

Creating a Colonial Consciousness? Reflections on Audience Reception at the Tokyo Colonization Exposition of 1912

John Hennessey

It is well-recognized in historical scholarship that in both Japan and the West, expositions were an important site for the dissemination of colonial propaganda in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the question of how colonial themes were perceived and understood by visitors to these events remains largely unanswered in this literature. Through an examination of the Colonization Exposition [*Takushoku hakurankai*] that was held in Tokyo in 1912, this essay reflects on the question of audience reception, or how media texts both influence and are interpreted by their consumers. Using a previously unexamined contemporary magazine article that describes visitor reactions, it argues that the messages that the organizers of this exposition intended to send were interpreted in diverse ways by the viewing public, ranging from acceptance to rejection. The discussion centers on notions of dignified public education, human exhibits and the methodological difficulties involved in determining media reception from historical documents.

Keywords: *Takushoku hakurankai*, expositions, Japanese colonialism, reception, popular imperialism, historical methodology

‘... in large cities in the West a convention of products is held once every few years, which is announced to the world, and specialty products, useful machines, antiques and rare items from every nation are gathered to show to people from around the world. This is called an exposition [hakurankai]...’

Fukuzawa, 1866, p. 97-99; “Yukichi Fukuzawa Goes to the Expo,” 2010

It was in this manner that Fukuzawa Yukichi described the phenomenon of the international exposition in his 1866 bestseller *Things Western* [*Seiyō jijō*], which spread basic information about the West to a wide audience in Japan. Fukuzawa himself was among the first Japanese to visit such an exposition, the second London International Exposition of 1862, a visit which made quite an impression on him (National Diet Library, 2011). Expositions were indeed a central institution in the West for trading knowledge and projecting power during this period. As many scholars have recognized, international expositions were closely linked with colonialism and represent-

ed a significant venue for disseminating discourses of empire (for example, MacKenzie, 1984; Oh, 2008; Hotta-Lister & Nish, 2013; Matsuda, 2003; Yamaji, 2008).

Japanese leaders were quick to see the importance of expositions and committed significant resources to participating in world’s fairs from early on. They also quickly adapted the genre to domestic ends, holding industrial trade fairs on an increasingly grand scale in Japan. As Noriko Aso has argued, expositions became part of a Meiji “exhibitionary complex” aimed at public education in the regime’s program of industrialization and “civilization” (Aso, 2014, p. 16). Consistent with

trends in the West and Japanese leaders' desire to demonstrate their country's power and influence, colonialism became a central theme in Japan's emerging exhibitionary complex shortly after Japan began its overseas expansion. From as early as 1903, expositions in Japan were used to educate the Japanese public and instill feelings of pride about their country's budding empire.

This essay focuses on a particularly salient example of this colonial exhibitionary trend: the Colonization Exposition [*Takushoku hakurankai*] that took place in Tokyo's Ueno Park in October and November 1912. Although Japan's first official "colony", Taiwan, had been presented to a broad Japanese public at a 1903 industrial fair in Osaka (Matsuda, 2003), the Colonization Exposition arguably represented the first large-scale attempt to systematically introduce the Japanese metropolitan public to their country's colonial empire through an exposition, and included exhibits from Japan's then numerous colonized territories (Yamaji, 2004, p. 25-26). In terms of its size and timing, this exposition is of particular historical interest as it took place after Japan had acquired most of its colonial empire, but shortly before the First World War began to shake the foundations of the nineteenth-century world order and before Japan began to make its rhetorical turn from Western colonial discourse to pan-Asian "co-prosperity".

Audience Reception: A Methodological Challenge

Surprisingly, given the abundant literature on colonial propaganda at expositions in the West and Japanese expositions in general, the Tokyo Colonization Exposition has only received detailed attention in one study by Matsuda Kyōko (Matsuda, 2013). Matsuda provides a compelling critical analysis of the presentation and contents of this exposition, but like most other research on colonial expositions, her text leaves the question of how colonial messages might have been

received by spectators largely unanswered. In a 2004 article, Yamaji Katsuhiko briefly considers the presentation of various colonized peoples from around the Japanese Empire at this exposition in comparison with "human exhibits" at other Japanese fairs in subsequent decades. He unproblematically assumes that the exoticized images of colonized peoples presented at the different fairs "permeated the heads of the [Japanese] general public" (Yamaji, 2004, p. 30).

While crucial to understanding the role of expositions in propagating imperial mindsets, the question of *audience reception*, or how exposure to various media affects people's attitudes and ways of thinking, is difficult to answer in a satisfying way. Media studies scholars and some discourse analysts have strongly contested the notion that ideological media wield direct control over public opinion, arguing that audience members are more than merely passive recipients of information (Fairclough, 1995; Staiger, 2005; Schröder, 2007). They convincingly argue that audience members react to the information they receive individually and have the possibility to interpret the text in various ways ranging from acceptance to indifference to resistance. Interpretations that differ from the author's intentions can also be the result of conscious or unconscious misreadings. As a result, in the words of media discourse analyst Kim Christian Schröder, analyses of the "encoding" or production of texts and of the texts themselves should be supplemented with research on how texts are "decoded" or consumed in order to arrive at a "holistic" understanding of the socially-situated meaning of the texts (Schröder 2007, p. 84). In other words, the production, content and consumption of a media text must *all* be considered in order to arrive at a complete understanding of the meaning and effect of the text, but most scholarship only focuses on the first two of these dimensions, omitting the crucial component of audience reception.

This tendency is especially strong in the field of history, where scholars are often faced

with overwhelming methodological difficulties in accurately assessing audience reception. Media studies scholars rely heavily on interviews and questionnaires in their study of present-day textual production and consumption, whereas historians' data is often limited to the text itself since its authors and audiences are typically either dead or interacted with the text so long ago that they are unreliable as sources. Historians often have no choice but to use indirect evidence to make educated guesses about audience reception, an approach that can lead to widely varying interpretations. A case in point is a heated debate between Jon M. MacKenzie and Bernard Porter over the imperial awareness of the population of 19th and 20th century Great Britain. Studying imperial propaganda and popular culture products in a wide variety of media forms, MacKenzie argues that the sheer volume of imperially-themed mass cultural products in pre-World War II Britain is evidence of a widespread interest in and enthusiasm for the British Empire (MacKenzie 1986, p. 12). Porter, on the other hand, contends that this is an unfounded assumption since there is little evidence that such products were consumed as their authors intended (or indeed at all) and that only the upper crust of British society could have had any detailed knowledge of or interest in the Empire (Porter 2004). Needless to say, these two interpretations of available source material have wide-ranging implications for any assessment of collective responsibility for the wrongs of British imperialism.

Recognizing the methodological limitations inherent in all studies of historical audience reception, this short essay nonetheless aims to supplement existing research on the production and content of the 1912 Tokyo Colonization Exposition with fortuitously surviving source material that can to some extent further our knowledge of how its exhibits were perceived by visitors. Arguing that responses were not uniform, I reflect on how Japanese visitors to the Colonization Exposition may have ignored, subverted, or

subconsciously accepted the exhibits' depiction of Japanese colonialism. Guiding my study is a previously unexamined contemporary account of visitor behavior at the exhibition that appeared in a magazine article from the colonial publication *Chōsen oyobi manshū* [*Korea and Manchuria*]. This Seoul-based, Japanese-language magazine was unusual for its anti-establishment, pro-democratic character, quickly becoming "the platform of radical settler politics" (Uchida, 2011, p. 130). The article, written by an anonymous author, not only gives extensive treatment of the exposition's Korea exhibits, but also presents a rare account of visitor reactions and a critical appraisal of the venue that provide tantalizing clues about audience reception (Tokumei-shi ["Mr. Anonymous"], 1912), while simultaneously providing a useful background for considering the methodological limitations of historical media reception studies.

The Goals and Content of the Exposition

Before considering audience reception, however, it is first important to briefly present the exposition's organization, goals, and presentation. The president of the exposition committee was Kabayama Sukenori, former governor general of Taiwan (Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo, 1913, p. 2). Other members included the civil governor of Taiwan and high administrators from Korea, Karafuto, Hokkaidō, and the Kwantung Leased Territory, as well as bureaucrats from the Colonial Office [*Takushokukyoku*] (Matsuda, 2013, p. 126). The exposition leadership also included Tokyo Imperial University anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō, who had previously arranged colonial human exhibits at the 1903 Osaka expo (Matsuda, 2003, chap. 5; Yamaji, 2004). The Colonization Exposition was technically privately organized, but through these figures it had strong ties to the state and the official colonial establishment (Matsuda, 2013, p. 126).

The *Official Report* explicitly reveals the event's propagandistic nature in its presentation of

the exposition's aims. After asserting the importance of a colonial empire to a country's future, the report laid out the twin goals of the expo: to generate interest for colonial products among metropolitan consumers and, more importantly, to create a sort of "colonial mindset" [*shokumin shisō*] among the populace, so that the great work of the empire would find support among the people at large (Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo, 1913, pp. 1, 4-5). The authors complained of widespread ignorance of and apathy towards colonial matters among the Japanese populace that they hoped to counteract through educational venues like the exposition (Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo, 1913, p.

4).

The exhibits at the Colonization Exposition consisted primarily of maps, models, colonial products and photos of development projects. A central theme was the vastness of Japan's empire, which was emphasized by frequent references to the range of climates that the empire boasted, from the chilling tundra of Karafuto to the Taiwanese tropics. Another leitmotiv was the diversity of the "races" under Japanese tutelage, presented through models and human zoos. Aspects of the Japanese "civilizing mission" like modern hospitals were also on display, as were traditional Korean crafts and samples of colonial raw materials (Tokumei-shi, 1912).

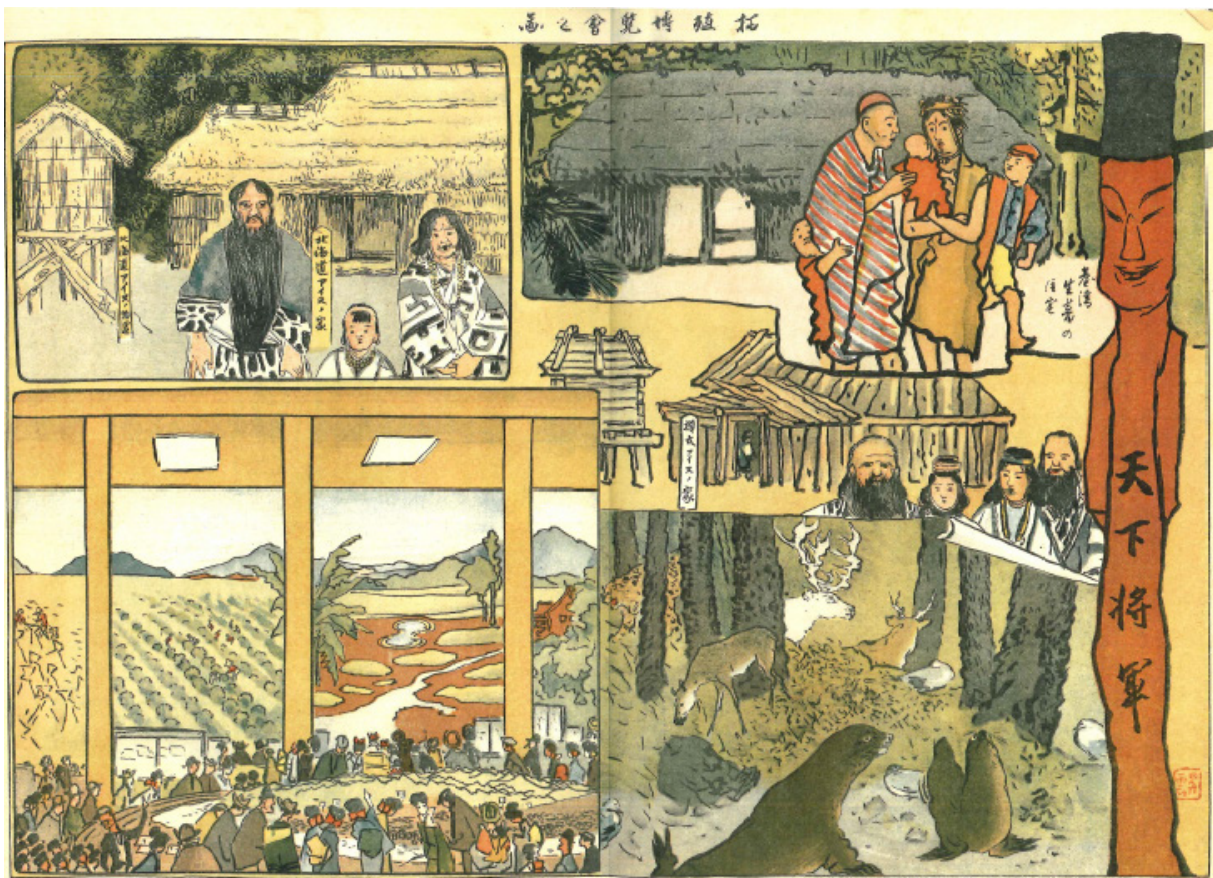


Figure 1: A contemporary illustration of the Colonization Exposition and its exhibits.
 Source: Takushoku hakurankai. (1912, November 5). *Fūzoku gabō*, 430. Tokyo: Tōyōdō, 13-14. Image courtesy of Waseda University Library.

Subverting Imperial Dignity

The exposition genre has typically been characterized by a conflict of interests between governments' desire for dignified public education and pressures to turn expos into commercial spectacles. In the case of Japan at world's fairs in the West, this struggle usually took the form of Japanese officials trying to stamp out "unauthorized" representations of their country that were not considered sufficiently serious (Lockyer, 2000, p. 13-26). Japanese leaders evidently felt that citizens should appreciate the gravity of the Empire, an imperium that was (mostly) won through the sacrifices of soldiers during the Sino- and Russo-Japanese Wars and should be seen as a source of power, wealth and pride. How well did the organizers of the Colonization Exposition succeed in creating a dignified atmosphere of public education that would inculcate an imperial consciousness in the viewing public?

Seen from a quantitative perspective, the exposition was a resounding success. Lasting only two months, it attracted some 800,000 visitors, far exceeding the organizers' expectations. Emergency measures were taken to accommodate the crowds that swamped the exposition gates shortly after the fair opened (Matsuda 2013, pp. 134-135). Upon closer inspection, however, it is unclear whether visitors had the kind of educational experience the organizers intended. The *Chōsen oyobi manshū* article repeatedly emphasizes the extreme congestion within the exposition hall. Visitors had no control over the speed at which they progressed past the exhibits. The author colorfully compares the experience to being inside a dragon dance costume slowly snaking around the hall (Tokumei-shi, 1912, p. 50-52). In this claustrophobic environment, it must have been difficult to properly view and understand the exhibits, and any aura of imperial dignity the organizers hoped to create was undoubtedly compromised.

It is also unclear whether it was actually the colonial exhibits that attracted the crowds, raising the question of whether the exposition's high

attendance figures can be taken as a measure of popular enthusiasm for imperialism. Like nearly all expositions of the period, the Colonization Exposition had both "serious" exhibits and largely unrelated entertainment such as sideshows and food vendors. This blended character has caused many difficulties for scholars trying to gauge popular interest in imperialism (see for example Porter, 2004). To what extent were imperial themes actually conveyed at these expositions, when they apparently competed with popular entertainment? Again, the *Chōsen oyobi manshū* article offers some clues. According to the author, the many school groups that attended the exposition were primarily interested in educational exhibits such as calligraphy and Korean-style clothes sewn by students at Korean girls' schools (Tokumei-shi, 1912, p. 52-53). Perhaps the organizers of the exposition had already discovered the still-popular technique of attracting visitors to events to see their own or their children's work on display, but on the other hand, such exhibits may well have drawn attention away from others with more overtly imperial themes. It is difficult to say whether the commercial attractions at colonial expositions such as this one primarily distracted attention from the official exhibits or lured in visitors who would otherwise never have been exposed to the colonial displays.

In any case, the article's reportage strongly suggests that many visitors did not see the exposition in the dignified light the organizers intended. For one thing, it treats the exposition more like a carnival than an educational venue, at one point comparing it to a "Luna Park" amusement park (ibid, p. 51). Moreover, rather than simply reporting their content, the article consistently appraises the presentation and aesthetic quality of the various exhibits as if the Colonization Exhibition were a kind of art exhibition. The article's very genre thereby subverts the dignified, public education character of the exposition intended by its organizers. Its judgments are not always flattering either – exhibits are often (but not al-

ways) presented as unskillful [*setsuretsu*], shabby [*iyashii*] or as displaying “superficial knowledge” [*sengakushiki*] (ibid).

The article also provides an anecdotal indication of the diverse backgrounds of the exposition’s Japanese spectators and the resulting possibility for alternative interpretations or misreadings of exhibits. Although by 1912 Japanese leaders had made much progress towards creating a unified and homogenous nation-state, regional identities remained strong and both differences between city-dwellers and Japanese from the countryside as well as class differences were apparent to all. Folksy behavior by “country bumpkins” was frequently lampooned by journalists (Fujitani, 1996, p. 222), including the author of the *Chōsen oyobi manshū* article. The author recounts how he or she overheard a conversation between a “country gentleman” [*denshin*] and his wife as they peered at an exhibit that happened to be in a black display case. The fairgoer was explaining to his wife that the display case had been painted black because of the mourning period of the Meiji Emperor (who had died several months earlier). The author of the article “couldn’t help but burst out laughing” at this misunderstanding (Tokumei-shi, 1912, p. 52). From the point of view of audience reception, this comical example shows that meaning could be read into different aspects of the exposition in ways never intended by its planners. In this particular case, it seems that the “country gentleman” and his wife read imperial dignity into the color of a display case, whereas the anonymous Seoul journalist undermined this aura through his or her disparagement of exhibit quality and mockery of the ruralites’ misplaced respect.

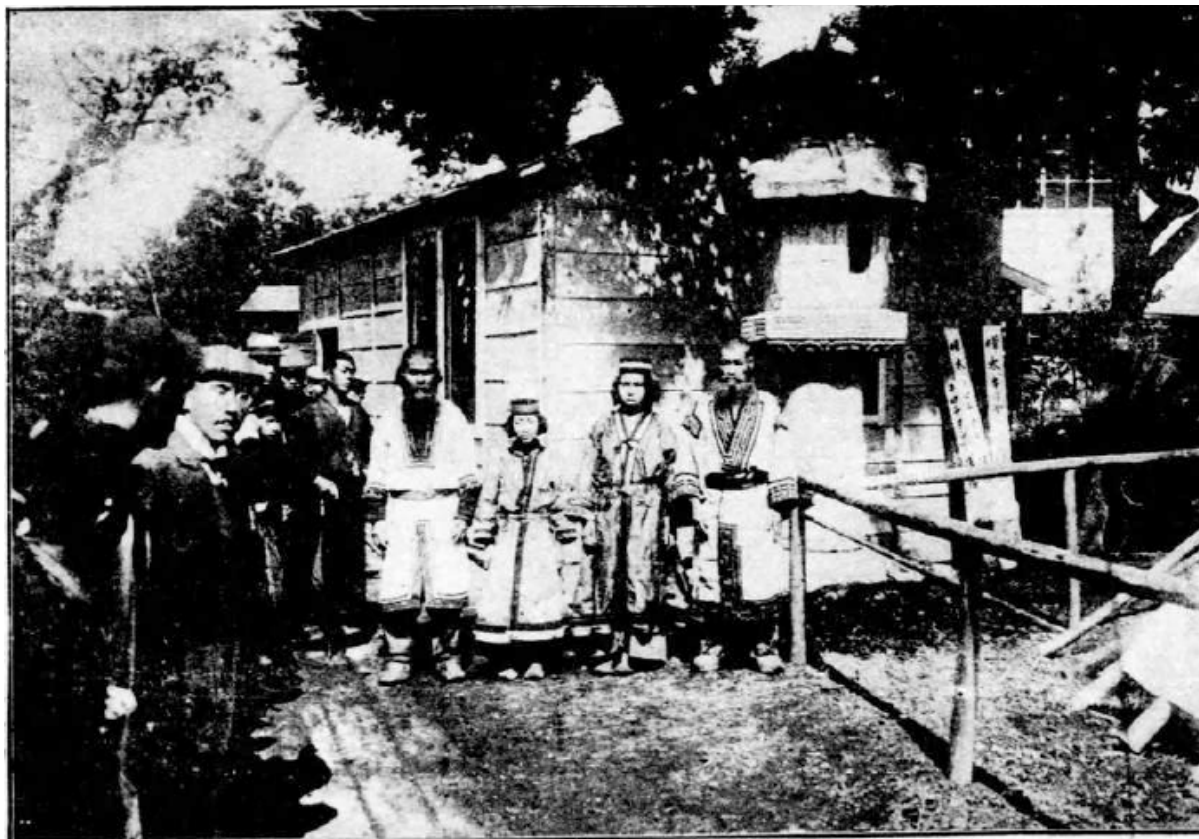
Contested Human Exhibits

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, a new method of displaying national power became a constant fixture at expositions: human exhibits of “inferior” ethnic groups, usually from the exhibiting country’s colonies. This colonial twist

to the exposition genre was enormously popular; droves of residents of the imperial metropole eagerly lined up to catch a glimpse of “exotic” peoples who were displayed much like zoo animals. Human exhibitions were initially justified by their “scientific” and “educational” value and were often organized by anthropologists or other scholars but increasingly became overtly commercialized spectacles (Matsuda, 2013, p. 142). The very practice of individuals from the colonizing country “speaking for” or representing the culture or lifestyle colonized for their own ends is itself deeply problematic, but forcing individuals from “exotic” colonized groups to live for several months in the constant gaze of gaping crowds in a pre-determined “traditional” setting was an especially flagrant kind of epistemic violence.

Within the fairgrounds of the Colonization Exposition, human exhibits were in many ways the centerpiece of the show. In the central courtyard of the main exhibition hall, a “native village” [*dojin buraku*] of “traditional” dwellings was set up as the background for a multi-ethnic exhibit of Japan’s different colonized subjects. The village featured Taiwanese of Chinese stock, Taiwanese aboriginals, Ainu, and Orok and Nivkh people from Karafuto. Most of these people came in families and were intended to be observed living their “traditional” daily life, but there were also some craftsmen that could demonstrate “traditional” craft production to visitors (Matsuda, 2013, p. 135).

Their popularity notwithstanding, it is difficult to make any general statements about attitudes towards human exhibits in turn-of-the-century Japan. Although they were the focus of the 1912 exposition’s advertising campaigns and occupied a central place on the fairgrounds (Matsuda, 2013, p. 138-39), the *Chōsen oyobi manshū* article only mentions them in passing, devoting far more attention to specific categories of craft exhibits (Tokumei-shi, 1912, p. 51). Unfortunately, I have been unable to find evidence of debates over the human zoo at the Colonization



リモロキチ工大 マカナ妻 耶六男長 子ルテ娘 助六澤坪 ヌイア太様

Figure 2: Ainu from Karafuto on display at the Colonization Exposition. Source: Meiji Kinenkai. (1912). *Takushoku hakurankai kinen shashinchō*. Tokyo: Meiji Kinenkai. In National Diet Library, Digital Library from the Meiji Era. Retrieved from <http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/904743>.

Exposition, but such exhibits had been highly controversial and drawn vociferous protests in Osaka only nine years previously. At that time, a number of Japanese proponents of colonial assimilation argued that the residents of Japan's new overseas territories were already "Japanese" and it was therefore demeaning and unpatriotic to put them on display (Ziomek, 2014, p. 508). At the Osaka exposition and on several other occasions, the inclusion of Okinawans drew the greatest criticism, because these were widely considered to be fully assimilated "Japanese", but there were even certain groups of Japanese who felt that Koreans and Taiwanese were too "civilized" or "Japanese" to be subject to such indignities (Matsuda, 2013,

p. 123-24). Only two years before the opening of the Colonization Exposition, at the Japan-British Exhibition held in London in 1910, journalist Hasegawa Nyozeikan "viewed the showing of the Ainu and aborigines of Taiwan, with visitors looking at these people as if they were rare animals in a zoo, as matters of humanitarian and moral concern" (Hotta-Lister, 1999, p. 145-146). The colonial processes of othering and exoticization employed at the Colonization Exposition were therefore not uncontested, even if they became a key feature of Japanese expositions for a time. Although the *Chōsen oyobi manshū* article provides no evidence on this point, it seems unlikely that opposition to human exhibits would

have disappeared only a few years later in 1912, again demonstrating the importance of recognizing the interpretive agency of individual audience members. In short, more evidence is necessary to gauge popular sentiments about the 1912 human exhibits, but judging from contemporaneous protests to similar human zoos, public opinion was almost certainly divided about the desirability of displaying Japanese colonial subjects in this way, at least when it came to certain geographical or ethnic groups.

Conclusion

As this essay has demonstrated, one cannot unproblematically assume that Japanese visitors to the Colonization Exposition left with exactly the “colonial consciousness” the organizers hoped to impart. In general, an analysis of official primary sources for expositions such as exhibition catalogues needs to be supplemented by sources such as the magazine article treated above in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the events’ impact. Sources like this cannot provide an accurate account of popular sentiments, but nevertheless give some indication of the diversity of possible interpretations of the exhibits, ranging from wholesale acceptance to condemnation.

There is a tendency in English-language literature to overestimate the extent of Japanese pre-war indoctrination. As Takashi Fujitani (1996, p. 200-201) has presciently warned, “On the one hand, we must avoid a Durkheimian tendency to assume that [...] invented traditions and beliefs are necessarily and unproblematically accepted. On the other hand, we must guard against a desire to deny the impact and hold over the Japanese people of a whole host of symbols, beliefs, and practices” promoted by the Meiji state including colonial pageantry. This essay has suggested that the themes of colonial grandeur and dignity promoted by the organizers of the Colonization Exposition were undermined in various ways or subject to heterodox interpretations by some visitors.

The crush of visitors, the presence of food vendors hawking their wares and other factors created a carnival atmosphere quite unlike that of a staid public museum. The low quality of certain exhibits seems to have drawn some visitor criticism, and the questionable morality of the human zoo almost certainly also did so. Nevertheless, even for sceptics, the Colonization Exposition still might have served the perhaps unintended function of naturalizing the Empire. The very lack of solemnity surrounding the exposition’s imperial themes, which served as a background to student projects or sideshows, may well have subtly contributed to gradual naturalizing the idea of Japan as a colonial empire, of which Korean schools and Taiwanese exports were just as much a part as their metropolitan counterparts. In any case, this short essay has demonstrated that the early 20th century Japanese public’s views of imperialism were both diverse and complex and deserve further investigation.

JOHN HENNESSEY is a Doctoral student in History at Linnaeus University where he is affiliated with the Centre for Concurrences in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies and the Swedish National Graduate School of History. His primary areas of interest include 19th and 20th century imperialism, Japanese history, discourse analysis, nationalism and propaganda. Email: john.hennessey@lnu.se

References

- Aso, N. (2014). *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold. Top of Form
Bottom of Form
- Fujitani, T. (1996). *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fukuzawa Y. (1866). *Seiyō Jijō*. Tokyo: Shōkodō, 1866, 97-99.
- Hotta-Lister, A. (1999). *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*. Richmond, UK: Japan Library.
- Hotta-Lister, A., & Nish, I. H. (Eds.). (2013). *Commerce and Culture at the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition: Centenary Perspectives*. Leiden: Global Oriental.
- Lockyer, A. (2000). *Japan at the Exhibition: 1867-1970*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Stanford University, Palo Alto.
- MacKenzie, J. M. (1984). *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- MacKenzie, J. M. (1986). Introduction. In J. M. MacKenzie (Ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1-16.
- Matsuda, K. (2003). *Teikoku no shisen: Hakurankai to ibunka hyōshō*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Matsuda, K. (2013). Ningen no “tenji” to shokuminchi hyōshō: 1912-nen takushoku hakurankai wo chūshin ni. In Nanzan daigaku jinruigaku hakubutsukan (Ed.), *Hakubutsukan shiryō no saisei*. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 120-49.
- Meiji Kinenkai. (1912). *Takushoku hakurankai kinen shashinchō*. Tokyo: Meiji Kinenkai.
- National Diet Library of Japan Reference and Special Collections Department. (2011) Expositions, where the Modern Technology of the Times was Exhibited: Second London International Exposition of 1862, First International Exposition Seen by Japanese. *National Diet Library of Japan Website*. Retrieved from <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/e/s1/1862-1.html>.
- Oh S.-M. (2008). *Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul 1915-1937*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University, New York.
- Porter, B. (2004). *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schröder, K. C. (2007). Media Discourse Analysis: Researching Cultural Meanings from Inception to Reception. *Textual Cultures*, 2(2), 77-99.

- Staiger, J. (2005). *Media Reception Studies*. New York: New York University Press.
- Takushoku hakurankai. (1912, November 5). *Fūzoku gabō*, 439. Tokyo: Tōyōdō, 12-18.
- Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo. (1913). *Takushoku hakurankai jimu hōkoku*. Tokyo: Takushoku Hakurankai Zanmu Toriatsukaijo.
- Tokumei-shi. (1912, December). Takuhaku no Chōsen-kan Bekken. *Chōsen oyobi manshū*, 614, 50-54.
- Uchida, J. (2011). *Brokers of Empire: Japanese Settler Colonialism in Korea, 1876-1945*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Yamaji, K. (2004, October). Takushoku hakurankai to “Teikoku hantōnai no shojinshu”. *Kwansei Gakuin Sociology Department Studies*, 97, 25-40.
- Yamaji, K. (2008). *Kindai Nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai*. Tokyo: Fūkyōsha.
- Yukichi Fukuzawa Goes to the Expo. (2010). *Keio Views*, 3. Retrieved from http://www.keio.ac.jp/en/keio_in_depth/keio_view/2010/03.html.
- Ziomek, K. L. (2014, May). The 1903 Human Pavilion: Colonial Realities and Subaltern Subjectivities in Twentieth-Century Japan. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 73(2), 493-516.