of humans.³⁶⁵ Significantly, throughout this process, the marginalized people were primarily interpreted "as relics of the primitive state of culture from which all races had progressed."³⁶⁶ Judging from the current social and political situation, these evolutionists confidently assumed that the current European culture was the most developed form of human civilization; accordingly, people living in other parts of the world were simply dismissed as unable to evolve to the level of European culture. Based upon the hypothesis that modern humans evolved both socially and biologically from apes, it became a common activity among evolutionists to compare the brain size and physical features of apes and the modern primitive cultures. According to Bowler, "by the end of the century the evolutionists had taken the extremely fragmentary fossil record and used it to construct a linear sequence which appeared to bridge the crucial gap between humans and apes."³⁶⁷ In this way, primitive people were regarded as living fossils, preserving the ancient character of the human race in the present. Among other things, it produced the self-claimed hypothesis that European culture was the most advanced in the world. As with Victorian evolutionists, TAA scholars regarded people living in other parts of Asia as the living cultural relics of Japan's past. Throughout the entire series of their *Journal* publications during the prewar era, TAA anthropologists focused on the discussion of how the fragments of the living fossils could be used to reconstruct a linear sequence from primordial Japan to the

³⁶⁵ Peter Bowler, "From 'Savage' to 'Primitive': Victorian Evolutionism and the Interpretation of Marginalized Peoples," *Antiquity* 66 (1992): 721-9.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 722.

³⁶⁷ Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: B. Blackwell, 1989), 99.

present. Artifacts from Japan's Stone Age, in particular, were often juxtaposed with those used by the present people in Hokkaido or Taiwan, drawing a comparison between the visual patterns and shapes of the objects.³⁶⁸

This spatialization of time via racial type images seems to be more clearly illuminated in the actual racial map, again displayed at the 1903 Osaka exposition as a section called "the map of races." Matsumura Akira,³⁶⁹ who described the displays at the Anthropology Pavilion in an essay published in the *Journal*, outlined the map as follows:

[It] was designed by Professor Tsuboi and painted by Ono Ungai. The map was 2.7m in height and 4.5m in width, and it was attached to a wooden board with a tilt of roughly 45 degrees. On the surface of the map, painted dolls were set up, and they were supposed to represent about 50 races across the globe. Numbers were also written beside each doll so that you could match the name of the race on the panel attached at the bottom of the map. This map of races intended to show, at a glance, how divergent races are distributed around a variety of regions and how different their appearances and their customs are. This racial mapping can reveal how diversely world races are distributed in terms of their customs and physical characteristics.³⁷⁰

An idea of this racial map, which no longer exists, can be constructed from a map representing people from Manchuria and Russia, which was also created by the TAA [figure 49]. At the exhibition, it is said that the representative physical attributes of each race were visualized through the painted dolls with their various

³⁶⁸ For example, see Tsuboi, "Kaiduka dogū no menbō no kiinaru yuenwo setsumesu," *Tōyogakugei zasshi*; Tsuboi, "Hokkaido sekki jidai doki to honshu sekkijidai doki mono," *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi* 11. 16; Saitō Tadashi et. al., *Nihon kōkōgaku Senshu*, Vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Tsukiji Shokan, 1971-86), 158-85.

³⁶⁹ The details of how the Anthropology Pavilion was set up are known today primarily through Matsumura Akira's essay, which was also published in the *Journal*. See Matsumura Akira, "Osaka no Jinruikan," 289-92.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 289-92.

skin colors and native costumes. In other words, each race was typologized by means of a coloured doll and then displayed across the world map. The degree of racial distribution was shown spatially, which helped visitors to understand the differences among these races and their placement in the world at a glance.

Tsuboi also put up a guiding board beside the map which said, “If the world is observed from a distance, it is apparent that people have different appearances, physical conditions, manners and customs, etc. This world racial map³⁷¹ is thus designed to show the typical features of various races chosen from 50 different places.”³⁷² All in all, the racial map, thanks to its extraction and generalization of the images of different races, functioned as a composite photograph in a geographical sense. However, this racial map, in a sense, also embodied the ‘spatialization of time’ wherein each region was assigned to a particular time frame. Typologized human figures, especially when overlapped with distinctively uncivilized customs, were not only the reference point for the physiological attributes of certain ethnic groups but also the index of specific temporality, which could be judged from each group’s vestiges of primitivity. Seen at a glance, the map was manufactured in a way that caused the distinctive temporality of each geographical region to become spatially spread out.

³⁷¹ The TAA had previously experimented with the idea of racial mapping. Volume 203 of the *Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Association* (February 1903) included a short article on ‘the Map of Races’ in the ‘miscellaneous’ section. It says that “several years ago, Professor Tsuboi planned on the making a racial map where the similarities and differences of the physical attributes and customs of multifarious races can be observed at a glance. This came to be edited and published by Torii and Ono [...]” In other words, the racial map at the Exposition was simply an enlarged and reprinted image of this map, which was published in an earlier book. See Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jabbo (Miscellanies),” *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*, no. 203 (Feb. 1903): 207-9, cited in Kwōn Hyōk Hūi, “A Study,” 36.

³⁷² Tsuboi, “Jinruikan and Jinrui-chizu,” *Tōyō gakuzei zasshi* Vol. 20, no. 259 (1903): 163-6.

This hypothetical association between temporality and particular ethnicity is stated more overtly in various writings on the Ainu by other members of the TAA. As Tomiyama Ichiro contended, if the Ainu's primitiveness was discovered by Western anthropologists, the development of Japanese anthropology was impelled, among other things, by the effort to associate the Ainu with people in prehistoric times – most specifically with the Stone Age. These attempts to uncover the culture of the Stone Age from the materials of the Ainu were largely based on analyses of patterns found on earthenware, as well as on comparisons of body and bone structure. For instance, a number of scholars in the TAA sought to compare the patterns on woodcrafts used by the present Ainu with those of earthenware from the Stone Age, eventually concluding that the Ainu were also a prehistoric race.³⁷³ Tomiyama therefore maintained as a basic principle of this analysis that certain characteristics, such as particular patterns discovered in the Ainu, once they had been described, could then easily be compared with those of prehistoric times.³⁷⁴ As a result of this redrawn genealogy, from the Japanese perspective these natives could be viewed as ancient, living in what Fabian called “another time” and thus existing in a different temporality from the Japanese.

To return to the 1904 Specimen show, materials from ancient Japan were displayed at the west end of the exhibit, and next to them were objects showing Korean folk customs and culture. These ethnological materials included hats for men, women and children, clothing for winter and summer, shoes, ornaments and so forth. Photographs of the Korean people were also exhibited; these came from

³⁷³ Tomiyama, “Kokumin no tanjō to ‘Nihon jinshu,’” 42-3.

³⁷⁴ Ibid., 42.

S. Culin's book, *Korean Games*. Korean earthenware, mirrors made of iron and fragments with gold plating were also displayed in a way that encouraged their comparison with objects from ancient Japan.³⁷⁵ Tsuboi specifically mentioned that "in terms of materials from both countries, the comparison of their earthenware, in particular, seems very interesting since it enables us to investigate the relations between the two countries."³⁷⁶ What was seen as "interesting relations between the two countries" by Tsuboi was later discussed further by a number of TAA scholars. Imanishi Ryū and Shibata Joōkei, for instance, uncovered a Kimhae shell mound in the southern part of Korea, and they investigated these antiquities from Korea in association with Yayoi pottery and Kofun period artifacts from Japan.³⁷⁷ These rearrangements of artifacts in many ways insinuated that Japan and the regions surrounding it were ethnically and culturally related, though a hierarchical rank seemed to be implied. Furthermore, this rearrangement implied racial and ethnic affinities – and, as Tsuboi's explanation about Korean artifacts indicates, these were developed for the sake of the multi-ethnicism, a notion which will be explored through the example of the 1912 Exposition.

4) Spatialization and the Interaction of Types: The 1912 Colonial Exposition

³⁷⁵ Tsuboi Shōgorō, "Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai chinretsu mokuroku," 363.

³⁷⁶ Tsuboi Shōgorō, "Jinruigaku kyōshitsu hyōhon tenrankai kaisai shushi sekkei oyobi kōka," 339.

³⁷⁷ Imanishi Ryuū, "Chōsennite hakkenseru kaizukani tsuite," *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Zasshi*, 24.259 (1907), 6-13; Shibata Jōkei, "Chōsen kinkaino kaizuka," *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Zasshi* 24.273 (1911), 95-8.

According to Tessa Morris-Suzuki, the term “scientific” discourse implies the ability “to look dispassionately on the raw material ... and amass, record, and classify irrefutable facts.”³⁷⁸ In other words, the magical power of the word “science” on which the 1904 Specimen show very much relied lay in its ability to let the anthropological exhibits speak for themselves and render the exhibition organizers invisible. The exhibit’s laboratory-like setting installed within an academic institution led the audience to forget that the objects had been carefully arranged according to certain logic. The suggestion of “empirical accuracy, objectivity, and neutral reflection of reality”³⁷⁹ obscured the existence of the organizers and made the objects look as if they had been classified according to scientific categories. But while the exhibitionary techniques used in the 1904 Exhibition rendered the exhibits self-explanatory and the anthropologists invisible, the Japanese anthropologists at the 1912 Colonial Exposition emerged as the all-seeing eye. The 1904 show attempted not simply to demonstrate that other Asian nations were culturally less developed but also to suggest that they were ethnically related. Thus the Japanese empire aimed to claim that their colonies were racially and ethnically related to them, rather than simply colonized by them. In the 1912 Colonial Exposition, on the other hand, the Japanese empire publicly embraced all of the nations.

The 1912 Colonial Exposition was held in October and November at Ueno Park in Tokyo. This was the first colonial exposition to exhibit cultures and

³⁷⁸ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Ethnic Engineering: Scientific Racism and Public Opinion Surveys in Midcentury Japan,” *Positions* 8.2 (2000): 508.

³⁷⁹ Taylor Atkins, *Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 82.

objects from Japan's colonies, and it celebrated the end of the Meiji period as well as the beginning of the Taisho period. Though Japan had held a number of national expositions that featured its colonies and its sphere of influence prior to this, the 1912 Exposition can be called the first full-fledged "colonial exposition."³⁸⁰ As Tsuboi's aforementioned – at the beginning of this chapter – lecture illustrates, the exposition paved the way for Japan's multi-ethnic empire. Thanks to victory in the Russo-Japanese war and the annexation of Korea, Japan was now able to show off its imperial reach, which included Taiwan and Korea and extended as far as South Sakhalin and South Manchuria. The intention of the exposition was spelled out in an official report, *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hokoku* (hereafter *Takushoku Hokoku*):

Japan, after colonizing Taiwan as a result of the Sino-Japanese war, was able to acquire the Sakhalin area as well as Kwantung Province, thanks to the victory over the Russians, and annexation of Korea, which led to Japan's current expanded territory. ... By introducing objects from Taiwan, Korea and Sakhalin, as well as from Hokkaido, to the Japanese archipelago, this exposition, held in Tokyo, intends to promote the colonial industry and increase their production as well as evoking colonial progress.³⁸¹

This report shows that the exposition was targeted at its newly acquired territories. The goal of the exposition was to demonstrate the fruitful outcome of Japan's colonial administration and its expansive cultural diversity.³⁸²

³⁸⁰ Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon*, 52.

³⁸¹ *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (*The Official Report of the Colonial Exposition*) (Tokyo: Takushoku Hakurankai Zanshu Toriatukaijo, 1913), 3-5.

³⁸² Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon*, 52.

The event site was divided into five main parts which were designed to represent each colony: Taiwan, Korea, South Sakhalin, Kwantung Leased Territory and Hokkaido. [figure 50] Each colonial section was planned to display industrial, agricultural and ethnic objects, and each featured cultural performances, including native villages.³⁸³ It is notable that Tsuboi and his group were again involved in displaying the native villages. This was, to be sure, a collaboration between anthropology and imperialism. As in the Osaka Exposition, the TAA again invited aboriginal people from Japan's colonies and then had them actually live in the native houses built on the exhibition site.³⁸⁴ The way in which the TAA was associated with the exposition was also detailed in the *Takushoku hakurankai*:

Realizing that showing natural products and industrial products of colonies is not satisfactory, the Colonial exposition invited people of diverse races, with the help of Professor Tsuboi Shōgorō, under the aegis of the Empire. This will enable us to observe their psychological aspects as well as their customs and their living conditions. ... The Tokyo Anthropological Association, in particular, has participated in this exhibition. Ishida Shuzo was asked to leave for Hokkaido and Sakhalin on July 23, and Ono Nobutaro for Taiwan and Korea on July 24, and they returned around early September. Their native housing and villages were built on the basis of the information collected through their field work and due to the delay, these native houses were completed only two days after the opening of the exposition.³⁸⁵

In other words, the native villages at the exposition were based on materials collected from field work by the members of the TAA. According to Tsuboi, a

³⁸³ *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku*, 44-5.

³⁸⁴ Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon*, 52.

³⁸⁵ *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku*, 63-4.

total of 18 people from the Hokkaido-Ainu, Sakhalin-Ainu, Taiwan aborigines, Giryakku and Orocco groups were living on display at the exhibition site³⁸⁶ (see figures 51 and 52).

It should be remembered that the practice of exhibiting native villages at Japanese exposition sites began in the Anthropological pavilion at the 1903 National Industrial Exposition in Osaka, which was also organized by the TAA. Inside the pavilion in Osaka, a variety of native dwellings were set up in a large room (990 m²), and different ethnic tribes were not only actually living there, but also performed music and sold ethnic objects to visitors.³⁸⁷ This was intended to show the tribes' everyday ways of living. A total of 26 people from 9 ethnic tribes were on display, including the Ainu, Ryūkyū, Taiwan Aborigines, Malayan Natives, Javanese, and Indians and so on.³⁸⁸ The native village section built the typical houses of each tribe and had natives from each group live there, wearing costumes, eating food and practicing their native arts. Overall, this section had the purpose of providing anthropological lessons "not only by comparing appearances and body structures, but also by perceiving behaviours," particularly through the observation of real human beings from diverse ethnic nations.³⁸⁹ According to Zeynep Çelik,³⁹⁰ the idea of displaying indigenous people to show anthropological 'types' originated with French researcher Joseph Marie de Gérando, who first suggested bringing humans for observation as "pure specimens." Indeed, along

³⁸⁶ Tsuboi, "Meijirendaito Nihon zuhan naino jinshu," 2.

³⁸⁷ Tsuboi, "Jinruikan and Jinrui-chizu," 163-6.

³⁸⁸ Initially, two Korean and Chinese women were planned to be included in the native village display, but the plan was dropped due to severe protest from those countries.

³⁸⁹ Tsuboi, "Jinruikan and Jinrui-chizu," 163-6.

³⁹⁰ Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 17.

with the establishment of anthropology as a popular and academic discipline, almost every world's fair in Europe began to include displays of colonial people in order to get "better informed about the races inhabiting the colonies and protectorates," and to "show the different racial types."³⁹¹ With regards to the displays of living aboriginals, Çelik explains that 'natives' were placed in 'authentic' settings, dressed in 'authentic' costumes, and made to perform 'authentic' activities that seemed to belong to another age. In other words, rather than providing better information on the colonies, these living Others functioned more as "tableaux vivants, spectacles that fixed societies in history."³⁹²

What quickly became clear is that the 1912 exposition aimed to bring all the ethnicities to one place and then to rearticulate them within the vision of a multi-ethnic Japanese empire. Tsuboi's public lecture at the "Tourism Hall" of the event site began as follows:

I imagined that it would be great if I could gather all of our multifarious races into one place... When I was consulted by the exposition committee about the convention of various races in the empire, I not only expressed my agreement but was also pleased to take responsibility for carrying out the plan ... I was able to invite a total of 18 people, male, female, young and old, including Orokko, Giryakku, Sakhalin-Ainu, Hokkaido-Ainu and Taiwan aborigines.³⁹³

After this short introduction to the exposition and his lecture, the rest of Tsuboi's speech attempted to spell out in detail the characteristics of each nation gathered "under the roof of the Japanese empire." In case of the Ainu, for example, Tsuboi

³⁹¹ Ibid., 19.

³⁹² Ibid., 18.

³⁹³ Meijirendaito Nihon zuhan naino jinshu," 1-20.

stated that they have “sunken eyes and dark eyebrows, and the men have a fair amount of hair, and their strong hair is very rare among all the races all over the world. ... Their houses are built on Hottate-bashira with thatched roofs, surrounded by thatch, and the interior is made up of two rooms, a smaller one at the entrance and a bigger one in the back”³⁹⁴ [see figure 52]. These detailed illustrations of the various cultures, in some sense, confirmed that the exposition’s intention was to demonstrate the multi-ethnicity of the Japanese empire.

It is crucial to note that Tsuboi and the TAA were strong sponsors of the mixed-nation theory on the origins of the Japanese. Oguma Eiji places Tsuboi as a leading propagandist for the mixed-nation theory at the time of Japan’s imperial expansion. According to Oguma, Tsuboi, as the leader of an emerging discipline, was very much concerned with popularizing it among the public. His emphasis on multi-ethnicity was part of his ultimate effort to serve the cause of Japanese imperial expansion and assimilation.³⁹⁵ Initially, Tsuboi and TAA scholars paid a lot of attention to exploring “Japan’s own tradition and customs by researching its relics and antiquities.” However, in the wake of the Russo-Japanese war, they began to turn their attention away from the Japanese archipelago and more toward the territories that were or would be its colonies.³⁹⁶ For instance, the common ancestry theory – a theory that asserted a connection between Korea and Japan, acting as one branch of Japan’s multi-ethnic claim – was an obvious example of how the mixed-nation theory served to justify the colonization of other nations. At

³⁹⁴ Ibid, 4.

³⁹⁵ Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 12-15.

³⁹⁶ Ch’oe Sŏg-yŏng, *Ilche ūi tonghwa ideollogi ūi ch’angch’ul* (Sŏul T’ŭkpyŏlsi: Sŏgyŏng Munhwasa, 1997), 307-8.

the time of Japan's annexation of Korea, the claim that Japan and Korea had common ancestors became popular in Japan, particularly in the fields of anthropology and journalism, and it was often used in the service of legitimizing the annexation. Around 1910, around the time of the annexation, *Taiyō*, one of the major monthly magazines in Japan, featured a number of articles in regards to Korean issues that were particularly supportive of the common ancestry theory. Ukita Kazutami, the editor-in-chief of the magazine at the time, claimed that "the Japanese and Koreans were originally a single nation, of the same race and with the same culture (*dōshu dōbun*: 同種同文)."³⁹⁷ Ōkuma Shigenobu also claimed that the Japanese empire was different from the European powers since Japan was basically extending the same nation and colonizing people of the same race whereas their European counterparts mostly colonized different nations and different races.³⁹⁸ By the same logic, a number of scholars even used the term "restoration" (復古), not "colonization," referring to a restoration of the ancient brotherhood.³⁹⁹ In particular, the fact that Torii Ryūzō, the leader of the TAA after Tsuboi, publicly supported the common ancestry theory of Korea and Japan demonstrates how closely TAA was allied with the cause of Japanese expansionism.⁴⁰⁰ Indeed, while dispatching many researchers, including Torii Ryūzō, for field work in Korea, Taiwan and Manchuria, Tsuboi played a

³⁹⁷ Ukita Kazutami, "Kankoku heigō no kōka ikan," *Taiyō*, vol. 16, no. 3 (Oct., 1910): 3; cited by Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 87.

³⁹⁸ Ōkuma Shigenobu, "Nippon minzoku no bōchō ni tsuite," *Taiyō*, vol. 16, no.15 (1910): 6-7; cited by Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 87-88.

³⁹⁹ Kume Kunitake, "Gatpei ni hizaru hukunari," *Tokyo nitsinitsi shinbun* (Aug. 31, 1910), cited in Ch'oe, *Ilche ūi tonghwa ideollogi ūi ch'angch'ul*, 316-17.

⁴⁰⁰ Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 54-55, 85-86, 126-127.

significant role in supporting the mixed-nation theory.⁴⁰¹ If Torii's field work was, according to Tessa Morris-Suzuki, designed to "paint a picture of a prehistoric Japanese population drawn from all corners of the imperial territories and beyond," Tsuboi's writings, lectures and exhibitions celebrated the melting-pot culture of Japan's expanded sphere in the contemporary world.⁴⁰²

It was at exactly the time when Japan was extending its empire that Tsuboi embraced these newly acquired nations and redefined their racial and ethnic identities under the auspices of what Japan called the "Asian empire." Clearly, Tsuboi's anthropology supported a nationalist vision and Tsuboi harboured respect – as well as antipathy – for the Western world. He accordingly desired to define Asian racial and ethnic identities in opposition to their Western counterparts, and this came to be more apparent in the TAA under Torii's leadership, when it was embodied in theories of East Asian ethnology and archaeology.⁴⁰³ Using the new scientific knowledge surrounding race and ethnicity, such as physiology, language and custom, Torii and other anthropologists attempted to redraw and reproduce Asian nations as an "ethnic whole."⁴⁰⁴ However, it is important to note that the common ancestry theory and multi-nation claim concentrated only on Japan's ancient relations to other races. Japanese anthropologists at the time mostly agreed that Japan and other Asian nations were ethnically related, but the research on these associations focused on

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 54-8.

⁴⁰² Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Becoming Japanese: Imperial Expansion and Identity Crises in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy, 1900-1930*, ed. Sharon A. Minichiello (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 172.

⁴⁰³ Pransanjit Duara, "Ethnos (*minzoku*)," 11.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 10.

the distant past alone, and they considered these other Asian nations mainly as sites for the discovery of information about their pasts. It was thus not an exaggeration to say that the research trips by Japanese anthropologists were undertaken as a sort of “time travelling,” tracing back to their pasts.

Japan’s relations to other Asian nations were henceforth visually embodied in the displays of the exposition. The techniques of displaying and decorating each colonial pavilion, according to the *Takushoku Hōkoku* of the exposition, were specifically designed to feature the cultural traits that could contribute to the notion of multi-ethnicism. For instance, the *Takushoku Hōkoku* states that “the decorations for the objects at display are ... intended to represent their own cultural features peculiar to each colony.”⁴⁰⁵ So, if the Taiwanese pavilion was decorated with a tea garden and arbours unique to the colony, the Karafuto pavilion featured a wilderness scene that was unique to theirs. [figure 53] The Korean pavilion was adorned with *Namdaemun* (the Southern Gate) and *Sōkuram* Grotto and there were temples and pagodas in Kyōngju.⁴⁰⁶ [figure 54] In addition to the main exhibition hall, there was a tourism pavilion where films and photographs showing the natural scenery and cultural customs of the colonies were displayed, which added more facets to the multi-ethnicism of the exposition. As these instructions about the decoration of each colonial pavilion indicate, the display for each ethnic group, while containing cultural attributes particular to their own colony and distinctive from Japan, was designed to contribute to the picture of multi-ethnicism as seen from the Japanese perspective. In other words,

⁴⁰⁵ *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku*, 71.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 71-4.

objects and items in each colonial section represented a certain type image of each individual ethnic group and those groups were all gathered together under the name of a multi-ethnic empire. However, the strange absence of a Japanese pavilion within the exposition actually rendered the colonizer itself as the all-seeing eye. To put it another way, while the colonial exposition displayed all the various aspects of its colonies' ethnic cultures, by strategically not showing the culture of the empire itself, Japan emerged as the encompassing vision. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki argues, the self-proclaimed melting-pot that was the Japanese empire was not "a random process of mixing but ... an ordered pulling-in toward the center," and this was "heightened by the focal position assigned to the emperor."⁴⁰⁷

As a consequence, the Japanese nation emerged as transcendental, an all-seeing eye over the other sub-ethnicities within the Japanese empire. To put it differently, in the sense that Japan, as one national member of a multi-ethnic empire, spoke of multi-ethnicity, Japan itself appeared in the exhibition as Foucault's "empirico-transcendental doublet," since it was "a being such that knowledge will be attained in it of what renders all knowledge possible."⁴⁰⁸ In other words, the Japanese nation emerged as an outsider, 'transcendental' to the empire and yet appearing within the very empirical conditions of the empire as multi-ethnic. Furthermore, if the displays at the 1904 Specimen Exhibition can be deemed as what Foucault called as "the ordered flat table," the 1912 Colonial Show, by rendering the exhibition organizer invisible, appeared as a three-

⁴⁰⁷ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Becoming Japanese," 173.

⁴⁰⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 318-22.

dimensional presentation wherein the functions and relations of the representations themselves were shown in association with Japan. In the previous exposition, the other Asian nations were put together by Japanese anthropologists within the clearly ordered table of Asian ethnicities, with Japan itself never being shown in that table along with them; but in the 1912 Exposition, by showing how the multi-ethnicities were tied together under the vision of Japan's multi-ethnic empire, the latter demonstrated these Asian nations "from a point of view of the being itself that is represented."⁴⁰⁹

In a lecture given at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, Tsuboi's perception of multi-ethnicity was once stated as follows:

Therefore, when the population of Japan gradually increases and it becomes time to spread this population to other areas, we do not have to be selective; we do not have to say that we can go here, but not there. To the tropical areas, we can send those Japanese tolerant of heat, and to cold regions, those tolerant of the cold. However, when a nation consists of people who share the same characteristics, they may be good at some things, but not at all at others ... the complexity of the Japanese race is a blessing, and certainly nothing to grieve about.⁴¹⁰

Tsuboi's idea of a multi-ethnic nation clearly expresses the expansionist vision, and he portrays the racial minorities from the perspective of the Japanese. In this regard, Oguma correctly hypothesized about the influence of the multi-ethnic nation theory at the time: "This was also a logic that assimilated the culture of minorities into that of the majority in the name of civilization and, moreover, that mobilized the minorities and sent them to war as a form of unification. The

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 244.

⁴¹⁰ cited in Oguma, *A Genealogy*, 62-3.

argument that the ‘Japanese’ were a mixture of many nations glorified the ability of the Great Japanese Empire to move out into the world.”⁴¹¹

5) Voices from the Exhibited

The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban ‘text’ they write without being able to read it. These practitioners make use of spaces that cannot be seen; their knowledge of them is as blind as that of lovers in each other’s arms. The paths that correspond in this intertwining, unrecognized poems in which each body is an element signed by many others, elude legibility.

- Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93.

How did those ‘living exhibits,’ as ‘practitioners’ of everyday life, experience the exhibition technology? How did people, not from above, but from ‘down below,’ feel and speak the visual technology of the exhibitions? It should not be forgotten that tensions and protests came from the nations represented at the anthropological exhibitions in the early twentieth century. As I mentioned above, the 1903 Osaka Exposition organized an anthropological pavilion where the living native peoples were invited and exhibited. It should be noted that there were a number of protests against the pavilion by the people of those who were exhibited. In *Ryūkyū Shinbō* (Ryūkyū Newspaper) on April 7, 1903, an editorial article, entitled “An Insult on Our Brothers,” voiced its resistance against the

⁴¹¹ Ibid., 63.

exhibition: “At the exposition this year, there was an instance which made us enraged, and it was the anthropological pavilion where our Okinawan women were displayed.”⁴¹² This resistance later led to the demand that the exhibition itself be suspended.

The anthropological pavilion⁴¹³ [see figure 48a, 48b] in question was one of the first exhibitions organized by the TAA. It was a part of Tsuboi’s attempt as leader of the Association to popularize the newly emerging discipline of anthropology in Japan.⁴¹⁴ Notably, Tsuboi and other members of the TAA actively participated in several expositions, including the 5th National and the 1907 Tokyo Industrial Exposition, since they preferred to directly approach the public through the display of objects. In organizing the anthropological department for the 5th National Industrial Exposition, which included displays from other Asian races, the Association explained their intentions as follows in the *Journal*:

[The Purpose of the Anthropology Section]
That the 5th National Exposition invites and collects other ethnic nations as entertainment, and then displays their hierarchy, human feelings, customs, and their own original status is essential for understanding not only their biological condition, but also the study of their commercial, industrial situation. Therefore, after seeing a variety of international expositions, we assume that there is the necessity of constructing the

⁴¹² Engeki “Jinruikan” Jōen o Jitsugensasetaikai, *Jinruikan: fūinsareta tobira* (Ōsaka-shi: Atto Wākusu, 2005), 27.

⁴¹³ For general information about the 5th Osaka National Industrial

Exposition, see *Taigokai naikoku kankyō hakurankai hōkosho* (Osaka: Osakashi yakusho shōkōka, 1904). Also, for information about its anthropological pavilion, see Itō Mamiko, *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2008), ch. 3; and Matsuda Kyōkō, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyosho* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003), chs. 4 and 5. See also Sakamoto Hiroko, “Tsūkoku minzokushui no shinwa – Shinkaron, jinshukan, hakurankai jiken,” *Shisō* Vol. 849 (1995).

⁴¹⁴ For more on Tsuboi’s effort to popularize anthropology in Japan, see Sakano, *Teikoku Nihon*, 31-5.

anthropological section. Moreover, the National exposition this year can be called the preliminary stage of international expositions, and given the size of the exposition, the building of the anthropological section should not be omitted. ... Hence, we have decided to bring other races from our neighbours, such as the Ainu from Hokkaido, the Formosa, Ryūkyū, Korea, and China, India, and Java. And the exhibition of their physiologies, human feelings, and customs will allow us to observe their dwellings, gestures, clothing, plays and instruments, and various races.⁴¹⁵

The Japanese practice of exhibiting real human beings from other nations originated from the practices of their Western counterparts. It goes without saying that Tsuboi's plan of bringing the indigenous people to the event site was in part the result of his experiences in Britain. While studying in Europe, he had observed the exhibits of native villages and various displays of other ethnicities shown at several international expositions. Tsuboi wrote a special report on his visits to the Paris Exposition of 1889 in the *Journal* – the Paris Exposition has been lauded as a momentous site for exhibiting colonies in the context of a world fair. Tsuboi noted, in particular, the displays of indigenous people: “One of the areas to be highlighted in the field of anthropology [was the] various architecture that showed the evolution of human dwellings, native villages inhabited by uncivilized aboriginals ... Within these buildings which displayed the development of human dwellings on a large scale, aboriginal people were actually living in their native villages.”⁴¹⁶ The Anthropology Pavilion at the Osaka exposition and the displays of the people neighbouring Japan were derived from Tsuboi's interest in visualizing the developmental stages of race and ethnicity by using exhibitionary technology. Indeed, with regard to the native villages in Osaka, Tsuboi made a

⁴¹⁵ Tsuboi Shōgorō, “Jinruikan kaisetsu shyuisho,” *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Zasshi*, no. 203 (Feb., 1903): 209.

⁴¹⁶ Tsuboi, “Paris tsūshin,” *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Zasshi*, Vol. 43 (1889).

special comment in relation to world's fairs:

When considering the current needs of the field of anthropological studies, it is not uncommon to bring people from divergent places to international fair sites, along with their native dwellings, on the basis of anthropology. Accordingly, visitors come to know the physiology and ways of living of those native people. In the case of our country, the national exposition this year therefore shows those aspects by using an anthropological entertainment pavilion.⁴¹⁷

The Anthropology Pavilion was built outside of the main exhibition place; its exhibition began almost 10 days after the event had officially been kicked off.

What is noteworthy was that the pavilion had to go through a change in its name: initially it was called the 'Pavilion of the Human Race (人類館),' but the title had subsequently been modified to the 'Scientific Anthropology Pavilion (学術人類館).' This was primarily due to severe protests from the nations who were being exhibited at the event site. Right outside of the main exhibition hall were some people on display as real human beings from these nations, which caused a problem for the nations involved.⁴¹⁸ These people included five Ainu, four Taiwan aboriginals, two Okinawans, two Koreans and three Chinese, among others. The displays of Koreans and Chinese, in particular, nearly became diplomatic matters, and even went so far as to create anti-Japanese sentiment within these two countries since they were not even Japan's colonies at that time.

What was at issue was that the Anthropology Pavilion was not an official section

⁴¹⁷ "Hakurankai to jinruigaku," *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* (March 28, 1903): cited in Matsuda Kyōkō, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōsho*, 137.

⁴¹⁸ See "Jinruikan to gankyaku," *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (March 19, 1903); Gaimushō shiryōkanzō, "Osakani oite taigokai naikoku kankyō hakurankai kaisetsu ikken," *Gaimushō kiroku* (March 4, 1903).

set inside the main exposition building; it was rather a part of an outdoor entertainment pavilion constructed right in front of the main gate, side by side with an around-the-world pavilion and zoo.⁴¹⁹ The displays of these two nations were accordingly withdrawn soon after the exposition began as per the request of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.⁴²⁰ However, whereas the displays of Koreans and Chinese were dropped for diplomatic and commercial reasons, the Okinawans remained in the exhibit throughout the event in spite of the serious objections that were raised in an Okinawan newspaper.⁴²¹ In light of these protests, the reason for the change in the pavilion's name was stated as follows:

The Anthropology Pavilion was constructed with the purpose of studying either the lives and customs of each race or archaeological objects which are the subject matter of anthropological study. If this section existed simply as 'Pavilion of the Human Race,' it would have been regarded merely as spectacle and amusement. Therefore, this time, its name has been changed to 'Scientific Anthropology Pavilion,' and moreover its overall design was assisted by Professor Tsuboi Shōgorō and his anthropological maps and archaeological objects were brought to the exposition.⁴²²

Although the displays of real humans were in part planned with the intention of creating a spectacle and providing entertainment at the event, these displays were justified under the name of science. Moreover, many exhibits were predicated

⁴¹⁹ The information on the exact location and size of the anthropological pavilion came to be known in 2004 thanks to the discovery of the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (*Osaka Newspaper*)'s articles. See, *Jinruikan: fūinsareta tobira*, 38-40.

⁴²⁰ The Fifth Osaka Exposition officially took place starting on March 1, 1903, but the Anthropology Pavilion opened around March 10, 1903. The exhibition of Koreans and Chinese had been halted by the end of March. See Mamiko Itō, *Meiji Nihon*, 113-20.

⁴²¹ "Jinruikan no Ryūkyūjin" *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (May 8, 1903); "Jinruikan jinretsu fujin no kiken," *Ryūkyū Shinbun* (May 19, 1903).

⁴²² "Gakujyutsu jinruikan to kaishou," *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (March 9, 1903).

upon general stereotypes about the Other, while the visual and exhibitionary technology employed by the TAA attempted to further systemize and reinforce these perceptions as scientific knowledge about these other nations.

The display of indigenous people and the subsequent complaints from the exhibited nations symbolically illustrated their resistance against the visual technology used at the exhibition. Before and after the opening of the Scientific Anthropology Pavilion in 1903, as mentioned above, a number of objections were made against the exhibition of Chinese and Korean people. The following are quotes from these nations' protests against the exhibition:

At one of the Japanese expositions, a couple of Chinese people were on display. Among other things, the event site became uproarious with exhibits which showed very decayed old customs of China as if they were representing the entirety of our country, and they were also juxtaposed with savage people. ... Japan therefore, while many people invited from across the globe watched the event, along with our high-ranking officials being specially invited to it, made a serious discourtesy to our national polity and our nation.⁴²³

The anthropological pavilion [at the exposition] deals with the primitive races such as Ryūkyū people, Hokkaido people, and Taiwan aborigines; and they all belong to the Japanese empire. Yet, as for the Korean women, we are not sure if this exhibition was based upon a certain agreement between the two countries. According to what we have found, these women were brought by commercial commissioners through their enticement. Shouldn't this be against any diplomatic friendship between the two countries? Moreover, isn't this exhibition supposed to be a place where all the various races come together, on the basis of certain treaties? ... We believe that the three East Asian countries, based on the same race

⁴²³ "Hakurani jinruigakukan jiken," *Shinmin Gōbō* Vol. 27 (1903); cited in Sakamoto Hiroko, "Tsūkoku minzokushui no shinwa," 77-8.

and culture, share the justice. But, if our two women alone were exhibited [to represent our country], it tends to create anti-Japanese sentiment.⁴²⁴

Obviously, the former complaint was made by the Chinese side, and the latter by the Korean side. These countries were mostly enraged by the fact that they had been displayed along with Japan's other colonial people although they, at that time in 1903, were not Japan's colonies.⁴²⁵ Specifically, in the case of the Korean women, judging from the dress and particular shape of their hats, it can be assumed that the Korean women performing in the event were displayed in *gisaeng* [geisha] dress.⁴²⁶ [figure 55] Clearly their charges were made on the premise that the idea of exhibiting real people itself is embarrassing, as well as on the fact that uncivilized aspects were overly stressed in this supposed representation of the entire nation. Similarly, the grievance from Okinawans was outlined at great length in *Ryūkyū Newspaper* on the following grounds: (1) A geisha was intended to represent all Okinawans; (2) Moreover, the two Okinawan women were displayed by the exhibition in a way that highlighted the uncivilized aspects of the people; (3) The Okinawan people in the native villages were positioned on the same level as the aborigines or Ainu.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴ This is a part of a complaint letter written by three Korean people, which appeared in *Osaka Mainichi Newspaper*: "Jinruikan to gankyaku," *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* (March 19, 1903); see also Kwōn Hyōk Hūi, "A Study on 'Korean Displays' in Industrial Exhibitions of Japan: Focus on the 5th National Industrial Exhibition (1903) and Tokyo Industrial Exhibition (1907)" (PhD dissertation, Seoul National University, 2007), 64-6.

⁴²⁵ Korea became Japan's colony in 1910.

⁴²⁶ With regard to this, Nishida Masatoshi once stated that he asked staff to bring Korea's *gisaeng* for inclusion in the exhibition of indigenous people; see Kwōn, , 37-7.

⁴²⁷ See the articles from April 7, April 11 and April 27, 1903, in *Ryūkyū Shinbo*; cited in Matsuda Kyōkō, *Teikoku no shisen*, 129-32.

At the exposition this year, there was an instance which made us enraged, and it was the anthropological pavilion where our Okinawan women were displayed.... As for the housing exhibits, initially our houses were meant to sit on straw floors, but after our protests the floor was changed to tatami mat. Considering this fact, it is clear that the intention of the exhibition organizer was to make everything as primitive as possible. Moreover, those who were exhibited were, although I am not sure where they came from, mostly prostitutes.”⁴²⁸

It is true that when displaying these indigenous people as part of an anthropological study, more sensational and distinctive types such as ‘geisha’ and ‘savage’ were stressed in order to give an immediate impression of how different these people were from the Japanese. According to Edwards, this sort of ‘type’ image “represented the general form or character which distinguishes a given group and was accepted as standard.”⁴²⁹ Those ‘type’ images, however, not being able to feature every single aspect of a given group, tend to reify abstractions and moreover fix particular characteristics to them. Due to this tendency toward fixity and abstraction, the type figures make classification and comparison easier. Moreover, the unique physiological traits and savage behavioural types of each group, in part, contributed to the establishment of a certain temporal hierarchical order among these people. In an illustration of this hierarchy, the Chinese government made a complaint against the displays using the following question: “If India and Okinawa were respectively colonies of Britain and Japan, and Korea was the protectorate of Japan and Russia, [...], Taiwan aborigines are known as one of the lowest people, [...] how come our Chinese people are represented as

⁴²⁸ Engeki "Jinruikan" Jōen o Jitsugensasetaikai, *Jinruikan: fūinsareta tobira* (Ōsaka-shi: Atto Wākusu, 2005), 47.

⁴²⁹ Edwards, “The Image as Anthropological Document,” 240.

being on the same level of nation with these six other races?”⁴³⁰ This statement clearly insinuates China’s recognition of a hierarchical order predicated upon evolutionism. China’s charges of “being juxtaposed” with “the lowest level of people” demonstrate their own perception of a certain human hierarchy within the world.⁴³¹ And yet what these voices express are not simply concerns about their developmental positions per se, but more about the challenges against their temporal allocation. Significantly, China and Korea were the countries with which Japan had been historically connected, and yet in these exhibitions they were displayed in the same manner that the Western empires used to display their colonized Other. This is exactly what Fabian contended as “the denial of coevalness.” Despite “living together in the same temporal scheme,” and in spite of their shared historical memories, in this exhibition the coevalness of Japan with China and Korea was denied, and they were spatialized in a different time frame.⁴³² These protests challenged the temporal framing imposed by the exhibitionary techniques while attempting to reconfigure this temporal allocation. This resistance to the exhibitions was not simply against the racial discrimination and humiliation toward those exhibited; rather the recapturing of this temporal spatialization reveals how the exhibitionary technologies can be re-articulated and re-constituted by the viewers. In other words, this voices from those exhibited demonstrate, not the power imposed by the visual technologies of exhibitions, but the subjectivity and contingency involved in the exhibitionary presentation of race and ethnicity.

⁴³⁰ Sakamoto Hiroko, “Tsūoku minzokushui no shinwa,” 78.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Fabian, *Time and the Other*, chs. 1 and 2.

Tsuboi's TAA and his mixed-nation claim were in many ways related to Victorian monogenism, despite their apparent opposition, in terms of arguing for a shared origin. It was, in fact, during the late nineteenth century when monogenism was becoming more dominant over polygenism when Tsuboi was formulating his own ideas about the origin of the human races.⁴³³ Hence, if Victorian anthropology witnessed a dispute over whether divergent races were different species or the same, the Japanese anthropology scene similarly witnessed a similar polemical debate over whether the Japanese were of "pure-indigenous" or "mixed-migrant" origins. Whereas the pure-indigenous theories regarded other ethnic groups as absolutely separate from the Japanese, the mixed-migrant thesis claimed that the ancestors of the modern Japanese people came from and were thus associated with people from Manchuria and Korea.⁴³⁴ More significant was the fact that the Victorian evolutionists viewed the human race, from a progressive Christian perspective, as a unified species, and yet they regarded various human beings as currently occupying different stages of development. Victorian monogenists embraced other races as belonging to the same species and yet placed them within racial hierarchies in which native people were often seen as backward or primitive.⁴³⁵ This view was faithfully repeated in Japanese anthropology. The mixed-nation theory of the TAA scholars equally included other Asian nations as having the same ancestors as the Japanese people, and yet it was premised upon the notion of diverse degrees of civilization with Japan at

⁴³³ Matsuda Kyōko, "Seiki tenkankini okeru 'jinshu' wo kataru ti," 13.

⁴³⁴ See Hayashida Cullen, "Identity, Race, and the Blood Ideology of Japan" (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1976), 24-5.

⁴³⁵ See Peter J. Bowler, *The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: B. Blackwell, 1989).

their apex and others remaining temporarily behind. In other words, the TAA scholars regarded other Asians as having the same origin and yet considered them as part in Japan's past, as if they were living in a different temporality on the developmental scale of civilization.

This chapter examined how Tsuboi and the TAA's anthropological exhibitions reconfigured the racial and ethnic identities of other Asian nations through visual technologies. Composite image techniques were of importance in visualizing multi-ethnicism thanks to the process of merging individual ethnic groups into one picture – that of a multi-ethnic empire. Yet, when merging them within one space, the temporalities of each group were in many ways hierarchically spatialized in order to be seen from the commanding view of Japan's temporal norm. On the other hand, the protest from those who were exhibited resisted this temporal spatialization and revealed how the temporal allocation could be re-captured and re-articulated by different contexts.

Chapter 5: Panorama of One Bodyness: The 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition

1) Wartime Spectacle and Mobilization

On September 1, 1940, the opening event of the Chosŏn Great Exposition (*Chōsen dai hakurankai*) kicked off with the singing of *Kimigayo* and bowing to the emperor's palace.⁴³⁶ A short, silent tribute to those killed in the war was followed by a number of congratulatory speeches by the higher officers of the Japanese General Government in Korea (hereafter GGK), including Governor-General Minami Jirō and Chōsen Army Commander Nakamura Kōtarō (中村孝太郎). Governor-General Minami, in his address, declared the three purposes of the Exposition as follows:⁴³⁷ [figure 56] (1) To demonstrate the essence of national polity by celebrating the 2600th anniversary of the empire of Japan, and in doing so to clarify the shared ancestry and roots between Japan and Korea; (2) to praise the fruitful outcome of the 30-year-old GGK, which had operated under the ideals of *Hakkō Ichiu*,⁴³⁸ and in doing so to anticipate the future progress of Korea; (3) and to strengthen the recognition of the principles of holy war, advanced under the ideology of the New Order in East Asia, and in doing so make people ready for war. These three points converge to highlight the

⁴³⁶ *Kimigayo* is the national anthem of Japan, and this was a typical way of beginning national events at the time: see Kenneth J. Ruoff, *Imperial Japan at Its Zenith: The Wartime Celebration of the Empire's 2,600th Anniversary* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2010), 15-16; and Son Chōng-mok, *Ilje Kangjōmgi Tosisahoesang yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1996), 206.

⁴³⁷ *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (hereafter the *Chōsen*) (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940), 3; see also *Keijō Nippō* (Keijō Newspaper) (Sept. 1, 1940).

⁴³⁸ This ancient catchphrase had originated in the 8th century from *Nihon Shoki* (The Chronicles of Japan). The word *Hakkō* meant, in the original text, the “eight corners” of the world, while *Ichiu* can be translated as “one roof,” symbolizing the construction of familial solidarity. Yet, with the peak of Japanese imperialism, this term became associated with the military expansion of the empire. This point will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

ultimate goal of the event – the publicizing of the underlying principles of holy war to the general public.⁴³⁹ The militarism of the event was again stressed in the speech by Nakamura, the military commander, where he asked the eager audience for their support for the war.⁴⁴⁰ The significance of the exposition was once again underscored at great length the next day in the *Keijō Nippō*, the major sponsoring newspaper of the exhibition:

This exposition, by showing the splendid and magnificent features of Korea, intends to demonstrate the real figure of the 3000-year-old empire. In doing so, this event aims to let our Korean people know the quintessence of the founding spirit of Japan ... We will take this opportunity to stress the oneness of the Korean and Japanese soul (内鮮一魂), as well as the role of Korea as a logistics base toward the advancement into the continent. Moreover, by exhibiting the war deeds of the imperial army, the event has the intention of promoting the significance of the East Asian holy war.⁴⁴¹

As phrases such as *Naisen Ikkon* (the oneness of the Korean and Japanese soul) and “East Asian Holy War” illustrate, the exposition took place amidst the militaristic atmosphere of the Asia-Pacific War. According to Yamaji Katsuhiko, in conjunction with the Chosŏn Great Exposition in Seoul, numerous expositions were held by the Japanese empire in its effort to mobilize people for the war. To be more specific, from the Manchurian Incident on, multiple expositions aimed at showing off Japan’s military power were held across the country, including the 1930 Marine and Air Exposition and the 1935 National Defense and Industry Exposition. One of the peak moments of these militant expositions occurred in 1937, when the China Incident Holy War Exposition was held in *Hankyu*

⁴³⁹ *Keijō Nippō* (Sept. 2, 1940).

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*; cited in Son, *Ilje Kangjŏmgi*, 205.

Nishinomiya Stadium, as well as the 1939 Greater East Asian Exposition in the same Stadium. These two expositions were a part of wartime Japan's efforts to demonstrate its invincible military power by exhibiting miniature models of the battle fronts of China, as well as panoramic displays of armaments.⁴⁴² The 1940 event was accordingly not only sponsored by *Keijō Nippō* and the GGK, but also by the Chōsen army and various military authorities.⁴⁴³

The opening event was indeed replete with spectacular military images, from warships and tanks to various activities intended to pay tribute to the war dead; among other things, the Holy War Pavilion and a tower for military services were exclusively devoted to militarism and the war. [figures 57, 58] From these scenes, the 1940 Exposition can be duly regarded as a site for inspiring a bellicose spirit in the youth of Korea and encouraging their willingness to participate in the war. Moreover, the exposition seems inseparable from the calls for volunteer soldiers during the same time period, given the fact that the Special Volunteer Soldier System had been introduced only a few years before, and the event took place at the peak of propaganda encouraging volunteerism.⁴⁴⁴ Although it did not explicitly encourage volunteerism for the war, the War Deeds Pavilion (武勲館) exhibited a number of articles left by the war dead, including those of Yi Insök,

⁴⁴² Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* (Tōkyō: Fūkyōsha, 2008), 137.

⁴⁴³ "Chōsen army" refers to the Japanese army that was stationed in Korea starting with the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1882 and continuing throughout the colonial period: see Hong Chongp'il, "Hwanggun iranūn irūm ūro kkūlyō kan chosōn in (Chōsenjin Who Dragged into the War in the Name of Imperial army [kōgun])," Vol. 12, *Yoksa wa Silhak* (History and Practical Science) (1991), 565, footnote 21.

⁴⁴⁴ The Special Volunteer Soldier System was introduced in 1938, and it was replaced with compulsory conscription in 1944. For the Volunteer Soldier System in Korea, see Miyata Setsuko, *Chosōn minjung kwa "hwangminhwa" Chōngchaek*, trans. Yi Yōng-nang (from Chōsen *minshū to "kōminka" seisaku*) (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1997); and Brandon Palmer, "Japan's Mobilization of Koreans for War, 1937-1945" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 2005).

one of the most publicized Korean volunteer soldiers.⁴⁴⁵ This chapter pays particular attention to the ways in which the performance of the exhibition attempted to call for Koreans' participation in the war. This chapter examines how the 1940 exhibition tried to stage the Korean nation as a (seemingly) equal member of the Asian empire alongside the Japanese in order to mobilize its population for the war, as indicated by the saturated conception of the *Naisen Ittai* ideology.⁴⁴⁶ While the last chapter investigated the ways in which the racial and ethnic identities of Asian nations were reframed within the claim of multi-ethnicism through the use of exhibitionary technologies, this chapter focuses its attention on the Japan-Korea dynamics within the larger picture of multi-ethnic East Asian cooperativism. In order to strengthen its wartime efforts, the Japanese empire needed to mobilize not only Japanese people but also people of other ethnicities from its colonial lands, especially those under the name of the multi-ethnic East Asian community. Significantly, the Seoul exhibition was replete with the term "New Order in East Asia (Tōa shinchitsujo),"⁴⁴⁷ a new regional and

⁴⁴⁵ The *Chōsen*, 6; Yi Insök was the first to die of the Korean volunteer soldiers, and he died during the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1939: see Kong Im-Soon, "Chōnjaeng midam kwa yongsa (The Beautiful Story of War and a Brave Soldier)," *Sanghō Hakbo*, vol. 30 (2010): 324-30; and Utsumi Aiko, "Korean 'Imperial Soldiers': Remembering Colonialism and Crimes against Allied POWs," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed. T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001), 205-6.

⁴⁴⁶ *Naisen Ittai*, meaning "one body of Japan and Korea," was a policy promulgated by Minami Jiro, who became governor-general of Korea in August of 1936. This movement was a part of the *kōminka* (imperialization or making people into imperial subjects) policies, which were an attempt to remake the Korean people into Japanese subjects in order to mobilize them for the war. *Kōminka* (imperialization) policy was a new Japanese assimilation policy that was applied across Japan's colonies during the wartime period. See Wan-yao Chou, "The Kōminka Movement in Taiwan and Korea: Comparisons and Interpretations," in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁴⁴⁷ The New Order was a regional program whose basic foundation was mainly formulated by his research group, Shōwa Research Association. It aimed at a new sort of international cooperation – the creation of a bloc of regional solidarity comparable to the one created in Central Europe under German leadership. According to Thomas Burkman, the New Order was intended to replace old

wartime policy proclaimed by Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro in 1938. If the New Order was a cosmopolitan program of economic, political and cultural cooperation among Japan, Manchukuo and its colonies, the event was one of a series of processes whereby the Korean nation became mediated as one of the members of the East Asian cooperative community. Particular attention will be paid to the way that the temporality and spatiality of the Korean nation was mediated and reframed through the use of exhibitionary technologies. Where the previous chapters demonstrated “allochronism” at expositions, or the way that other Asian nations were situated in a “different temporality,” this chapter will illuminate how the Korean nation, in the confrontation of the war, was now incorporated into Japanese imperial history. The visual technique of panorama, which was particularly prevalent in this exposition, continuously situated the Korean nation as free subjectivity, beyond a narrow sense of nationalism, under the concept of the New Order of East Asia. The exhibition seemingly promised an equality or fraternity between the Koreans and the Japanese within the larger concept of multi-ethnicity, and yet this equality was imagined solely from one side. The aim of this chapter is not to illuminate the event as mere propaganda or simple encouragement of volunteerism, despite its tremendous emphasis on volunteer soldiers; rather, this chapter examines how the exposition’s “staging techniques” performed and enacted discourses of *Naisen Ittai* and multi-ethnic cooperation, which led to the encouragement of Korean youth to go to the war

systems by Western nations, and was desired to be “a covenant of racial accord for East Asians.” According to Burkman, it was also “a useful device to solve Japan’s problem of surplus population without having to resort to emigration.” See Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 206-7.

front. These staging techniques will be discussed in two ways: first, by examining the layouts and arrangements of each pavilion in terms of their temporal and spatial schemas, and secondly by investigating the prevalent use of panoramas and panoramic images at the event. Firstly, the temporal and spatial relations of the Korean nation were rearranged in accordance with those of the Japanese nation, framing Korea as a member of the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural empire, through the exhibition's layouts and visual structure. Secondly, panoramas tended to be very much inclusive and to incorporate Korean nation as free imperial subject within the East Asian cooperative body, and yet this was envisioned only from one particular viewpoint. By illuminating the mechanisms of panoramas, this chapter will demonstrate how the exhibition itself performed both the incorporation and yet the tension and limits of formulating a multi-ethnic empire.

2) Literature Review of the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition

As Kenneth Ruoff has mentioned in his book on wartime national events, the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition was situated within a series of national projects meant to celebrate the 2600th anniversary of the Japanese empire.⁴⁴⁸ However, what seems more crucial than the celebration of this anniversary was, as Ruoff has also pointed out, the fact that the focus of these events was increasingly centred on the mobilization of young people. With the slow advancement of the second Sino-Japanese War, the 2600th anniversary celebrations increasingly attempted to inspire the militaristic spirit not only of Japanese youth but also of

⁴⁴⁸ Ruoff, *Imperial Japan*, 124.

the youth living in its colonies.⁴⁴⁹ Furthermore, the introduction of the Korean Special Volunteer Soldier System, implemented only two years before the event in 1938, marked the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition as inseparable from Japan's desperate efforts to mobilize volunteer soldiers from their colonies. The 1940 event was thus linked to Japan's attempts to imbue militarism in the people of its colonies and also to call up Korean youth for service in the war. In line with this, two recent studies – a book by Kenneth Ruoff's and a Korean article by Todd Henry – have touched upon the 1940 event in relation to the 2600th anniversary of Emperor Jimmu's ascension.⁴⁵⁰ While Ruoff's book mentions the Seoul event in passing, his project concerns the 2600th anniversary more in the context of the Japanese empire. By contrast, Henry's article directly links the Seoul event with the other 2600th anniversary projects, such as the wartime festivals between the Japanese empire and its colonies. Significantly, both sources make attempts to discuss the wartime Japanese empire and its cultural policies from the viewpoint of Japanese fascism; and Henry especially discusses the event using a concept that he calls "emotional engineering," where imperial subjects are relocated within the

⁴⁴⁹ For more about the 2600th anniversary, see: Kenneth J. Ruoff, *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945-1995* (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Asia Center / Harvard University Press, 2001); and Ruoff, *Imperial Japan*.

⁴⁵⁰ As Todd Henry correctly pointed out, due to the lack of written records, the study of the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition has been mostly neglected by Korean scholars. First off, there was no official report on the exposition, unlike with other colonial expositions; and furthermore, since most Korean-language newspapers were banned around this time, the information on the exposition was written in Japanese. Also, Henry pointed out that other media, including magazines and journals, hardly mention the 1940 Seoul event, except for the event's the sponsoring newspaper, *Keijō Nippō* or *Kyōng Sōng Ilbo*. Henry's analysis of the 1940 event accordingly relies on the articles from the sponsor newspaper, and this chapter will need to follow his path: Todd A. Henry, ""Chegugŭl kinyŏmhago, chŏnjaengŭl tongnyŏhagi: singminji malgi (1940nyŏn) Chosŏn esŏŭi pangnamhoe (Celebrating Empire, Fighting War: The 1940 Exposition in Late Colonial Korea)," *Asea Yŏn'gu (Asian Studies)*, Vol. 134 (Dec. 2008).

new spatial and temporal context of a wartime empire.⁴⁵¹ Previous literature on the event has concentrated mostly on the facets of mass mobilization and propaganda. The problem of fascist perspectives lay in their perceptions that the wartime Japanese practices were simply out of military actions, off from the normal track. This characterization of wartime Japan as deviation, as a result, contributed to stopping wartime race and ethnicity issues – including Japan's wartime responsibility – from being further discussed in the postwar period.⁴⁵² The aim of this chapter is to move beyond this cultural fascist aspect and endeavour to discuss the actual techniques of staging used for this massive call to Korean people from the views of multi-culturalism. Particular attention will be paid to how panorama techniques, through their use of layouts and the panoramic arrangement of visual materials, mediated Korean people as free imperial subjects in order to encourage them to die for the empire.

One of the most recognizable factors in this wartime exposition was the fact that the Koreans were displayed not as a colonized people, but as one of members of the East Asian cooperative sphere. The Korean people were no longer seen as the exotic and uncivilized subjects at this exhibition, but began to be presented alongside the Japanese as one of the local groups within the empire. These shifts in Japan's perception of colonial Korea can be found in many other cultural products during the wartime period. For example, by the time of the annexation in 1910, one journal article stated that Koreans appeared to "habitually

⁴⁵¹ Henry, "Celebrating Empire," 77. For the discussion of Japanese fascism during the wartime, see Alan Tansman, ed., *The Aesthetics of Japanese Fascism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009); and Alan Tansman, ed., *Culture of Japanese Fascism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

⁴⁵² See, Naoki Sakai, "Darega ajiajinna"

transgress the law, run away, have a brutal character, are kleptomaniacs, gamble or are agitators.”⁴⁵³ However, this perception began to change by 1937 with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War. By the early 1940s, almost all of the pro-Japan propaganda films (which were made in Japan) featured Korean culture, not simply as an exotic other, but as a provincial and local culture that needed to be properly understood. In other words, Korea was now “indeed different, but at the same time it was familiar and ultimately knowable.”⁴⁵⁴ For instance, the famous film *You and I*, which mainly deals with marriages based on the *Naisen Ittai* ideology, exhibits a number of Japanese people who love Chōsen culture and *kimchi*. Furthermore, there are several scenes where, for example, a Korean imperial subject sings Korean folk songs such as *Yangsando* for his Japanese lover, or a boatman sings Korean folk ballads such as *Nakwha Samchun*.⁴⁵⁵ This transition signifies that Koreans were beginning to be regarded not merely as the “outside peoples” (*gaichi minzoku*), but as one population within the Japanese empire.⁴⁵⁶

These attempts to relocate Korea as a local member of the empire alongside the Japanese became more obvious at the 1940 event, especially when compared to the country’s previous expositions. There had been a number of colonial expositions held in Korea, but two of these were considered the main

⁴⁵³ Maeda Hajime, *Tokushu rōmusha no rōmu kanri* (Tokyo: Sankai Dokan, 1944), 119; cited in Palmer, “Japan’s Mobilization of Koreans for War, 1937-1945,” 31.

⁴⁵⁴ Michael Baskett, *The Attractive Empire* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 84.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid., 85-6; see also Yi Hwa-jin, *Chosŏn yŏnghwa: sori ūi toip esŏ ch’inil yŏnghwa kkaji* (Seoul: Ch’aek Sesang, 2005), 115-20.

⁴⁵⁶ Takashi Fujitani’s recent publication explains this transformation as “from the outside to the inside of the population.” See T. Fujitani, *Race for Empire: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans during World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 35-77. See also Takashi Fujitani, “Right to Kill, Right to Make Live: Koreans as Japanese and Japanese as Americans During WWII,” *Representations* (Summer 2007): 17.

colonial events and thus have received considerable attention in the field of Korean studies: the 1915 Industrial Exposition (1915 *Chōsen bussankyōshinkai*) and the 1929 Korean Exposition (1929 *Chōsen hakurankai*). The 1915 and 1929 expositions took place in order to show, respectively, the results of five and nineteen years of Korea's colonization by Japan. Both expositions were held in Kyōngbok palace, a royal palace located in Seoul and built by the Chosŏn dynasty. The 1915 exposition, whose displays included the architectural styles of pavilion buildings, actively employed the "strategy of visual comparison," such as "the old versus the new or the traditional versus the modern," which enabled the audience to compare the way life was in the country before and after colonization.⁴⁵⁷ One review of the exposition, although it is probable that the author was induced to do so, clearly illustrates this comparative perspective:

It seems that the current products differ like heaven and earth from those of the Chosŏn dynasty. It goes without saying that this transformation is the benefit of the colonial administration. I wonder how these situations can be improved more. I was also surprised to see the development in medical technology.⁴⁵⁸

While the 1915 Exposition stressed the comparison between Korea as the colonized and Japan as the colonizer, the 1929 Exposition focused more on "Korean local culture" and "Korean uniqueness." According to Hong Kal, "these attempts to shape a popular sense of the commonalities between the colonizer and the colonized in their shared 'spirit of the Far East' were inscribed in the

⁴⁵⁷ Hong Kal, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics and History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 16-22.

⁴⁵⁸ *Chosŏn Sillok* (Nov. 1915): cited in Ch'oe Sŏg-yŏng. *Han 'guk kŭndae ūi pangnamhoe, pangmulgan* (Seoul: Sŏgyŏng Munhwasa, 2001), 47.

exhibitionary apparatus.”⁴⁵⁹ Yamaji Katsuhiko, however, contends that this “respect for the Korean color” is not unrelated to the position of the colonizer as a leader of civilization, and one to be differentiated from the colonized. Given the emphasis placed on Korean products such as Goryō ginseng, *gisaeng*, the roof with green and red⁴⁶⁰ and Mudang (Korean Shaman) – all of which were used as a presentation of Korean uniqueness – it seems that Japan was still perceiving Korean cultures from its own perspective, according to its own tastes and views of exoticness, rather than including Korea as a member of the empire.⁴⁶¹

The changes between these representations and the attitude toward the Korean nation shown at the 1940 event, however, embody Japan’s wartime efforts to mediate the Korean people with the concepts of fraternity with the Japanese⁴⁶² and *Naisen Ittai* in the face of the war. The emphasis on Japan and Korea’s shared roots and fraternity was, indeed, prevalent in the official catalogue, *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (hereafter *Chōsen*), as well as in newspaper articles on the 1940 exhibition. This exhibition therefore needs to be considered in terms of the

⁴⁵⁹ Kal, *Aesthetic Constructions*, 34-5.

⁴⁶⁰ Goryō ginseng (Korean ginseng), *gisaeng* (geisha), the roof with green and red (a roof particular style to Korean traditional houses) were particularly unique products that represented Korea to the Japanese.

⁴⁶¹ Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon*, 124-7.

⁴⁶² This stress on the fraternity and the shared roots between Koreans and Japanese, as a part of Japan’s assimilation policy, had existed from the outset of Japan’s rule in Korea. However, as Leo Ching deftly pointed out, it is important to historicize the new wartime assimilation policy rather than simply seeing it as a continuation. What makes the wartime discourse on the fraternity and assimilation policies different from the previous policies is that first, according to Ching, they were enforced in close association with the wartime mobilization, largely applied over the long period from the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937 to the end of the Second World War in 1945; and secondly, the new policy imposed a variety of very specific practices whereas the previous one aimed at a much more vague and ambiguous assimilation of the colonized. What Ching argues is that, unlike the previous assimilation policies, the wartime assimilation policies and brotherhood discourses enforced specific practices and forcefully imposed on the Korean people the same language, education and name used by the Japanese – and even the right of being soldiers for Japan – in an attempt to transform the Koreans into Japanese citizens of the empire. See Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), chapter 3.

way Koreans were, as wartime labour resources, incorporated along with the Japanese as one local member within the logic of the Greater East Asian sphere. It is important to note, however, that the promise of equality and fraternity between the Koreans and the Japanese would only be allowed through the (self)negation of Korea, or through Korean's readiness to die for the Japanese empire. It comes as no surprise that the mediation of the panoramas at this exhibition converged in the examples of suicidal dedications made by Korean soldiers in the name of the empire's holy war.

3) Reframing Korea as a "Local" Member of the Greater East Asian Empire

The 1940 Exposition took place in Seoul at a site located near the *Dongdaemun* (Eastern Gate), which is the present location of *Ch'ŏngnyangni* Station. [figure 59] At that time, the station owned sizeable territory for the construction of the *Chungang* line, which connects *Wŏnju* in the northern part of Korea to *Kyŏngchu* in the south.⁴⁶³ The sponsor newspaper, *Keijō Nippō*, explained at length how to get to the exposition place: those using the Seoul-Pusan line were advised to take the electronic train from *Kyŏngsŏng* station, whereas visitors who came from the Seoul-*Wŏnju* line were advised to take a taxi or get there on foot.⁴⁶⁴ Whereas previous colonial expositions in Seoul were

⁴⁶³ The station used for the Kyŏnggi-Wŏnsan line was initially a very small one, but it was planned to be used as one of the major stops on the Chungang (Middle) line, which connects Wŏnchu to Kyŏngchu. So, the Ch'ŏngnyangni Station owned its own sizeable territory, and this came to be used for the 1940 event. The plan for the construction of the Chungang line was made in 1937, and the station name was changed to Dong Kyŏngsŏngyŏk in May of 1938. Son, *Ilje Kangjŏmg*, 203.

⁴⁶⁴ *Keijō Nippō* (Sept. 7, 1940).

mostly held at the *Kyōngbok* Palace in the heart of the city, the *Ch'ōngnyangni* Station, located outside the city centre, was quite new to hosting public events. Todd Henry discusses this choice of location from two perspectives. First, the Station, starting in the late 1930s, served as a significant transportation point where most of the country's primary railway lines converged between the capital and other regions, and where Korea and the other Japanese colonies were connected. In other words, the choice of the event space was in part to draw a wider audience, be it from other provinces or from other Japanese colonies. Second, by taking place miles away from the *Kyōngbok* palace, a symbol of the Chosŏn dynasty and Korea's historic past, Henry argues that this exposition aimed (1) to completely incorporate Korea's temporal past within the imperial Japanese history, and (2) to relocate the spatial aspect of Korea within the new vision of the Greater East Asian sphere. In other words, whereas the *Kyōngbok* palace symbolized the glory of Korea's past and functioned as an exotic place when seen by the Japanese colonizer, the Station represented a new phase of Korea as a core site of the multi-cultural empire, showing its connection with other parts of the empire and leading to a Greater East Asian future.⁴⁶⁵

Upon entering the event site, visitors would face the lofty *Hakkō Ichiu* Tower⁴⁶⁶ and see that the entire space was divided into two parts [figure 60]: one

⁴⁶⁵ Henry, "Celebrating Empire," 83-4.

⁴⁶⁶ *Hakkō Ichiu* Tower can be compared to *Chūreitō* since both of symbolic towers contributed to wartime mobilization. According to Akiko Takenaka, construction of both towers, which occurred across the entire empire, was "a powerful propaganda tool for the promotion of nationalism in wartime Japan." See, Akiko Takenaka, "Architecture for Mass-Mobilization: The *Chūreitō* Memorial Construction Movement, 1939-1945," in *The Culture of Japanese Fascism*, ed. Alan Tansman (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 238. However, while *Hakkō Ichiu* Tower was to mobilize people for the war by resorting to historical events, *Chūreitō* tower called up people by

part consisted of various regional pavilions of Japan and pavilions of the colonial territories such as Manchuria, Mongolia and some parts of China; and the other side was made up with pavilions related to colonial Korea, including the *Kyōngsōng* (Seoul) pavilion and the pavilion, called “Booming of Korea (躍進朝鮮館: *Yakusin Chōsenkan* in Japanese),” as well as other exhibition halls showing Korean industry and agriculture under the Japanese rule. In this section, I will further discuss how the layout of the exhibition attempted to redraw the spatial and temporal scheme of the Korean nation within the Greater East Asian sphere.

From the view of the spatial re-framing of this event, Korea was now largely portrayed as a local nation, a part of the larger Japanese empire. To be more specific, the entire Korea was represented by a separate “Korean pavilion (Booming of Korea),” in line with the displays of Japan’s other colonies such as the pavilions for Mongolia, Taiwan and Manchuria. Historically, most of the previous colonial expositions that had been held in Seoul mostly consisted of a number of departmental pavilions, such as industrial, agricultural, educational or hygienic pavilions, through which every aspect of Korea could be shown. Yet at the 1940 exhibition, not only having such various departments, but also the entire Peninsula was represented by one pavilion⁴⁶⁷; and thus Korea had been relocated as one region within the multi-ethnic East Asian sphere, side by side with other

treating the contemporary military dead as god. I am grateful to Professor Weisenfeld for her comments and suggesting this article.

⁴⁶⁷ The *Rapid Progress of Chosōn pavilion* included a variety of regions, including Ch’ungch’ong-do, Cholla-do, Kyōngsang-do, etc; see the *Chōsen*, 53-6.

Asian regions, including Manchuria, Mongolia and China. In terms of the visual style of these displays, it had become customary for the Korean nation to be represented through its traditional and ethnic architectural style and through unique stereotypical images in the previous colonial exhibitions, for instance at the 1915 Colonial Exposition [figure 61a, 61b]. Most of the regional pavilions at the 1940 event, however, were shaped in an identical, modern, box-like building, [figure 62a, 62b] except for a couple of pavilions representing China and Manchuria. This stylization equally stressed Korea's position as a local member, and yet figuratively an equal nation to the Japanese – *Naisen Ittai*. In other words, these spatial layouts and visual styles probably encouraged Korean visitors to imagine themselves as one part of the empire, especially since they were displayed side by side with the Japanese. Where the previous colonial exhibitions spatially placed the Korean nation as an exotic colony, the 1940 exhibition here reframed Korea as a part of *Naisen Ittai*.

On the other hand, the event site was largely divided into two parts, one being the Japanese part and the other being the Korean part. Viewed from the entrance gate, the right-hand side of the exhibition consisted of various things from the Japanese empire, including the Japanese history pavilion, Japanese provincial pavilions and the pavilions for Japan's colonies. The left-hand side of the event site largely consisted of Korean things, including the Korean history pavilion, Seoul pavilion (*Keijo kan* in Japanese; *Kyōngsōng gwan* in Korean) and other Korean pavilions showcasing the country's industry, agriculture, electronics and so on. To put it another way, the exhibition place not only spatially staged

Korea as a member of the empire, but also placed it alongside Japan, performing *Naisen Ittai* (one bodyness).

What was of central importance in the display of Korea's culture and customs at the 1940 exposition was therefore their visualization as part of a local culture, not an "outsider," but one member of the Japanese population. As I explained earlier about the localism in representations of Korean culture in film, by the early 1940s it had become customary to feature Korean cultures not simply as primitive, but as a provincial and local culture that requires appropriate understanding. The poster image of this exhibition, for instance, unlike the previous examples which featured exotic Korean customs, showed a Korean woman being dressed in plain black and white dress. [figure 63] With holding the Rising-Sun flag and in everyday life Korean dress, the woman's image, according to Yamaji Katsuhiko, clearly illustrates the localism and assimilation policy of this exhibition.⁴⁶⁸ In one attempt to represent ethnic Korean customs, this one staged in the pavilion for agriculture and forestry, a number of wax models wearing traditional dress were set up to show the age-old dance for good harvest. The dance was importantly explained as being "full of local color," rather than being exotic.⁴⁶⁹ Moreover, the "Booming of Korea," pavilion (*Yakusin Chosenkan*) highlighted a variety of industrial and manufacturing achievements according to each province, rather than concentrating on the country's romantic and simplistic otherness as in previous exhibitions. In other words, the East Asian community was here staged as a cooperative multi-cultural unit that could transcend each

⁴⁶⁸ Yamaji, *Kindai Nihon*, 1

⁴⁶⁹ The *Chōsen*, 43.

ethnic nation while at the same time the locality of each member could be recognized.

That the exhibition site was replete with images of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism demonstrates a need to see the event in terms of the various discussions of multi-ethnic empire that were occurring at the time. Indeed, the event space included displays from the whole of continental Asia in addition to the Korean pavilions. Japan's other colonies, such as Taiwan, Mongolia and Manchuria, had been exhibited since the earliest colonial expositions in Seoul, and yet the 1940 event showcased the extended multi-cultural imperial sphere like never before by holding Manchurian Day and including a pavilion for Manchurian reclamation and immigration.⁴⁷⁰ As Naoki Sakai continuously criticized the myth of Japan as a mono-ethnic society, Japanese society in fact witnessed a number of discussions regarding a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic empire along with its expansion into the continent.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, it was true that, particularly in the wake of the China Incident, there was a more desperate need to include other

⁴⁷⁰ As many scholars have pointed out, in the aftermath of the Marco Polo Incident, Korea emerged as a significant geo-political point in Japan's advancement into continental Asia. Minami Jirō, who was appointed the 8th governor-general of Korea in 1936, was the one who could connect Manchuria and Korea, since he served both as the commander of the Kwantung Army and as the Japanese ambassador to the puppet state Manchukuo until 1936: see Miyata Sessūk'o, ed., "Singmin t'ongch'i ūi hōsang kwa silsang: Chosōn Ch'ongdokpu kowi kwalli ūi yuksōng chūngōn," trans. Chōng Chae-jōng, from *Jūgonen Sensō ka no Chōsen tōchi* (Seoul: Hyeon, 2002). See also Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea*. Mark E. Caprio, who contended that "The strategic proximity of the Korean Peninsula resting between the Asian continent and the Japanese archipelago required the Japanese government to more closely integrate the Korean people into its empire." Mark E. Caprio, *Japanese Assimilation Policies in Colonial Korea: 1910-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 146.

⁴⁷¹ For example, since the 1920s and 1930s Tanabe Hajime had been seeking to establish a philosophical foundation for the multi-ethnic nation-state, which can incorporate all the different ethnic nations within the universal empire. This theorization of multi-ethnic empire was clearly illuminated in his collected volume, "Logic of the Species (Shu no Ronri)." See Naoki Sakai, "Subject and Substratum: On Japanese Imperial Nationalism," *Cultural Studies* Vol. 14 (3/4, 2000): 469.

ethnicities within the Japanese sphere to aid in its mobilization for the war. It is also important to note that in wartime regional policy, the term “New Order in East Asia (*Tōa shinchitsujo*)” was pushed to the forefront – and this could also be seen at the 1940 Seoul event. It cannot be definitively stated to what extent the New Order was linked to the exhibition, but this chapter proposes to study the link between this wartime regional ideology and the use of exhibitionary practices. In other words, this chapter, rather than theorizing how the “New Order” policies were reflected, investigates how the event site staged the multicultural East Asian cooperative community within which the Korean nation was mediated, along with *Naisen Ittai* ideology.

In terms of Japan’s multi-ethnic inclusiveness, Miki Kiyoshi’s notion of what is called the “East Asian Cooperative Body” seems helpful in understanding the staging of the panoramas in this exhibition.⁴⁷² It is true that his thoughts on the East Asian Cooperative Body (*Tōa kyōdōtai*: 東亜協同体) became used as the foundation of the new regionalism that developed during the wartime, such as the ideas of the New Order and the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, although Miki himself was strongly against these developments.

Miki Kiyoshi was a Marxist, Kyoto-based school philosopher who, starting around the late 1930s, cooperated with Shōwa Research Association (*Showa Kenkyukai*), an intellectual think tank for then-Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro. His research, published during his participation in the Shōwa Research group, was mostly censored by the government. Therefore, much of Miki’s work from that,

⁴⁷² If the concept of the New Order in East Asia (*Tōa shinchitsujo*) was the product of Konoe’s research group, the *Shōwa Kenkyukai* (Shōwa research association), then the thoughts of Miki Kiyoshi, as an intellectual thinker for the group, were largely associated with the New Order.

regardless of his intentions – and mostly out of coercion – seemed to contribute to the philosophical foundation for the country's imperial policies.⁴⁷³

Since the Seoul event was full of the catchphrases, such as “the Prosperity of Asia (kyo-a),” “the New Order of East Asia” and “the Prosperity Sphere of East Asia,” the staging of cooperativism between Japanese and Korean nations can be understood from Miki's semi-utopian idea of the mediation of other nations.⁴⁷⁴

Like the event's enacting of seeming inclusiveness and its encircling of various Asian cultures, Miki similarly attends to how different nations can mutually make up and cooperate as what is called the “East Asian Cooperative Body,” not as imperial domination, but as “cosmopolitan liberation.”⁴⁷⁵ Miki's notion of cosmopolitan East Asian cooperativism comes mainly from his critique of the “abstract” aspect of Western cosmopolitanism. While the Western type of cooperativism is the simple integration of “atomistic” relations, according to Miki, it also calls for a new theory of cosmopolitan “cooperativism” that “purportedly transcends the individual interests of any particular culture through a logic of inclusion.”⁴⁷⁶ To put it differently, in order to move beyond this Western abstract cosmopolitanism, Miki attends to the dialectical mediation between an individual and the world – which should be based upon the self-awareness of the

⁴⁷³ For Miki's biography, see Susan C. Townsend, *Miki Kiyoshi, 1897-1945: Japan's Itinerant Philosopher* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

⁴⁷⁴ However, this dissertation does not intend to theorize about or explain his conception.

⁴⁷⁵ John Namjun Kim, “The Temporality of Empire: The Imperial Cosmopolitanism of Miki Kiyoshi and Tanabe Hajime,” in *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, Regionalism and Borders*, ed. Sven Saaler and J. Victor Koschmann (London: Routledge, 2007), 153.

⁴⁷⁶ Miki Kiyoshi, *Miki Kiyoshi Zenshū*, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966-8), 538; cited in Kim, “The Temporality of Empire,” 156.

subject, called *shutai* – “as both thinking and acting being.”⁴⁷⁷ Based upon *shutai*, an individual subject and an instance of moving toward the transcendental imagined collectiveness, “he proposes a political super-community of nations in which the freedom of the whole and that of its parts are bi-conditionally defined.”⁴⁷⁸ Miki’s East Asian Cooperative Body is, in other words, a cooperativism between nations – specifically, Japan, Manchuria, China and other Asian nations. The fact that individual members are addressed as free-will subjects, and yet that they are encouraged, moving beyond narrow ethnic divisions, to go further, to a larger – or universal – realm, makes this conception of Miki’s appear to function similarly to the panorama techniques used in the Exposition. As I will discuss in the following section, the Seoul event was saturated with panoramic images wherein Korean culture was connected toward a higher realm – East Asian cooperativism.

4) Panorama – Staging of Multi-cultural East Asian Cooperativism

The event space of the 1940 exhibition not only rearticulated the spatial relations of the Korean nation as a local region of the empire, but also reframed the temporal relations of the Korean nation within the Japanese empire. Two pavilions in particular, the Commemoration Pavilion of Colonial Administration (始政記念館) and the Pavilion of Imperial History (皇國歴史館), were featured

⁴⁷⁷ Kim, Ibid., 155.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., 157.

as the two most important historical pavilions by a series of articles in *Keijō Nippō*.⁴⁷⁹ In examining these pavilions, it is crucial to note that they were replete with panoramic images. The *Chōsen* states that the exhibition, by displaying photographic information in the form of panoramas and dioramas, attempts to allow all the aspects of Korea from its past 30 years under the Japanese empire to be understood at a glance.⁴⁸⁰ These displays were specifically designed to surround the visitors and provide them with an extended vision. In other words, the panoramas were intended to give an overview image of all aspects of the empire and a freedom of going beyond the immediate reality. The following will investigate how the visual practices of these panoramas functioned to provide the audience with the sense of being a free-willed member of the East Asian empire – the subject with self-awareness – while at the same time undermining their sense of full membership in it.

As abovementioned in chapter 3, panorama in general implies a view at a glance, or a wide, all-encompassing view.⁴⁸¹ It is largely known that the Irish painter Robert Barker coined the term to describe his panoramic paintings of Edinburgh. The main principle behind the technique lies in the way the audience views its scenery: mostly shown on a cylindrical surface, the scenery surrounds the viewer with a limitless panning view.⁴⁸² These panorama theatres were very popular in eighteenth-century Europe; in Japan, the first panorama appeared in

⁴⁷⁹ These pavilions, along with the Holy War Pavilion, were called the essence of the exhibition. See: The *Chōsen*, 4; *Keijō Nippō* (Sept. 1, 1940).

⁴⁸⁰ The *Chōsen*, 4.

⁴⁸¹ See Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York: Zone Books, 1997).

⁴⁸² See Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*.

1890 at the 3rd National Industrial Exposition in Ueno Park, followed by the Japan Panorama Theatre in Asakusa.⁴⁸³ According to Kinoshita Naoyuki, since the construction of panoramas required a great amount of funds and thus involved a number of political and business figures, these earlier panoramic forms in Japan were mostly aimed at public education, unlike other entertainment spectacles. The Ueno Park panorama, for instance, was replete with historical subjects; moreover, war was one of the most commonly employed themes in panorama painting mainly due to the technique's ability to deliver spectacular battle scenes.⁴⁸⁴ Kinoshita, in this context, associates the emergence of this new visual technology with a new image of China – circulated in Japan – as an expansive open field (*kōya* 広野) and new paradise. According to Kinoshita, around the first Sino-Japanese war, China's open field images were often portrayed in panorama theatres. These images of China as an empty and new paradise encouraged people to actually move there, on the one hand; and on the other hand, they played a certain role in justifying the waging of Japan's first war with China.⁴⁸⁵ Kinoshita's account demonstrates a utopian aspect of panoramas where an individual audience is urged to move beyond the immediate present toward a higher realm. In case of the 1940 exposition, the terms “panorama” and “diorama” were often used interchangeably, but in many cases the former referred to a circular form of enlarged images or a series of pictures that surrounded viewers, whereas diorama

⁴⁸³ Kinoshita Naoyuki, *Bijutsu to iu misemono: Aburae chaya no jidai* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1993), 164-5.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 161-72.

referred to a large, three-dimensional and theatrical structure.⁴⁸⁶ Despite the slight differences in form, both techniques allow the viewer to grasp a larger overview of an extended image due to their encircling configurations. The panorama techniques at this Seoul event in particular were used to stage the inclusiveness of the Asian empire, which incorporated all the Asian nations temporally and spatially within the larger sphere of East Asian cooperativism.

Upon entering the Imperial History Pavilion, visitors were surrounded by 48 panoramic images of Japanese imperial history. The *Chōsen* explains that these scenes were selected to feature particularly important moments in Japan's 2600 years of imperial history. In other words, the pavilion was intended to exhibit the evolving path of the empire, from the enthronement of Jimmu to Japan's secession from the National League after the Manchurian Incident. Judging from the images shown in the catalogue, the panoramic overview of Japanese imperial history consisted of the very founding moments, such as scenes of the legend of Amaterasu emerging out of the rock cave [figure 64] and Jimmu's accession in Kashihara [figure 65]; scenes of Japan's historic victory over the Mongolian invasion [figure 66] with the help of the kamikaze (Divine Wind); and more recent events such as the Manchurian Incident.⁴⁸⁷ Furthermore, given the fact that the History Pavilion included scenes of the Mongolian invasion and the Manchurian Incident, it can be presumed that the exhibition hall offered a series

⁴⁸⁶ As for the historical differences, see footnote 244

⁴⁸⁷ "Chōsen no gensho to sanjūnengo wo egaku," *Keijō Nippō* (Aug. 15, 1940); also in *Keijō Nippō* (Aug. 8, 1940). These stories of imperial victory, which mostly ended with the Manchurian Incident, were typical of national history in the military-saturated environment of wartime Japan: see Ruoff, *Imperial Japan*, 27-55.

of images of the ongoing story of Japan's imperial victory with the help of God.⁴⁸⁸ The technology of panoramic images played a particularly crucial role in making the audience feel as if they were protagonists in these victories. In other words, the Korean audience had now been mediated, in a temporal sense, as a member of the larger East Asian cooperative community, sharing the same imperial history. Significantly, these epics were designed to be further stressed under the ancient idiom of *Hakkō Ichiu*. According to the *Chōsen*, the Imperial History Pavilion was “to feature the ideal of *Hakkō Ichiu*, and manifest the spirit of the founding of the empire, and by doing so, [...] these historical traces will demonstrate the common ancestry and common roots between Korea and Japan.”⁴⁸⁹ This shows how the temporality of the Koreans had now been sublated into a larger imperial history.

Although the age-old catchphrase *Hakkō Ichiu* had originated in the 8th century from *Nihon Shoki* (The Chronicles of Japan), the second-oldest Japanese history book, it is important to note that this ideal was often mobilized in the service of Japanese expansionism after the start of the second Sino-Japanese War. *Nihon Shoki* contended that when Emperor Jimmu was enthroned at Kashiwara, his ideal goal was expressed as follows: “Unify six quarters, to establish the

⁴⁸⁸ In *Kokutai no Hongi*, the Mongolian Invasion was portrayed as the presentation of Yamato spirit, the Truth, or God's way: “And after the Mongolian Invasion the conception that this is the Land of the Gods developed notably, and was realized as the Yamato spirit. Indeed, the Yamato spirit [...] has been aroused forcibly and manifested concretely in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars.” Monbushō, *Kokutai no hongei: Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan*, trans. John Owen Gauntlett and ed. Robert King Hall (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 132.

⁴⁸⁹ The *Chōsen*, 5.

capital, and to make [one] house by covering eight corners.”⁴⁹⁰ The word *Hakkō*, in the original text, meant the “eight corners” of the world, while *Ichiu* can be translated as “one roof,” symbolizing the construction of familial solidarity.

Significantly, the phrase resurfaced in the Meiji era thanks to the efforts of Tanaka Chigaku, an ultra-nationalist Buddhist scholar. He reinterpreted the term by combining *Hakkō* and *Ichiu* together, in reaction to the Western world’s resistance to Japanese expansion.⁴⁹¹ Tanaka, following the ideals of Jimmu, who unified Japan with the help of the sun goddess, further proclaimed the contemporary Asian empire to be the leader of the world and interpreted the ancient idiom to express the ideology of domination.⁴⁹² However, more militaristic meanings came to colour the age-old catchword around 1940, when Japan prepared for the celebration of the 2600th anniversary of Jimmu’s ascension. Through this national event, the meaning of *Hakkō Ichiu* was painted with Japan’s expansionist attempts and associated with “unifying the world under the emperor.”⁴⁹³ The ideology escalated throughout the expansion of the Japanese empire, and it moreover came to justify colonial domination. In this regard, *Kokutai no Hongi*, which was published by the government in 1937 and was made a required text for all teaching staff and students, explicitly manifested the

⁴⁹⁰ Taeko Teshima, “Myths of Hakkō Ichiu: Nationalism, Liminality, and Gender in Official Ceremonies of Modern Japan” (PhD. diss. The University of Arizona, 2006), 85; see also Monbushō, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 7.

⁴⁹¹ Teshima, “Myths,” 85.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 86.

⁴⁹³ Kunaichō, ed., *Kigen 2600-nen shukuten kiroku*, Vol. 26 (Tokyo: Yumani shobō, 1999), 73-4; cited in Teshima, “Myths,” 86; for more about the *Hakkō Ichiu* tower in regards to wartime ideology, see Walter Edwards, “Forging Tradition for a Holy War: The ‘Hakkō Ichiu’ Tower in Miyazaki and Japanese Wartime Ideology,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 29, no. 2 (Summer, 2003): 289-324.

reinvention of its imperialist and militaristic implications. *Kokutai no Hongi* goes on to describe the divine origin of Japan:

On the occasion of the enthronement the Emperor Jimmu did say in his proclamation: “It is six years since we repaired to the East. Through the influence of the heavenly deities the enemies have been subdued. ... Do ye your best to enlarge the Imperial capital and build ye the Palace. Would it not be good, too, thereafter to unify the six quarters, to establish the capital, and to make [one] house by covering the eight corners?”⁴⁹⁴

Based on history and lineage, the text further advocates for militarism. The book even warns that in times of discord, warrior spirits will be needed: “It is in the subduing of those who refuse to conform to the august influence of the Emperor’s virtues that the mission of our Imperial Military Forces lies.”⁴⁹⁵ The ancient catchword was therefore the embodiment of Japan’s justification of its leadership and militaristic domination on the basis of self-claimed history.

Significantly, an 18-metre high tower [figure 67] that symbolized this ancient idiom was built at the centre of the event site so that visitors could easily identify their positions by looking to the highly visible tower. Given the implication of the phrase – encompassing the eight corners under one roof – the physical representation of *Hakkō Ichiu* can itself also be associated with panoramas, encircling every corner of the world under the emperor’s eye. The tower, in other words, was not simply meant to embody the bellicose tone of the event, but also to encourage minority ethnicities to participate in the war as part of an East Asian cooperative community, so to speak. A definition from one Korean

⁴⁹⁴ Monbushō, *Kokutai no Hongi*, 70.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 170.

magazine about the meaning of the age-old phrase demonstrates how its meaning was interpreted at the time:

Originally, *Hakkō Ichiu*'s *Hakkō* means the whole world and *Ichiu* means one family. Therefore, our goal is to build a larger family society by embracing the whole world. In other words, our new order that Japan is constructing is to embrace all of the races as our family, and make them live happily as our sons and brothers. The notion of imperial way (皇道精神) in *Hakkō Ichiu* has not only been our national polity since the founding of our country, but it also has been based on the royal edict of Emperor Jimmu ... Korea therefore, as a member of the cultural sphere of imperial way ... should be developed into an exemplary region of the Greater East Asian Sphere through moral training.⁴⁹⁶

The high-rise tower invites other ethnicities to participate in the victorious imperial way. The panorama technique, to put it another way, mediates Koreans and all the other ethnos through a higher transcendental vision of empire. If the ideology of *Hakkō Ichiu* encourages these nations to move beyond ethnic nationalism for the victory of the entire empire, the panoramic displays and the tower together were intended to make viewers feel as if they were the inheritors of history. These all-encompassing spectacles tended to situate viewers at the centre of an extended vision, making them central to the victorious tale without visual limits to their participation.

Panoramas were also on display inside another main exhibition hall, "the Commemoration Pavilion of the Colonial Administration," which was intended to show Korean colonial history and its outcome. First, visitors were faced with dioramic images of the Chōsen Shrine (*Chōsen jingū*) along with the phrase

⁴⁹⁶ "Kokutai no hongī to dōgi Chōsen," *Chogwang* (Sept. 1942): 27-9.

Naisen Ittai.⁴⁹⁷ [figure 68] The three-dimensional image highlighted a scene that showed Koreans bowing to the shrine while entering it, the rituals which most Koreans at the time were forced to follow.⁴⁹⁸ The shrine was not only the site of *Naisen Ittai* but also a religious place where a Shinto deity, Amaterasu, and the modern Japanese emperor were enshrined. So, the message of the diorama was that by following *Naisen Ittai* practices, such as visits to the shrine, Koreans could now join the empire as members. In other words, the Korean nation was now – in a temporal realm – being incorporated into the history of the Japanese empire. Being located right across from the Imperial History Pavilion, the Colonial History Pavilion was automatically connected to imperial history. It is important to recognize that the ancient history of Korea was not displayed at this event; it was replaced by that of Japan within the Imperial History display. The Imperial History pavilion thus contended that, “by demonstrating the imperial path from birth and evolution, the pavilion endeavors to show the history of the shared ancestry and shared root of Korea and Japan (*Naisen dōsō, dōkon*).”⁴⁹⁹ Whereas Japan’s previous exhibitions mostly featured views of the past and traditional customs of Korea, in this exhibition Korean history was taken as a local history, side by side with other regional histories of Japan. Moreover, by claiming *Hakkō*

⁴⁹⁷ The Chōsen Shrine was located in Namsan Park, completed in 1925 and demolished on August 15, 1945 by the Japanese government itself. The main Gods enshrined in the shrine during the colonial era were Amaterasu, progenitor of the imperial line, and the emperor of Meiji. In terms of planting in Korea’s terrain the unbroken imperial line of Japan from its origin to the modern emperor, Ruoff states that “The shrine ... could not have more clearly symbolized the extension of imperial rule over Korea, the modern-day equivalent of Emperor Jimmu’s Eastward Expedition.” Ruoff, *Imperial Japan*, 118. For more about the Chōsen Shrine, see Kim Sujin, “Singmin'gwollyōkūi chagi ginyōmgwa sigakchōk sōnjōn,” *Sahoewa yōksa* Vol. 89 (2011): 117-64.

⁴⁹⁸ “Mazu munewo utsu kyōjin,” *Keijō Nippō* (Aug. 25, 1940).

⁴⁹⁹ The *Chōsen*, 5.

Ichiu as the main ideal of the Imperial History Pavilion, the histories of Korea and Japan were now being considered as already temporally included in the same imperial history.

Furthermore, a series of pictures in the Commemoration Pavilion also showed a panorama of colonial Korea's chronological development, featuring such moments as the establishment of the modern education system, the construction of the *Sorok* Rehabilitation Institution and the moment of the Forced Name Change Policy (*Ch'angssi-Gaemyōng*). These and other moments were exhibited through the use of 37 dioramic images.⁵⁰⁰ In addition to this, a series of portraits of the governors-general and superintendents-general of Korea, from Itō Hirobumi to Minami Jirō, were on display [figure 69], building a panoramic view of the colonial administration. These extended and encompassing images inevitably led into scenes of a utopian future. Using three-dimensional dioramas and panoramic images, the pavilion also showed how the country's population, education and transportation systems would be changed thirty years into the future. Such images as a submarine tunnel connecting Shimonoseki to Pusan not only invoked a sense of utopia, but also subsumed Korean youth into the proud Asian empire.⁵⁰¹ [figure 70]

One of the most important aspects of the panorama technique is its extensive and encompassing vision, or the sense of visual freedom that it can engender in the viewer. A historian of panorama, Stephan Oettermann has noted the coincidental rise of panorama use parallel with the expansion of the middle

⁵⁰⁰ "Chōsen no gensho to sanjūnengo wo egaku," *Keijō Nippō* (Aug. 15, 1940).

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

class in 19th-century Europe. According to Oettermann, the panorama rose to prominence in the late 18th century. Among other things it embodied the economic and visual desires of the middle class, and also became a main booster of the middle class's emergence. The modern usage of the term panorama mostly refers to a "survey" or "overview" of a certain scene and more specifically represents an all-seeing eye from a certain vantage point, without any restrictions. In this sense, Oettermann deftly connects the rise of the panorama to the middle class's economic passion for the free market and its desire to go beyond national borders. The modern development of the hot-air balloon and the aerial photography of Nadar, both of which symbolize panoramic vision, [figure 71] were also products of "free-ranging, unrestricted" bourgeois activities.⁵⁰² Seen in terms of the history of the panorama, this new technology can be deemed to promote a bourgeois, "unrestricted" and "free-ranging" vision, or a "liberating human vision."⁵⁰³ In this context, a viewer at the 1940 Seoul Exposition represents a subject who can hold an encompassing vision over Japan's entire 2600-year-long imperial history as well as connect himself to the whole of Greater East Asia. He or she can imagine himself or herself as a free observer who has inherited the proud imperial history, going beyond any racial or national discrimination. From another perspective, these spectacular national events from the wartime can easily be imagined as a totalitarian and fascist machine. However, it should not be ignored that these events were in many ways created as part of an urban entertainment culture

⁵⁰² Oettermann, *The Panorama*, 15-18.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 7.

addressed to an urban bourgeois audience in the colonies.⁵⁰⁴ Moreover, the show mostly targeted the youth who were planning to support or even volunteer for the imperial army. In this sense, the self-imagined free-standing subject of the panorama identifies with those who self-associate with a higher transcendental vision of the Greater East Asian Empire, going beyond any narrow sense of nationalism.

At the same time, it is crucial to note that panorama technology was considered not only a tool for liberating human vision, but also an instrument for limiting and imprisoning at the same time. Stephan Oettermann correctly claimed that the panorama embodies “the discovery of the horizon, the liberation of the eye,” and at the same time “a complete prison for the eye.”⁵⁰⁵ In other words, panoramas represent not only the all-seeing eye of the bourgeois, but also the panoptic imprisonment of subjectivities.⁵⁰⁶ When viewing a panorama, the transcendent Cartesian subject of the viewer is simultaneously trapped and enclosed within the physical boundaries of human vision, as is shown in [figure 72].⁵⁰⁷ The exposition site, as a result, performatively shows at once the inclusiveness and the limits of formulating a multi-ethnic empire.

The logic of the panoramas in this event was designed to simultaneously embrace Japan and Korea, as well as a variety of other ethnic nations, and yet this synchronous embracing must posit an overarching frame which can be applied to all these different identities simultaneously. In other words, both panorama

⁵⁰⁴ It is, at the same time, true that many students were actively mobilized to visit the Exposition.

⁵⁰⁵ Oettermann, *The Panorama*, 21.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, 21.

⁵⁰⁷ This passage is inspired by Thomas LaMarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 172.

techniques and the logic of a multiplex ethnic empire assume a particular point of view from which all these individuals can be addressed at once – in this exposition, it was the point of view of the Japanese empire.

In a similar way, Miki's cooperativism in itself was not targeted toward an equal embracing of all peoples. Despite his emphasis on “mutual cultural mediation” between the members of the East Asian Cooperative Body, his argument is premised upon Japan assuming a leading role within the community.⁵⁰⁸ According to Miki, the primacy of Japanese culture lies in its power of “nothingness,” which can historically include and mediate all the other cultures while preserving the most vivid aspects of them all.⁵⁰⁹ While Miki views Western culture as “reified” and Chinese culture as “exclusionary,” he sees Japan as occupying the privileged position in the East Asian Cooperative Body thanks to its historical mediation and incorporation of diverse cultures and practices:

[W]hat should be observed as Japanese culture's distinctiveness is its inclusiveness. From an ancient time Japanese culture has developed by assimilating Chinese and Indian culture, and later Western culture. However, while adopting foreign cultures, it does not impossibly attempt to unify them into set forms. Rather, it was inclusive such that it permitted their coexistence. Belief in Shinto and Buddhism is for Japanese people not a contradiction, rather they stand side by side. Japanese people do not feel a contradiction in viewing a Japanese painting and a Western painting in one and the same room. In this manner, the breadth and depth of the Japanese mind is located where even things that are objectively incompatible are unified subjectively. It is precisely this mind that is needed in the new Cooperative Body. Among all the nation of East Asia, the distinctiveness of each culture must be brought to life without forcing them into a single form.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁸ Kim, “The Temporality of Empire,” 157.

⁵⁰⁹ Kim, “The Temporality of Empire,” 158-9.

⁵¹⁰ Miki Kiyoshi, *Miki Kiyoshi Zenshū*, 530-1; cited in Kim, “The Temporality of Empire,” 159.

In other words, to Miki, all different cultures can coexist in the Japanese empire without any contradictions, and yet it is only through Japan that they can actualize “a real cosmopolitanism” due to its nothingness.⁵¹¹ In this view, Japan only mediates; it does not oppressively unify others into one. This spatial structure suggests the panorama, a utopian configuration where all the ethnic nations are included and opened up to all, and yet they are mediated from one specific point. To put it differently, this openness and freedom forms the underlying logic of both the empire and the panoramas of the Seoul event. Like the panorama practices at the event, the free subject of the multi-ethnic empire is only meant to be actualized through one point – only through the Japanese empire.

Interestingly, this viewing subject of panorama, in terms of the simultaneous subjugation of its free will and its imprisonment by the technique, in many ways overlapped with the concept of volunteer soldiers at the time. The viewers of panoramas at the 1940 Exposition emerged as free-standing subjects – *shutai* – of the East Asian Cooperative Body, but at the same time their subjectivities were imagined and activated only by through the vision of Japanese empire. In a similar vein, the Special Volunteer Soldiers System put an emphasis on the volunteers’ free will in their decision to join the Imperial Army.⁵¹² The rhetoric of volunteerism used in much of the propaganda from this time was structured around the soldiers’ free will in going to the front and their courage in being willing to die for the empire, rather than being forced to do so. However, it is crucial not to forget that this special underscoring of volunteerism was merely

⁵¹¹ Kim, “The Temporality of Empire,” 158-159.

⁵¹² Sakai, “Subject and Substratum, 508.

euphemistic, and the soldiers' will to join the imperial forces was often conditioned by many outside, involuntary forces.⁵¹³

According to Sakai, this volunteer soldiers from Korea and other colonies and the emphasis on their free-will can be compared to African-American and other minority soldiers who were sent to the war front during the Vietnam War in the name of volunteerism. These soldiers chose to “volunteer to ‘devote themselves to the country’ ... not as ‘blacks’ nor as ‘minority youths’ but as national subjects of the United States,”⁵¹⁴ but it should not be forgotten that, in many cases, they had no choice but do this in order to be accepted as real citizens of the United States. In other words, although the willingness to die for the empire was represented as their free will based on self-awareness, the “free choices” made by Korean soldiers were at the same time conditioned by many other situations, such as the pressure to prove that they were more authentic than the Japanese. However, it was only through self-negation or the will to die for the empire that an individual ethnic nation such as Korea could be mediated into a higher realm of utopian future of the empire. Just as volunteerism was based on the subjectivity of free will, the subjectivity established at the 1940 event was similarly that of a free-standing observer – and yet this freedom can be only achieved through the will to die for the empire.

⁵¹³ Many of the Korean volunteer soldiers went to the imperial army for economic reasons, mostly running away from their poor peasant villages; moreover, there also existed a great deal of tacit pressure from government organizations such as the police and schools to promote volunteerism. This (un)freedom of Korean volunteer soldiers, linked to the situations of confinement and exclusion, can be compared to the situation of Japanese Americans who became volunteer soldiers during WWII; see Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, chapter 3.

⁵¹⁴ Sakai, “Subject and Substratum, 473. See also, T. Fujitani, *Race for Empire*, chapter 1 and 3.

5) Holy War: the Utopian Future of the War

Miki Kiyoshi urged individuals to move beyond the current situation toward the higher realm and the promise of better days in the future. If the exhibition attempted to stage the equality and one-bodiness of the Koreans and the Japanese, through which the Koreans were encouraged to participate in the war, the future of the empire was now being shown as the moment when the tensions of openness and the limits of the empire could be overcome. This promise for the future and the attempts to transcend the present tensions toward the ultimate value of the empire embody the religious aspects of the situation – the holiness of the war. Much more important is that this transcendental holiness was now being mediated through (self)-negation, or dying for the empire, following the Hegelian logic.⁵¹⁵ It thus does not come as surprise to find that the Holy War Pavilion was replete with death and suicidal images.

As was articulated in the opening speech of the exposition, as well as in the display of war trophies and armaments, the 1940 exposition was one of the most bellicose expositions of the time. However, what is more striking is the exhibition's association between war and religious elements. Indeed, the mercenary exposition was accompanied by a religious vocabulary, such as holy war and Imperial Army (*kōgun*),⁵¹⁶ elevating the war to the level of divinity. For instance, the main sponsoring newspaper, *Keijō Nippō*, describes the event as “an

⁵¹⁵ The discussion of the Hegelian logic and Tanabe Hajime (Kyoto school philosopher) from the view of how the logics contributed to the mobilization of other ethnic nations to the war, see Sakai, “Subject and Substratum,”

⁵¹⁶ From around 1940, the term for “empire,” *kōkoku*, came to replace *teikoku*, the literal translation of the English word “empire.” *Kōkoku* was adopted to stress the religious aspects of the war, unlike that of Western imperialism. *Kōgun* is derived from *kōkoku* in a similar context.

exposition showing all-embracing national resources under the holy war.” The sponsor newspaper goes on to spell out the aims of the show as follows: “The first is by uplifting the spirit of empire (*kōkoku*, 皇国) to illuminate the national polity; the second is by exhibiting the quintessence of the armed forces, economy, industry, and culture of the Greater East Asia, to demonstrate the majesty of the Japanese empire under the holy war, and in doing so, to spur the construction of the New Order in East Asia.”⁵¹⁷

In Japan’s case, the term “holy war” began to experience wider use in the aftermath of the 1937 Sino-Japanese war.⁵¹⁸ According to Kawamura Kunimitsu, the term was often used to depict stiff competition at the Olympic Games, but in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident the phrase became more frequently used in the context of actual war.⁵¹⁹ As in the case of the 1937 China Incident Holy War Exposition, the term was often used to describe the Sino-Japanese war; but before long it had been expanded to apply to most Japanese wars.⁵²⁰ More specifically, in a pamphlet published by the Japanese army in November of 1937, the holy war was described as follows:

It is in part obvious that this Incident took place between Japan and China, but a much closer examination of this incident will reveal that this is a holy war waged by the Gods: Japan (神國: God’s state) against

⁵¹⁷ *Keijō Nippō* (Sept. 1, 1940).

⁵¹⁸ Kawamura Kunimitsu, *Seisen no ikonogurafi: tennō to heishi, senshisha no zuzō, hyōshō* (Tōkyō: Seikyūsha, 2007), 20.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵²⁰ Jōng Ch’ang-Sōk, “Chōltaechuūi ch’onhwangje kongganūi hwakdae (The Expansion of Absolute Emperor System),” *Ilbonhakbo (Japan Studies)* vol. 37 (2008): 288-9.

daring foreign ideas, dangerous communism and imperialism in order to establish international justice.⁵²¹

“Holy war” therefore referred to a war waged by God’s state, Japan. And the wars waged by Japan were deemed to be God’s will and way.

Following this logic, it comes as no surprise that the 1940 event site was structured much like Shintoist site. The entrance of the exposition itself resembled the Torii, the symbolic Shinto gate. [figure 73] The Imperial History Pavilion was meant to link visitors with the direct and unbroken line of descendants from the divinity of Amaterasu, both as the historical founding point and as the God of Shinto. Furthermore, after entering the gate, the first thing that visitors would have faced was the *Hakkō Ichiu* Tower, a symbol of the holy war and a religious icon. The ancient phrase and its iconography bequeath divinity onto war in terms of its historicity:

The emperor bestowed the royal rescript, which says “by incorporating the six continents and by covering the eight corners, it ought to establish a capital, under one roof,” and in doing so, he aimed for the extensive heaven’s occupation. Therefore, ... making the eight corners the one roof does not simply mean the title itself, but also implies the unification of all the separate world nations, for which we have long longed since the establishment of the country. ... Just as all the creatures in the cosmos operate orderly in accordance with the only and absolute Sun, so the world human races will be able to reach the world order for the first time by following the emperor, the son of the Sun. Hence, this world order, on the basis of the absolute authority of the cosmos, signifies the heaven’s extensive occupation, and from this, world peace can be promised.⁵²²

The divinity of the war, so to speak, had already been heralded throughout history, starting from the time of Jimmu’s occupation of heaven. This presumed historical

⁵²¹ “Jigyoku no jyutaise,” *Rikugunshō Shinbun* (Nov. 18, 1937): 66: cited in Jōng, “Chōltaechuūi,” 286.

⁵²² “Seisen no Hongi,” *Bungei Shunjū* (Jan. 1942): 96-7.

fact furthermore justified the waging of war for the purpose of the world order. Following this logic, Japan's militaristic propaganda in the wake of the Manchurian Incident made use of such terms as *Hakkō Ichiu* and holy war, just as these words filled the exhibition site.

After visitors to the site had looked around the spatial and temporal aspects of the empire, they were then guided to the end of the event site, the climax of the divine space. The end of the exposition was called "the street of Holy War," [figure 74] and it was filled with a variety of armaments and weapons, including warships and aircraft. It is significant to note that these spectacles of war, as the name of the street indicates, were directly connected to religious imagery. At the end of the Holy War street was a sacred site for the lieutenant Seijū (西住 大尉),⁵²³ who was venerated as a war hero and further elevated to the level of military god (軍神). His tank was decorated as if it were a shrine for worship. [figure 75] The combat car became a religious site where visitors could bow and pay silent tribute to his portrait.⁵²⁴

After witnessing the militaristic war front, which could be deemed a "holy site," visitors were guided into the War Deeds Pavilion [figure 76], which aimed to respect the memory of the war dead. The exhibits of this pavilion included sabers and field glasses that had been used in battle, as well as 300 portraits of those who had died in the recent Sino-Japanese war.⁵²⁵ [figure 77] Articles left by

⁵²³ From the second Sino-Japanese War on, a number of war heroes were worshiped as Gods of War, and Lieutenant Seijū was one of the first among them.

⁵²⁴ See *Keijō Nippō* (Sept. 3, 1940) and *Keijō Nippō* (Aug. 16, 1940).

⁵²⁵ *Keijō Nippō* (Oct. 1, 1940); cited in Henry, "Celebrating Empire," 94-5.

the dead soldiers, including those left by Yi Insök, and uniforms that were still stained with their blood played important roles in sanctifying the deeds of the soldiers at war. Upon entering the War Deeds Pavilion, the first exhibit that visitors would have seen was a replica model of the Tower Devoted to the War Souls (忠靈塔) [figure 78], where funds could be offered for the defense of the Country Shrine.⁵²⁶ According to Kawamura Kunimitsu, throughout the Asia-Pacific War, while the emperor was deemed to be a “God,” the fallen war heroes were venerated as “sub-Gods” (屬神).⁵²⁷ These war dead, who were worshiped as military gods, were often revered through public ceremony, such as collective funerals (公葬).⁵²⁸ The example of Private Yi in particular embodies this step of elevating a dead soldier to sub-God status with many stories of his heroic deeds. For instance, Many narratives about Yi Insök – mostly printed in magazines, newspapers and textbooks – not surprisingly followed this typical process of myth-making, turning soldiers into heroes and military gods. The best-known story about Private First Class Yi was as follows: despite all the perils and many dissuasions from his colleagues, he is known to have willingly run into the front and to have died while reciting the words, “Banzai to the emperor.”⁵²⁹ Furthermore, much of the media when featuring this news about Yi attempted to beautify his death. One of the newspaper articles featuring his death described it as follows:

⁵²⁶ The *Chōsen*, 29.

⁵²⁷ Kunimitsu. *Seisen no ikonogurafi*, 173.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 185-9.

⁵²⁹ Utsumi Aiko, “Korean ‘Imperial Soldiers’,” 206; see also Shiobara Dokisabura, “Koreans Seen by Volunteer Soldiers (Chiwōnbyōng i pon Chosōnin)” in *Modern Japan and Korea 1939 (Modan ilbon kwa Choson)*, in *Modan Nihon*, trans. So-Yong Yun et al. (Seoul: ōmunhaksa, 2007), 122-3.

If the greatest honor of soldiers is to die for the state, the way for the Korean Volunteer soldiers to follow seems obvious here. ... In this context, with facing the private Yi's death for the prosperity of Asia in the front, we cannot help being thrilled. ... Once you decided to devote yourself to the state, it must be the soldier's duty to pursue death for the country, rather than looking for petty realities.⁵³⁰

The stories about dead volunteer soldiers thus functioned to encourage others to follow similar proud paths, not for current “petty realities,” but for our future. The same mechanism applied to the site dedicated to the fallen; in a similar logic, many portraits of those who had fallen in the Sino-Japanese War, including Yi Insök, functioned as model deaths at the 1940 event. The saturation of death images led to the encouragement of youth's willingness to die for the empire, moving beyond a narrow sense of ethnic nationalism toward a larger and higher realm. Furthermore, the moment of dying for the empire is the exact moment in which Koreans could be accepted as true Japanese citizens. In other words, it was only through the mediation of negated ethnic nation, or dying for the empire, that the promised equality between Japanese and Koreans or Japanese and other ethnicities could be attained.

The head of the Association for Patriotic Women (*Aeguk Puinhoe*), Ono Tekuro, once wrote an essay dedicated to Private Yi: “The Private Yi Insök heroically died in the continental battle while his duty in the holy war for the building of New Order in East Asia. By devoting his body, he died for the emperor's state. ... his spirits are now kept at the shrine with his war deed. His name will shine and his achievement will be alive forever with the mountain and

⁵³⁰ “Pando Chiwŏnbyŏng ch'oech'ŏi chŏnsa (The first war dead among Korean Volunteer Soldiers),” *Chaeman Chosŏnin t'ongsin* (News for Koreans living in Manchuria) (Aug. 2-3, 1939).

river.”⁵³¹ As Ono’s essay articulates, the spirits of many dead soldiers were elevated toward higher values, often to a religious level, i.e. in the name of the state. What is more important is the fact that, for the colonized war dead, the attainment of holiness and religious values on an equal level with those of the Japanese was finally achieved through their deaths. As Naoki Sakai pointed out, by possessing the will to die, the colonized could truly prove their authentic Japaneseness. Sakai went on to state:

Their anticipatory resolution for their own death is appealed to as a testimony whereby to prove that they are as capable of patriotic actions as the Japanese from Japan proper; that they are as authentically “Japanese” as the *naichijin* in respect to their subjectivity; that they are fully qualified to criticize the discriminatory attitudes of the Japanese from Japan proper against the islanders and other minorities and to destroy the various forms of injustice in the nation state of Japan, thereby transforming the given social formation.⁵³²

As the technique of panorama demonstrates, Japan appears both as a member of the multi-ethnic empire alongside Korea and as the leader and viewer of the entire empire. Through this logic, Koreans can be promised acceptance as Japanese citizens only by their death for the empire, by transcending the immediate present. The religious metaphors employed by the exhibition led to the metaphysical aspect of the event where the tensions and contradictions were put aside in order to progress toward the future goal.

This chapter examined the 1940 exposition through the mechanisms of panorama. With the expansion of the war, the Japanese imperial government tried to include other ethnicities in the definition of Japanese citizens in order to use

⁵³¹ Ono Tekuro, “Pando puin e Kukminūn kamsa (Gratitude for Korean Women from the nation),” *Samcholli* (July, 1940): 39-40.

⁵³² Sakai, “Subject and Substratum, 508.

them as potential military labour resources, as East Asian cooperativism and *Naisen Ittai* policies indicate. This chapter sought to rethink the displays of utopianism and tension in the wartime new regionalism through a consideration of exhibitionary technologies. The displays and layouts at the 1940 event attempted to reframe the Korean nation symmetrically with Japan, and moreover rearticulated Korea as a local member of the multi-ethnic East Asian empire. However, as the panorama techniques demonstrate, the East Asian cooperative community was based on the idea of free-will subjects, and yet the cooperativism could be accomplished only through a particular perspective: that of the Japanese leadership. Moreover, the equality of the Japanese and Korean nations could be only promised to those Korean citizens who displayed the will to die for the emperor. In this way, this chapter sought to show the limits and contradictions of formulating a multi-cultural empire and achieving cooperativism through the performative visual technologies of the exposition.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Homi K. Bhabha, in his review of the exhibition in Washington, D.C.'s National Gallery of Art entitled "Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration," begins by describing the two opposing structures of the galleries:

As you enter the first gallery ... your Acoustiguide – J. Carter Brown himself, the director of the National Gallery – leads you to a cabinet of late-medieval treasures: an ostrich egg brought to Europe from North Africa in classical antiquity, and turned into a gold jug sometime in the 14th century: a rock-crystal elephant, carved in India in the 15th century, caparisoned with gold and enamel mounts somewhere in Europe during the 16th century, and made up as a salt cellar. In these exotic transformations, wide geographical distances conjure cunningly with historical circumstance. The creation of global culture circa 1492, as it emerges in the "sciences" of mapping and measurement and in the fantasy of cultural expansion, is a major narrative of this exhibit.

Bhabha went on to discuss the exhibition:

Immediately after these gilded Oriental treasures, your Acoustiguide draws you to the dark testimony of Hieronymus Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony*, 1500-1505. Bosch's "absurdist" images play out the drama of evil, which they sent in a theater of the dream symbol. In testing the limits of the *sensus communis* and of its pictorial conventions, they explore the problematic projection of the "human" as it struggles, at the very threshold of early modernity, to become the representative figure in the arts. This is the other central focus of the show.⁵³³

Despite the show's attempt to provide "local cultural contexts," what Bhabha noted was that each divergent local culture converged toward the end of the first part of the display – the moment of "the emergence of the human figure as the

⁵³³ Homi K. Bhabha, "Double Visions," in *Grasping the World: the Idea of the Museum*, ed. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago (Aldershot, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2004), 237.

universal measure of culture.”⁵³⁴ In other words, despite the initial attempts to feature the discovery of diverse cultures, these divergent localities were estimated either as a “prior stage” to or an “other culture” to the era of Leonardo and Durer – “the birth of artist.”⁵³⁵ Bhabha went on to contend that “heterogeneity can only be expressive of preexisting differences.”⁵³⁶ His review, under the name of “double vision,” therefore discloses how even when being looked at awry the same angle of visibility – in other words, universalist vision – can, despite the claims of global local cultures, still persist in museum/exhibition practices.⁵³⁷

If Bhabha displaces, by way of his oblique point of view, “the embrace of multicultural esthetics” with “a palimpsest of the colonial destruction of cultures,”⁵³⁸ then a similar transformation of spectatorship can also be applied to the relations between Western and Japanese exhibition cultures toward their colonized nations. Although the direction of displacement is opposite, Bhabha’s idea of looking awry is of help in the sense that its spectatorship is not universal but transformative. Moving away from the self-claimed universal viewpoint of Western practices, and by way of obliquely seeing the Japanese and Western expositions side by side, the seemingly secondary and derivative exhibitionary technologies of Japanese expositions are rather seen to be processes of mimicry.

This dissertation, as I mentioned in the introduction, sought to shift away from the framework that takes the West as model and Japan as copy, in which Japan is seen only from the criteria of the Western original, and move into the

⁵³⁴ Ibid., 237.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Ibid., 238.

⁵³⁷ Ibid., 240.

⁵³⁸ Ibid., 240

“mimicry” model. Allochronism and the anomaly of temporality were both components of the underlying logic which the visual technologies of expositions and imperial practices shared in common. Japanese exhibitions, in particular, mimicked the lapse of time between the West and other nations in its display of other Asian nations, not as a direct copy but enacted in its own temporality. Each exhibition site that was discussed in this dissertation reframed the lagging time in other Asian nations through de-territorialization, which led to the denial of the coevalness of Japan with these other nations. On the other hand, Japanese expositions used panorama techniques to ambivalently situate other Asian nations under the umbrella of a shared Asian culture and history. The relations between Japan and other Asian nations are almost, but not quite the same as those of its Western counterpart – hence the term “mimicry.” This reading of mimicry was, however, not meant to portray Japanese imperial practices in a positive light; rather this practice of mimicry can move beyond the reading of Japan’s colonies from the double negatives – captured both by the Japanese and Western imperialism, so to speak. Moreover, the colonized cultures themselves can also be read as performing mimicry in order to overturn the totalizing vision of Japan and the West toward Asia. As Bhabha suggests, through the return of their gaze, “the observer becomes the observed, and ‘partial’ representation rearticulates the whole notion of identity and alienates it from essence.”⁵³⁹

⁵³⁹ Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” 88-9.

Figures



Figure1. View from the Ferris Wheel along Midway Plaisance. From H. H. Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: Columbian Exposition, 1893* (Chicago: Bancroft, 1893).



Figure 2. "Great Excitement – Indian Lady Throwing Out Dishwater," originally from Chicago Sunday Herald, 17 September, 1893: from Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 360.



Figure 3. Fenollosa's sketches: from Murakata Akiko, "Fenollosa no homotsu chosa to teikoku hakubutsukan no koso," *Museum*, no. 347 (Feb. 1980): 24.



Figure 4. Amida Triad Bronze (from Lady Tachibana's Shrine) ;height of Amida figure, 33.3 cm. Treasure Museum, Hōryūji: from Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art, an Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (London: Heinemann, 1921) vol.1, p. 68.



Figure 5. Screen of Amida Triad Bronze (from Lady Tachibana's Shrine).
Bronze; height 53.3 cm. Treasure Museum, Horyuji: from Ernest Francisco
Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art, an Outline History of East Asiatic
Design* (London: Heinemann, 1921) vol.1, p. 70.



Figure 6. Standing Kwannon. The painting is a copy of Godoshi (Wu Tao-tzu), Collection of Mr. Charles L. Freer: from Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese & Japanese Art, an Outline History of East Asiatic Design* (London: Heinemann, 1921) vol.1, p, 132

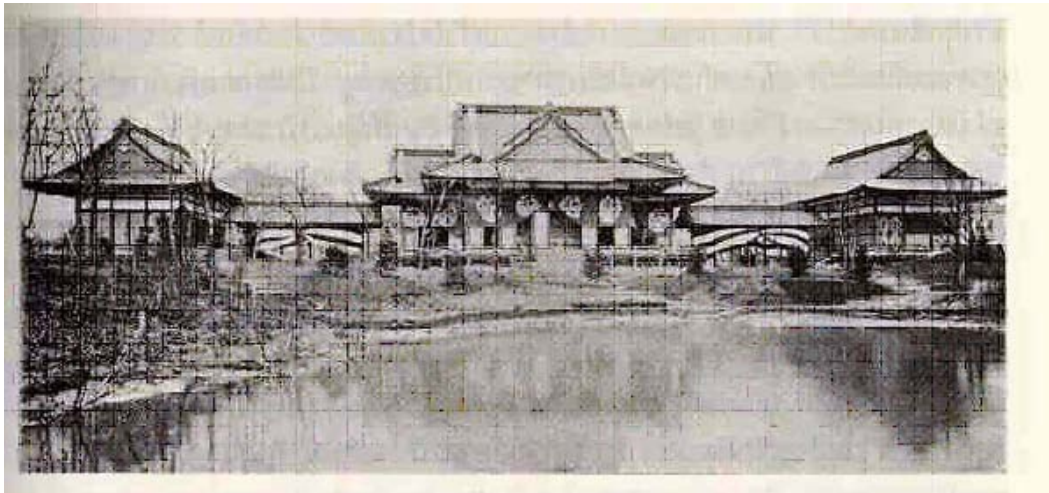


Figure 7. “Front view of the Hō-ō-den,” 1893, Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition: from *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, Vol.2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), p. 13.

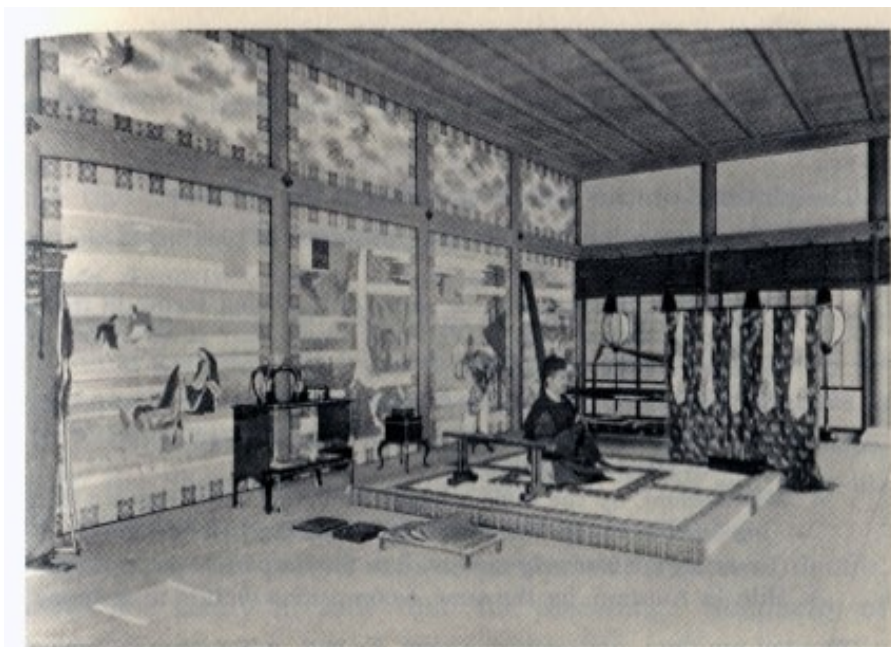


Figure 8, “Interior of Left Wing,” Kose Shōseki. *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, Vol.2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), p. 15.

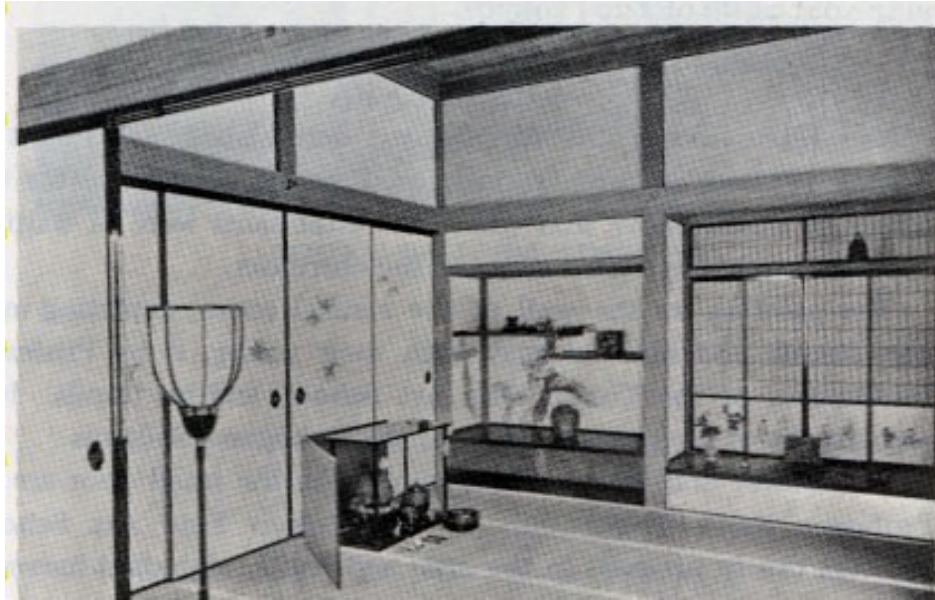


Figure 9, “The Room in Right Wing of Hō-ō-den,” Kawabata Gyokushō: from *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, Vol.2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), p. 15.



Figure 10, “Central Hall: The Jodan-no-ma,” Hashimoto Gahō: from *Okakura Kakuzo: Collected English Writings*, Vol.2 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1984), p.17.

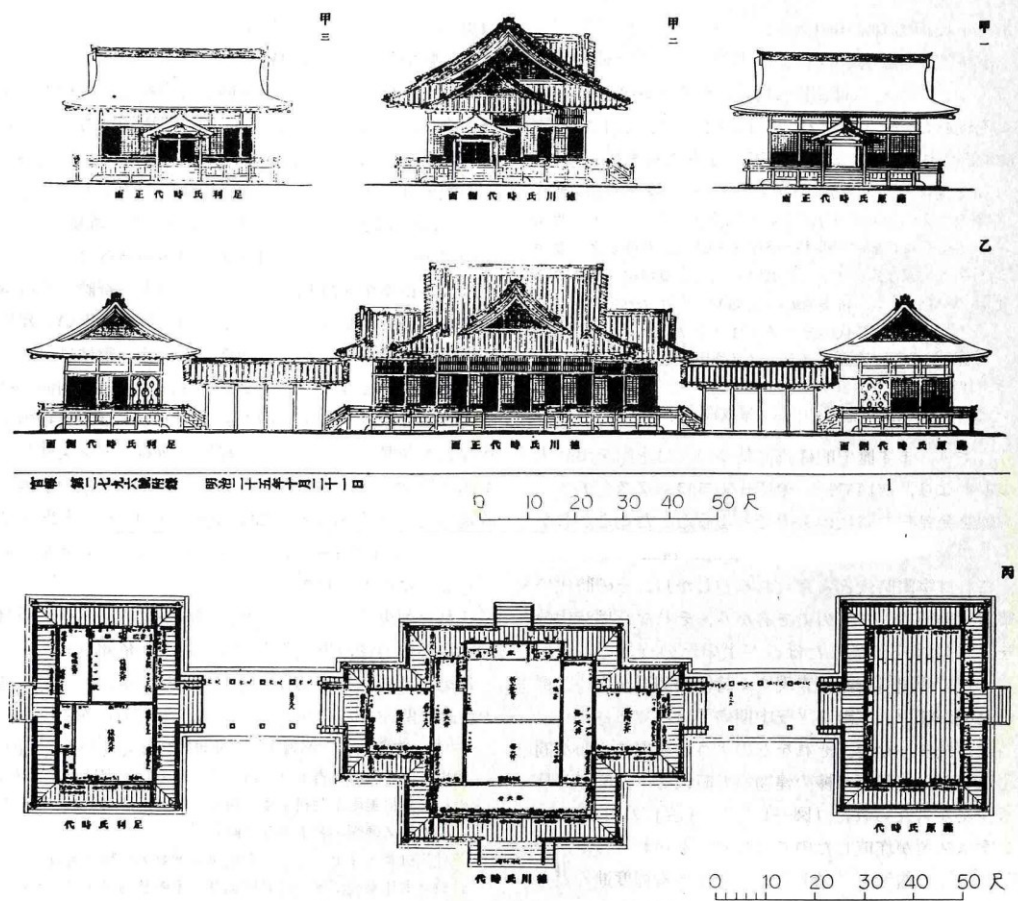


Figure 11. architectural plan of Hō-ō-den: from Mishima Masahiro, “1893 nen Shikago bankokuhaku ni okeru Hō-ō-den no kensetsu keii ni tsuite,” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai keikakukei ronbun hokoku shu* (Journal of architecture, planning and environmental engineering) (Nov., 1991)

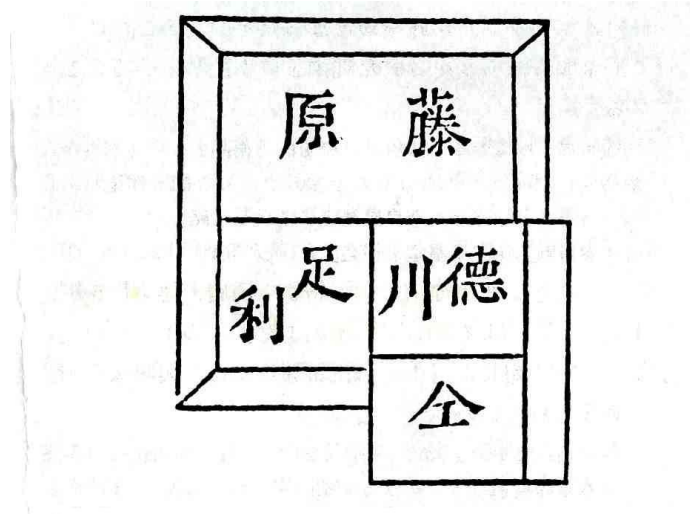


Figure 12, The initial plan of Hō-ō-den: from Mishima Masahiro, “1893 nen Shikago bankokuhaku ni okeru Hō-ō-den no kensetsu keii ni tsuite,” *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai keikakukei ronbun hokoku shu* (Journal of architecture, planning and environmental engineering) (Nov., 1991)



Figure 13. cover page of *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*



Figure 14. Kwanzeon Bosatsu: from *Histoire de L'Art du Japon*, by Tokyo Teishitsu Hakubutsukan (Paris: M. de Brunoff, 1900), p. 42

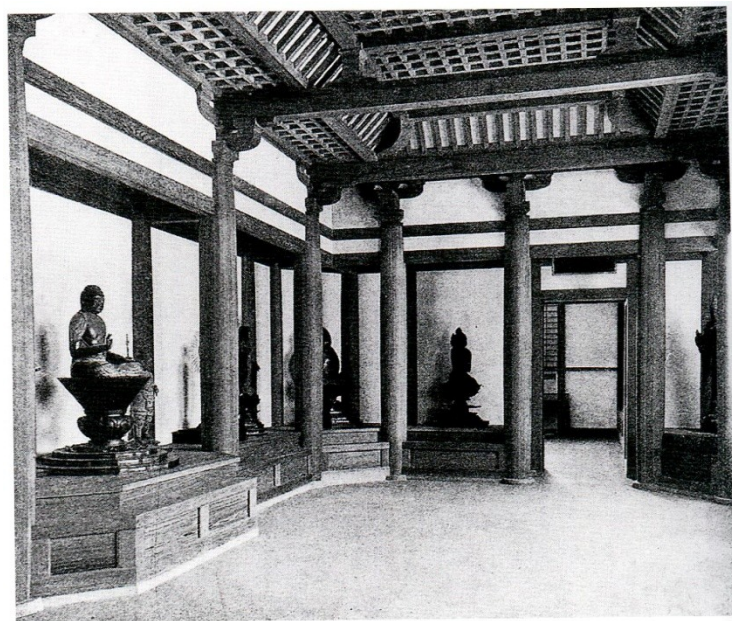


Figure 15. "Buddhist Sculpture Exhibition" in 1910 at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, new building: from *Okakura Tenshin and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Nagoya and Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1999), p. 139.

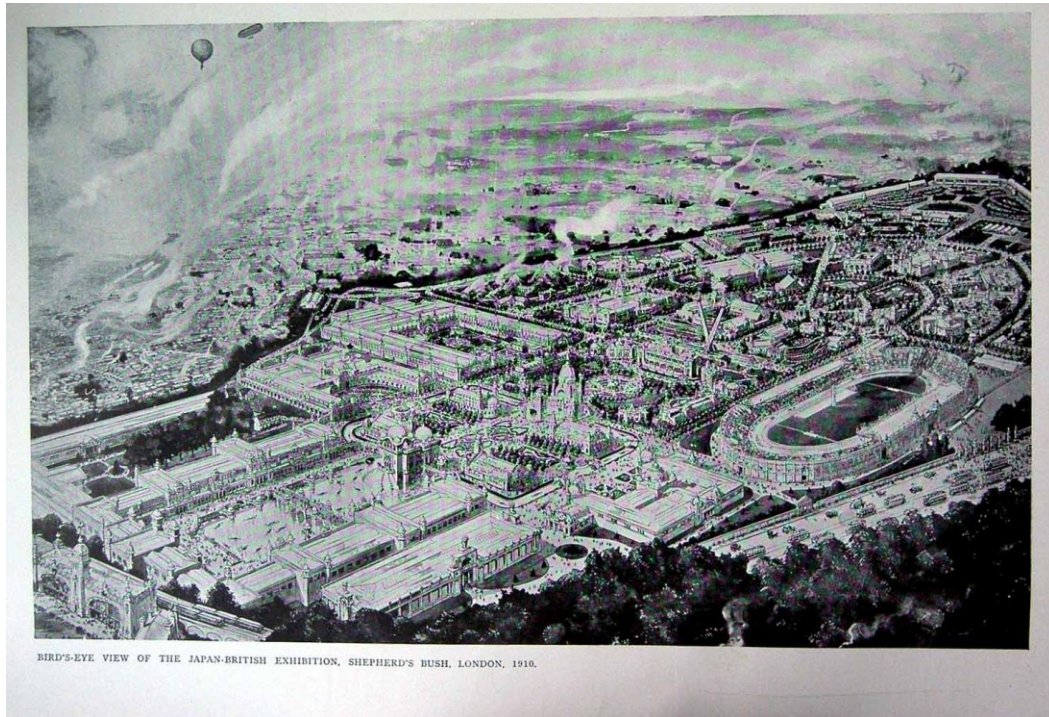


Figure 16. Bird's-eye view of the 1910 Japan- British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 17. Imre Kiralfy



Figure 18, A view of Japanese Garden: from *Japan-British Exhibition: Pictorial Souvenir: Great White City, London, 1910* (London: Bemrose, 1910)



Figure 19. A view of Japanese Garden: from *Japan-British Exhibition: Pictorial Souvenir: Great White City, London, 1910* (London: Bemrose, 1910)



Figure 20. Exterior View of the Mountain Railway: from *Souvenir album of the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910* (Dundee: Printed and published by Valentine & Sons, 1910)



Figure 21. A Reproduction of the Roman of the Kasuga Shrine: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 22. The Entrance to Fair Japan: from *Souvenir album of the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910* (Dundee: Printed and published by Valentine & Sons, 1910)



Figure 23. A Scene of Emperor Jimmu at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

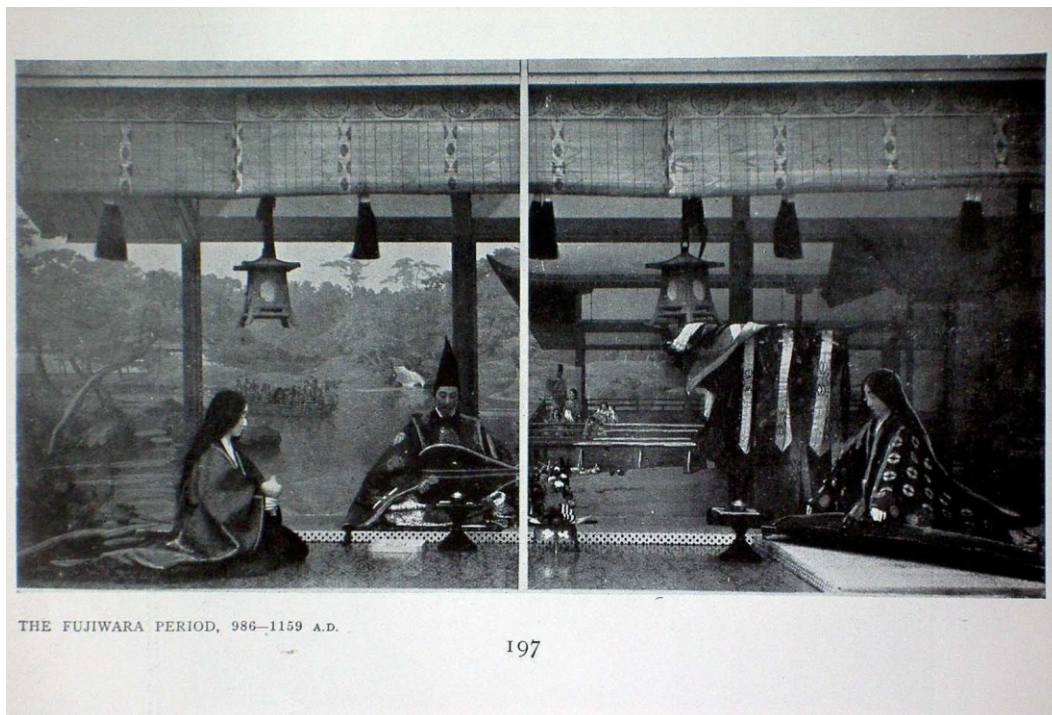


Figure 24. The Fujiwara Period at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 25 The Heian Period at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 26. The Gempei Period at the Historical Palace: from Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), p. 180

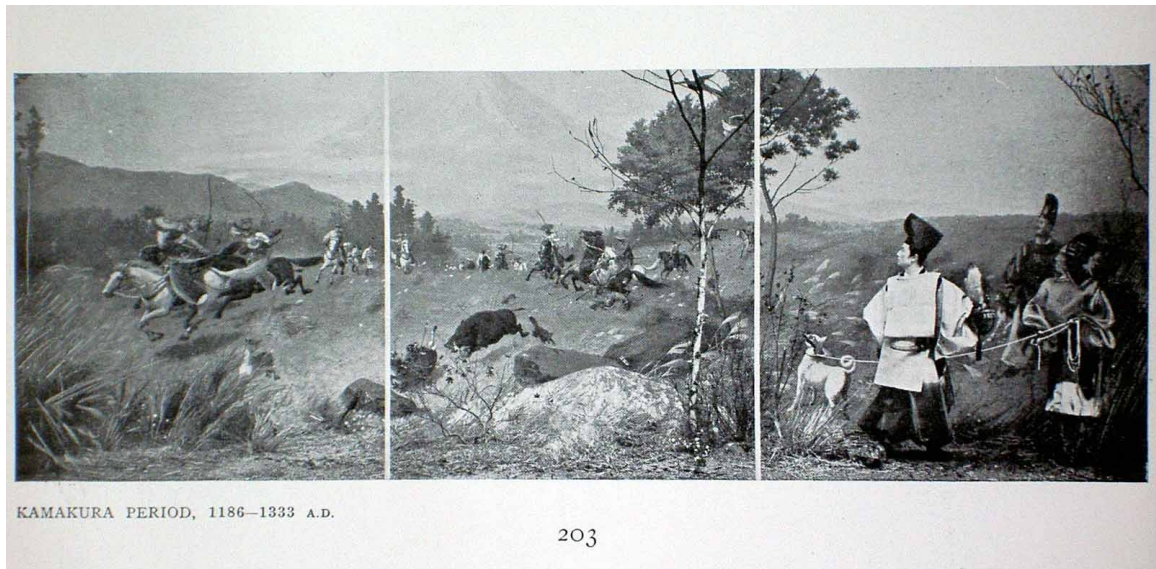


Figure 27. The Kamakura Period at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

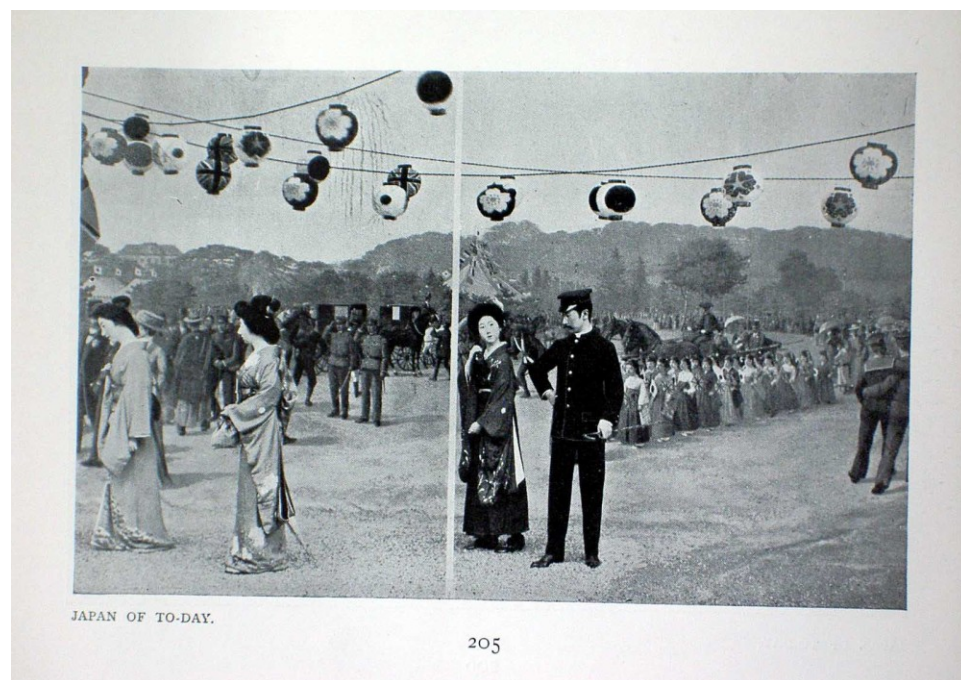


Figure 28. A Scene of 'Japan of To-Day' at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

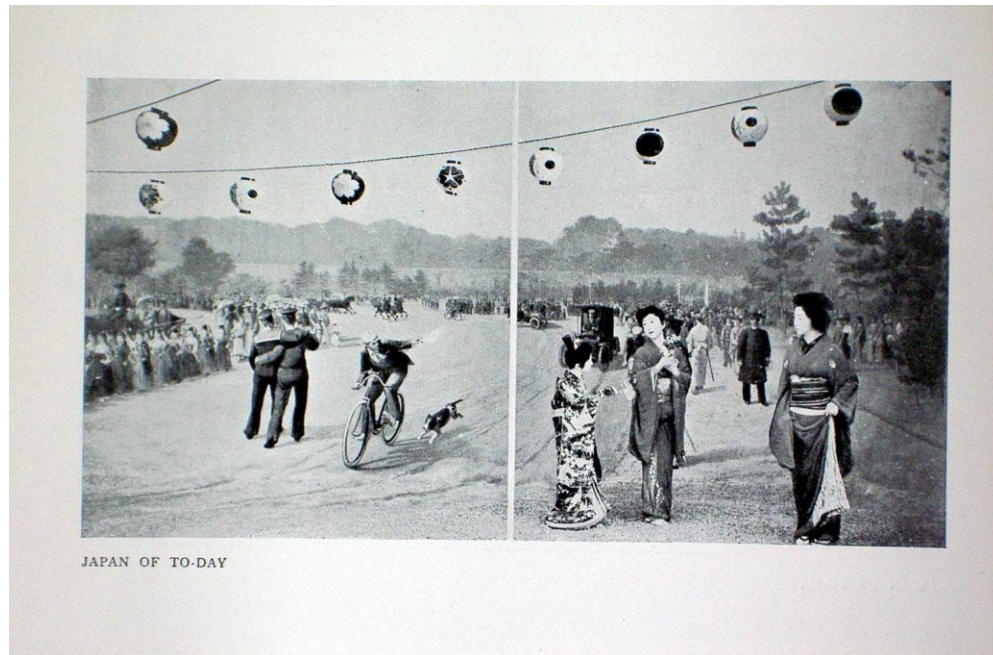


Figure 29. A Scene of 'Japan of To-Day' at the Historical Palace: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

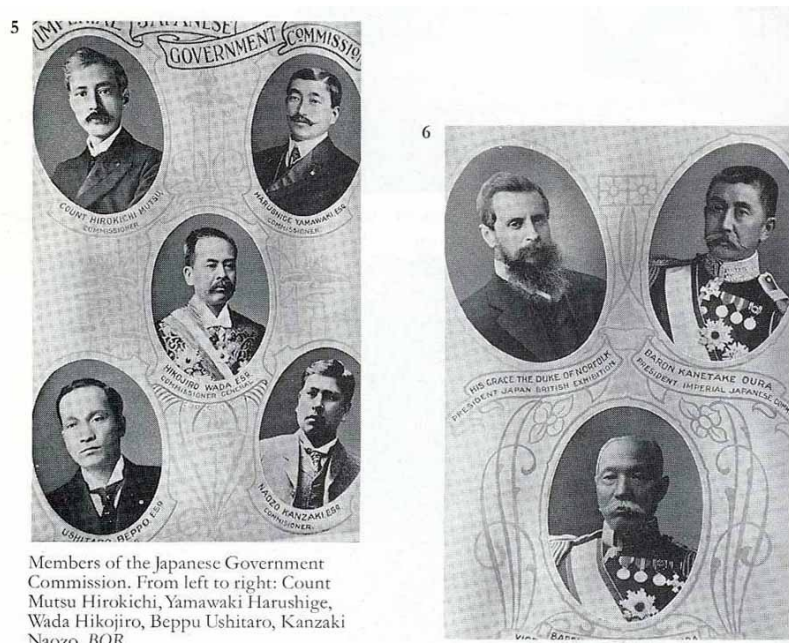


Figure 30. The portraits of the Japanese and British royal families and heads of state: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

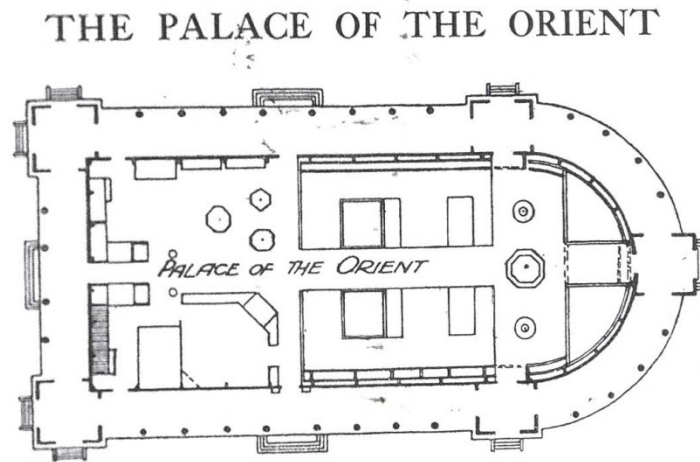


Figure 31. Floor Plan of the Palace of the Orient at the 1910 Japan British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 32. Korean Section of the 1910 Japan British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 33. Formosan section of the 1910 Japan British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 34. Manchuria Railway Company section of the 1910 Japan- British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 35. Kwantung Government Exhibits at the 1910 Japan- British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 36. Imperial Japanese Government Railway Exhibits at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)

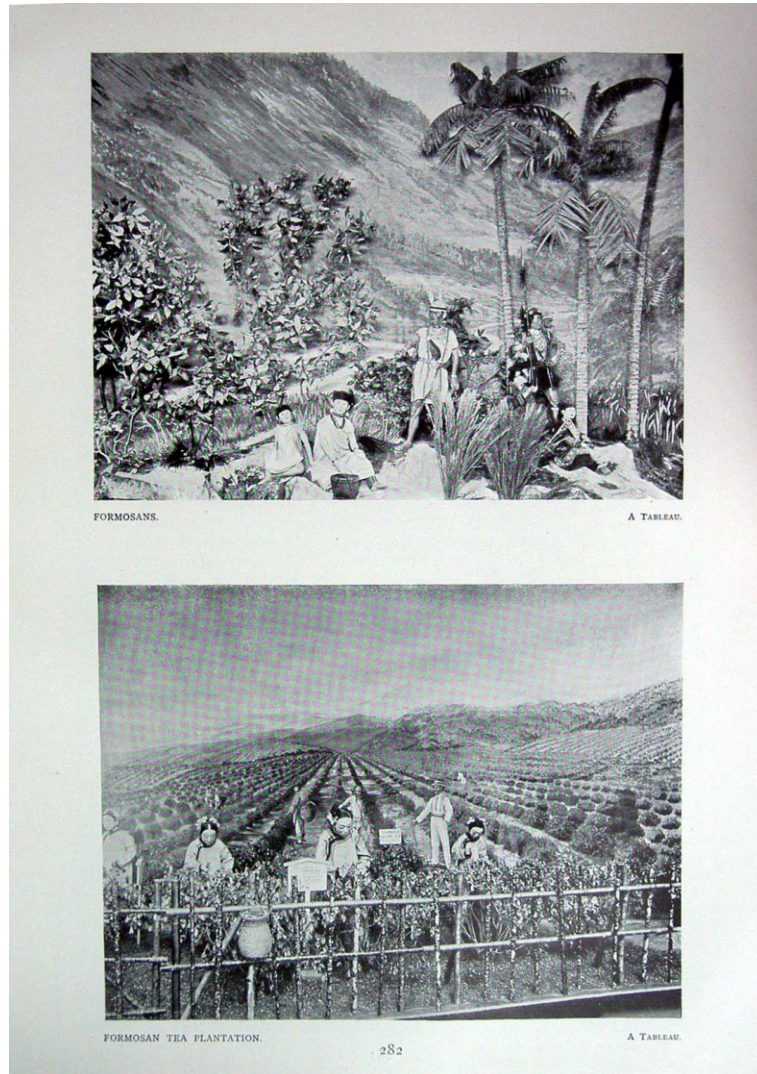


Figure 37. Displays of Formosan Tea Plantation at the 1910 Japan- British Exhibition: from *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910 at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Unwin Bros., Ltd, 1911)



Figure 38. Ainu Home Section at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: from *Souvenir album of the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910* (Dundee: Printed and published by Valentine & Sons, 1910)

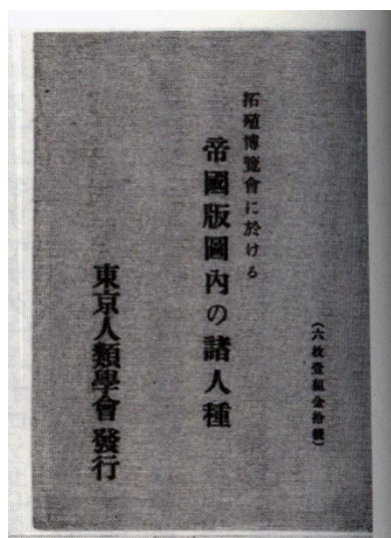


Figure 39. The cover of postcard set, “Diverse races under the roof of the Japanese empire within the Colonial Exposition,” published by Tokyo Anthropological Association: from Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* (Tokyo: Fukuyosha, 2008), p. 55



Figure 40. The 1912 Colonial Exposition Poster: from Shin'ya Hashizume, *Nihon no hakurankai: Terashita Tsuyoshi Korekushon* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), p. 60.

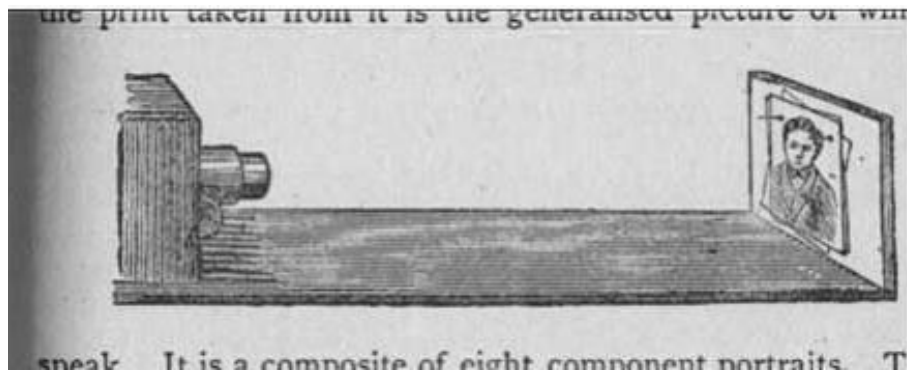


Figure 41. A method of composite portraiture: from Francis Galton, "Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons into a Single Resultant Figure, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879): 134.



Figure 42. Composite Portraits: from Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (London: J.M. Dent, 1908. 2nd ed.)



Figure 43. Composite photographs, experimented by Tsuboi: from Tsuboi Shōgorō, “‘Kasane dori shashin’ wo ōyōshitaru kansōho,” *Toyogakugei zasshi*.11.157 (1894).

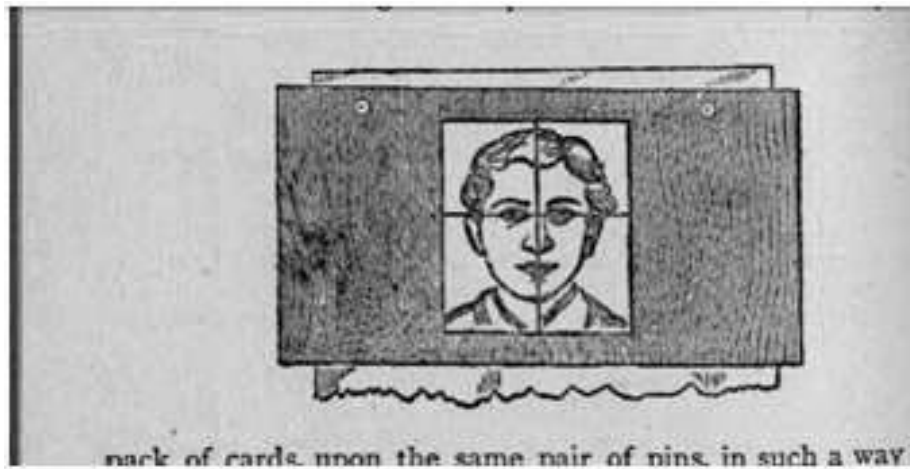


Figure 44. A method of Composite portraiture: from Francis Galton, "Composite Portraits, Made by Combining Those of Many Different Persons into a Single Resultant Figure, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 8 (1879): 133.



Figure 45. The 1904 Specimen Exhibition: from *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*, vol. 129, no. 19 (May, 1904)



Figure 46. The 1904 Specimen Exhibition: from *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*, vol. 129, no. 19 (May, 1904)

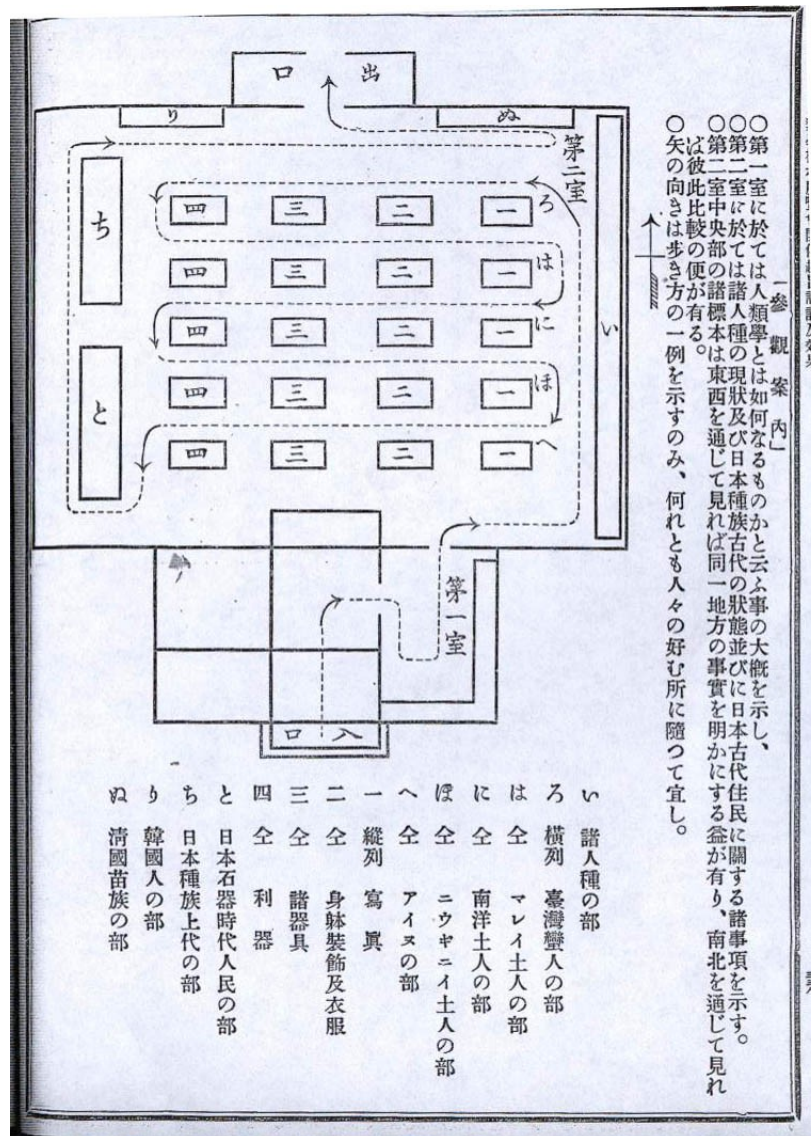


Figure 47. Display Plan of the 1904 Specimen Exhibition: from *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*, vol. 129, no. 19 (May, 1904).



Figure 48a. Anthropology Department of the 1903 National Industrial Exposition: from Matsuda Kyōko, *Teikoku no shisen: hakurankai to ibunka hyōshoō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003)



Figure 48b. Privilege Ticket to the Anthropology Department: from Shin'ya Hashizume, *Nihon no hakurankai: Terashita Tsuyoshi Korekushon* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2005), p. 36.



Figure 49. A map showing the Distribution of the Native Tribes in Russia and Manchuria: from *Tokyo Jinrui gakkai zasshi*, vol. 122, no. 11 (May, 1903).



Figure 50. Display Plan for the Colonial Exposition: *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (Tokyo: Takushoku Hakurankai Zanshu Toriatsukaijo, 1913)

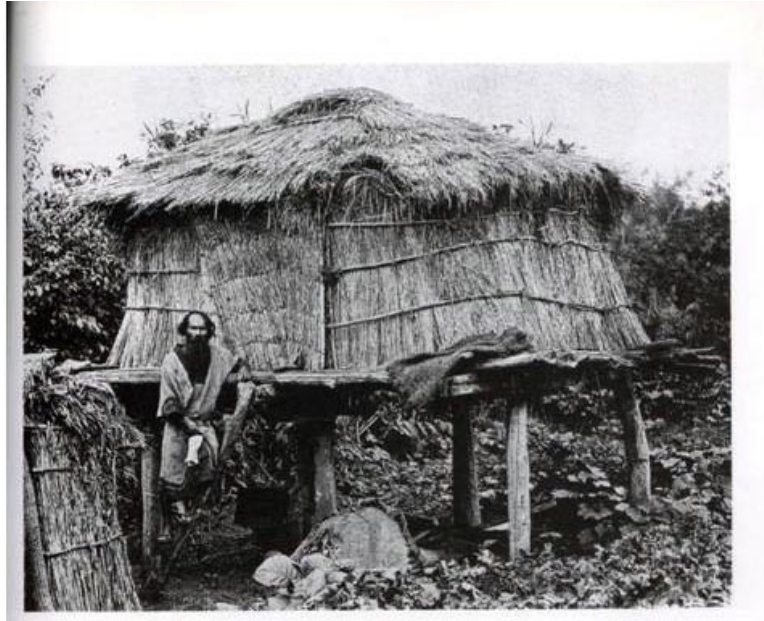


Figure 51. The Ainu people at the 1912 Colonial Exposition: from Torii Ryūzō Shashin Shiryō Kenkyūkai ed., *Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Shiryōkan shozō Torii Ryūzō Hakushi satsuei shashin shiryō katarogu* (Tōkyō : Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Shiryōkan, 1990)



Figure 52. The Ainu home: from Torii Ryūzō Shashin Shiryō Kenkyūkai ed., *Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Shiryōkan shozō Torii Ryūzō Hakushi satsuei shashin shiryō katarogu* (Tōkyō : Tōkyō Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Shiryōkan, 1990)



Figure 53. A view of the Taiwan Pavilion: from *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (Tokyo: Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo, 1913)



Figure 54. A view of the Korean pavilion at the 1912 Colonial Exposition: from *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku* (*The Official Report of the Colonial Exposition*) (Tokyo: Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo (1913)

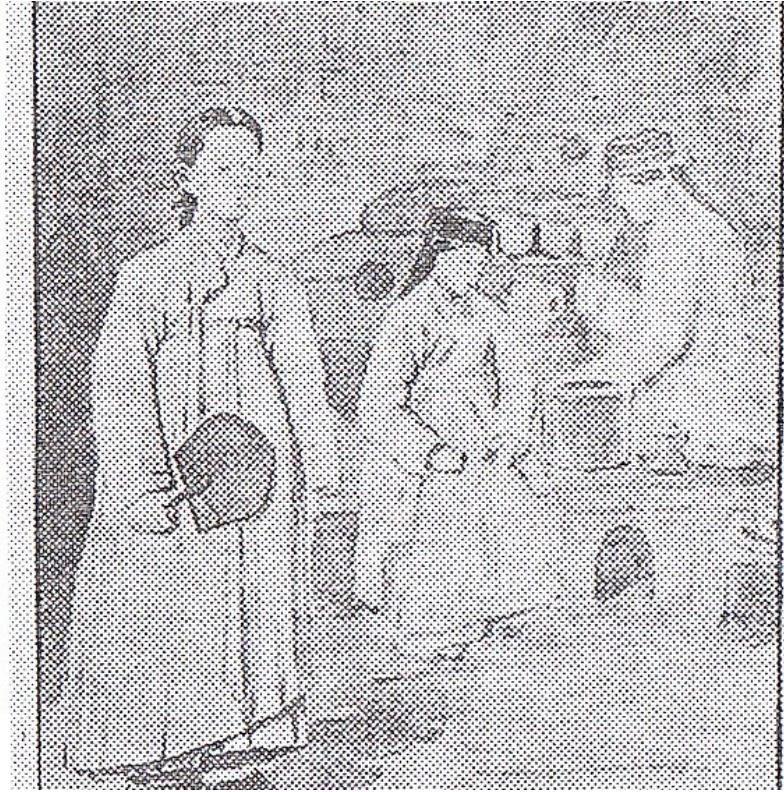


Figure 55. Images of Korean Woman at the Anthropology Pavilion of the 1903 National Industrial Exposition: from *Tōyō gakuho* (April, 3, 1903), reprinted in Engeki “Jinruikan” Jōen o Jitsugensasetaikai, *Jinruikan: fūinsareta tobira* (Ōsaka-shi: Atto Wākusu, 2005).



Figure 56. Minami Jirō giving his speech to the public: from *Keijō Nippō* (Keijō Newspaper) (Sept. 1, 1940).



Figure 57. A scene of Nomohan parade: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 58. Holy War Square and displays of warships: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 59. Bird's Eye view of the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 60. The Guiding Map of the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition: from Son Chŏng-mok, *Ilje Kangjŏmgi Tosisahoesang yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1996), p. 208.



Figure 61a. Postcard image of the 1915 Colonial Exposition: from Minjok Munje Yŏn'guso, *Singminji Chosŏn kwa chŏnjaeng misul: chŏnsi ch'eje wa Chosŏn minjung ūi sam* (Seoul: Minjok Munje Yŏnguso, 2004), p. 35.



Figure 61b. View of Taiwan and Kyoto pavilion of the 1915 Colonial Exposition: from Minjok Munje Yŏn'guso, *Singminji Chosŏn kwa chŏnjaeng misul: chŏnsi ch'eje wa Chosŏn minjung ūi sam* (Seoul: Minjok Munje Yŏn'guso, 2004), p. 36.



Figure 62a. modern-box-like buildings at the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 62b. A square at the 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 63. 1940 Chosŏn Great Exposition poster: from Yamaji Katsuhiko, *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), p. 1.



Figure 64. A scene of Amaterasu coming out of the rock cave at the Imperial History Pavilion: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 65. Jimmu's Enthronement at Kashihara at the Imperial History Pavilion: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 66: Mongolian Invasion scene at the Imperial History Pavilion: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

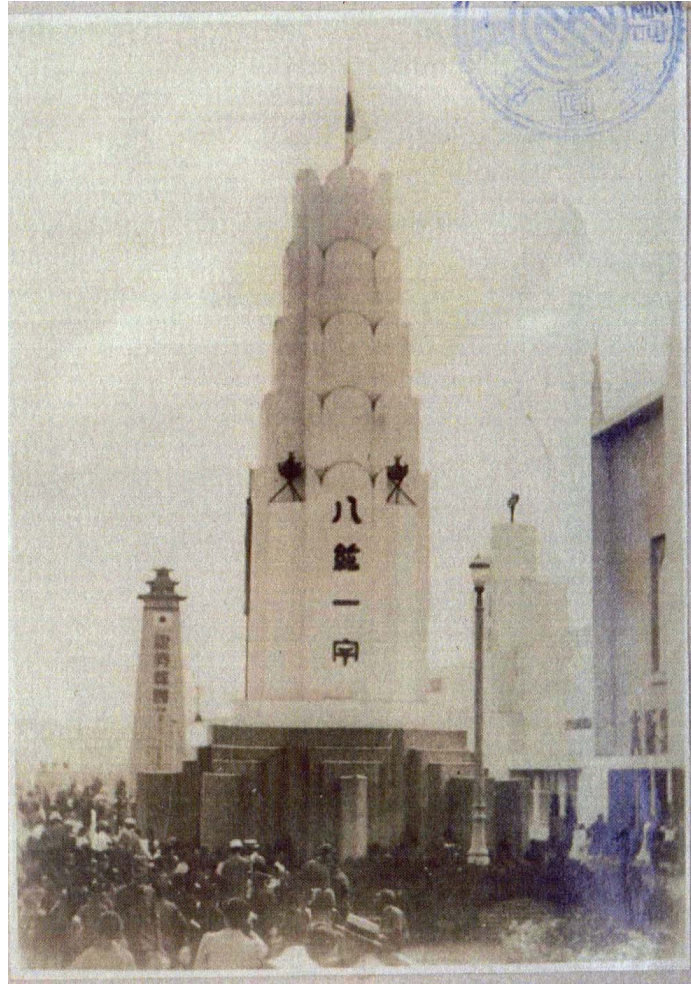


Figure 67: *Hakkō Ichū* Tower: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

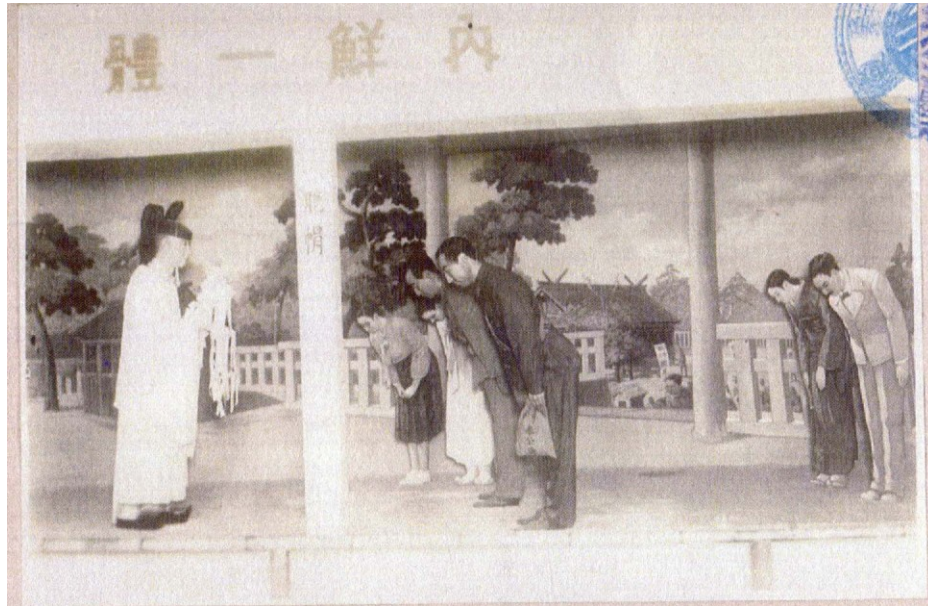


Figure 68: *Chōsen jingū* Diorama at Commemoration Pavilion of the Colonial Administration: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 69: Panorama of Governors-General in Korea at Commemoration Pavilion of the Colonial Administration: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 70: Diorama image of the future of Korea at Commemoration Pavilion of the Colonial Administration: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

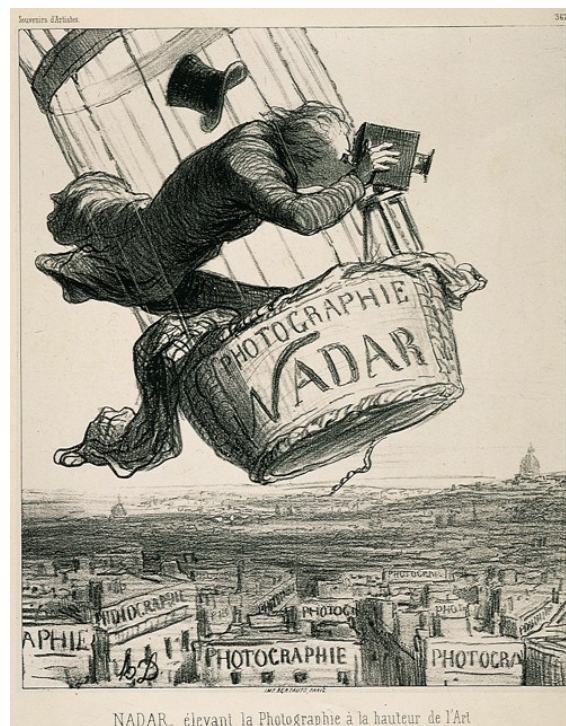


Figure 71: Honore Daumier, Nadar Elevating Photography to the Height of Art, 1862. Print; Lithograph. Printed on chine collée.

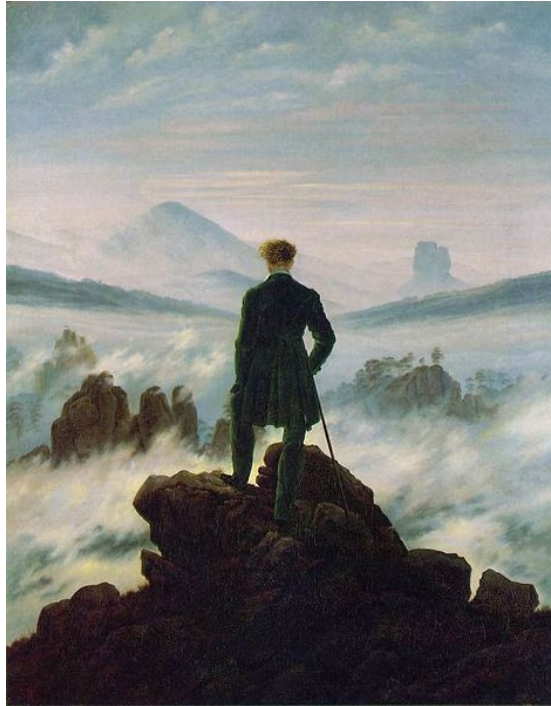


Figure 72: Caspar David Friedrich, Traveler Looking over a Sea of Fog, 1818. Oil-on-canvas; 98.4 cm × 74.8 cm (37.3 in × 29.4 in). Kunsthalle Hamburg, Hamburg, Germany.



Figure 73.3 Entrance to the Exposition: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 74.4 Holy War Pavilion and the Streets of Holy War: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)



Figure 75. Exhibit for the Seijū Lieutenant: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

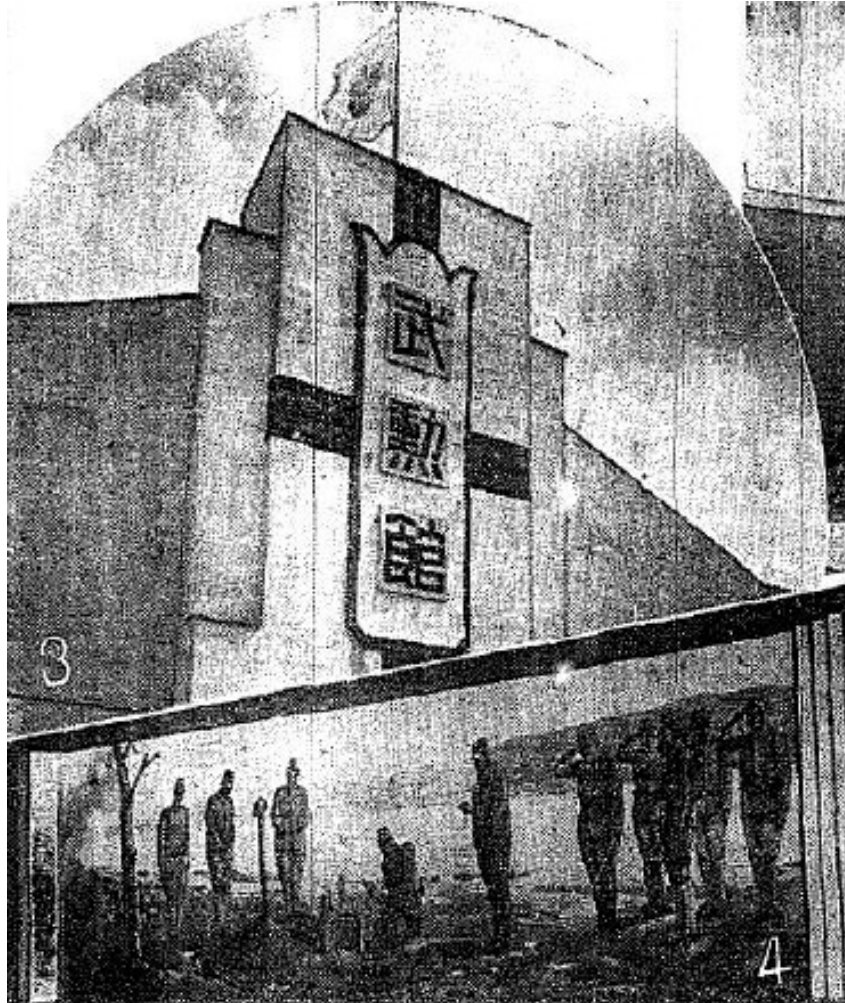


Figure 76. War Deeds Pavilion: from *Keijō Nippō* (Keijō Newspaper) (Sept. 1, 1940).



Figure77. Exhibits at the War Deeds Pavilion: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

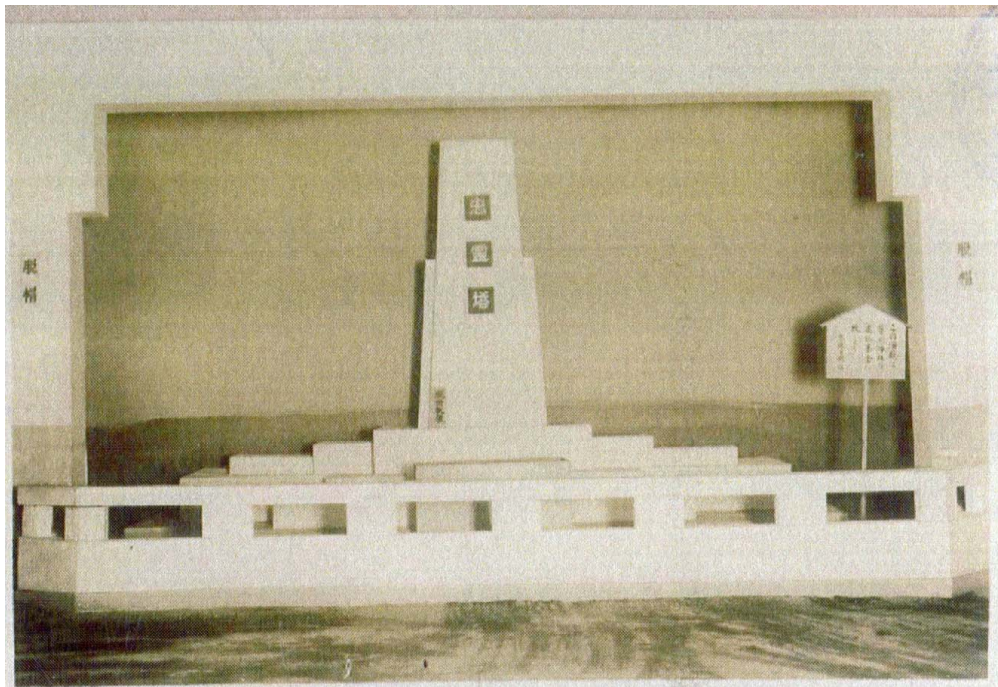


Figure 78. Tower devoted to the War Souls at the War Deeds Pavilion: from *Chōsen dai hakurankai no gaikan* (Seoul: Keijō Nipponsha, 1940)

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