Death and Photography in East Asia: Funerary Use of Portrait Photography

Jeehey Kim
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!
Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds
Part of the Asian Studies Commons

Recommended Citation
Kim, Jeehey, "Death and Photography in East Asia: Funerary Use of Portrait Photography" (2015). CUNY Academic Works.
https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1008

This Dissertation is brought to you by CUNY Academic Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects by an authorized administrator of CUNY Academic Works. For more information, please contact deposit@gc.cuny.edu.
Death and Photography in East Asia: Funerary Use of Portrait Photography

by

Jeehey Kim

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

The City University of New York

2015
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor Anna Chave

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Professor Rachel Kousser

Date

Executive Officer

Professor Maria Antonella Pelizzari

Professor Karen Strassler

Professor Geoffrey Batchen

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
Abstract

Death and Photography in East Asia: Funerary Use of Portrait Photography

by

Jeehey Kim

Advisor: Anna Chave

This dissertation expands and elaborates upon my 2009 project, “Korean Funerary Photo-Portraiture,” which examined the uses of portrait photography in funerals and ancestor worship in Korea.¹ By extending the geographic scope of the earlier project to encompass East Asia, its aim is to investigate how funerary photo-portraiture is intertwined with geopolitical issues across the region.

In order to explore the historical and socio-political layers of vernacular photography in East Asia, this dissertation compares the practice of funerary photo-portraiture in five countries by examining the basic concepts underpinning it. China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam all incorporate portrait photography into funerals and annual ancestor worship rituals, differentiating portrait photography of the deceased from that of the living. Funerary

portrait photographs of historical victims also play a role in establishing national memorials and shrines in these countries, and these portraits reflect experiences that are transnational, such as the Japanese colonial experience.

The dissertation explores how changes in family dynamics, geopolitics, and the flow of capital have challenged and complicated the traditional use of funerary photo-portraiture. In particular, it reveals the ways in which funerary portrait photography not only is involved in establishing a national identity, but also how it jeopardizes the social imaginary of a communal identity. Because experiences of colonialism and war affect the use of funerary photo-portraiture, the discourse of hegemony is central to exploring the influence of geopolitics on structuring visual cultures of East Asia.

This dissertation is conceived as a socio-political history of vernacular photography in that funerary portrait photography has been used in each country of East Asia to structure as well as to challenge national identity. My dissertation also aims to contribute ways of overcoming essentialism in dealing with the culture of the Other through cross-regional and comparative methodologies, while suggesting the importance of a parallax view as a way to overcome the problem of transparency. This dissertation shows that anthropologists and scholars of cultural studies might assume a more neutral and object posture as analysts of different perspectives rather than as translators or interpreters of culture. It ultimately aims to explore how studies of vernacular photography might contribute to revealing the passage of
hegemony throughout East Asia, while deconstructing the desire for imagining a homogenous identity in each country of the region.

Unlike postmodern pluralist politics that emphasize heterogeneity and incommensurability, this dissertation revolves around issues like pluralism and difference. It will focus on relationships of power in order to discover how some differences operate as relationships of subordination. The dissertation’s aim of exploring antagonism and conflict created by seemingly pan-Asian cultural practices will contribute to a reconsideration of what kind of insight studies of photography can offer to contemporary society.
Acknowledgments

This dissertation evolved from a paper on vernacular photography that I wrote while taking a seminar with Geoffrey Batchen. I owe my deepest gratitude to Professor Batchen, my original dissertation adviser until his departure for Victoria University in New Zealand, for probing critical questions that made me a better researcher and for constant encouragement that kept me going when I felt daunted and dispirited.

I entered the Art History Program at CUNY-GC with a desire to study Minimalism with Anna Chave, and although I was later drawn to the field of vernacular photography in East Asia, Professor Chave became, and has remained, my mentor ever since I took her class on feminism. My dissertation’s attention to the lives of women owes much to what I learned from her. Professor Chave generously assumed the role of dissertation adviser to succeed Professor Batchen, and her meticulous reading of my drafts and prompt responses to my requests for guidance enabled me to complete this project.

I also thank my other dissertation readers, Maria Antonella Pelizzari and Karen Strassler, for their time and thoughtfulness. It was a privilege to have received advice from an illustrious photography scholar such as Professor Pelizzari, whose work on colonial archives inspired my research, and from a renowned cultural anthropologist such as Professor
Strassler, whose scholarship on Indonesian photographic practices informed my investigations.

Numerous photography scholars, historians, and ethnologists helped my research along the way. I am particularly grateful to Kyungmin Lee, whose work provided valuable resources from which I learned about the history of photography in Korea. He shared his ideas on my project, and gave me the opportunity to present my topic at the 2012 Seoul Photography Festival. During my visit to Japan, Shinya Yamada of the National Museum of Japanese History guided me through invaluable photographs and introduced me to funeral photography albums in Japan. Yong-ping Chien shared his personal collection of Taiwanese studio photographs during my stay in Taiwan. Kunimitsu Kawamura of Osaka University sent copies of his published articles to my home in Korea, and encouraged my exploration of the relationship between photography and nationalism. Scholars in the Vietnamese Studies Group of the Association for Asian Studies were generous with their knowledge and ideas on funerary portrait photographic practices in Vietnam. I especially appreciate that Trần Đức Anh Sơn, Hue-Tam Ho Tai, and Nguyễn Đức Hiệp shared their research to assist me in my work. I am also very grateful to John Balaban and Lê Văn Cương of the Nôm Preservation Foundation for their help in locating nineteenth-century documents in the Vietnamese National Archives Center I in Hanoi. Many useful documents were provided by Kyungboon Lee of the Institute for Japanese Studies, Seoul National University, while Jungwon Jin of the
Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica drew my attention to the discourse of *ryōsai kenbo* (良妻賢母; good wife, wise mother), as well as to the diaspora of Asian women during the Japanese colonial period. I also thank Masako Toda and Wubin Zhuang, the former for sharing her article on Masahisa Fukase, the latter for an introduction to Singaporean artist Amana Heng. Ayelet Zohar organized a panel on portrait photography of East Asia at the 2011 College Art Association, where I presented my paper on Korean and Japanese funerary portrait photography. She also gave me the opportunity to write on Korean photographer Sun-tag Noh’s work on the Gwangju Democratic Movement. I appreciate Sandra Matthews, editor of *Trans-Asia Photography Review*, inviting me to translate Kyungmin Lee’s text on Korean photography studios.

Museums and libraries provided me with invaluable sources for my project. I thank the staff of the Goeun Museum of Photography, Busan, Korea, for furnishing me with a catalogue of Sang-il Yi’s photography. Nihon Shashinkan Kyōkai (Japanese Photography Studios Association) sent me their newsletters containing articles on funerary photographic portrait practices in Japan. The National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts in Taichung City sent me an exhibition catalogue, “In Sight: Tracing the Photography Studio Images of the Japanese Period in Taiwan”. I am indebted to these institutions for their courtesies to a foreign researcher.

The artists whom I included in this dissertation never hesitated to show me their work
or share their ideas. I express especial thanks to Suntag Noh, Sanghee Song, and Tulapop Saenjaroen for their generosity.

This dissertation was supported by numerous fellowships. I express gratitude to the China and Inner Asia Council for a Research Travel Grant; the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica for a PhD Candidate Fellowship; and the Center for Chinese Studies, National Central Library for a Research Grant. I also thank, the Seoul National University Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies for a Special Researcher Fellowship; the Posco TJ Park Foundation for an Asia Field Research Fellowship; and the CUNY Graduate Center for a Doctoral Student Research Grant.

I could not have completed this lengthy research project without the support, humor, and love so kindly provided by my friends. I cannot thank Hyewon Yi enough for consoling, reassuring, and advising me. She scanned a one-hundred-page draft and introduced me to an excellent editor, Mark Shechtman. Chu-Chiu Wei and her family were gracious hosts during my stay in Taiwan, while Peiti Wang chauffered me around Taipei on her motor scooter under a scorching sun. Pei-ting Hsu and Christine Hsu listened sympathetically to my travails and hardships while sharing food and drink, and Haung-lan Su, who helped me to translate Chinese texts, was a wonderful colleague at Academia Sinica. Yoshiaki Kai and Yuko Fujii welcomed me whenever I visited Tokyo, and assisted my research into Japanese culture.

Elizabeth Cronin was the first to read and edit my very rough drafts. Stephanie Jeanjean
always offered to help however and whenever she could. My Korean friends in New York demonstrated touching concern for my physical and mental wellbeing and listened patiently to my complaints and despair: thank you Youngin Jang, Inkyu Kim, and Jiyoung Ryu. Sook Nyu Lee of AHL Foundation introduced me to the Korean arts community of New York City, and gave me the opportunity to share the joys of art history by engaging me to lecture to the general public. I am also grateful to my friends in Korea—Younghee Lee, Hyunjung Baek, Sunhee Kim, Siryoung Lee, and Hyunwoo Yoon—whose twenty years of friendship and affection have earned my undying loyalty.

My parents, Jinkon Kim and Sujin Park, have witnessed all the joys and hardships I have experienced during my dissertation years, yet never discouraged their tenacious daughter from pursuing whatever adventure she may have set her heart on. My brother, Dongwook Kim, is the only person who knows all the bad habits his sister possesses as a researcher, and I thank him for endlessly reprimanding me to correct those shortcomings. I also thank my sister-in-law, Inmi Ku, my nephew, Jihan Kim, and my soon-to-be-born niece, Eunchong Kim, for being a constant presence in my life and for making me smile and laugh a lot.

Without Mark Shechtman’s meticulous reading and conscientious editing of the manuscript, this dissertation would not have been completed. I thank Mark for his dedication to my project, and for the time and effort he devoted to East Asian stories of the dead and
Finally, I express my gratitude to all the living and the dead whom I encountered during my research trips in East Asia, but whose names I do not know. I dedicate this dissertation to them.
# Table of Contents

**List of Illustrations**  
xiv

**Note to the Reader**  
xxvii

**Introduction**  
1

## Chapter One: The Historical Antecedents of Funerary Photo-Portraiture in East Asia

I. Introduction  
35

II. The Naming of Funerary Photo-Portraiture and Photography in East Asia  
38

III. Desire for and Fear of Verisimilitude  
113

IV. Precursors of Funerary Photo-Portraiture  
128

V. Conclusion  
146

## Chapter Two: Funerary Photo-Portraiture: Archives and Museums

I. Introduction  
150

II. National Archives  
153

III. Funerary Portrait Photography and Ghost/Spirit Marriage  
188

IV. Conclusion: Trans-Archive or Counter-Archive  
212

## Chapter Three: Funerary Photo-Portraiture and State Funerals

I. Introduction  
219

II. Monarchy and Portrait Photography in East Asia  
223

III. Monarchical State Funerals and Photography (1897-1920)  
239

IV. Funerary Photo-Portraiture and Heads of State since the 1920s  
273

V. Conclusion: The Rhetoric of Funerary Photo-Portraiture  
293

## Chapter Four: Artists Working with Funerary Photo-Portraiture

I. Introduction  
300

II. Family and Funerary Portrait Photography  
300

III. State Violence and Funerary Portrait Photography  
322

IV. Conclusion  
338

**Epilogue**  
340

**Selected Bibliography**  
357

**Illustrations**  
441
List of Illustrations

Fig. 1.1. Scenes of Family Worship from album of twenty-four leaves illustrating famous sites and customs in Peking Anglo-Chinese workshop painting, Qing dynasty, 2d half 19th century, from Jan Stuart and Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, Worshiping the Ancestors: Chinese Commemorative Portraits (Washington, D.C.; Stanford: Freer Gallery of Art; Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Stanford University Press, 2001).

Fig. 1.2. Name tablet and another one on an altar for annual memorial service in Korea.

Fig. 1.3. Funerary portrait photograph on a family altar in Japan (left) and on altar for memorial service in Korea (right).

Fig. 1.4. A bereaved family carrying funerary portrait photograph of the deceased.

Fig. 1.5. Huanqiushe Bianjibu (環球社編輯部), ed., “Yingye Xiezhen (營業寫真; Business Illustration),” in Tuhua Ribao (圖畫日報; Daily Pictorial), vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1999), 404.

Fig. 1.6. Bochen Liuying (波臣留影),” Dianshizhai Huabao (點石齋畫報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio), December 29, 1887.

Fig. 1.7. John Thomson, Photograph of a Chinese Street, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

Fig. 1.8. From Lena E. Johnston, Peeps at Many Lands, China (London: A. and C. Black, 1913), n.p.

Fig. 1.9. Photographer Unknown, Plate 35 in Joanna Waley-Cohen, Edwin K. Lai, and Roberta Wue, eds., Picturing Hong Kong, (New York: Asia Society Galleries, 1997), 100.

Fig. 1.10. Phan Thanh Giản (潘淸簡, 1796-1867), 1863 in France.

Fig. 1.11. Chinese Post-Mortem Photographs, Courtesy of Chien Yong Ping (簡永彬), Taiwan.

Fig. 1.12. Zhenxiang Huabao (真相畫報; The True Record) 1, no. 7 (1912).

Fig. 1.13. John Thomson, A Chinese portrait artist, Hong Kong, 1869-1871.

Fig. 1.15. Li Ruiyan (李瑞岩), *Đặng Huy Trị*, ca. 1865-1868.

Fig. 1.16. A Sample Page for Studio Portrait, Courtesy of Chien Yong Ping (簡永彬), Taiwan.

Fig. 1.17. A Sample Page for Studio Portrait, Courtesy of Chien Yong Ping (簡永彬), Taiwan.

Fig. 1.18. Chae Yongsin, *Hwang Hyun*, 1911.

Fig. 1.19. Kim Kyujin, *Hwang Hyun*, 1909.

Fig. 1.20. Shini-e of Tamashichi, the Kabuki actor, 1860, From John Fiorillo, “Viewing Japanese Prints: Shini-e (‘Death Prints’),” 1999.

Fig. 1.21. Shini-e of Tamashichi, the Kabuki actor, 1860, From John Fiorillo, “Viewing Japanese Prints: Shini-e (‘Death Prints’),” 1999.


Fig. 1.23. Shiukana gori bun (shodai Bandō Shiuka no shinie) (しようかな文 (初代坂東しうかの死絵)).

Fig. 1.24. Shini-e of Hachidaime Ichikawa Danjūrō (八代目市川団十郎の死絵), 1854.

Fig. 1.25. Shini-e of Shodai Bandō Shūka (初代坂東しうかの死絵).

Fig. 1.26. Kurimuraka enkaizu (栗村家宴会図; Banquet of Kurimura Family) painted in 1849.

Fig. 1.27. Ochiai (Utagawa) Yoshiiku (落合芳幾 (1833-1904), *Makotono tsukihana no sukata-e (真写月花の姿絵 夏乃月)*, 1867.

Fig. 1.28. Yodaime Ichimura Kakitsu (4代目市村家橘) from Ochiai (Utagawa) Yoshiiku (落合芳幾), *Makotono tsukihana no sukata-e (真写月花之姿絵)*, 1867.
Fig. 1.29. Detail of Yodaime Ichimura Kakitsu (4代目市村家橘), from Ochiai (Utagawa) Yoshiiku (落合芳幾), Makoto no tsukihana no sukata-e (真写月花之姿絵), 1867.

Fig. 1.30. Kuyō egaku (供養絵額; votive picture tablet), 1859.

Fig. 1.31. Chōsenji(長泉寺; chōsen temple), Iwate, Japan.

Fig. 1.32. Suzuki Shinichi (鈴木真一), Urn with a portrait of himself, 1903.

Fig. 1.33. Sato Ganko (佐藤岩孝), Portrait of Warrant Officer Iwabuchi, 1952.

Fig. 1.34. Painter Unknown, Nishikawa Kachūkō no zō (西川家中興像) & Glass Negatives of Mr. and Mrs. Nishikawa.

Fig. 1.35. Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (月岡芳年), Kuzunoha kitsune dōji ni wakaruru no zu (葛の葉きつね童子にわかるるの図; Picture of Kuzunoha appearing as a fox) in Shinkei sanjūrok kaisen (新形三十六怪撰; New Forms of 36 Ghosts).

Fig. 2.1. Victim’s Information Area / Apparatus to Search for A-Bomb Victims, in Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims.

Fig. 2.2. Poster for collecting names and funerary photo-portrait of atomic bomb victims Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall.

Fig. 2.3. Yamamoto Matsutani (山本松谷), “Gunjin No Izoku Tamamatsuri no zu (軍人の遺族魂祭の圖; Illustration of a Memorial Service by a Bereaved Family of a Soldier),” Fūzoku Gahō (風俗画報) 95 (July 1895), unpaginated.

Fig. 2.4. Memorial Service for the War Dead, 1941, Department of Economics, Oita University.

Fig. 2.5. Memorial Service for the War Dead, October 29, 1946, Kyoto University.

Fig. 2.6. Kaigunshō jinjikyoku (海軍省人事局), ed., Meiji Sanjū Shichi Shichi Senshisha Shashinchō (明治三拾七八年戰役海軍戰死者寫眞帖;Photography Album of the Naval War Dead in 1904 and 1905) (Tokyo: Kaigunshō jinjikyoku, n.d.).

Fig. 2.7. Bukunkan (武勲館; Hall of Military Achievements) in Seisen Kōa Hakurankai (聖戦興亜博覧会; Sacred War and Asian Development Exposition), Asikawa, 1939.

Fig. 2.8. Funerary Portrait Photographs in Bukunkan (武勲館; Hall of Feat of Arms) of
Joseon Great Exposition, 1940.

Fig. 2.9. Taiheiyō Sensō Kenkyūkai (太平洋戦争研究会), “Shashin Shūhō” ni miru senjika no Nihon (「写真週報」に見る戦時下の日本; Wartime Japan seen through “Photography Weekly”), ed. Hosaka Masayusa (保阪正康) (Tokyo: Sekai Bunkasha, 2011), 140.

Fig. 2.10. Kawamura Kunimitsu (川村邦光), Seisen no ikonogurafi : tennō to heishi, senshisha no zuzō, hyōshō (聖戦のイコノグラフィ: 天皇と兵士・戦死者の図像・表象; Iconography of the Sacred War: Emperor and Soldiers, Iconographies and Representations of the War Dead) (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2007), 221.

Fig. 2.11. Yūshūkan, ed., Yūshūkan Yōran (遊就館要覧; Catalogue of Yūshūkan) (Tokyo: Yūshūkan, 1933), unpaginated.

Fig. 2.12. Yasukuni no Kamigami (靖国の神々; Deities of Yasukuni), Funerary portrait photographs of the war dead hung on the walls of Yūshūkan.

Fig. 2.13. Eirei kōnā (英霊コーナー; The Corner of Heroic Souls), Chiran tokkō heiwa kaikan (知覧特攻平和会館; Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots).

Fig. 2.14. Kubota Kinsen (久保田金僊), “Tokubetsu Kōgeki tai Kyū Yūshi Gōdō Kaigunsō Ni Sanretsu Shite (特別攻撃隊九勇士 合同海軍葬に参列して; Participating in Joint Funeral of Navy for Nine Warriors of Special Attack Unit),” Kōa (興亜; Rising Asia) 3, no. 6 (June 1942): 53.

Fig. 2.15. Park Gi-Chae (朴基채), Joseon Haehyeop (조선해협; Straits of Joseon) (Joseonn yeonghwa jejak jusikoesa, 1943).

Fig. 2.16. Jinmen Xibian Hailong Zhonglieci (金門溪邊海龍忠烈祠), Shrine for Unswerving Loyalty in Xibian, Jinmen, Taiwan.

Fig. 2.17. President Ma Ying-jeou commemorating the war dead of Battle of Guningtou in Shrine for Unswerving Loyalty in Mt. Taiwu of Jinmen, Taiwan, October 25, 2009.

Fig. 2.18. Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, Nanjing, China.

Fig. 2.19. Two spirit brides, made of paper, cloth, and photograph from a popular magazine, representing girls in who died in childhood. They await the arrival of
their living grooms before their father’s family altar.

Fig. 2.20. *Hanayome ningyō* (花嫁人形; Bride Doll) in Yūshūkan (遊就館), Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo, Japan.

Fig. 2.21. Samura Tatsumi (志村立美), “Kagezen (陰膳),” *Shuhunotomo* (主婦之友; Friend of Housewife), cover page, (November 1938).

Fig. 2.22. Terauchi Manjirō (寺内万治朗), “Shutsujinno Sei (出陣の誓; Oath of Going to War),” *Shuhunotomo* (主婦之友; Friend of Housewife), cover page, (November 1944).

Fig. 2.23. Kita Renzō (北蓮蔵), “Izoku Sanpai (遺族参拜; Worship of the Bereaved),” *Shuhunotomo* (主婦之友; Friend of Housewife), cover page, (November 1940).

Fig. 2.24. “Sinchwiui Yuyeonge Baerye (神鷲의 遺影에 拜禮; Worshipping to funerary portrait photograph of a Kamikaze pilot),” *Maeil Sinbo* (매일신보), June 15, 1945, Morning edition.

Fig. 2.25. “Yuyeongape Myeongbok Giwon (遺影앞에 冥福祈願; Praying for the Repose in front of the Funerary Portrait Photograph ),” *Maeil Sinbo* (매일신보), April 18, 1945, Morning edition.

Fig. 2.26. “Yuigonno tori Kodomomo Gunjinni 遺言の通り子供も軍人に; Following the Will, Child to be a Soldier),” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (臺灣日日新報), October 5, 1937, Day edition.

Fig. 2.27. “Shizukana Mibōjinno Sugata (静かな未亡人の姿; Calm Appearance of a Widow),” *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (臺灣日日新報), August 17, 1940.

Fig. 2.28. “Junshoku Kyūgoin’ No Irei Saidan O Setchi Shimashita (殉職救護員の慰霊祭壇を設置しました; Set up a Memorial Altar for the Deceased Members),” *Nihonsekijūjisha Naganoken Shibu* (日本赤十字社長野県支部; Nagano Branch of the Japanese Red Cross Society), 2011.

Fig. 2.29. Chamber of requiem (鎮魂; chinkon), Himeyuri Peace Museum (ひめゆり平和祈念資料館; Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen Shiryōkan).
Fig. 2.30. Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace (Onnatachi no sensō to heiwa shiryōkan; 女たちの戦争と平和資料館), Tokyo, Japan.

Fig. 2.31. War and Women’s Human Rights Museum (전쟁과 여성 인권 박물관), Seoul, South Korea.

Fig. 3.1. Uchida Kuichi (内田九一), Emperor Meiji, 1872.

Fig. 3.2. Uchida Kuichi (内田九一), Emperor Meiji, 1873.

Fig. 3.3. “The Mikado’s Photograph,” The Illustrated London News, March 23, 1878.

Fig. 3.4. Edoardo Chiossone & Maruki Riyō (丸木利陽), Emperor Meiji, 1888.

Fig. 3.5. Miyachi Masato (宮地正人) et al., eds., Bijuaru waido Meiji jidaikan (ビジュアル・ワイド明治時代館; Visual Wide Theater of Meiji Period), 192–193.

Fig. 3.6. “Shōgakkō Gantan Chokugo Haishōka Zukai (小學校元旦勅語奉讀 拜唱歌圖解; Reading the Rescript on Education and Singing Together on New Year’s Holiday),” Fūzoku Gahō (風俗画報), no. 64 (January 1894): 22–23.

Fig. 3.7. Kamidana (神棚).

Fig. 3.8. Yamamoto Matsutani (山本松谷), “Minka Tenchōsetsu O Shukusuru No Zu (民家天長節を祝するの圖; Illustration of a Private House Celebrating the Emperor’s Birthday),” Fūzoku Gahō (風俗画報) no. 127 (November 10, 1896): Unpaginated.

Fig. 3.9. “Shibaku Gaisen Gunjin Kangeikai (芝區凱旋軍人歡迎會; Welcome Party for the Triumphant Troops in Shiba District),” Fūzoku Gahō Taiwan Tobi Sōjō Zue Dai Ichihen (風俗画報 臺灣土匪掃蕩圖會第1編; Special Issue on the Suppression of Taiwanese Aborigines) no. 111 (March 25, 1896), unpaginated.

Fig. 3.10. Homori Kingo (甫守謹吾), Gendai no sahō (現代の作法; Contemporary Etiquettes and Manners) (Tokyo: Nankōsha, 1927), 97 and 99.

Fig. 3.11. Goshienei Hōanden, Genshinka Jinjō Shōgakkō (御真影奉安殿, 原新化尋常小学校; Imperial Portrait Shrine, Genshinka Elementary School), Tainan, Taiwan, 1931-.

Fig. 3.12. Bowing to Hōanden (奉安殿), Honjō shōgakkō (本庄小学校; Honjō Elementary School), Takashima City, Shiga Prefecture, Japan, 1937.
Fig. 3.13. Yu Xunling, Empress Dowager Cixi, circa 1903.

Fig. 3.14. Yu Xunling, Empress Dowager Cixi, circa 1904.

Fig. 3.15. Yu Xunling, Empress Dowager Cixi, circa 1903-1904.

Fig. 3.16. Catherine Carl, Empress Dowager Cixi, 1903-1904.

Fig. 3.17. Hubert Vos, Empress Dowager Cixi, 1905.

Fig. 3.18. Percival Lowell, King Gojong, 1883.

Fig. 3.19. Unknown maker, King Gojong, 1905.

Fig. 3.20. Higuchi, Portraits of King Yi Kojong, 1884.

Fig. 3.21. Higuchi, Portraits of King Yi Kojong, 1884.

Fig. 3.22. King Gojong, From Constance J. D. Tayler, Koreans at Home (London: Cassell and Co., 1904, 36.

Fig. 3.23. King Gojong, 1907.

Fig. 3.24. King Gojong, 1907.

Fig. 3.25. Picture Postcard of Emperor Meiji and King Gojong, 1907.

Fig. 3.26. State Funeral of Mao Zedong, Beijing, China, September 17th -18th, 1976.

Fig. 3.27. State Funeral of Chiang Kai-shek, Taipei, Taiwan, 1975.

Fig. 3.28. State Funeral of Kim Il-sung, 1994, Pyongyang, North Korea.

Fig. 3.29. Fūzoku Gahō Rinji Zōkan Gotaisōzue (風俗画報臨時増刊 御大喪圖會; Fūzoku Gahō Extra Edition: Selected Images of the Imperial Funeral), no. 135 (February 25, 1897).

Fig. 3.30. Emperor Kōmei & Empress Dowager Eishō, From Taiyō (太陽; The Sun) 3, no. 4 (February 1897).

Fig. 3.31. Eishō kōtaigō heika gotaisō shashinchō (英照皇太后陛下御大葬写真帖; The Commemorative Photography Album of the Grand Funeral of Empress Dowager Eishō) (Tokyo: Genroku, 1897).

Fig. 3.32. Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (北白川宮能久親王).

Fig. 3.33. Sugi Kenji (杉謙二), ed., Meiji no Tennō (明治之天皇; The Meiji Emperor)
“Gotaisōchuno Tokyoshi (御大喪中の東京市; Tokyo during the Imperial Mourning Period),” *Fūzoku Gahō* (風俗画報), no. 437 (September 1912).

Gohōgyo tōji sekishi no nessei kitō (御崩御當時赤子の熱誠祈禱; Enthusiastic pray of the subjects on the demise of the emperor), from Mizoguchi Hakuyō (溝口白羊), *Meiji Jingūki (明治神宮紀; Records on Meiji Shrine)* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1920), 45.

“Nogi Shōgun Nami Fujin Daichōsaikai (Shibakōen) no zu (乃木將軍幷夫人大弔祭會 (芝公園)の圖; Illustration of Grand Memorial Service for General and Madame Nogi),” *Fūzoku Gahō* (風俗画報), no. 440 (December 1912): 16.

“Mourning Procession, 1897.”


“Jagire Hungseohan Deoksugungeombi (昨日에 薨逝한 德壽宮 嚴妃; Consort Eom of Deoksu Palace Passed Away Yesterday),” *Maeilsinbo* (毎日申報), July 21, 1911.


Consort Eom and Gojong, circa 1907.

“Hunggeohaosin Itaewangjeonha (薨去하오신 李太王殿下; The Late His Highness The Great King of Yi),” *Maeilsinbo* (毎日申報), January 23, 1919.

“Itaewangjeonha Hunggeo (李太王殿下薨去; The Death of the Great King of Yi),” *Maeilsinbo* (毎日申報), January 23, 1919.

“Bongsong GoYitaewang Yeonggu (奉送故 李太王靈柩; Seeing off the Hearse of the Late Great King of Yi),” *Maeilsinbo* (毎日申報), March 3, 1919.

“Deoksugung Ui Tanshinil (德壽宮의 誕辰宴; The Birthday of Gojong),” *Maeilsinbo* (매일신보), September 8, 1919.
Fig. 3.46. “Sijungui Bangiwa Gisaengdeurui Manggok (시중의 반기와 기생들의 망곡; Flag at Half-Mast and Wailing of Prostitutes on the Street),” *Maeilsinbo (每日申報)*, January 24, 1919.

Fig. 3.47. Hahyeonguirui Geumgok (하현궁일의 금곡; Geumgok on the Day of the Internment),” *Maeilsinbo (每日申報)*, March 5, 1919.

Fig. 3.48. Ko Ri Taiō Denka (故 李太王 殿下; The Late Great King of Yi),” *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō (臺灣日日新報)*, March 3, 1919.

Fig. 3.49. Hantō Jironsha (半島時論社), ed., *Riōke Kinen shashinchō (李王家紀念寫真帖; Commemorative Photography Album of the Family of King Yi)* (Tokyo: Hantō Jironsha, 1919).

Fig. 3.50. Empress Dowager Cixi and Emperor Guangxu, *Le Petit Journal*.

Fig. 3.51. “A Royal Procession that was made to be burnt: 5000 paper figures as escort for a dead empress” in *Illustrated London Newspaper*, December 4, 1909.

Fig. 3.52. “A £125,000 Funeral: The Burial of the Late Empress-Dowager of China” in *Illustrated London News*, December 11, 1909.

Fig. 3.53. Transportation of the Portrait Painting of the Empress Dowager Cixi, 1903-1904, from Sarah Pike Conger, *Letters from China, with Particular Reference to the Empress Dowager and the Women of China*.

Fig. 3.54. *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō (台灣日日新報, C: Taiwan riri shinbao; Taiwan Daily News)*, Japanese edition, 1908.11.17, 2.

Fig. 3.55. *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō (台灣日日新報, C: Taiwan riri shinbao; Taiwan Daily News)*, Chinese edition, 1908.11.18, 2.

Fig. 3.56. Shinkokuno Daifukō (清国の大不幸; The Great Misfortune of Qing),” *Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞; Asahi News)*, November 15, 1908.

Fig. 3.57. Hou Jie (侯杰) and Wang Kunjiang (王昆江), eds., *Xingsu huabao jingxuan: Qingmo Minchu shehui fengqing (醒俗畫報精選: 清末民初社會風情; Selection of Enlightening Customs Pictorial Magazine: Social Customs of Late Qing and Early Republican Period)* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005), 58.

Fig. 3.58. Funeral Procession of Emperor Gaungxu, from Liu Boxian (留伯仙).
Wangshi: WanQing mingxinpin toushi (往事: 晚明清信片透视; Things of the Past: Seeing through the Postcards of the Late Qing) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2001), 99.

Fig. 3.59. Funeral Procession of Emperor Gaungxu, from Liu Boxian (留伯仙), Wangshi: WanQing mingxinpin toushi (往事: 晚明清信片透视; Things of the Past: Seeing through the Postcards of the Late Qing) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2001), 100.

Fig. 3.60. The Mourning Hall of Empress Dowager Longyu, 1913, from 故宮珍藏人物写真選 = Exquisite figure-pictures from the Palace Museum.

Fig. 3.61. Empress Dowager Longyu, from Guojia tushuguan (國家圖書館), ed., “Guomin Aidaohui Jishilu (Longyu Taihou) (國民哀悼會紀事錄 (隆裕太后); Record of People’s Gathering for Condolence (Empress Dowager Longyu)),” in Zhonghua Lishiren Wubie Zhuanji (中華歷史人物別傳集; Complete Collection of Chinese Historical Figures), vol. 80 (Beijing: Xianzhuang Shuju, 2003), 489.

Fig. 3.62. “The Services of the Condolence of the Late Lung Yu, the Empress Dowager of the Late Ching Dynasty,” Zhenxiang Huabao (真相畫報; The True Record) no. 15 (1913): unpaginated.

Fig. 3.63. Empress Dowager Longyu (center), from Liu Beise (劉北汜) and Xu Qixian (徐啓憲), eds., Gugongzhencang renwu xiezhenxuan = Exquisite figure-pictures from the Palace Museum (故宮珍藏人物寫真選 = Exquisite figure-pictures from the Palace Museum) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1994), 69.

Fig. 3.64. Der Ling “assisting Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Dowager of China, going down Peony Hill toward her Palace”.

Fig. 3.65. Guomin zhuidaodahui (國民追悼大会; National Memorial Service) for Yuan Shikai, 1916, Temple of Agriculture, Beijing.

Fig. 3.66. Guomin zhuidaodahui (國民追悼大会; National Memorial Service) for Yuan Shikai, 1916, Temple of Agriculture, Beijing.

Fig. 3.67. Yuan Shikai, 1913.

Fig. 3.68. “Memorial Services for Yuan Shih-Kai,” Daughters of the American
Revolution Magazine, August 1916.

Fig. 3.69. Memorial Hall for Sun Yat-sen, Central Park, Beijing, March, 1925.

Fig. 3.70. A Memorial Service for Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai.

Fig. 3.71. Mourning ceremonies in Canton in March 1925.

Fig. 3.72. Sidney D. Gamble, Sun Yat-sen funeral, Coach Carrying Portrait of Deceased 1924-27.

Fig. 3.73. The KMT procession arrives in Tientsin on way to Beijing to move Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum to Nanking, where Sun wished to be buried. The picture was taken on May 19, 1929.

Fig. 3.74. The KMT procession arrives in Tientsin on way to Beijing to move Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum to Nanking, where Sun wished to be buried. The picture was taken on May 19, 1929.

Fig. 3.75. “Shishi Sheying Xinwen (時事攝影新聞; Photographic News on Current Events),” Yaxiya Huabao (亞細亞畫報; Asia Pictorial) 4, no. 7 (1942): 10.

Fig. 3.76. Party Affair in front of the portrait of Sun Yat-sen.

Fig. 3.77. “Xin Taiwan Zai Jianshe Zhong: Shenghui Taibei Shi Beimen Cenglou Gao Xuan Guofu Yixiang Zhuxi Xiaoxiang (新臺灣在建設中: 省會台北市北門城樓高懸國父遺像主席肖像; New Taiwan on Construction: Hanging Funerary Portrait of Father of Nation and Portrait of Premier on a Castle Turret of North Gate in Taipei),” Xin Taiwan Huabao (新台灣畫報; New Taiwan Pictorial) no. 1 (1946): 9.

Fig. 3.78. “Shishi Sanminzhuyi Jiaoyu: Guomin Xuexiao: Jiaoshinei Xuangua Guofu Yixiang (實施三民主義教育: 國民學校: 敎室內懸掛國父遺像; Enforcement of Education on Three Principles of People: Elementary School: Hanging the Funerary Portrait of Father of Nation),” Xin Taiwan Huabao (新台灣畫報; New Taiwan Pictorial) no. 2-3 (1946): 5.

Fig. 3.79. Conferment Ceremony Distributing the Photograph of the President, December 12th, 1955.
Fig. 3.80. The State Funeral of the President Park Chung-hee, 1979, Seoul, South Korea.

Fig. 3.81. The State Funeral of the President Park Chung-hee, 1979, Seoul, South Korea.

Fig. 3.82. Portraits of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il at home in North Korea.

Fig. 3.83. The Funeral Procession of Kim Il-sung, July, 1994, Pyongyang, North Korea.

Fig. 3.84. A person taking a bow in front of the portraits of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il on a voting day.

Fig. 3.85. General MacArthur and Hirohito, US Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, September 27, 1945.

Fig. 3.86. Funerary Photo-Portrait of Emperor Showa (Hirohito), 1989, Shinjuku Gyoen.

Fig. 3.87. President Park Chung-hee in front of General MacArthur’s funerary photo-portrait, 1964.

Fig. 3.88-93. Ōura Nobuyuki, *Holding Perspectives*, 1982-1983.

Fig. 4.1. Fukase Masahisa (深瀬昌久), *Kazoku* (家族; Family), ed. Hasegawa Akira (長谷川明) (Tokyo: IPC, 1991).

Fig. 4.2. Fukase Masahisa (深瀬昌久), *Chichi no Kioku* (父の記憶; Memories of Father) (Tokyo: IPC, 1991).

Fig. 4.3. Masahisa Fukase with his works in an exhibition, *Shashin kara Shashin e* (写真から写真へ; *From Photography to Photography*), 1974, Shimizu Gallery, Tokyo.

Fig. 4.4. Song Yongping, *My Parents*, 1998–2001.

Fig. 4.5. Song Yongping, *My Parents*, 1998–2001.

Fig. 4.6. Song Dong, *Father and Son in the Ancestral Temple*, 1998-2000.

Fig. 4.7. Song Dong, *Waste Not*, 2009, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Fig. 4.8. Song Dong, *Touching My Father*, 1997, 2002-2011, 2011.

Fig. 4.9. Song Dong, *Touching My Father*, 1997, 2002-2011, 2011.

Fig. 4.10. Song Dong, from an interview on *Waste Not*, 2009, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Fig. 4.11. Shigeko Kubota, *My Father*, B&W Video tape, 15:24 min., 1973-75.
Fig. 4.12. Shigeko Kubota, NAM JUNE PAIK I, 2007.

Fig. 4.13. Shigeko Kubota, NAM JUNE PAIK II, 2007.

Fig. 4.14. Tulapop Saenjaroen, The Return, 2008.

Fig. 4.15. Tulapop Saenjaroen, The Return, 2008.

Fig. 4.16-18. Amanda Heng, Another Woman, 1996-99.


Fig. 4.20. Song Sanghee, Her Funeral, video, 13 min., 2006.

Fig. 4.21. Song Sanghee, Ready to Die, Electric chair, light, metal, motor, 2006.

Fig. 4.22. Kuratani Hironao, Myoukayama Photo Studio, The Echigo-Tsumari Art Triennale, 2006.

Fig. 4.23. William Eugene Smith, Tomoko Uemura in Her Bath, Minamata, Japan, 1971.

Fig. 4.24. William Eugene Smith, Minamata, Japan, 1972.

Fig. 4.25. Tsuchimoto Noriaki, Minamata Fukuoka Exhibition (水俣・福岡展), JR Kyushu Hall, May 2013.


Fig. 4.27. Yi Sangil, Mangwol-dong, 1984-2000.

Fig. 4.28. Dinh Q. Lê, Cambodia: Splendour and Darkness, 1998.

Fig. 4.29. Dinh Q. Lê, Cambodia: Splendour and Darkness, 2004.

Fig. 4.30. Dinh Q. Lê, The Texture of Memory #5, 2000-01.

Fig. 4.31. Dinh Q. Lê, From Vietnam to Hollywood, 2006.

Fig. 4.32. Dinh Q. Lê, Erasure Archive, Installation View in Sherman Contemporary Arts Foundation, Sydney, 2011.

Fig. 4.33. Binh Danh, Mother and Child, from Immortality: The Remnants of the Vietnam and American War, 2005.

Fig. 4.34. Binh Danh, Ancestral Altars, 2006.
Note to the Reader

The foreign language transliterations in this dissertation follow the Revised Romanization system for Korean, the Revised Hepburn Romanization system for Japanese, the Hanyu Pinyin system for Chinese, and the Quốc Ngữ system for Vietnamese, with the exception of place names that have established customary transliterations, such as Hanoi, rather than Hà Nội.

Simplified Chinese characters have been used in China since the 1950s, while Taiwan has retained the traditional characters. The pronunciation of words, however, remains the same in both countries, and relatively uncomplicated characters are not simplified. For terms used in both China and Taiwan, simplified characters are given first, followed by traditional ones. Where simplified characters do not exist, only the traditional ones are given. For resource titles, only original transliterations appear. Where a single Chinese character is presented, its transliteration and the original Chinese character are given without parentheses, e.g., Ying 影.

Names of persons from East Asia are written according to the custom of family name first, followed by given name; the name in the original language follows in parentheses, e.g., Ukai Gyokusen (鵜飼玉川). In the case of Korean names, the two syllables of the given name are linked where appropriate, the family name coming first, e.g., Hong Gil-dong, not Hong Gil Dong. The exception is when an author transliterates his or her name into English
or when his or her name appears in the Western order in the resource published in English, in
which cases deference is accorded the author or publisher’s preference. For materials
published in English, the author’s name is given only in English.

As original languages play a crucial role in understanding the theses and historical
contexts of this dissertation, all material derived from sources in languages other than English
are given in Romanized form, followed in parentheses by their original language form and
English language translation, e.g., Datsuei Yawa (脱影夜話; Story of Making an
Image/photography).

For terms written in Chinese characters and shared throughout East Asia, the Chinese
transliteration comes before the Chinese character, followed by transliteration in other
languages in parentheses. For example, Zhao 照 (J. Shō, K. Jo, V. Chiếu); note that ‘J’
signifies Japanese, ‘K’ is for Korean, and ‘V’ is for Vietnamese. In cases in which there are
multiple pronunciations of Chinese characters in Japanese, the author selected a single
Onyomi (音読み; sound reading). For example, zō, rather than shō, was chosen for 像.

For Joseon Wangjo Sillok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Joseon Dynasty), citations
begins with the ruler’s temple name identifying the record (sillok), followed by the volume
number (gwon), the reign year (nyeon), followed by the Common Era year and the month and
day on the lunar calendar in parentheses, e.g., Sejongsillok (世宗實錄; Annals of King
Sejong), 64-gwon, 16-nyeon, Joseon Wangjo Sillok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) (April 1434).

All translations and emphases are the author’s unless otherwise noted.
Introduction

I vividly recall attending the funeral of my father’s older brother more than twenty years ago. While my uncle’s family is Catholic, and the service took place in a church in my family’s hometown in Korea, the funeral incorporated many traditional Confucian elements. My uncle’s portrait photograph was placed before his coffin in the church. Surrounded by white chrysanthemums, the photograph’s frame was adorned with black ribbons at the upper corners, denoting its funerary purpose. My uncle, who was only in his fifties and had been ill in hospital for a long time, had died without preparing his funerary portrait photograph as is customary in Korea when people reach their seventies and begin to think about the end of life. As a substitute for the traditional portrait, the family arranged for a photography service to enlarge his national identity photograph, which showed his head and shoulders. The resultant image was a truncated version of the pre-arranged funerary portrait photographs found at funerals throughout Korea, in which the upper body of a male subject is shown in full frontal pose wearing a dark Western-style business suit, shirt, and necktie. My uncle looks into the camera lens with a relaxed expression and a very slight smile.

After the church service, the mourners traveled to a country cemetery where the family burial plot is located. As the burial proceeded, my cousin, as the eldest son of the deceased, held the funerary portrait photograph while members of the church sang a hymn.
Afterwards, the mourners went to my uncle’s house, where his funerary portrait photograph was placed on a table bearing food offerings. The family and guests bowed toward my uncle’s likeness while male family members and male guests offered a glass of traditional Korean liquor to the image of my uncle. That photograph was a central element to every aspect of laying my uncle to rest.

This last ritual was familiar to me, as it was identical to the annual ancestral rites held at my uncle’s home when my father and his siblings and their families gathered on the anniversary of my grandfather’s death to commemorate the deceased. The family bowed before a table on which the photographic portrait of an old man whom I had never met gazed at us over dishes of food prepared by my mother and aunts. The door of the house was left open so that the invisible soul of my grandfather could enter. As a child, I wondered whether the dead could fly and enter the home through windows or even through walls, although I never raised the question aloud. After the ritual, we would eat the food and my uncle would return his father’s photograph to a cabinet in his study. Again, the photograph played a principal role in this ritual.

After my uncle died, my father, now the surviving eldest son, became the host of the annual memorial services for his parents. During my long stays abroad for study and research, I have missed attending those rituals, but whenever I return to Korea, I am expected to visit my grandparents’ graves to pay my respects and to ask them to watch over me. I do
not know how my grandparents are able to recognize me, as they died before I was born, but I have never doubted their invisible presence as their photographs gaze upon me. This dissertation, written by a woman who is both inside and outside her culture, is a reflection on that invisible presence and that certainty.

The dissertation expands and elaborates upon my 2009 essay, “Korean Funerary Photo-Portraiture,” which examined the uses of portrait photography in funerals and ancestor worship in Korea.¹ By extending the geographic scope of the earlier project to encompass the whole of East Asia, its aim is to investigate how funerary photo-portraiture is intertwined with geopolitical issues across the region. During my research, I found that many countries incorporate portrait photography into funerals and ancestral rituals in ways that seemed similar to those I have experienced in my native Korea. However, the more I studied funerary portrait photography in other East Asian countries, the less transparent became my view of their vernacular photographic practices, or, for that matter, of my own culture. I was often puzzled when things that I had assumed would be similar turned out to be different and when people who had appeared homogenous turned out to be quite varied.

In order to explore the historical and socio-political layers of vernacular photography in East Asia, my study compares the practice of funerary photo-portraiture in five countries by examining its underlying concepts. China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Vietnam all

incorporate portrait photography into funerals and annual ancestor worship rituals, setting apart portrait photography of the deceased from that of the living. Funerary portrait photographs of historical victims also play a role in national memorials and shrines in these countries, and these portraits reflect experiences that are transnational, such as the Japanese colonial experience.

Western philosophers’ concepts of photography, including those of Roland Barthes and Walter Benjamin, depart from the ontology and epistemology of photography found in the practice of funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia, necessitating a re-assessment of the relevance of their work to these cultures. This dissertation offers a reflection on the nature of cultural encounter and how one might avoid presuming that one has achieved transparency when encountering the Other. The division between Northeast and Southeast Asia is blurred in this dissertation. I include those countries that share the funerary photographic portrait practice as well as Chinese logographic and Confucianist values. Given that ancestor worship is not exclusively Confucianist, other countries have ancestral rituals aligned either with the Buddhist understanding of death or with various indigenous beliefs. These countries also have used portrait photography to commemorate the dead, as I found when I saw photo-portraits of the dead affixed to urns enshrined in a Buddhist temple in Cambodia. However, Cambodian culture is not situated within the boundary of the Chinese logographic system. Other Asian countries remain to be studied in a future research project, as Chinese migrants influenced local cultures throughout Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, in Chapter Two, I present the portrait photographs of historical victims in the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum of Cambodia within the context of discussing the process of institutionalizing photographs of the dead.

My use of the term ‘the Other’ partly relies on the Lacanian distinction between ‘the other’ and ‘the Other’, in that ‘the other’ derives from the psychological concept of the ego, while ‘the Other’ is an inassimilable alterity. (See Dylan Evans, An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis (London; New York: Routledge, 1996), 135–136.) However, I reject Lacan’s heterosexist view of the Other, which presumes that the Other sex is always Woman. I use the term following Edward Said’s use in Orientalism, as when he argues that the Orient as
questions addressed by my dissertation demonstrate that a cross-regional approach is well suited to historical studies of photography.

My project is interdisciplinary, engaging art history, visual anthropology, cultural studies, and area studies. Although there are recent survey histories of Japanese and Chinese photography published in English, few address the vernacular use of photographs in memorial services. One book that approaches the geographic sweep of my dissertation is the anthology *Photographies East: The Camera and Its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*. The book consists of nine essays on photography in four Asian countries: three on photographic practices in Indonesia; two on Chinese practices; one on royal photographs in Thailand; one on ghost photographs in Taiwan; and two on Japanese photographers. Some essays deal with the topics covered in this dissertation, including the relationship between photography and ritual. James T. Siegel looks at photographs of Atjehnese corpses taken during the Dutch invasion of Indonesia, discerning photography as a truth-telling medium with the capacity to invoke a sense of the sublime. For Siegel, the sublime lies in the after-effects of the death of the Other, rather than in the conditions under which the subaltern died.

---

or in the ethical responsibility of the living. In another province, Aru, a different face of modernity in Indonesia appears. Patricia Spyer explores a prohibition against photographing the annual rituals of a pearl-diving community that reveals the local ambivalence toward modernity. Although Spyer was permitted to use her camera and tape recorder to capture scenes of the performance, she failed to turn out any images due to what the indigenous people attributed to the ritual power of their performance. Despite this demonstration of sensitivity to local mores, Spyer invokes such concepts as “peripheral modernity,” which maintains a dichotomy between an accomplished modernity of the Center/the West and a disruptive and decentering one of peripheral countries.

Nickola Pazderic presents wedding photography and ghost photography in Taiwan as contradictions within the rapid modernization of the country. He applies the Freudian idea of ‘the uncanny’ in his discussion of spirit/ghost photography. He briefly mentions yizhao, a type of funerary photo-portraiture, but within the context of photography as a sign of the spirit of the subject. Pazderic’s commentary depends on his interviews with local people. However, the methodology of such interviews concerns Jay Ruby, among other critics of the

---

8 Ibid., 190.
ethnographic voice. In addition to the question of whether interviewees can be representative voices of their culture, ethnographers tend towards either an uncritical acceptance of whatever indigenous people say or a mythologization of the indigenous by viewing them from the perspective of their own cultures.\footnote{Jay Ruby, “The Moral Burden of Authorship in Ethnographic Film,” \textit{Visual Anthropology Review} 11, no. 2 (Fall 1995): 78–79.}

In her book on photography in modern Java, Karen Strassler explores the use of identity photographs in ritual contexts in Indonesia. She points out that funerary portrait photography, introduced by the ethnic Chinese, has developed across religions, as both Muslims and Christians have also adopted the practice.\footnote{Karen Strassler, \textit{Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java} (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 150–155.} Although Strassler notes the importance of the deceased’s spirit in these ritual systems, she identifies both funerary and post-mortem photographic practices with a sense of loss consonant with Roland Barthes’ \textit{punctum}, rather than exploring how they might inflect the general epistemology of portrait photography in Indonesia.\footnote{Ibid., 187–194.} As Geoffrey Batchen has commented, “Strassler’s assumption that death is static and permanent takes a Western, in fact a secular, view and simply applies it to a very different cultural context.”\footnote{Geoffrey Batchen, “Review: \textit{Refracted Visions},” \textit{The Art Bulletin} 93, no. 4 (December 2011): 499.}

In separate essays, Yoshiaki Kai and Masashi Kohara explore the Japanese use of
photography for commemoration in comparison with other uses of portrait photography in the West, including the snapshot. In particular, Kohara’s essay discusses how funerary photo-portraiture emerged in Japan as the country began to engage in domestic and international wars during the Meiji era (1868-1912). Soldiers left their photographic portraits behind with their families in case they died in battle, and commercial publishers sold albums of photographs of the war dead. Kohara applies the Barthesian concept of photography as *memento mori* to his understanding of the relationship of funerary photo-portraiture to fetishism. As he notes, the belief in an ancestral spirit sustains the ritual use of portrait photography. Thus, funerary portrait photographs function “as representations of the absence of the deceased.” However, I argue here that such photographs signal the absent presence of the deceased, testifying to the existence of invisible ancestral spirits. A different understanding of death than we find in the West gave rise to funerary photo-portraiture, making it difficult to apply Barthesian ideas of photography to this East Asian practice.

In order to develop a full and accurate understanding of these indigenous practices, it

---

13 Geoffrey Batchen, Kai Yoshiaki (甲斐義明), and Kohara Masashi (小原真史), *Suspending Time: Life -- Photography --Death* (Shizuoka: Izu Photo Museum; Nohara, 2010).

14 Kohara Masashi (小原真史), “Between Life and Death, Public and Private, East and West,” in *Suspending Time*, 230–49. Kohara’s argument centers around the claims that Japanese modernization was a “top-down process.” This leads to an approach that sees photography as a reflection of the society and the ideology of the time rather than as a medium that itself structures reality. For an approach divergent from Kohara’s, see Gyewon Kim, “Registering the Real: Photography and the Emergence of New Historic Sites in Meiji Japan” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2010).

15 Ibid., 241.
is crucial to research materials in their original languages, as local scholars have themselves investigated various ritual practices for the dead in East Asia. In particular, Yamada Shinya (山田慎也), a Japanese ethnographer, has paid attention to how portrait photographs of the dead were incorporated into funerary and commemorative rituals in Japan. Several historians of Japanese photography, including Iizawa Kōtarō (飯沢耕太郎) and Satow Morihiro (佐藤守弘), have also dealt with the issue of portrait photography as it was used exclusively in funerals and annual ancestral rites. Satow attempts to contextualize the practice of funerary portrait photography in Japan within Peircean semiotics, claiming that ritual portrait photography acquires the status of symbol and icon through its indexical character. He draws upon Western scholarly works on photography, including those by Barthes, André Bazin, and Rosalind Krauss, to support his claim that portrait photographs of the deceased are the index of their subjects. For Satow, funerary photo-portraiture remains


the Japanese version of *memento mori*. In my view, as long as his studies on photography apply Western concepts to local practice, they will remain of limited value.

Rather than exploring the divergence between Western uses of portrait photography and Japanese practices of funerary photo-portraiture, these scholars embrace the Western concept of portrait photography as *memento mori* and a semiotic characterization of the medium as an index. My dissertation challenges the idea of portrait photography as *memento mori*, arguing that the funerary use of portrait photography in East Asia is underpinned by the belief that death is not an extinguishment of being, but rather is a transformation from visible being to invisible being. These existing studies are valuable in that they do actually address the relationship between photography and death in Asia, but they fail to examine how East Asian philosophical and religious concepts of death influenced the adoption of photography as an element of ritual in the region. Moreover, these earlier studies are nation-based rather than cross-regional. My dissertation acknowledges the necessity of a trans-Asian approach, because the funerary use of photography is a practice found throughout East Asia.

This dissertation investigates how and why portrait photography came to play a central role in funeral and memorial services in the region. Despite substantial research on death rituals in East Asia, scholars have paid little attention to the uses of portrait photography in these practices in China and Korea. There are some exceptions, but they are not very substantial. The Korean artist Jina Chang’s short essay from 2002, for example,
explores the ontology of photography by analyzing the use of her grandfather’s portrait photograph in her family’s annual memorial service. She focuses on the desire of the living to distinguish themselves from the deceased by comparing the Korean practice to a post-mortem photograph of African-American twins. Similarly, Lee Kyungmin, a historian of Korean photography, briefly touches on the relationship between death and photography by revealing that people made portrait photographs as a way to prepare for death—particularly when they planned to end their lives by their own hands, as some did in early twentieth-century Korea. However, despite these suggestive reference points, the historical genealogy of funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia remains to be explored in depth.

My dissertation is conceived as a socio-political history of vernacular photography in that funerary portrait photography has been used in every country in East Asia to structure as well as to challenge national identity. A number of scholars have contributed to studies of vernacular photography. Batchen has argued for the critical study of vernacular photography, and even for something he calls a “vernacular history of photography,” but he has yet to address Asian examples in any detail. Elisabeth Edwards’s Raw Histories: Photographs,

---


Anthropology, and Museums introduces the methodology of material culture studies to an analysis of photography, proposing that, rather than simply being a source of images functioning as historical evidence or trace, photography is a cultural object capable of forming history. Christopher Pinney has also played an important role in advancing discourse on vernacular photography by exploring the social and ritual functions of photography in India. However, despite the invaluable contributions of Edwards and Pinney to studies concerning the material life of photography, their scholarship has remained embedded in nation-based research rather than in an exploration of trans-regional or

History (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), 56–80. For the vernacular practices of photography as a challenge to Barthesian concept of the medium as memento mori, see idem, Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004). While Batchen challenges Barthes’ idea of photography as memento mori, photography acquires the status of presence by combining with other materials, such as hair. The epistemology of the medium, for Batchen, hinges on the fear of forgetting and mortality, as well as on the viewer’s concern with his or her own passing, a notion that was integral to Barthes’ understanding of photography. For another reading of the relationship between photography and death, see idem, “Life and Death,” in Suspending Time: Life, Photography, Death, ed. Geoffrey Batchen, exh. cat., (Shizuoka, Japan: Izu Photo Museum; Nohara, 2010), 28–129; for a partial introduction to the exhibited photographs, see idem, Yoshiaki Kai, and Masashi Kohara, “Japanese Ambrotypes,” Trans Asia Photography Review 1, no. 2 (Spring 2011), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0001.206 (accessed March 17, 2015). Batchen presents practices of vernacular portrait photography from the United States, Mexico, and Japan, asserting that they “suspend” past and present, placing photographs between life and death. Funerary photo-portraiture, however, does not make a claim for a suspension between life and death, but rather for the immortality of one’s essence through the deceased’s prosperity in the afterlife and the continuing relationship with living descendants. The practice structures the present of the living and the dead, rather than suppressing the fear of forgetting.

comparative methodologies.

Equally as useful as studying photography employed in memorial services are essays that question the presumed dichotomy between secular and sacred, as well as the one between public and private. These include Patrick Maynard’s “The Secular Icon: Photography and the Functions of Images” and Cornelia Brink’s “Secular Icons: Looking at Photographs from Nazi Concentration Camps.” Maynard and Brink explore the ways in which photographic images of those who suffered historical traumas play a role in critical and ethical interventions. Neither, of course, considers an Asian context or Asian practices.

This dissertation strives to contribute to the study of the relationship between historical trauma and photography in East Asia, and in so doing, advances the discourse on the interrelationship between the secular and the sacred by exploring Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism as incorporated into memorial services in the region. In addition, my dissertation enhances the study of funerals and rituals in East Asia by broadening its scope and diversifying its focuses.

My dissertation also explores how changes in family dynamics, geopolitics, and the flow of capital have challenged and complicated the traditional use of funerary photo-

portraiture. In particular, it reveals, not only the ways in which funerary portrait photography is involved in establishing a national identity, but also how it jeopardizes the social imaginary of a communal identity. As experiences of colonialism and war affect the use of funerary photo-portraiture, the notion of hegemony is central to exploring the influence of geopolitics on structuring visual cultures of East Asia. In area studies, Masao Miyoshi and Bruce Cumings present exemplary models of this influence, in that they consider how hegemonic discourse is involved in studies of Japan and East Asia, especially during the Cold War era. In particular, they choose to explore cultural products of the region through relationality. I, too, strive to reveal the relational nature of various uses of funerary photo-portraiture among countries in East Asia.

My dissertation also aims to contribute to ways of overcoming essentialism in dealing with the culture of the Other through cross-regional and comparative methodologies. In particular, I emphasize the importance of a parallax view as a way to overcome the problem of transparency. I will say more about the concept of parallax view in a moment, but in general, this dissertation proposes that anthropologists and scholars of cultural studies must become analysts of different perspectives rather than translators or interpreters of culture.

Ultimately, I aim to explore how studies of vernacular photography might reveal the imposition of hegemony throughout East Asia while deconstructing the desire that there be a homogenous identity in each country of the region.

**Death and Portrait Photography in the West and East Asia**

Western scholarly works on the relationship between death and photography are indebted to Roland Barthes’ ruminations on photography as *memento mori* in *Camera Lucida*. Barthes’ semiotic observation that photography indexes something or someone that once was present but is present no longer has influenced much of the scholarly discourse on photography since its publication in 1980. His exploration of photography’s ontology is imbued with the loss of his mother two years earlier and his efforts to mourn her death. His assertion that photography represents not so much the photographed person’s presence as his or her absence contrasts with the epistemology of East Asian funerary photo-portraiture, which serves to convince the viewer of the invisible *presence* of the deceased.

Another major Western scholar to discuss the relationship between photography and

---


27 Ibid., 44.
portraiture is Walter Benjamin. He argued that portraiture is a genre embedded in ritual function rather than politics.²⁸ According to Benjamin, photography, as a mechanical reproduction, does not contain all the characteristics embedded in traditional art forms. Photography cannot serve for rituals, as it does not evoke aura or the sense of presence. Its loss of authenticity does not allow photography to find its use in the cult. Benjamin’s concept of cult value is predicated upon its temporality as traditional, or pre-modern. Instead, photography gains value through social and political uses. For Benjamin, the ritualistic use of images is related not only to outmoded and pre-capitalistic modes of production, but also to fascism. Portrait photography, in the early history of the medium, is offered by Benjamin as an exception to his interpretation of the new technology; photography acquires an aura through its portrayal of the human countenance. Benjamin likens German photographer August Sander’s attempts to categorize social types through portrait photographs, which expunge individuality from the human countenance of a specific person, to the extraction of aura and uniqueness from representations. For works of art to acquire political and social functions, they must cede their aura and ritualistic value.²⁹ In East Asia, funerary photo-portraiture’s ritualistic uses imparted political significance to the medium as an integral


element of national identity, at times consonant with fascism, at other times disruptive of
efforts toward a unified nation-state identity. Funerary photo-portraiture does not so much
preserve auratic quality as it locates the medium beyond mimetic experience. Benjamin’s
concern with the persistence of aura is related to his critique of the aestheticization of politics,
which he contends leads to the spread of fascism. Although Benjamin’s conceptualization of
aura has implications beyond this negative allusion, his idea emphasizes the experience of
seeing/gazing/viewing images. Asian funerary photo-portraiture, on the other hand, revolves
around the experience of being observed by the deceased’s spirit, while also structuring
jingoistic nationalism that cries out for an ethical intervention.

Echoing the theoretical underpinnings of Barthes and Benjamin concerning the
relationship between photography and death was post-mortem photography. Both post-
mortem and funerary photography originate with the use of posthumous portrait painting as
an attempt to memorialize the deceased. Nevertheless, post-mortem photography was rare in
East Asia, except for China, in contrast to its popularity in Europe and the Americas. In
Chinese practices, post-mortem photographs were sent to relatives and family members who were unable to attend funerals. In some cases, post-mortem photographs served a practical purpose as a corpse might decompose before family members could identify the remains.34

While post-mortem photographs were part of funeral paraphernalia in the West, they did not play a role in memorial services in East Asia; funerary photo-portraiture prevailed instead.35 It is not post-mortem photography but funerary photo-portraiture that people place in their family shrines, just as they did with posthumous portrait painting. Post-mortem photographs signal the demise of one’s ancestor while funerary photo-portraits hint at the presence of his or her transformation into an ancestor-god.

The association of East Asian funerary photo-portraiture with the existence of an invisible being suggests an analogy to nineteenth-century spirit photography found in the West.36 Spirit photography attempted to capture spiritual beings in a photographic record. William H. Mumler was one of the first practitioners in Boston in the 1860s.37 However,

34 Corpses of criminals were the subjects of photography in the West as well. See Linkman, *Photography and Death*, 44–46.


spirit photography is considered a genre independent of funerary portrait photography. Spirit photography originated from the desire to make visible that which is invisible. Funerary photo-portraiture, in contrast, serves as a supplement to the invisible presence of the deceased rather than as a way to make the deceased visible. In the early twentieth century, spirit photography gained a foothold in East Asia, drawing attention from the general public when books on spirit photography were published in Japan and associations involved in spirit studies experimented with it in China.38

Funerary portrait photography does not so much represent a desire to see as it does a wish to be seen. Bowing before a funerary portrait is a continuation of the courtesy shown when the ancestors were alive. Even blind persons in East Asia prepare their funerary portrait photographs so they may see their descendants paying respect after they are transformed into ancestral spirits.

Rather than seeking to capture a specific moment in life, funerary portrait photography represents a desire to verify the continuation of transformation from the

38 Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, The Religious Question in Modern China (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 103; Takahashi Gorō (高橋五郎), Reikai no kenkyū (霊怪の研究; Research on Spirit and Anomaly) (Tokyo: Sūzanbō, 1911), 59–79 Takahashi introduces William H. Mumler to Japanese readers. Terry Bennett introduces a spirit photograph taken by Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1932) in the 1880s. It is not clear what made the photographer create this type of image, and how spirit photography was understood during the period in Japan, though. See Terry Bennett, Photography in Japan, 1853-1912 (Tokyo; Rutland: Tuttle, 2006), 209.
visible in life to the invisible in the afterlife. Thus, photography connotes a different level of “necromancy (communication with the dead),” which was considered to be the ontological essence of early forms of photography in the West.\textsuperscript{39} When the term ‘necromancy’ was used to characterize the new medium of representation, it referred to the medium’s ability to achieve something impossible, i.e., to bring the dead from the past to the present. However, the temporality of funerary portrait photography in East Asia does not ask the medium to “bring past and present together.”\textsuperscript{40} Instead, funerary portrait photography exists in the present as a commemoration to sustain both the living and the dead. The choice of the most recent image for funerary portrait photography shows that the image demarcates the end of the subject’s earthly life and the beginning of the afterlife.

The epistemology of funerary portrait photography is distinct from what Geoffrey Batchen characterizes as “an unenviable immortality, the zombie existence of the living dead” in his discussion of Hippolyte Bayard’s self-portrait photograph as a drowning man and the text on the back of the photograph.\textsuperscript{41} The main function of portraiture in East Asia had been necromancy, and photography assumed this role when it was used for mortuary purposes. In summary, these understandings of the dead as living require a


\textsuperscript{40} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 171.
different approach to studying photography in East Asia than is commonly found in the
West.

Vernacular Photography and Modernity in East Asia

The study of funerary photo-portraiture implies an investigation into vernacular
photographic practices. This study revolves around the daily use of photographs rather than
artistic practice by professional photographers.

The vernacular suggests the local and the indigenous. In Western academia, interest in
the vernacular derives from linguistic studies, as in the study of folktales and proverbs, and,
later on, from studies of commonplace architecture. Vernacular studies are related to the
anthropology of material culture, as seen in Arjun Appadurai’s *The Social Life of Things.*\(^{42}\) At
the same time, vernacular photography has been regarded as challenging the boundaries of
the history of art and photography, interpolating different theoretical and methodological
approaches.\(^{43}\)

It is difficult to translate ‘vernacular photography’ into Chinese, Korean, Japanese, or

---


\(^{43}\) For more on vernacular photography, see Batchen, “Snapshots: Art History and the Ethnographic Turn,” *Photographies* 1, no. 2 (2008): 121–142.
Vietnamese. ‘Photography of daily life’ might be a more appropriate phrase in these languages, since the word ‘vernacular’ complements language more than it does visual representation. For example, the vernacular movement in China, as a part of the New Culture Movement in the early twentieth century, concerns the shift of language from written to spoken forms as a symbol of modernity and national identity. At the same time, the promotion of vernacular language suggests a departure from the paradigm of written Chinese for the purpose of establishing a national identity in Korea and Japan. Various literary works came to be written and translated in each country’s own alphabetical system rather than in written Chinese. This development may seem similar to the demise of Latin and the advent of national languages in Europe. However, according to Murata Yujiro (村田雄二郞), there was no demise of the Chinese language—there was a transformation. This transformation does not mean that a spoken form supplanted written Chinese, but rather that the spoken language was absorbed into the order of the written language. Murata reveals that novels in vernacular language remained written rather than spoken. Their readership remained the elite in that the emerging bourgeois class in urban areas, who fell between the literati class and the illiterate lower classes, consumed vernacular literary works.

---


approached with this class issue in mind. Ancestor portrait painting was the purview of the elite ruling class, and the ancestral shrine or memorial hall was unattainable to commoners. Those who could not afford a painting were able to obtain a cheap print of a generic ancestor image. Likewise, photography was not affordable to everyone in its early stages. Thus, the transition of the ancestor portrait from painting to photography might have been driven, to some degree, by economic factors, as well as by the desire among the urban bourgeois and the elite to satisfy a curiosity for the foreign or to demonstrate a familiarity with new technologies. These motivations were beyond the reach of the lower classes. As a result, the issue of class is inherent in the vernacular in East Asia.

It is important to be aware of the relationship between the vernacular and colonial aims. The vernacular is often equated with the indigenous and folk culture, which presumes that these cultures have a kind of pure, uncontaminated status. Pinney coined the term ‘vernacular modernism’ as a way to provincialize European knowledge of photography. He contrasts the indexical trace pursued by Western photography with what he calls ‘surfacing’.

---

a technique that he sees in the postcolonial studio photographic practices of central India, the Yoruba people of Africa, and the works of Malian photographer Seydou Keïta. Pinney presents ‘vernacular modernism’ as an anti-realist practice that obstructs the viewer’s effort to see beyond the surface of a photographic image. He asserts that this “refusal of external verification (is) prompted not by Greenbergian angst but by a desire to consolidate the intimate space between viewer and image,”47 a process that he relates to postcolonial and subaltern endeavors against Cartesian perspectivalism, which he assumes as a core Western visual concept. Pinney argues that the emphasis on surface segued into an emphasis on the tactile and haptic qualities of photographic images. His ‘vernacular modernism’ shares qualities and characteristics found in Western vernacular photographic practices, such as photography as a substance with haptic implications, as may be found in photographic objects embellished by locks of hair or flowers.48 Pinney’s ‘vernacular modernism’ assumes the presence of multiple modernities, an approach that I will critique later. Identifying a particular photographic practice by location does not necessarily define it as anti-Western or even as a different mode of modernity. Thus, it is not clear what makes Pinney’s ‘vernacular modernism’ postcolonial or even subaltern.

If studies of vernacular photography are to be engaged in cultural studies, then it is

47 Ibid., 216.
48 Batchen, *Forget Me Not.*
crucial to focus on the issue of class. As Kate Crehan asserts in her reading of the work of
Antonio Gramsci, studies of culture should be alert to how class is lived. This practice ideally
requires exploring how the world may be changed rather than making studies of culture a
strictly passive form of knowledge gathering.

As studies of funerary photo-portraiture negotiate between pre-modern ideas of
representation and new ways of producing images, including histories of the new
technology’s naming, they should entail “a critical self-knowledge focused on understanding
one’s relations to others,” rather than a binary conception of tradition and modernity.49 This
dissertation explores the ways in which photography negotiates the pre-modern practice of
the deployment of portrait painting in death rituals in East Asia. Considering that
photography is regarded as a product of modernity, as well as of Western technology, the
binary conceptualization of Western versus non-Western cultures in discourses on
photography is intertwined with other dichotomies, such as traditional/modern and
indigenous/foreign. It is often assumed that photography is a product of Western modernity
imported to East Asia, where it underwent a process of indigenization replete with conflicts
with indigenous traditions. This assumption is intertwined with another presupposition, that
the West established the modern world-order while Asia was merely waiting to be

modernized. In this view, Asia has appeared to lag behind the West. Furthermore, the West has served as a universal standard by which to measure the particularity of Asia, while East Asia was and is considered “non-Western.” East Asia was also imagined as a fixed geographical entity within the imaginary of area studies established by a Euro-American desire for hegemonic power during the Cold War era. Rather than presenting the particularity and unity of East Asian cultures, this dissertation tries to show conflicts of historical memory within and beyond the region in order to reveal the complex and often paradoxical processes of the formation of national identity in East Asia. In this dissertation, East Asia is less a collection of nation-states located in a fixed geographic region than it is the realization of the impossibility of cultural nationalism. Records of the colonial experience show that trans-Asian memory is contradictory, while the official memory of a specific event shared within a particular country conflicts with individual memories of that same event. By examining the ways in which funerary portrait photographs of the dead are institutionalized by these nation-states to structure a singular memory of history, this dissertation aims to reveal the complex relationships between national and personal memories of historical events in East Asia.

Photography was integral to the formation of modern nation-states as well as to the ambitions of colonial expansion. The technology was often used to prepare for colonial

---

invasions by making visual records of targeted territories, or was used to justify the expansion of power by documenting colonial achievements. I will show how photography, particularly funerary portrait photography, in addition to these official and hegemonic uses of the medium, was involved in establishing nationalism and public memory. I will also demonstrate the advantages of a trans-cultural/trans-regional approach to researching the relationality among the processes of structuring social and national identity. I intend to explore multiple facets of modernity developed outside one’s own territory as a way to avoid conceptualizing Asia as a spatial and temporal Other to the West. However, this dissertation does not stake a claim for an alternative modernity or an Asian version of modernity. As Sun Ge notes in her record of trans-Asian intellectual exchanges with other scholars, the “trans-cultural could not take place between cultures but only within a culture. In other words, only when a culture has internal doubts about its own autonomy can the birth of the trans-cultural then become possible.”51 She suggests that we should encounter tensions and conflicts produced by trans-culture, creating a space in which one may reconfigure oneself rather than a space for a dialogue among cultures.52 This dissertation also seeks to open a space to rethink national identity and the presumed autonomy of culture through examining how vernacular photographic practices dialectically positioned themselves between universality

52 Ibid., 273.
and particularity in East Asia.

For its methodology and theoretical framework, this dissertation is deeply indebted to numerous cultural scholars, including Takeuchi Yoshimi, Kuan-hsing Chen, and Sun Ge, all of whom have endeavored to go beyond nationalist historiography while recognizing that each nation, as well as Asia broadly, has never been a closed space, but is entangled in the dynamics of global socio-politics.\(^5\) These thinkers’ conceptualizations of “Asia as method” are central to this dissertation’s comparative research on trans-Asian photographic practices.

As Chen suggests:

The implication of Asia as method is that using Asia as an imaginary anchoring point can allow societies in Asia to become one another’s reference points, so that the understanding of the self can be transformed, and subjectivity rebuilt. Pushing the project one step further, it becomes possible to imagine that historical experiences and practices in Asia can be developed as an alternative horizon, perspective, or method for posing a different set of questions about world history.\(^5\)

This dissertation endeavors to overcome single-nation-based studies of photography by embracing Chen’s suggestion of “multiplying and shifting our points of reference to include


\(^{54}\) Chen, *Asia as Method*, xv.
historical comparisons.”

My claim for a comparative approach to studies of photography is also indebted to the works of Kojin Karatani and Slavoj Žižek, who advocate the ‘parallax view’ that is instrumental to this dissertation. The parallax approach aims to explore differences among perspectives and attitudes toward the same event by recognizing that a culture constructs itself based on its dual desires for identification with and differentiation from other cultures. This approach is related to the notion of ‘transcritique’, another term to which Karatani refers when discussing the methodologies of Marx and Kant in their critical engagement with the works of other scholars. Karatani emphasizes the importance of moving between two seemingly opposing and contradictory positions or perspectives rather than reducing one to the other or attempting a dialectical synthesis. Positioning oneself between two views affords one the opportunity to appreciate and assess those views more fully and to intervene in them critically.

Karatani argues that the Other never exists for the purpose of “relativism into our own thinking,” but rather reveals “the problem of universality.” My study of funerary

---

55 Ibid., 224.
photographic practice in East Asia aims to avoid elucidating cultural difference in the service of either exoticism or of cultural relativism. Nor is this dissertation a plea to globalize discourse on photography, which would be equivalent to the geographizing of cultural studies. The problem that attends any attempt to create a world history of photography or to map a global history of photography is that it often falls prey to ethnocentric nationalism based on a pure form of culture. Instead, I advocate a transversal and transpositional approach. My study of funerary photo-portraiture similarly rejects the concept of “peripheral modernity,” a notion that serves to maintain the dichotomy between an accomplished Center/West and the disruptive and decentering “peripheral countries,” thus adding to the problem of liberal pluralism. In short, my dissertation counters the presumption that modernity is Western or comes first in or from the West.

Karatani suggests ‘parallax’ as a replacement for ‘difference’. Parallax derives from the recognition of antinomy found in the nature of capital (for Marx) and of metaphysics (for


59 Harry Harootunian proposes “coeval or peripheral modernities” in his argument against the idea of an alternative modernity, where peripheral modernities connote a peripheral “relationship to the center of capitalism before World War II.” Harootunian suggests multiple modernities; Frederic Jameson asserts that modernity is a singular entity that forms a part of capitalism. As Harootunian’s modernities do not necessarily imply hierarchy among different forms of modernity, Jameson’s singular modernity embraces the possibility of heterogeneous appearances. See Harry D. Harootunian, History’s Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 62–63; Frederic Jameson, A Singular Modernity: Essay on the Ontology of the Present (London; New York: Verso, 2002).
Kant). It is not an attempt to postulate a third perspective, it is a movement to prevent one perspective or position from becoming universal. Parallax, according to Karatani, arises between “the-thing-in-itself” and a “phenomenon.” This idea holds implications for our understanding of photography as a continuous movement of signification rather than as a representation transparent to the referent. In this vein, the binary relationship between representation and reality collapses, as there is no reality outside representation as a self-sufficient entity and a completed system. Rather than reflecting the afterlife or the invisible ancestral spirit, funerary photo-portraiture constitutes the reality of the living.

**Chapters**

Chapter One discusses the terms associated with funerary photo-portraiture. From its inception, photography in East Asia developed in close relation to Western portrait practices. In light of that history, the chapter explores various translated terms for the new technology, which often overlapped with the connotations for funerary portrait photography. Terms for photography and funerary portrait photography were widely circulated and cross-referenced throughout East Asia, where Chinese characters were the dominant system of writing during the mid- and late nineteenth century when photography was introduced to the East. One can see that the terms were organically embedded in the traditional visual culture of the region. This chapter shows the process by which the new technology negotiated and mixed with local
histories and cultures, revealing that tradition was integral to modernity rather than opposed
to it. The diversity and density of local visual cultures, particularly in relation to the use of
portraiture, must be acknowledged in order to understand how portrait photography was
incorporated into funerary practices in East Asia.

Chapter Two begins with the recognition that the practice of funerary portrait
photography is embedded in patriarchal family ideology. By exploring how funerary portrait
photographs of the war dead and historical victims have been archived and institutionalized,
this chapter aims to trace ways in which violence is inherent to the practice of
commemorating the dead, both within and beyond the family. The chapter also looks at how
East Asian museums and memorials endeavor to collect and archive funerary portrait
photographs of those who died for their countries. The chapter also aims to find a possibility
for a trans-archive in East Asia, where one may encounter disruptive and often contradictory
layers of memory in relation to specific historical tragedies in the region.

Chapter Three explores the role that funerary photo-portraiture plays in state funerals in
each country. The chapter aims to reveal the process of incorporating funerary portrait
photography into state funerals and the ways in which funerals of monarchs and heads of
state are planned, showing that these national memorial services were established with
reference to the practices of other cultures. While the chapter is divided into sections based
on each of the five subject countries, each section cannot claim the purity of its cultural
incorporation of funerary photo-portraiture into state funerals. Instead, I will argue that colonial experience and voluntary acceptance of other modes of commemoration from the West play a role in establishing a modern mode of memorial service for monarchs and heads of state.

Chapter Four explores various artistic strategies concerning the roles that funerary portrait photography plays in structuring family and national identity. The chapter also shows how some of these artists make artistic interventions into the ways in which funerary photo-portraiture has been used in their own families and societies. I will also investigate the practice of a number of artists who work with funerary portrait photography in relation to their personal memories: Fukase Masahisa (深瀬昌久, 1934-2012, Japan); Song Yongping (宋永平, 1961-, China); Song Dong (宋冬, 1966-, China); Shigekko Kubota (1937-2015, Japan); Tulapop Saenjaroen (1986-, Thailand); Amanda Heng (1951-, Singapore); Nobuyoshi Araki (1940-, Japan); Song Sanghee (1970-, South Korea); and Kuratani Hironao (倉谷拓朴, 1977-, Japan).

Another group of artists examines how funerary portrait photographs of historical victims have been memorialized by nation states and how specific historical traumas have been imagined and structured into funerary portrait photography through artistic intervention: Tsuchimoto Noriaki (土本典昭, 1928-2008, Japan); Noh Suntag (1971-, South Korea); Yi Sangil (Lee Sang-ill, 1956-, South Korea); Dinh Q. Lê (1968-, Vietnam); and Binh Danh

As a reflection on ethics in cultural studies, my dissertation closes with an epilogue of my ruminations on how studies of vernacular photography can become a realm in which the researcher engages in dialogue with the Other, rather than merely conveying knowledge about her life and death. I also explore how the practice of funerary portrait photography posits a different valence to the discourse of mourning by looking at scholarship on the distinctions between mourning and melancholia, including the works of Abigail Solomon-Godeau and Jacques Derrida.
Chapter One

The Historical Antecedents of Funerary Photo-Portraiture in East Asia

I. Introduction

The study of East Asian funerary photo-portraiture requires an understanding of how human likenesses were represented prior to the incorporation of photography into ritual practices. Portraiture had been used in East Asian rituals long before the arrival of the camera. Human representation served not merely as an aid to visualize physical appearance, but also as an evocation of the subject’s ontological essence. Painted portraits, usually in the form of hanging scrolls, were placed on altars after funerals to be used in annual ancestral rituals. As can be seen in figure 1.1, descendants burn incense before bowing to the portrait during memorial rituals (fig. 1.1). Portrait paintings of ancestor were kept in family shrines and on altars.¹

Neo-Confucianists resisted using portrait images in their ancestor rituals, arguing that their verisimilitude was insufficient to evoke the spiritual essence of the subject. They

asserted that even a single hair missing from a painted portrait might evoke the spirit of another person. Instead, they preferred using a name tablet, demonstrating their adherence to the primacy of word over image (fig. 1.2). They also associated the use of portrait painting in rituals with the Buddhist practice of image worship, which they found uncivilized.

At the same time, the importation of Buddhism from India facilitated the institutionalization of image worship in China. Thus, both photography and Buddhism were foreign elements contributing to the birth of funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia.

Photography facilitated the spread of human likenesses in mortuary rituals in East Asia, while indigenous beliefs in ancestral spirits recontextualized the indexicality of the medium, leading to the use of funerary portrait photography as evidence of the presence of the invisible spirit or essence of the dead. Funerary portrait photography became an integral part of both funerals and annual ancestral rituals. The bereaved family carries the photographic portrait of the deceased during the funeral procession, and pays respect to it, not just during ancestral rituals, but also in everyday life, by placing the photographs on household altars.

Studying local terms for photography elucidates the cultural implications of the

---


influx of Buddhism and the influence of local indigenous beliefs in their negotiations with the importation of Western photographic technology. As a means of exploring the particular ways in which portraits served as surrogates for the dead, I will investigate numerous terms for funerary photo-portraiture and how they relate to terms used for photography and portrait painting in East Asia.

Local terms for photography have been studied before. In search of new understandings of the medium in East Asia, Maki Fukuoka argues that the quest for fidelity reflected in shashin, the Japanese term for photography, derives from Japanese botanists’ endeavors to make faithful records of local plants. This endeavor references Chinese materia medica as well as the Western taxonomy newly imported into Japan in the nineteenth century.4 Yi Gu explores the Chinese terms zhaoxiang (照像 and 照相) and sheying (摄影; 攝影), noting that various local terms denoting portrait painting had been adopted to designate the new technology.5 Fukuoka situates her terminological analysis within the history of scientific knowledge, while Gu places the history of the medium within the discourse of Chinese modern art. These scholars have been instrumental in developing a genealogical understanding of the process by which photography was conceptualized in each

country, but they have not explored how the terms were circulated throughout East Asia. This chapter sheds a different light on the study of the terminology by elucidating the relationship between local terms for photography and portraiture in ritual use and by challenging the nation-based approach to the study of photography.

By tracing the genealogies of the terms for photographic and painted portraits, this chapter aims to show how the definition of photography in East Asia is inextricably intertwined with the practice of representing human likeness. In particular, I will explore how terms for photography in the region relate to terms for portrait painting, thereby acknowledging that portrait painting has played a crucial role in commemoration and memorial services. The chapter also aims to examine whether the “desire to photograph” for funerary purposes in East Asia is similar to the “desire to photograph” in the West. At the same time, I will illustrate and discuss the precursors of the transition from painting to photography within the genre of funerary portraiture.

II. The Naming of Funerary Photo-Portraiture and Photography in East Asia

Understanding the significance of the written and spoken terms for photography and funerary photo-portraiture requires a cross-regional investigation because Chinese as a

---

6 For the ways in which a “desire to photograph” emerged in the West from the collapse of the division between representation and reality in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999).
written language had a transnational presence. These words were circulated, translated and re-translated, and cross-referenced throughout East Asia. This section discusses the relevant nomenclature in order to explore the concepts underlying the ritual use of portrait photography in the region.

The earliest terms for funerary photo-portraiture were different in each country: yixiang (遗像; 遺像) or yizhao (遗照; 遺照) in China and Taiwan, iei (遺影) in Japan, yeongjeong (影幀; 影幀) in Korea, and ditượng (遺像) or diánh (遺影) in Vietnam.\(^7\)

Contemporary bilingual dictionaries define each term as ‘a picture of the late person’ or ‘a portrait of the deceased’.\(^8\) But these seemingly different terms for funerary photo-portraiture all have Chinese roots, just as the East Asian rituals involving death and the use of portraiture are all rooted in the Confucian and Buddhist world-views that originated in China.

Terms referring to photography are related to the ritual practice using portraiture in the region. For example, ying 影, the Chinese character meaning ‘shadow’, contributes to the

\(^7\) For my discussion on Vietnamese funerary photo-portraiture, I offer my sincere gratitude to the Vietnamese Studies Group of the Association for Asian Studies in the U.S. for providing me with various helpful pieces of information and references.

terms for funerary photo-portraiture in Japan (遺影; iei) and Korea (影幀; yeongjeong), as well as forming parts of other terms in the region that mean ‘to take a photograph’ or ‘photography’: satsuei (撮影) in Japan and chwaryeong (撮影; 촬영) in Korea, sheying (撮影; 攝) in China, and nhiếp ảnh (撮影) in Vietnam. These terms translate as ‘to capture’ or ‘control/manage/rule the shadow’. In addition, Japanese and Korean have shared terms for photography containing zhen 真, the Chinese character, which literally means ‘real/true’, but also refers to portraits in the context of discussions of representation. Shashin (写真) is used in Japanese; sajin (寫眞; 사진) in Korean. Why were these Chinese characters adopted as the terms for photography throughout East Asia?

My exploration of the terms for funerary photo-portraiture, and for photography in general, presumes the existence of a Chinese cultural zone or Sinosphere, the area throughout which Chinese has been used as a written language. This zone includes China, Taiwan, and

---


10 Even though their transcriptions of Chinese characters are slightly different, the meaning is the same. One can see the process of simplification of Chinese characters for shashin in the pages dividing each chapter of The History of Japanese Photography, which includes the Sino-Korean style. Anne Tucker, ed., The History of Japanese Photography (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003).
Singapore, where Chinese functions as the national language, and Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, where a substantial portion of the vocabulary is derived from Chinese. The prefix ‘Sino’ is used for vocabulary rooted in Chinese, such as Sino-Vietnamese (Hán-Việt), Sino-Korean (Hanja-eo; 한자어) and Sino-Japanese (Kango; 漢語 or Kanji; 漢字), although the pronunciation of the same characters differs among regional dialects.

Photography was introduced into East Asia at a time of much turmoil. In Japan, the shift from the Edo period (1603-1868) to the Meiji era (1868-1912) occurred when the imperial restoration replaced the shogunate system. The inequitable Japan-Korea treaty of 1876 allowed the Japanese to cast a long shadow over the Korean peninsula. In China, Western powers forced open the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) through the Opium Wars (1839 – 1842 and 1856 –1862). The Vietnamese Nguyễn Dynasty (1802-1945) included the French colonial period from 1858 onward. This shift of power within the Sinosphere influenced the ways in which Western concepts and ideas were understood and translated in the mid- and late nineteenth century.

Investigating the terms for photography and funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia may lead us to imagine a fairly unified linguistic geography, but we must not disregard the multi-lingual communities and illiterate peoples who existed outside the order of Chinese
written languages. At the same time, an attempt to construe the Chinese roots of the terms in the region might result in mythologizing the Chinese logographic order. A study of the circumstances in which the terms for photography were adopted and cross-referenced in the nineteenth century reveals how Chinese characters were associated with imagined and desired differences and similarities as well as with the shifting centers of power in the Sinosphere of the time.

As efforts to name photography were intertwined with modernization in East Asia, it is crucial to note that the status of Chinese characters was affected by efforts to establish national languages in each country. According to Koyasu Nobukuni (子安宣邦), the process of inventing a modern lexicon reterritorialized Chinese characters in Japan, while a number of Sino-Japanese modern neologisms spread throughout East Asia, including China, Korea, and Vietnam. Although each country tried to alienate Chinese characters by emphasizing

---

11 The rate of illiteracy in each country was high; in Korea, 90% of people were illiterate until the 1920s. See Cheon Jeong-hwan (천정환), Geundaeui Chaegikgi: Dokjau Tansaenggwa Hanguk Geundae munhak (근대의 책읽기: 독자의 탄생과 한국 근대 문학; Modern Readership: Birth of Readers and Korean Modern Literature) (Seoul: Purun Yeoksa, 2003), 93. Thus, the order of Chinese characters was very elitist in a way.


the purity of their own languages, Western concepts conveyed through Sino-Japanese terms offered more familiarity than the terms directly transliterated from Western languages. The impact of the Sino-Japanese modern lexicon demonstrates the deconstruction of a China-centered world order as represented by Chinese characters. It also points to Japan's status as the most developed imperial power in East Asia as it reterritorialized the Chinese characters.

Sino-Japanese modern neologisms came to function as signifiers of the West during the period of great expansion of vocabulary in the region. This shift coincided with the introduction of photography, along with other new technologies and concepts from the West. A number of neologisms came from Japanese Kanji words and were fixed into the Korean vocabulary by Western scholars who tried to equate Korean and English words in their publication of bilingual dictionaries, which often referenced Japanese versions of words. 14 Thus a number of modern neologisms are loanwords from Japanese to Korean. In Vietnam, where a Romanized alphabet system replaced Chinese characters in the early twentieth century, a number of modern neologisms also came from Japan via Chinese translation. 15

14 Hwang Ho Duk (황호덕) and Lee Sang Hyun (이상현), “Beonyeokgwa Jeongtongseong, Jegukui Eoneodeulgwa Geundae Hangugeo (번역과 정통성, 제국의 언어들과 근대 한국어; Translation and Legitimacy, Languages of Empire and Modern Korean),” Asea Yeongu (아세아연구; The Journal of Asiatic Studies) 145 (September 2011): 67. The Westerners publishing dictionaries were mostly under missionary projects in Korea at the time. In addition, one should note that Korea was a colony of Japan from 1910 to 1945.

Terms for photography, such as *zhaoxiang* (照相) in China and *shashin* (写真) in Japan, are included in dictionaries of modern neologisms, including *Jinxiandai Hanyu Xinciciyuan Cidian* (*近現代漢語新詞詞源詞典; An Etymological Glossary of Selected Modern Chinese Words*) and *Meiji no Kotoba Jiten* (*明治のことば辞典; A Dictionary of Japanese Vocabulary in the Meiji Period*). In the appendix to the Chinese modern lexicon of Lydia Liu's book *Translingual Practice*, *zhaoxiang* (照相) appears under the category of “Neologisms derived from Missionary-Chinese Texts,” while *xiezhen* (寫真; J. Shashin) is categorized as “Return Graphic Loans: ‘Kanji’ Terms derived from Classical Chinese.”

*Sajin* (寫眞) is also included in modern Korean neologisms coming from a Japanese lexicon with *shinmun* (新聞; 신문) as the term for ‘newspaper’. The terms for funerary photographic portraiture, however, do not appear in discussions of modern neologisms in East Asia because there was no shift in nomenclature from portrait painting to photography when it was

---

Although Vinh’s article is worthwhile for linguistic contingencies between Vietnamese, Japanese and Chinese, his attempt to relate Vietnam’s economic failure to lack of learning of Chinese characters is problematic.


used in rituals.

If the terms for photography are neologisms, then were they translations of Western terms or did each region invent terms for what they understood to be the foreign technology? In addition to Chinese traces in the nomenclature, several terms referring to photography already existed and were circulating throughout East Asia by mid-nineteenth century. Those terms were drawn from the vocabulary describing portrait painting and ideas on representation and image.

Yanabu Akira (柳父章) investigates how the Japanese translated terms from the West, such as ‘society’ and ‘democracy’, where no equivalent concepts existed, much less vocabulary to denote them. He argues that Chinese character neologisms created in the process of translating Western texts gave the general public a sense that the words contained deeper layers of meaning, even though the unfamiliarity of those Sino-Japanese words reportedly led to both antipathy and misuse. According to Yanabu, Japan’s advancement of culture through the importation of Chinese language and its concomitant incorporation of Confucianism and Buddhism contributed to the creation of neologisms in Chinese characters.

---


Those who were engaged in translating Western texts were elite intellectuals with backgrounds in Chinese learning. At the same time, Chinese characters for neologisms came from English-Chinese dictionaries widely circulated in Japan in the 1850s and 1860s, while existing Sino-Japanese words were adopted for translation without losing their original meanings. This adoption led to the combining of several meanings into single words as well as to the ascendancy of new meanings acquired through translation.

Another question emerges concerning Chinese-ness, both in the nomenclature and in the practice of photography, including funerary photo-portraiture. Does the exploration of the nomenclatures regarding the practice of funerary photo-portraiture as a trans-Asian or trans-East Asian photographic practice enforce cultural boundaries between East and West? Does it risk orientalizing this part of photography’s history? Christopher Pinney makes claims for a different history of photography beyond the received, false binary discourse between an autonomous technology and its neutrality waiting to be territorialized.21 Karen Strassler has a similar concern when she explores how photography “participates in” constructing national and social identities as a way to avoid finding what makes photography national or regional.22

21 Pinney explains that he is moving away from his previous way of interpreting photography as seen in his book Camera Indica, which territorializes and localizes. See Christopher Pinney, “Why Asian Photography?” ed. Sandra Matthews, The Trans-Asia Photography Review 1, no. 1 (Fall 2010), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0001.102 (accessed December 17, 2012).

22 Karen Strassler, “Why Asian Photography?” ed. Sandra Matthews, The Trans-Asia Photography Review 1, no. 1 (Fall 2010), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0001.102 (accessed December 17, 2012). This is also
She echoes Pinney's suggestion for a different way of conceptualizing photography, which shows how photography transforms itself and the culture in which it exists. Both Pinney's and Strassler's arguments derive from an intention to construct photography as having an agency, rather than merely reflecting the culture in which it is situated. However, this maneuver of investing photography with subjectivity becomes a way of localizing photography, a process that often ends up dividing “us” from “them” and making non-Western photographic practice peripheral to the “main” history of photography. In addition, it is arbitrary to draw a boundary where photography becomes an active or passive voice, as the decision to do so presumes the observer’s dominant gaze.

Rey Chow observes how Derrida's placing of the Chinese language outside European language was “enabling,” allowing him to dislocate the order of logocentrism rather than ending up with a mere corroboration of the stereotype.²³ At the same time, Chow argues that cross-cultural as well as cross-ethnic representations cannot be imagined without simplifying and falsifying the Other, with Jamesonian acknowledgement of stereotype as a necessary condition for representing the Other. Her insight addresses the issue of translation in literary

____________________________

and cultural studies, so often embedded in the idea of untranslatability.

Similarly, Liu argues that “comparative scholarship that aims to cross cultures can do nothing but translate,” thereby acknowledging Talal Asad's critique of cultural translation as reflecting the tendency of Western languages to select objects of investigation neither from “individual free choice” nor from “linguistic competence.”24 In her suggestion for a translingual mode of interpretation, Liu argues that it would be more worthwhile to observe how the binary division of East and West acquires a power in specific historical moments rather than urging its entire abandonment. Following Walter Benjamin's rumination on translation beyond the dichotomy of universalism and cultural relativism, as well as on the complementary relationship between the original text and the translated one, Liu emphasizes “relational transformation” through her studies on neologisms in the modern Chinese lexicon.

Similarly, in her commentary on Of Grammatology, Chow re-interprets the discussion concerning Chinese script using Derrida's emphasis on dislocation. As Derrida insists:

The necessary decentering cannot be a philosophic or scientific act as such, since it is a question of dislocating, through access to another system linking speech and writing, the founding categories of language and the grammar of the epistémè.25

Thus, one can witness how exploring the process of naming photography in East Asia invents and displaces categories, genres, and epistemes, making it necessary to provincialize Eurocentric ideas of photography. At the same time, this kind of investigation challenges

---

24 Liu, Translingual Practice, 1–3.

some ways of imagining a world history of photography, either by questioning strict borders among nation-states, as one may witness in categories like “Japanese photography” or “Korean photography”, which impose a national character on photography, however elusive may be the particular national boundary, or by undermining the domestication of the Other under categories and genres familiar to the West, such as portrait or landscape.

To explore the genealogies of regional terms raises a concern noted by Masao Miyoshi, that it is inappropriate to translate shōsetsu (小説) into ‘Japanese novel’ or ‘novel written in Japanese’, thereby placing the Japanese literary genre under the Western umbrella term ‘novel’. In contrast to shōsetsu, photography was introduced from the West, although there had been various investigations of devices similar to the camera obscura outside the West before then. However, I share Miyoshi’s concern for the issue of genre. The ritual function of portrait painting and photography eschews regarding photography and painting as genres of artistic appreciation. The division of genres based on differences of medium is blurred by the linguistic terms for photography, which stem from the terms for portrait painting. An exploration of the terminology aims not to provide a clear definition but to challenge the certainties shared through the West’s discourse on photography, showing that

to translate the photographic practices of the Other requires dislocating one's own language rather than imagining transparency among languages.

There are three Chinese characters shared and repeated in the terms for photography and funerary photo-portraiture: zhao 照 (J. shō, K. jo, V. chiếu), ying 影 (J. ei, K. yeong, V. ảnh), and zhen 真 (J. shin, K. jin, V. chân). Although the literal meanings of the three characters are different, as zhao 照 signifies ‘to light/reflect’, ying 影 ‘shadow’, and zhen 真/眞 ‘real/true’, all refer to ‘portrait’ and ‘image’. In addition to exploring the usage of these three characters, I will look at two other characters that circulated throughout the region and that refer to both portraits and photography: xiang 像 (J. zō, K. sang, V. tướng) and xiang 相 (J. sō, K. sang, V. tướng). These characters mean, respectively, ‘image’ and ‘face’. As the five characters constituting the word ‘photography’ were derived from terms already related to portraiture, they suggest that the new technology was considered merely another way of making an image rather than a revolutionary form of representation.

The next section traces the history of each of these five characters within the context of photography in general and with reference to funerary portrait photographs and paintings in particular. This tracing includes within its parameters modern bi- and tri-lingual dictionaries, pre-modern classical texts on portrait painting, early modern newspapers, and 28 Yi Gu translates zhao 照 as ‘mirror.’ However, jing 鏡 is the dominant word for mirror in general throughout East Asia as it was used to designate optical devices, including telescope, camera obscura, and camera. Even if zhao 照 contains the meaning of mirror, I find it necessary to expand the scope of its meaning, while exploring the use of the word as an appellation for portrait. See Gu, “What’s in a Name?”.
including advertisements, early names of photo studios, travelogues, and diary entries written by people after encountering photography.

The Order of Real/True, Zhen 真/眞 (J. shin, K. jin, V. chân)

Zhen 真/眞 is a term that refers to likeness, often connoting one’s portrait, and the character is generally found in earlier documents on photography. Terms that include zhen 真/眞, such as xiezhen (寫眞; J. shashin, K. sajin), zhenxiang (眞像; J. shinzō, K. jinsang) and zhenrong (眞容; K. jinyong, J. shinyō, V. chândung), also refer to portraiture and pervaded the descriptions of photography when the technology was introduced to East Asia. Zhen 真/眞, without losing its connotation of portraiture, constitutes the terms for photography in Korea and Japan. The terms for photograph are sajin (寫眞; 사진) in Korea and shashin (写真) in Japan. Sha 写/寫 (K: Sa) means ‘transcribing’, ‘drawing after’, and ‘writing after’. One might translate sajin (寫眞) or shashin (写真) into ‘transcribing the real/true’. Sajinsul (寫眞術; 写真術; J. shashinjutsu) in Korean means photography and is formed by adding sul 術, the character referring to technique, though sajin/shashin is generally used to mean ‘photography’ as well.29 The words Sajin (寫眞) and shashin (写真)

29 For instance, shashin or sajin refers to both photography and photograph in contemporary books on photography in Korea and Japan, as well as in translations of books on photography written in English.
had referred to portrait painting before they were fixed as terms for photography. However, the term’s meaning of ‘portrait’ did not disappear, but co-existed when photography acquired its new names in the region.

A Korean-English dictionary of 1897 presents sajin (寫眞) as a ‘photograph’ and a ‘portrait’, although the pronunciation was shajin (사진). In fact, the word sajin (寫眞) is found in several comments on portraits during the Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon (1392-1897) dynasties. For example, the term appears in a document discussing a Japanese envoy who made a portrait painting of King Sejo in 1472. Sajin (寫眞), which signifies ‘to draw a portrait’, was used when officials debated whether the portrait by the Japanese envoy should be kept or destroyed. Choi Injin and Park Juseok argue that sajin (寫眞) first appeared in a

30 James Scarth Gale, Hannyeong Jadyeon (韓英字典; A Korean-English Dictionary) (Yokohama; Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1897), 535, s.v. 사진.
32 Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History), ed., “Ilbonguk Saryangwimunjongsuga Sejou Eoyongeul Mandeun Ire Daehae Nomuihada (일본국 사랑위문정수가 세조의 어용을 만든 일에 대해 논의하다; Discussing on the Making of the Portrait Painting of King Sejo by the Japanese Named Shiro Emon Masahide),” Seongjongsilok (成宗實錄; Annals of King Seongjong), 19-
reference to a photograph by a Korean envoy named Yi Hang-eok (Lee Hang Uk) who left a record of his experience of being photographed during his visit to Beijing in 1863. This assertion challenges the claim that the term came from Japan. However, a close reading of Yi’s original text demonstrates that he neither created the term for the new invention nor changed its meaning from ‘portrait’ to ‘photograph’. Yi’s record of having a photograph taken appears in three notes of January 28 and 29, and February 3, 1863. Yi describes his experience with photographic images by using several different terms, including mojin (模真), mochul (模出), sajin (寫真), and sachul (寫出). Contrary to Choi’s translation of Yi’s original text, Yi Tong-hwan’s translation into contemporary Korean does not interpret those terms as ‘having a photograph taken’ but rather as ‘having a portrait made/drawn/copied’. Here are two sentences from Yi’s diary that contain the word sajin (寫真):

余以同行中年最高故先使寫真


34 Yi Hang-oek (이항억), Gugyeok Yeonhaenggilgi (國譯 燕行日記; Travel Account to Beijing), trans. Yi Dong-hwan (이동환) (Seoul: Gungnip Jungangdoseogwan, 2008), 64–66; 72-73; 133-136; 153.
I was the oldest in the group, so had a portrait made first.

朴吳次弟寫真
Park and Oh had portraits made one after the other.

Sajin (寫真) in these two sentences does not denote ‘photograph’ as a noun. Sa 写 functions as a verb for ‘having something drawn’ or ‘drawing’, while jin 真 refers to a portrait. Thus, sajin (寫真) could be translated into ‘having one’s portrait made’, rather than the single meaning of ‘photograph.’

Another text by an envoy to Japan shows the same use of the term. In 1881, Yi Heon-yeong (이헌영, 1837–1901) left the following record in his diary:

午間, 往寫眞局寫真, 而嚴令·沈令·五衛將同行, 並寫真. 本局主人鈴木攬雲.

In the afternoon, went to a photo studio and had a portrait made, Eomnyeong Simnyeong, and Owijang went together and had our portrait transcribed. The owner of the photo studio was Suzuki Ken’un.  

Although Yi called a photo studio sajinguk (寫眞局; J. shashinkyoku), his use of sajin (寫眞) served to indicate the activity of having one’s likeness ‘transcribed’, not to indicate a photograph per se. When sajin (寫眞) meant ‘to draw/copy’ a portrait, sa 写 functioned as a verb. If sajin functioned as a noun signifying ‘photograph’, it would require a verb in a

sentence, such as ‘to take’ or ‘to capture’. In this context it could not have referred specifically to a photograph. Sajin (寫眞) as a complete word for ‘photograph’, however, is found in the diary of Yun Chi-ho (尹致昊, 1864-1945). Yun puts chwal 撮, the verb meaning ‘to capture’ in front of sajin in his diary, recording that Percival Lowell sent his photographs: chwal sajin (撮寫眞).37 Yi’s and Yun’s diaries, both of which were written in the early 1880s, place sajin in Korea somewhere between a traditional representation and the new mode of representation.

*The History of Japanese Photography* indicates the 1860s as the period when shashin (写真) came to be a fixed term for photography.38 However, a Japanese-English dictionary of the 1860s presents sha-shin (写真) as ‘a life-like likeness’ and sha-shin no ye (写真の絵) as a ‘true picture of anything’.39 The dictionary has terms for photography in its English index not as sha-shin (写真), but as sha-shin kiyō de utsz (写眞鏡で写す), and this phrase could be

---

translated as ‘to copy through a camera or mirror for a true picture’. Sha-shin kiyō (写真鏡) was the term for ‘camera’ while kiyō 鏡 means ‘mirror’, which is a component morpheme of the terms for ‘telescope’ and ‘microscope’ in Korea, Japan, China, and Vietnam. Thus, sha-shin (写真) seems to have circulated as ‘a real image of something or someone’ before it was adopted to refer to the new technology capable of actually producing a real image.

Kinoshita Naoyuki (木下直之)’s Shashingaron: Shashin to Kaiga no Kekkon (写真画論: 写真と絵画の結婚; Discourse on Shashinga: The Marriage of Photography and Painting) is a comprehensive text that explores the relationship between photography and painting when the new technology was introduced to Japan. Kinoshita points out that the term shashin was applied not only to portrait paintings but also to other genres, including landscape, even though the term had referred to portrait painting since the Tang dynasty in China. Moreover, shashin was also used to describe the graphic depiction of plants in Japan during the mid-nineteenth century by those scholars involved in the study of the Chinese book titled Honzō kōmoku (本草綱目; C. Bencaogangmu; Materia Medica).

---

40 Hepburn, Waei Gorin Shusei, 78, s.v. photography. Utsz seems a misspelling of ‘utszz’ since sha-shin kiyō de utszz appears as “taken by photography,” “Sha-shin,” ibid.


indicated that the painter made an image right in front of the object, which meant ‘direct observation’. This usage shows that in Japan the term emphasized the real-ness of the creative process as well as its result.⁴³

In 1775, a Japanese book on Chinese and Japanese painting theory presented *shashin* (寫眞; *C. xiezhen*) as a Chinese term for portrait painting:

In China to paint a man's likeness is called shashō, or denshin or *shashin*, and there are many painters excelling in painting figures. In Edo one renders the faces of courtesans, but there is no good portrait painter among serious [elegant] painters.⁴⁴

However, *shashin*, meaning ‘to paint a portrait’, did not remain only Chinese. The word can be found inscribed on one of the oil paintings of Shima Kakoku (島霞谷, 1827–1870), who was one of the early Japanese photographers practicing Western-style painting. Shima inscribed ‘Dainippon Kakoku shashin (大日本霞谷写真; Kakoku of the Great Japan painted the portrait)’ on his portrait painting of a woman from around 1860.⁴⁵

*Shashin* also referred to a technique of European painting before it was adopted to signify photography in Japan. In *Seiyō Gadan* (*西洋画談; Discussion of Western Painting*),

---

⁴⁵ Kinoshita, *Shashingaron*, 3.
published in 1799, Shiba Kōkan (司馬江漢, 1747-1818), an artist well-known for
Westernized paintings, wrote:

Because *shashin* is the method of painting used in all Western countries, their painting
style is different from ours. Our painters, working in Japanese or Chinese styles, mock
Western painting and would not think of studying it. They do not even regard these
works as paintings and think that they belong to handicrafts. How silly.\(^4^6\)

Doris Croissant explains that the verisimilitude in Western visual representation might
be a reason for the shared lexicon of terms for portraiture and photography. Japanese oil
painters found photography to be an efficient tool for producing an image that was as
realistic-looking as possible.\(^4^7\) Considering that *shashin* referred to both Chinese and Western
ways of representation, the term seemed to be regarded as appropriate for the designation of a
technology introduced by a foreign country.

In China, *shashin* (寫眞), pronounced *xiezhen*, appears as ‘to paint a portrait’, while
*zhen* 眞 appears as ‘a portrait’ in a dictionary of English-Chinese and Japanese published in

Asakura Haruhiko (朝倉治彦) (Tokyo: Yasaka shobō, 1994), 139–145; Calvin L. French, *Shiba Kōkan: Artist,
Innovator, and Pioneer in the Westernization of Japan* (New York: Weatherhill, 1974), 171, as quoted in
Croissant, “In Quest of the Real,” 156–157. Seiyō Gadan is accessible via National Diet Library, Japan:

\(^{4^7}\) Croissant, “In Quest of the Real,” 154. There is much evidence on how early Japanese photographers
practiced oil painting in Kinoshita’s book *Shashingaron*. Craig Clunas argues that photography had a greater
impact on professional portrait painters than on scholar painters because the main concern for the former was
199.
W. Lobscheid's English and Chinese dictionary of 1866 presents zhen 真 as ‘a portrait’, while xiezhen (寫眞) is ‘to paint a portrait’. Xiezhen (寫眞) refers to a ‘portrait painter’ while zhaoxiangzhe (照相者) is a ‘photographer’ in an English and Chinese dictionary published in 1887 by Kwong Ki Chiu (鄺其照; C: Kuang qizhao), a member of the Chinese Educational Mission to the United States. Meanwhile, xiezhen (寫眞) appears in an 1880’s advertisement for Jiu-San’s photography studio in Amoy (today called Xiamen (厦门)), which advertises the service of portrait painting by E-Fong: Ruisheng zhaoxiang, yifang xiezhen (瑞生照相, 宜芳寫眞; Photography by Ruisheng, Portraiture by Yifang/E-Fong). From these examples, one can see that a photography business operated alongside a

---

48 W. Lobscheid, trans. Tsuda Sen (津田仙), Yanagisawa Shindai (柳澤信大), and Ōi Kenkichi (大井鎌吉), Eikawayaku Jiten (英華和譯字典; Dictionary of the English, Chinese and Japanese Languages, with the Japanese Pronunciation), vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yamanōchi Fuku, 1879), 633, s.v. portrait. For Japanese, the dictionary has Katakana and English transliteration of the term, without Kanji (Sino-Japanese characters). The Kanji is mine based on the pronunciation. Xiang 像 and xiang 相 also appear as “a portrait” in Chinese. Huazhen (畫眞) and xiezhenrong (寫眞容) also appear as “to paint a portrait” in Chinese. In Japanese, the dictionary presents iki-utsushi no ye (生き写しの絵) as “a portrait” and shin-yo wo utsusu (眞容を写す) or iki-utsushi ni suru (生き写しにする) as “to paint a portrait.”

49 Lobscheid, Yinghua Zidian (英華字典; English and Chinese Dictionary: With the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation), vol. 3, (Hong Kong: Daily Press Office, 1866), 1342, s.v. portrait.

50 Kuang Qizhao (鄺其照), ed., Hua Ying Zidian Jicheng (華英字典集成; An English and Chinese Dictionary) (Hong Kong: Xinguangxing, 1920), 1920, s.v. photographer; Kuang, “Portrait Painter,” Ibid. It is interesting to note that the dictionary contains a photo of Kuang taken in Hartford, Connecticut with the name of the photographer: De Lamater. For more on Kuang and the Chinese Educational Mission, see Edward J. M. Rhoads, Stepping Forth into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-81 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

51 See the advertisement in Xu Xijing (徐希景), “Cong Jiangyi Dao Yishu—Zhongguo Zhaoxiang Guan Renxiang Yu Xiaoxianghua de Ronghe (从匠艺到艺术 ——中国早期照相馆人像与肖像画的融合; From Craftsmanship to Art — The Blending of the Painted Portrait and the Photo Portrait Taken in the Early Chinese
portrait painting service, (a practice which will be discussed later). Coloring the photograph
was described as reaching the level of *xiezhen* in a description of photography in 1876 in
Shanghai.\(^{52}\)

The history of *xiezhen* as signifying ‘portrait painting’ is much older than its history
as a term for photography in the region. The term is found in a fifth-century text attached to
documents of the Sui and Tang dynasties of China.\(^{53}\) In *Jin Ping Mei* (*金瓶梅: The Plum in
the Golden Vase or The Golden Lotus*), a famous novel from the late Ming dynasty (1368-
1644), *xiezhen* (寫眞) appears as a painted human image.\(^{54}\) Moreover, *xiezhen* appears in the
title of a treatise on portraiture widely circulated in late Qing China: *Xiezhen mijue*
(*寫眞秘訣: Secrets of Portraiture*).\(^{55}\) The painting manual, including the treatise, was

---

\(^{52}\) Ge Yuanxu (葛元煦), *Huyou Zaji* (*滬遊雜記: Miscellany on Adventures in Shanghai*), ed. Zheng Zuan
(鄭祖安) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1989), 19–20. Lisa Claypool translates *xiezhen* as a character
drawing, as opposed to a portrait painting, from its relation to the illustrations of narratives in illustrated novels.
See Lisa R. Claypool, “Figuring the Body: Painting Manuals in Late Imperial China” (PhD diss., Stanford
University, 2001), 402–403.


\(^{54}\) Xu Shaofang (許少峰) and Xu Weiwu (許未吾), eds., *Jindai Hanyu Cidian* (*近代汉语词典: Modern Chinese
Dictionary*) (Beijing: Tuanjie Chubanshe, 1997), 1275, s.v. *写真*.

\(^{55}\) *Xiezhen mijue* was published as a part of the fourth edition of *Jieziyuan huazhuan* published in 1818. Ding
Gao (丁皋), ed., *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* (*芥子園畫傳: Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manuals*) (S.l.: Jieziyuan,
1818); Yu Jianhua (俞劍華), ed., *Zhongguo Gudai Hualun Leibian* (*中國古代 畫論類編: Collection of
Theoretical Texts on Painting in Ancient China*), vol. 1 (Beijing: Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, 2000), 545–569.
For the details and history of *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* (*芥子園畫傳: Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manuals*), see
Claypool, “Figuring the Body”. For *Xizhen mijue* (*写真秘訣*), see ibid., 365–366.
imported to Japan and Korea, where it gained enormous popularity among painters.\(^{56}\)

*Xiezhen* also referred to an image made in a highly realistic or Western manner during the Qing dynasty.\(^{57}\) For instance, it referred to an illustration that made the fictional characters of illustrated novels look real to the reader, as one can see in *Honglumeng xiezhen* (紅樓夢寫眞; *Dream of the Red Chamber Illustration*). Even in the early twentieth century illustrated newspaper *Tuhua ribao* (圖畫日報; *Daily Pictorial*), *xiezhen* referred to illustration. For example, the section titled *yingye xiezhen* (營業寫真 ‘Business Illustration’) introduced a variety of new occupations in modern China through illustrations (fig. 1.5).\(^{58}\)

In China, *xiezhen* as a term for photography circulated well into the early twentieth century, as the titles of the following articles from 1913 show: “Xiezhen ranfa (寫眞染法 ‘How to dye a photograph’)” and “Wanjin xiezhenshuzhi –lanse yinhuafa (挽近寫眞術之--藍色印畫法 ‘How to take a close-up photograph –the way to develop in blue color’)” in


\(^{57}\) Claypool, “Figuring the Body,” 379.

\(^{58}\) *Tuhua ribao* was published from 1909 to 1910. Huanqiushe Bianjibu (環球社編輯部), ed., “Yingye Xiezheng (營業寫真; Business Illustration),” in *Tuhua Ribao* (圖畫日報; *Daily Pictorial*), vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1999), 404.
As early as 1879, *ziezhen* signified photography in a Chinese travelogue about a trip to Japan by Wang Tao (王韬), who translated numerous Chinese classics with James Legge and published the first Chinese daily newspaper:

Xiezhen is the Western way to make an image (yingxiang)

---


61 Chia-Ling Yang presents that the use of *yingxiang* shows Wang Tao’s lack of knowledge on the new invention because he could not make a distinction from painting. In addition, she points out the relation that *ying* (the character meaning shadow in *yingxiang*) has with the Chinese response to Western oil painting. However, *yingxiang* or *ying* referred to image or likeness as well. She also argues that the practice of hand colored photographs might have been a reason for the terms for photography to be mixed with those for paintings. Chia-Ling Yang, “The Crisis of the Real: Portraiture and Photography in Late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai,” in
Wang’s text contradicts Federico Masini’s argument that xiezhen, which originally meant ‘portrait’, failed to be circulated widely in China since zhaoxiang (照像) and yingxiang (影像) had already been used to refer to photography since 1866. In addition, zhen (真) referred to photography even during the 1870s, as one can see in the title of the book Sexiang liuzhen (色相留真), which is a Chinese translation of Gaston Tissandier’s History and Handbook of Photography. Until the nineteenth century, xiezhen referred to various modes of representation, including illustration and photography, without losing its earlier connotation of portraiture in China.

Detached from xie, zhen 真 (K. jin, J. shin, V. chân) can serve to create various terms related to human likeness. Its meaning as ‘truth’ and ‘essence’ connotes that portraiture was considered to be a substitute for the person depicted rather than a merely a representation of a subject. Photographic portraiture inherited this belief: zhentang (真堂; Korean: Jindang ‘portrait hall’) refers to a shrine where an ancestor’s portrait was placed for ancestral rites in China and Korea.

Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II, eds. Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago; Co-published and distributed by Art Media Resources, 2009), 22, note 10, 33-34.

Masini, Geundae Junggugui Eoneowa Yeoksa, 274.


Zhen, pronounced jin in Korean, may be found in an inscription on a portrait painting to signify ‘portrait’. One encounters the character in the practice of inscribing the name of the subject and the date of the work, as well as the name of the artist. Portrait paintings of officials of the Joseon dynasty, as well as of Buddhist monks in Korea, contain titles, such as jinsang(眞像) or jin 眞. Jin 眞 is transcribed onto a photograph of King Gojong in 1907:

珠淵真 丁未秋
Juyeon’s portrait, Autumn, 1907

Jinjeon (眞殿) refers to the shrine where the portraits of kings are kept and enshrined in Korea. Eojin (御眞) denotes ‘a portrait of king or emperor’, while it appears as ‘the royal photograph or photograph of the king’ in the 1927 edition of the Korean-English dictionary. The term appears in a diary of Yun Chi-ho, in which he describes how King Gojong (1852-1919) had himself photographed in 1884 by both Lowell, who accompanied the first Korean diplomatic mission to the United States in 1883, and Ji Unyeong (池雲英, 1853-1935), who was one of the pioneers of photography in Korea. Jinsang(眞像) was transcribed on portrait paintings during the period when photography was widespread in Korea, as seen in the

For jinsang (眞像), see a portrait of Yi Sa-gyeong and for jin (眞), see a portrait of Nam Gu-man in Gungnip Jungang Bangmulgwan Misulbu (국립중앙박물관 미술부; National Museum of Korea), ed., Joseonsidae Chosanghwa II (조선시대 초상화 II; Portraits of Joseon Dynasty II) (Seoul: Gungnip Jungang Bangmulgwan, 2008), 47, 80. For portraits of Buddhist monks, see Shin Dae-hyeon (신대현), Jinnyeonggwa Chanmun (眞영과 칭문; Jinyeong and Eulogy) (Seoul: Hyean, 2006), passim.

Jueyon (珠淵) is a pen name of King Gojong, and jeongmi (丁未) is the year name of 1907. For the image, see Choi, Gojong, Eosajineul Tonghae Segyereul Kkumkkuda, 257, 261-262.
portraits of both Bak Se-hwa in 1898 and of Yu So-shim in 1915.\(^67\) Furthermore, it is found in the record of Kim Kisus (金綺秀, 1832-?) sitting for a photo portrait when he visited Japan as an envoy in 1876:

一日館伴官來見 要寫真像 再三却之 不余聽也\(^68\)
An officer serving foreign envoys visited one day. He asked me to have a portrait taken. He didn’t give up even after my several (third) refusals.

*Zhen* often appears accompanied by *xiang* 像, another character meaning ‘image’ or ‘portrait’. *Zhenxiang* (真像) can be translated as ‘true image’ or ‘true portrait’.\(^69\) Like *xiezhen* and *zhen*, it was widely circulated in East Asia. The term, which is pronounced *shinzō* (真像) in Japanese, appears in Tamamushi Sadayū (玉虫左太夫)’s diary of his journey to the United States. On April 10, 1860, he wrote:

---


68 Kim Kisu (金綺秀), “*Yugwan* (留館),” in *Ildonggiyu* (日東記遊; Record of a Journey to Japan), ed. Hanguk Gojeon Beonnyeogwon (한국고전번역원; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics), vol. 1, 1877, http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=KO&amp;url=/itkcdb/text/nodeViewIframe.jsp?bizName=KO&amp;seojiId=kc_ko_h033&amp;gunchaId=av001&amp;muncheId=11&amp;finId=011&amp;NodeId=&amp;setid=5307079&amp;Pos=0&amp;TotalCount=1&amp;searchUrl=ok (accessed July 13, 2012). Translation is based on the contemporary Korean translation of the original text from the database of Institute of the Translation of Korean Classics. Another Korean translation can be found in Choi, *Hanguk Sajinsa*, 73. For the photograph that Kim had himself taken, see ibid., 74.

69 Kuang, *Hua Ying Zidian Jicheng*, 255, s.v. portrait.
午後写真局ニ行テ、我真像大小ニツ写サシム⁷⁰

Going to a photography studio in the afternoon, I had two large and small portraits taken/copied.

In Tamamushi’s diary, *shin 真* also appears in his experience with photography in the United States. On February 16, 1860, he wrote:

乃チ案内シテ写真局ニ連レ行ク。[…]別房ニ案内シ真ヲ写ス、⁷¹

Soon, guided to go to photography studio again. […] led to a separate room and had a portrait taken/copied.

In his exploration of the genealogies of the terms for photography in Japan, Arao Yoshihide (荒尾禎秀) demonstrates that *shinzō (真像)* and *shin 真* were alternative terms for photography at the time.⁷² However, I presume that *shinzō (真像)* and *shin 真* meant a ‘portrait’, because the photography studio in the text was named *shashinkyoku (写真局)*, a term that contains *shashin (写真)*, the present-day term for photography in Japanese. *Kyoku 局* in *Shashinkyoku (写真局)* refers to a building, so that *shashinkyoku (写真局)* could be translated as ‘photography studio’. The evidence that *shinzō (真像)* referred to a portrait can be found in portraits of Commander Henry Adams and Commodore Perry in 1854.⁷³

---


⁷¹ Tamamushi, “Kōbei Nichiroku (航米日錄; Journey to America),” 27; Arao, “しゃしん (写真),” 205.

⁷² Arao, “しゃしん (写真),” 204.

⁷³ For Adams, see the right picture on the third row in http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/black_ships_and_samurai/bss_essay06.html (accessed August 13,
Zhenrong (眞容) is another term to which zhen contributes, signifying a portrait in Chinese and Japanese dictionaries of the late nineteenth century. The history of its use goes back to tenth-century China, where the term began to refer to Buddha images that served as a supplement to the divine being rather than a mere representation. The term, pronounced chândung in Vietnamese, is used to refer to a portrait, literally meaning ‘real/true face’. Pronounced jinyong, it has a long history in nomenclature for portraits of Buddhist monks and kings in Korea as well.

When photography was introduced to East Asia, zhen 真 and the terms constructed from it dominated texts on the technology without it losing its currency as a term for ‘human likeness’. The character meaning ‘real/true’ was used to refer to human likeness as it was for portraits.

---

74 Lobscheid's dictionary presents xiezhenrong (寫眞容) as ‘to paint a portrait.’ Lobscheid, Yinghua Zidian, vol. 3 (1866), 1342, s.v. portrait.
75 Sun-ah Choi, “Quest for the True Visage: Sacred Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Art and the Concept of Zhen” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012).
signified a foreign method of making a representation. After xiezhen (寫眞; J. shashin, K. sajin) became a fixed term for photography in Korea and Japan, it lost its connotation for portraiture. In contrast, the term remained a designation for portraiture in China while it lost its connotation for photography. Zhenxiang (眞像; J. shinzō, K. jinsang) and zhenrong (眞容; K. jinyong, J. shinyō, V. chândung), which were shared throughout East Asia to refer to portraiture until the early twentieth century, are no longer circulated. The history of zhen as a component term for photography reveals that the experience of the technology revolved around the practice of portraiture in East Asia.

The Order of Shadow, Ying 影(J: ei; K: yeong; V: ánh)

Generally, ying 影, the literal meaning of which is ‘shadow’, has referred to ‘portrait’.78 Yingtang 影堂(K. yeongdang, J. eidō) describes a shrine in which ancestral portraits were placed for rites in China, Korea, and Japan.79 In Korea, Yeongjeon 影殿

---

78 In particular, portraits of Buddhist monks in Korea contain the character. Shin, Jinnyeonggwa Chanmun, passim.

79 For Korean, see the book Yeongdang Gijeok 影堂記録(Records of Yeongdang, Hall of enshrined Portraits, 1885) which documents details of portrait paintings and their enshrinement within Yun Jeung (尹拯)'s family in Munhwajaechang (문화재청; Cultural Heritage Administration), ed., Hangugui Chosanghwa: Yeoksasogui Inmulgwa Jouhada (한국의 초상화: 역사 속의 인물과 조우하다; Korean Portrait Paintings: Encountering People in History) (Seoul: Nurwa, 2007), 306; Gerhart, The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan, 212; Stuart and Rawski, Worshipping the Ancestors, 46.
refers to a shrine where portraits of kings were displayed for veneration, while in Japan, mieidō (御影堂) refers to a memorial shrine that often includes portraits of Buddhist monks or upper-class believers.80

In relation to photography, ying 影 is a component of two terms signifying ‘to take a photograph’: sheying (攝影, 攝影; V. nhiếp  ảnh) in Chinese and Vietnamese, as well as satsuei (撮影; K. chwaryeong) in Japanese and Korean.81 There are various terms to which ying contributes to signify different types of photography in East Asia. For instance, liuying (留影) is a term for souvenir photography in China, while heying (合影) means ‘taking a group photograph’.82 An article in Dianshizhai huabao (點石齋畵報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio) also uses liuying (留影) when it discusses taking photographs of those who had died at sea so that they could be identified by their family members who lived too far away to view the bodies before they had begun to decompose (fig. 1.6).83 Jinying (近影; 80 Croissant, “In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory,” 155; Naoko Gunji, “Redesigning the Death Rite and Redesigning the Tomb: The Separation of Kami and Buddhist Deities at the Mortuary Site for Emperor Antoku,” Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 38, no. 1 (2011): 61. Gunji translates mieidō (御影堂) as ‘portrait hall.’
82 For earlier use of the term liuying, see “Zhaoxiangguan minghua liuying (照相館名花留影; In the photography studio, the famous flowers have their pictures taken),” in Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo (申江名勝圖說: Famous Shanghai sites, with illustrations and explanations) ([S.l.]: Guankeshouzhai, 1884), 68; Catherine Vance Yeh, Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture, 1850-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 85.
83 “Bochen Liuying (波臣留影),” Dianshizhai huabao (點石齋畵報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio), December 29, 1887,

*Ying 影* was used to refer to photography, as seen in the title of an album published in 1913 that contains photographs of famous Shanghai courtesans: *Haishang jing hong ying* (*海上驚鴻影; Photographs of Five Hundred Shanghai Beauties*). The character, pronounced *yeong* in Korean, appears as ‘portrait and ombre’ in *Hanbul Jajeon* (*韓佛字典; Dictionnaire coréen-français*), 1880. An 1897 Korean-English dictionary translates *yeong* as ‘a vivid picture in composition’ and ‘a photograph negative’. *Ying 影*, pronounced *ei* or *kage* in Japanese, appears in the diary of Yoda Benzō (依田勉三) describing his experience of photography in 1883:

今明日両日をもって写真師鈴木氏に乞い願い影を写し、1名を1号とならめて総員27名なり

https://www.sinology.org/cmmc/spotstone/inhaSearch_view.asp?idx=1217&page=1&search_item=&search_word=%E6%B3%A2%E8%87%A3&search_num= (accessed September 12, 2012). *Dianshizhai huabao* is one of the most popular illustrated periodicals in Shanghai, published by Dainshizhai press company which was founded by Reverend Ernst Major. For more on the company and the spread of printing culture, see Laikwan Pang, “The Pictorial Turn and Realist Desire,” in *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 33–68.

84 *Haishang Jing Hong Ying* (*海上驚鴻影; Photographs of Five Hundred Shanghai Beauties*) (Shanghai: Youzheng Shuju, 1913). For one of the photographs in the album, see Yeh, *Shanghai Love*, 150.


86 Gale, *Hannyeong Jadyeon* (1897), 44, s.v. 엽.

Asking Mr. Suzuki the photographer to copy/take a portrait per person of 27 people in total today and tomorrow.

One can find the same phrase ‘to copy/take a portrait’ (kage wo utsu; 影を写) in a leaflet titled Shashinkyō Taii (写真鏡大意) distributed by the photo studio Eishindō (影真堂) as an advertisement in the 1860s:

この頃何人か言そめけん、影をとらるる時は命のちぢむなと浮評するにまとはされて、つひに尊み慕ふべき親戚の形見を思なら得さる人あるは大なる謬也

As some people say these days, it is really wrong not to leave a picture of one’s relatives, deceived by the absurd rumor that one’s life would be shortened if one has a photograph taken.88

Katami (形見) refers to something commemorating one’s absence, and Kinoshita emphasizes that katami was the main selling point of photography in the nineteenth century.89

In addition, ei 影 appears in the title of the first Japanese monthly journal on photography published in 1874: Datsuei Yawa (脱影夜話; Story of Making an Image/photography).90

Datsu 脫 means ‘to take off or strip off’, thus Datsuei (脱影) is translated as ‘to strip off an

Photographer SNINICHI SUZUKI from the OBIHIRO Centennial City Museum Collection,

88 As quoted in Kinoshita, Shashingaron, 18.
89 Ibid. Katami (形見) is also transcribed in katami (形身).
image/shadow from something’. An 1873 Chinese manual on photography used the same term *datsu* 脫: *Tuoying Qiguan* (脫影奇观: Extraordinary Sights of Photography), which was written by the British physician, John Hepburn Dudgeon, in Beijing.91 Although it is not clear whether the Japanese journal referred to the Chinese manual published a year before, photography seemed to be considered a tool with which to strip off a shadow.

*Ying* 影 (*J.* ei or kage) also appears in a description of Emperor Taishō (大正天皇, 1879-1926): kage no usui (影の薄い). It means ‘having no strong presence’, as the literal translation is ‘shadow is thin’. The phrase is currently used in Japan to express the idea that someone’s presence is barely visible. Moreover, *ying* 影, pronounced *ei* in Japanese, appears in the names of photo studios of well-known photographers during the 1860s in Japan, as is apparent in Shimooka Renjō (下岡蓮杖)’s *Zenrakudō Sōeirō* (全楽堂 相影楼) and Ueno Satsueikyoku (上野撮影局) of Ueno Hikoma (上野彦馬) in Nagasaki.92 In addition, the

---


photo studio of Ukai Gyokusen (鵜飼玉川) was opened under the name of eishindō (影真堂) in 1861. Ukai’s studio is known for its portrait photographs of aristocrats in Edo (Tokyo). Ying is also found in the name of a late nineteenth-century Japanese photo studio around Mt. Nam in Seoul, Korea. Murakami Kōjiro (村上幸次郎), who came to Korea as a war correspondent and photographer during the First Sino-Japanese War, opened a photo studio named Saengyeonggwan (生影館) in 1894.

Meanwhile, Eikawayaku Jiten (英華和譯字典; Dictionary of the English, Chinese and Japanese Languages, with the Japanese Pronunciation), published in 1879, presents the


94 Ukai is said to have taken portrait photographs of more than 200 aristocrats. Bennett, Photography in Japan, 1853-1912, 61.

95 Kawabata Gentarō, Zai Chōsen naichijin shinshi meikan (在朝鮮内地人紳士名鑑; Directory of Japanese Businessmen in Joseon), ed. Chōsen Kōronsha (Keijo: Chōsen Kōronsha, 1917), 278. For the photograph taken in Saengyeonggwan, see Choi, Hanuk sajinsa, 174. Murakami opened another photo studio named Bongseongwan (鳳仙館) around 1899. See Jeguk sinmun (帝國新聞; Empire News), May 8, 1899, 4; also reprinted in Choi, Hanuk Sajinsa, 216. Choi presents Murakami’s name as the Japanese pronounces it, but his name is written as how Koreans pronounce in the contemporary newspapers. Another advertisement could be found in Hwangseong sinmun (皇城新聞; Imperial Capital Gazette), June 8, 1899, 4. After the Japan-Korea Treaties in 1876 and 1882, Japanese residential areas were set up in Seoul as well as in three other port cities in Korea. Saengyeonggwan was in the Japanese residential area in Seoul.
word ‘photograph’ as *yingxiang* (影相) in Chinese and *shashin* (写真) in Japanese.\(^{96}\)

*Yingxiang* (影相) also refers to ‘photograph’ in an English-Chinese dictionary, written by Lobscheid in 1866, while Kuang’s dictionary presents *yingdexiang* (影的相) as the term for photograph.\(^{97}\)

The use of *yingxiang* (影相) to refer to photography can be found in a photograph of a street scene attributed to John Thomson, who travelled extensively in China from the late 1860s to the early 1870s (fig. 1.7).\(^{98}\) On the right is a signboard containing the phrase: Xianggang yazhenyingxiang (香港雅真影相; Hong Kong Yazhen Photography).\(^{99}\) The image also appears as an illustration in the book, *Peeps at Many Lands, China* (fig. 18).\(^{100}\)

*Yingxiang* (影相) appears in an advertisement made in 1861 by Milton M. Miller, an American photographer who had a studio in Canton.\(^{101}\) The advertisement is about the theft of his photography equipment. The term may also be spotted in an undated, nineteenth-century photograph taken in Hong Kong. *Huazhen youhua yingxiang* (華真油畫影相; 52.

---

96 Lobscheid, *Eikawayaku Jiten*, 571, s.v. photograph.
97 Lobscheid, *Yinghua Zidian*, 1312, s.v. photograph; Kuang, *Hua Ying Zidian Jicheng*, 246, s.v. photograph.
Huazhen Oil Painting and Photography) (fig. 1.9).\textsuperscript{102} 

*Ying 影* is also the root of terms for funerary photo-portraiture in Japan and Korea: *iei* (遺影) in Japan and *yeongjeong* (影幀) in Korea. Each of these terms can be translated literally as ‘bequeathed shadow/portrait’ and ‘shadow/portrait scroll’. *Ying 影* also contributes to the term *zhuiying* (*追影; seeking/tracing a shadow*) for ancestor portrait in China,\textsuperscript{103} while in the aforementioned novel of the late Ming dynasty, *Jin Ping Mei* (*金瓶梅, The Plum in the Golden Vase or The Golden Lotus*), the term meant a ‘painted image of a dead person’.\textsuperscript{104} The Korean term for funerary photo-portraiture, *yeongjeong* (影幀), had generally signified a portrait painting, as seen in inscriptions of portrait paintings of officials during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{105} Even in an 1897 Korean-English dictionary, the term appears as ‘a painted picture of a person’ or ‘a portrait’.\textsuperscript{106} As a Japanese term for funerary photo-portraiture, *iei* (遺影), according to Fukuoka, is a recent term as the word did not appear in dictionaries until the 1970s. She suggests that other terms, including *shinei* (真影; true shadow), were dominant earlier but that their usage was a bit different.

\textsuperscript{102} Plate 35 in Waley-Cohen, Lai, and Wue, *Picturing Hong Kong*, 100.

\textsuperscript{103} Stuart and Rawski, *Worshiping the ancestors*, 94, 213.

\textsuperscript{104} Xu and Xu, “影,” *Jindai Hanyu Cidian*.

\textsuperscript{105} See the portrait of An Yun-haeng in Gungnip Jungang Bangmulgwan Misulbu (국립중앙박물관 미술부; National Museum of Korea), *Joseonsidae Chosanghwa II* (* 조선시대 초상화 II; Portraits of Joseon Dynasty II*), 120.

\textsuperscript{106} Gale, *Hannyeong Jadyeon* (1897), 46, s.v. 影幀.
from *iei* (遺影) as a term devoted to the dead. However, the use of *iei* can be traced back to the fourteenth century, when it signified a posthumous portrait painting used in annual memorial services. Pronounced *yuyeong* (遺影), it signified a portrait painting of kings and queens as early as 1525 in Korea. In China, the term, pronounced *yiying* (遺影; 遺影), is used with its literal meaning of ‘left image’ in contemporary Chinese, as hinted at in *Wanqing yiying* (晚清遺影; *Left Images of Late Qing*), the title of a book on images of late Qing society. Pronounced *di ảnh* (遺影), it is one of the terms for funerary photo-portraiture in Vietnam.

So far, I have shown that *ying*, ‘the shadow’, has been an integral part of terms for both photography and portraits used in rituals. One may encounter the metaphorical use of

---

107 Fukuoka Maki (福岡真紀), “*Iei Toshite Shōzō: Fukuzawa Yukichi to Nakae Chōmin No Bāi* (遺影としての肖像: 福沢論吉と中江兆民の場合; Portraits as *iei*: The Cases of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakae Chōmin),” *Shiseigaku Kenkyū* (死生学研究; Study of Life and Death) no. 3 (March 2004): 103–104. As one of the few articles on funerary photo-portraiture, Fukuoka's study explores the portrait photographs of two renowned historic figures in Japan, Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakae Chōmin, relating their images to their writings. Fukuoka concerns the desire of the living to have portrait photographs of the dead.


110 Sun Yanjing (孫燕京), ed., *Wanqing yiying* (晚清遺影; *Left Images of Late Qing*) (Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2000).
‘shadow’ for portrait photography in nineteenth-century advertisements of photo studios in the West. For example, photographers used such phrases as “secure the shadow ere the substance fade.” Similar phrases, including “catching ‘the shadow’,” were widely circulated throughout English-speaking countries during the nineteenth century. Fear of mortality and anxiety over disappearance sustained the desire to secure a shadow.

The idea of capturing a shadow for photography versus the idea of leaving a shadow or shadow scroll as a form of funerary portraiture have different implications in East Asia. First, the shadow had been an object of worship before it was adopted as an element of the terms for photography. Ritual connotation and cultic values reside in appellations of photography in East Asia. Treating the shadow as an object of worship has Buddhist implications. The first icon of Buddha was a shadow that he left on a cave to serve as a surrogate for his divine being. The shadow of Buddha is related to the Buddhist idea on two levels of reality, called Two Truths. The Buddha exists both here and there, and his shadow evidences the presence of the divine being rather than his absence. This Buddhist concept of shadow and representation imbues the understanding of photography and its naming process.

The dominance of substance over shadow is subverted in East Asian understandings of representation. Shadow is not a mere trace of substance but rather is its essence, as shown in many tales centered on how the truth hidden behind one’s appearance came to be revealed through one’s shadow. Thus, a shadow presumes an invisible presence rather than a visible one. This idea of shadow impacted on the ritual function of portraiture in East Asia as it came to terms with the new technology, particularly in its representation of the human likeness.

In addition to appellations for portrait and photography, ying contributes to the terms for various optical devices, including ‘camera’. Daguerreotypes were called ineikyō (印影鏡) in Japan, which can be translated as ‘mirror to copy shadow/an image of a person’, as the new invention, according to Kinoshita, was used mainly for taking ei 影, a human being’s image.114 There were other terms for the daguerreotype when it was introduced to Japan in the 1850s, including chokushaeikyō (直写影鏡; mirror to directly copy shadow) and ryūeikyō (留影鏡; mirror to leave a shadow). Both terms contain the character ei 影.115 Shimazu

114 Kinoshita, Shashingaron, 5. Here Kinoshita contrasts shin 真 for camera obscura (shashinkyō; 写真鏡) with ei 影 for daguerreotype (ineikyō; 印影鏡) as the one is a character/medium for ‘landscape’ and the other for ‘portrait.’ This dichotomy does not apply in general and further verification is necessary as to whether the binary could be even plausible in a Japanese context. In addition, shashinkyō (写真鏡) was also used to refer to daguerreotype in a text on daguerreotype by Ōhashi Totsuan (大橋訥庵, 1816-1862), a Confucian scholar. See Ōhashi Totsuan Sensei zenshu (大橋訥庵先生全集; Collected Works of Ohashi Totsuan), eds. Hiraizumi kiyoshi (平泉澄) and Terada Tsuyoshi (寺田剛) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1938), 190. For the English translation of Ōhashi’s text, see Croissant, “In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory,” 159.

115 Kinoshita, Shashingaron, 8; Croissant, “In Quest of the Real: Portrayal and Photography in Japanese Painting Theory,” 172. For these terms, Croissant misreads ei 影 as kei 景 which means scenery. Note that
Nariakira (島津斉彬, 1809-1858), for example, called the daguerreotype ineikyō (印影鏡).

Shimazu was a feudal lord interested in the daguerreotype and active in adopting Western inventions. He had himself photographed in 1857, and the image is the earliest surviving photograph taken by the Japanese in their own territory. More importantly, his photograph was kept for ritual use in the Shōkoku shrine (照国神社), where Shimazu was venerated as kami, the deity, after his death in 1858. His photograph might have been used in an annual ritual for the dead in 1859, possibly marking the first time a photo-portrait was used in place of a painting for ritual use.

Around the time Shimazu denoted the daguerreotype with ei 影, Zou Boqi (鄒伯奇, 1819-1869), a Chinese scientist, used the same character in the title of an 1844 document, Sheyingzhiqiji (攝影之器記; Notes on a Device for Capturing Shadow), in which he described a new technology for producing an image. What Zou called sheyingzhiqi (攝影之器) was a camera obscura. Zou’s photographic self-portrait, taken around the

---

ryūeikyō (留影鏡) shares the same Chinese characters as liuying (留影), which has been mentioned earlier as a term for having a photograph as a souvenir in Chinese.


117 Kinoshita, “The Early Years of Japanese Photography,” in The History of Japanese Photography, 18. For the illustration showing the process when Shimazu had himself photographed, see Iizawa, Nihon shashinshi gaisetsu, 4.

118 Chen, “Early Chinese Photographers from 1840 to 1870,” 15. For more on Zou Boqi and his experiments with photography, see Oliver Moore, “Zou Boqi on Vision and Photography in Nineteenth-Century China,” in
1850s, is the oldest extant photograph by a Chinese man. Observing that Zou’s self-portrait adopted the style of contemporary portrait paintings, Craig Clunas points out that portrait photography, as a main genre for the new invention, emulated the conventions of painting, including its commemorative role. However, it is not known whether Zou’s photograph was used in his funeral and/or annual ancestral rites.

*Sheying* (攝影; 攝影), which means ‘to capture a shadow/an image’, is still used to refer to photography in China. The Korean scholar Yi Gyugyeong (李圭景, 1788-1856) also used the term *sheying* (*K. seobyeong*): the term *seobyeong-gyeong* (攝影鏡; mirror to capture shadow), meaning the ‘camera obscura’, was included in an encyclopedia he published in the 1830s. The term *sheying* (攝影), referring to photography, can be found as early as 1876 in

*The Human Tradition in Modern China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 33–53. Moore suggests that Zou might be the first person to use the term *sheying*.

119 For the image of Zou, see Chen Shen (陳申) and Xu Xijing (徐希景), *Zhongguo sheying yishushi* (中國攝影藝術史; A History of Chinese Photography) (Beijing: Shenghuo dushu xinzhasianlian shudian, 2011), 17; Clunas, *Art in China*, 200. Yi Gu casts a doubt on the fact that Zou photographed himself. See Yi, “What’s in a Name?,” note 137, 78.

120 Clunas, *Art in China*, 199.


Photography Studio

Photography, which is very detailed, captures reality. It surpasses painting in capturing verve and vividness. Customers rush in to purchase the photos in order to have a glimpse of spring (courtesans). They visit beautiful women through photographs.

In addition to contributing to various terms for the tools used to capture a ‘shadow/image’, ying 影 (K. yeong, J. ei) is the root of various terms for a portrait in East Asia. For example, portrait paintings of kings and queens were signified as jinyeong (眞影; true shadow) as early as 1398 and as late as 1918 in Korea, while the term is also found in

---

123 Yi Gu demarcates 1911 as the year when sheying dominated over zhaoxiang as a term for photography in China, based on the titles of books on the medium around the period. Photography, according to her, began to be adopted beyond portraiture at this time while the medium of photography came to be perceived in the context of science. From my research, both sheying and zhaoxiang were used in the context of portraiture, as ying comprises various terms for photography and portraiture in East Asia. Yi does not explore these other terms even if she mentions them, and translates several terms, including photography, image, and portrait, in her text. Further research is necessary to explore the reason why sheying has been widely used throughout East Asia, while zhaoxiang remains an exclusively Chinese term for photography. See Yi, “What’s in a Name?,” 128-131.

reference to nineteenth-century portraits of the gentry and Buddhist monks.\textsuperscript{125} Jinyeong (眞影), which is pronounced shinei (真影), refers to a portrait in Japan as well.\textsuperscript{126}

Furthermore, shinei referred to cartes-de-visite of famous prostitutes that were reproduced in a Japanese magazine of the late 1870s.\textsuperscript{127} A contemporary Chinese-English dictionary presents shinei (真影), pronounced zhenying in Chinese, as signifying ‘portrait of one's dead ancestors’ (hung during sacrificial rites).\textsuperscript{128} Goshinei (御真影; honorary true shadow) in Japan refers to portraits of nobles, emperors, and empresses, while the third edition of the 1897 Korean-English dictionary includes goshinei (御真影), which is pronounced eojinyeong in Korean, as the term for an ‘imperial portrait’.\textsuperscript{129} As the edition in question was published

\textsuperscript{125} Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History), ed., “Imgeumui Jinnyeongeul Hamju Junwonjeone Bonganhada (입금의 진영을 함주 준원전에 봉안하다; Commemoration of the King’s Portrait Painting to Junwonjeon in Hamju),” Taejosillok (太祖實錄; Annals of King Taejo), 13-gwon, 7-nyeon, Joseon Wangjo Silok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Choson Dynasty) (February 26, 1398), http://sillok.history.go.kr (accessed August 28, 2012); Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History), ed., “Go Yongsan Wonjeong Sohakgyo Gyojangseujeuki Sijeueui Yujoge Doneul Hasahada (고 용산 원정 소학교 교장 스즈키 시즈에의 유족에 돈을 하사하다; Financial Consolation to the Family of the Late Suzuki Shizue, the Principal of Wonjeong Elementary School in Yongsan),” Sunjongsillok Burok (純宗實錄 附錄; Supplement to Annals of King Sunjong) 9-gwon, 11-nyeon, Joseon Wangjo Silok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Choson Dynasty) (December 17, 1918), http://sillok.history.go.kr (accessed August 28, 2012). See a portrait of Gang Yi-o (姜彝五) and several portraits of Buddhist monks in Munhwajaechoeong, Hangugui Chosanghwa, 213, 369, 381, 391, and 393.

\textsuperscript{126} Gerhart, \textit{The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan}, 166. For the image of holding a scroll of a portrait for a memorial service, see ibid., 167. Shinei also referred to the ink rubbing prints of plants in Japan, see Fukuoka, \textit{The Premise of Fidelity}, 105–153.

\textsuperscript{127} Ishiguro, \textit{Utsusareta bakumatsu}, 275.

\textsuperscript{128} Wu Jingrong (吴景荣) and Cheng Zhenqiu (程镇球), eds., \textit{Xinshidai Hanying Dacidian} (新时代汉英大词典; \textit{New Age Chinese English Dictionary}) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2000), s.v. 真影.

\textsuperscript{129} Gale, \textit{Hannyaeg Jadyeon} (1927), 1043, s.v. 여진영.
in 1927, the colonial period in Korea, it is likely that the term had been imported from Japan.

Miei (御影; honorary shadow) is an honorific term for a portrait, while Kinoshita recognizes the ritual use of miei for the elite class in Japan. Miei (御影), pronounced yuying in Chinese, appears in an advertisement for portrait photographs of Empress Dowager Cixi in a Chinese newspaper of 1904.

Xiaoying (小影; small shadow), signifying ‘portraits of the deceased’, was introduced as a term for funerary portrait painting for the lower classes in a text by J. J. M. de Groot, a Dutch Sinologist who stayed in China during the late nineteenth century:

Many families in easy circumstances have in the halls of their houses also a so-called siáo íng or “miniature portrait.” This is a large picture in water colours, bearing a small sized image of the dead man in a nice every day attire, and of his wife, children and, occasionally, other members of the family, some doing nothing, others performing household work, studying, playing, flying kites, and so on.

As de Groot notes, xiaoying refers to a small portrait and the term was circulated well into the

---

130 Miei, pronounced eoyeong in Korean, is usually used as the term for portraits of Buddhist monks as well as the emperor in Korea. See Cho, Wangui olgul, 290. Gerhart distinguishes the term depending on its three different pronunciations: miei, goei, and gyoei, which is used more specifically for portraits of imperial family. See Gerhart, The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan, 157.


early twentieth century, as evidenced by illustrated portraits of famous people in *Tuhua ribao* (*圖畫日報; Daily Pictorial, 1909-1910*). The term *xiaoying* (小影) is also transcribed on a portrait photograph taken in Cheonyeondang (天然堂), the first Korean photography studio of Kim Kyujin (金奎鎭, 1868-1933), in 1909. The inscription on the photograph indicates that the image is a small portrait of Mae Cheon in his fifty-fifth year (梅泉五十五歲小影). Mae Cheon is a pen name of Hwang Hyun (黃玹, 1855-1910), an intellectual of the Joseon dynasty who committed suicide when Korea was colonized by Japan in 1910.

As *zhen* accompanies *xiang* in the term *zhenxiang*, so does *ying*. *Yingxiang* (影像; shadow image) was used to refer to portrait painting as early as 1540 and as late as 1808 in Korea. Liu’s book presents *yingxiang* (影像) and *riyingxiang* (日影像; shadow image of

---

134 Huanqiushe Bianjibu (環球社編輯部), ed., *Tuhua ribao* (*圖畫日報; Daily Pictorial), 8 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1999), passim.

135 Choi, *Hanguk Sajinsa*, 173.

the sun) as alternative terms for zhaoxiang (照相), the current term for photography in China.\textsuperscript{137} Masini’s book on the modern Chinese lexicon gives more details on each term:

yingxiang (影像) appears as the word for a photograph in Wang Tao’s text in 1879;

riyingxiang (日影像) appears in Luo Sen’s (羅森) travelogue of 1854 to refer to both a photograph and the camera that Commodore Matthew C. Perry gave to the Japanese.\textsuperscript{138}

Riyingxiang appears in another diary written by Luo recording his encounter with photography amid presents that Perry brought to Japan:

日影像以镜向日绘照成像 毋庸笔描 历久不变\textsuperscript{139}

By the daguerreotype apparatus pictures were taken by the reflection of the sun’s light from the object on plates of metal. There is no need for pencils or drawing, and the pictures last long without fading.\textsuperscript{140}

One can find the use of yingxiang for photography in Manyou suilu (漫游随录; Jottings of

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{137} Liu, Translingual Practice, 277.
\textsuperscript{138} Wang, Fusang Youji (扶桑遊記; A Travel to Japan), 446, as quoted in Masini, Geundae Junggugui Eoneowa Yeoksa, 283; Luo Sen (羅森), Riben riji (日本日記; Japan Journal), ed. Wang Xiaoqiu (王晓秋) (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1985), 38, as quoted in Masini, Geundae Junggugui Eoneowa Yeoksa, 291. Luo Sen was an interpreter of Japanese for Americans speaking Chinese in Kanagawa Treaty, 1854. For more on Luo Sen's travelogue on Japan, see De-min Tao, “Negotiating Language in the Opening of Japan: Luo Sen’s Journal of Perry’s 1854 Expedition,” Nichibunken (日文研; Japan Review) no. 17 (2005): 91–119. For more on him as one of the early pioneers in the history of Chinese photography, see Hu and Ma, Zhongguo sheyingshi, 21–22.
\textsuperscript{139} Luo Sen (羅森), Riben riji, 38.
\end{flushleft}
*My Roamings*, Wang’s travelogue to Britain in 1887:

伦敦画馆请余日影像, 既成, 悬之阁中, 而以十二幅赠予, 余题二律于后云. 
A studio in London asked to take photos of me: these were hung in the studio. The studio presented me with twelve copies and I wrote two poems on the back of them.  

詹五重见余, 亦甚欢跃, 特出 影像 数幅为赠…

Zhan Wu was so happy to see me again and gave me several photographs as a gift …

Considering that the portrait studio was called *yingxiangpu* (影像铺; yingxiang shop/ shadow image shop) during the Ming and Qing dynasties in China, it can be assumed that photography was regarded mainly in the context of portraiture at this time.

For another term for photograph, *ying 影* was mixed with *zhao 照*. In China, *zhaoying* (照影) appears in a text titled *Zhaoxiangshuo* (照相説; Explaining Photography) that describes a technique of photography. The term, pronounced *joyeong* (照影) in Korean, can be found in a document by Park Yeonghyo (朴泳孝, 1861-1939), an envoy to Japan in 1882:

---


143 Shanghai Sheyingjia Xiehui (上海摄影家协会) and Shanghaidaxue Wenzueyuan (上海大学文学院), eds., *Shanghai sheyingshi* (上海摄影史; History of photography in Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992), 2.

Went to the photo studio to take a portrait

The photo-studio is presented in the text as *sajinguk* (寫眞局), which contains *sajin* (寫眞), the current term for photography in Korean and Japanese. Park seems to have considered *sajinguk*, the ‘photo studio’, as the place for having a portrait made (*zhaojing*). Was this term circulated in Japan? *Eishō* (影照) was used rather than *shōei* (照影), as seen in an explanation for a Japanese politician Nakae Chōmin (中江兆民)’s portrait photograph that was included in his book, *Ichinen yūhan* (一年有半; A year and a Half).146

The current terms for photography in East Asia contain *ying*, as seen in *sheying* (攝影; 攝影; V. nhiếp ảnh) in Chinese and Vietnamese, as well as in *satsuei* (撮影; K. chwaryeong) in Japanese and Korean. When photography was introduced in East Asia, *ying* 影 was widely adopted for signifying the technology, as it contributed to the various terms for optical devices, but it did not lose its currency as a word for portraiture. In addition,

---

145 Park Yeong-hyo (朴泳孝), “August 27th,” ed. Guksa Pyeongchan Wiwonhoe (國史編纂委員會; National Institute of Korean History), *Sahwa giryak* (使和記略; Memos of Envoy) (1882), http://db.history.go.kr/front2010/dirservice/SA/viewDocumentSA.jsp?pLevel=5&pDatabaseID=sa_009&pRecordID=sa_009_0070_0010_0020&pType=T&pSearchSetId=-1&pTotalSearchCount=0&pPosition=0&pSearchType=0&pDirType=1&pSearchName=&pQuery= (accessed August 30, 2012). In the memo of August 21st, the photo studio is presented as *sajingwan* (寫眞館). By interpreting *joyeong* (照影) literally as projecting a shadow on paper, Choi argues that Park misunderstood taking a photograph. Choi, *Hanguk Sajinsa*, 78–79. Park might have used the Chinese term for taking a photograph or might have meant to have an image.

146 Nakae Chōmin (中江兆民), *Ichinen yuhen* (一年有半; A year and a Half) (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901), 1; Fukuoka, “Iei Toshite Shōzō,” 269.
various terms composed from *ying* that were used to signify a portrait also came to refer to photography, as seen in the cases of *zhaoying* (照影, K. joyeong, J. shōei), *yingxiang* (影像), *xiaoying* (小影), *zhénying* (眞影), and *yingxiang* (影相). Furthermore, *ying* contributes to the terms for portraiture in ritual use, including *iei* (遺影) in Japan, *yeongjeong* (影幀) in Korea, *zhuiying* (追影) in China, and *di ảnh* (遺影) in Vietnam.

**The Order of ‘To Light/Reflect’, Zhao 照 (J. shō, K. jo, V. chiêu)**

While *zhēn* 真/眞 and *ying* 影 denote ‘real/true’ and ‘shadow’, and were used to mean ‘photography’ and ‘portraiture’, *zhào*, the character signifying ‘to light/reflect’, also contributes to terms for photography and portraiture in East Asia. This section explores how *zhào* contributes to the nomenclature for the new technology.

Chinese terms for photography and funerary photo-portraiture include *zhào* 照:

*zhaoxiang* (照相/像) and *yizhao* (遺照; 遺照). Meanwhile, *xiezha* (寫照) means ‘to draw a human image’, according to *Gudai Hanyu Cidian* (古代汉语词典; Ancient Chinese Dictionary), and its usage can be traced back to a fourth-century text on how to paint a portrait by Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之):

Gu Kaizhi would paint a portrait and sometimes not dot the eyes for several years. When someone asked his reason, Gu replied, “The beauty or ugliness of the four limbs basically bears no relation to the most subtle part of a painting. What conveys the spirit and portrays the likeness lies precisely in these dots.”

Concerning xiezhao and its mortuary use, there was a practice called *zhaohun xiezhao* (招魂寫照; summoning the dead to transcribe its likeness) in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China. This referred to a sort of séance in which a shaman transcribed the image of the dead onto paper, following the appearance of the dead’s features in a mirror in response to the shaman’s summoning.

---


The practice of *xiezhao* (寫照) was well circulated throughout nineteenth-century China. This is evidenced by the inscription of Ren Yi, the famous Shanghai painter of the late nineteenth century, on his well-known portrait painting of 1884:

錦堂，風沂兩兄囑頤寫照，更許在坐，謂之三友，幸甚幸甚．

[Zhu] Jintaing and [Zeng] Fengyi [Fengji], the two sirs [who] commissioned me to make portraits for them, and moreover allowed me to sit among them, calling it *Three Friends*, fortunate indeed, fortunate indeed.\(^{151}\)

Considering that *zhaoxiang* was widely used as a term for photography at the time, the existence of *xiezhao*, as shown in Ren Yi’s text, suggests that *zhao* might have been adopted for designating the technology without losing its connotation as portrait. Then, was *zhao*, both as portrait and photography, circulated in other countries of East Asia? As *zhao* 照 was translated as ‘likeness’ in the nineteenth-century Japanese-English dictionary, *zhao* 照 also referred to ‘likeness’.\(^{152}\) *Xiezhao* (寫照), pronounced *sajo* in Korean, appears in a record on portrait paintings that a Korean envoy saw in a Russian legation in China in 1832:

德也指壁上諸畫曰，此皆赫老爺之筆，而尤長於寫照，於是，正副使皆請寫照，赫皆應諾．\(^{153}\)

---

151 The title of Ren Yi’s painting is “Sanyou tu (三友圖; Three Friends).” For the Chinese text and painting, see Tang Li, “Art for the Market: Commercialism in Ren Yi’s (1840-1895) Figure Painting” (MA thesis, University of Maryland, 2003), 54–55, and note 12, 68. For the English translation of the text, see ibid., 30; Richard Vinograd, *Boundaries of the Self: Chinese Portraits, 1600-1900* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 144.


153 Duk Noya and Hyuk Noya are the transliteration of Russian names. I could not find the original names in Russian, though. Kim Kyung-seon (金景善), “Angnasa Gwangi (鄂羅斯館記; Record on Russiang Legation),”
Duk Noya points at paintings on the wall, saying Hyuk Noya painted all of these and he is good at painting portraits. So, all of us asked him to paint our portraits, and he accepted it.

As previously mentioned, zhao contributes to zhaoxiang (照像), the most common term for photography in Chinese. Zhao 照 alone, however, can also signify photography in China as seen in Manyou suilu (漫游随录; Jottings of My Roamings), Wang’s travelogue to Britain in 1887:

照一小象以赠余, 惊鸿艳影 殆足销魂.

She also gave me a small photograph of herself. I was overwhelmed by her gorgeous shadow/image just like a startled swan.154

狱吏出所照屋字为赠

in Yonwon Jikji (燕轅直指; Record on Journey to China), trans. Hanguk Gojeon Beonnyeogwon (한국고전번역원; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics), vol. 3 (Seoul, 1832), http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=KO&url=/tkcdb/text/nodeViewIframe.jsp?bizName=KO&seojiId=kc_ko_h040&gunchaId=av003&munchId=01&finId=008&NodeId=&setid=935273&Pos=0&TotalCount=1&searchUrl=ok (accessed December 6, 2012). Russian legations and Catholic churches were the most popular places for envoys of the Joseon dynasty to Beijing. Western paintings were introduced to the Korean peninsula through those envoys who had themselves painted or brought various kinds of paintings on their way home. In addition, one of the Koreans’ first experiences with photography happened in the Russian legation in Beijing in 1863. See Choi, Hanguk Sajinsa, 63–68; Park, “Sajingwau Cheot Mannam.” Park’s article corrects some wrong information in Choi’s

154 Wang, Manyou suilu, 6:146; Tsui, “A Study of Wang Tao’s (1828-1897) Manyou Suilu and Fusang Youji with Reference to Late Qing Chinese Foreign Travels,” 579.
The jailer gave me some photos of the prison as a gift.\(^\text{155}\)

照像者願勿取值。
People took photographs of me for free.\(^\text{156}\)

*Zhaoxiang* (照像) is used alternatively with *zhaoxiang* (照相) in the text to signify photography in China.\(^\text{157}\) The term, pronounced *shōjō* (照像) in Japanese, also refers to photography in *Nissai* (日裁), a travelogue by Shibata Takenaka (柴田剛中), who was sent to France as an emissary in 1865.\(^\text{158}\) Masini indicates that *zhaoxiangfa* (照像法) is an autochthonous Chinese neologism for photography, which is formed by adding *fa* 法, meaning method or technique, as a suffix to *zhaoxiang* (照像). He presents as evidence *Chengcha biji* (乘槎筆記; Notes on Taking a Sea Journey), a travelogue by Bin Chun (斌椿)

---


\(^\text{157}\) Yi, “What’s in a Name? Photography and the Reinvention of Visual Truth in China, 1840-1911.” Yi Gu translates *zhaoxiang* (照像 and 照相) as ‘reflecting a portrait with a mirror’, regarding *zhao* as a verb and *xiang* as a noun. She emphasizes the metaphor of mirror, contrasting the term with *sheying* (seizing a shadow). As she also notes, *jing* 鏡/鏡 is the dominant term for mirror or glass as it contributes to the various terms for camera and camera obscura in China as well as other regions in East Asia. In addition, *zhao* (照) serves to signify photographic image in itself as seen in *xiaozhao* (小照). She does not explore the long history of *zhao* as ‘portrait.’

about his trip to Europe in 1866. However, the Chinese travelogue was written a year after the Japanese one. Does this mean that this Chinese person referred to a term used by the Japanese? Wang Tao’s records of Shanghai life, written in 1853, seem a much earlier account of photography, and he uses *zhaoxiang zhifa* (照像之法) to refer to it. Considering that the Japanese envoys made several stops at ports, including Hong Kong and Canton, the Chinese terms for photography like *zhaoxiang* (照像) were most likely circulated among foreigners who had knowledge of Chinese when they visited local photo studios.

Another term including *zhao* 照, *xiaozhao* (小照), pronounced *sojo* in Korean, means a ‘small portrait’ in an eighteenth-century document in Korea. Furthermore, it referred to

---


160 Wang Tao (王韬), *Yingruan Zazhi* (瀛瑌雜誌; Miscellany on Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai gujichubanshe, 1853), 122. *Yingruan zazhi* literally means ‘miscellaneous notes from the marshes.’ Tang Li translates it as ‘a collection of jottings on miscellaneous subjects relating to Shanghai,’ see Li, “Art for the Market,” 10. For Wang Tao’s remark on photography in *Yingruan zazhi*, see Shanghai Sheyingjia Xiehui and Shanghaidaxue Wenxueyuan, *Shanghai sheyingshi*, 2.

161 The Japanese envoys had their portraits taken while in Hong Kong. See the photograph taken in Milton Miller’s studio of Matsudaira Yasuhide (松平康英 1830–1904), who was sent to Europe in 1860 and 1861; see Plate 43 in Waley-Cohen, Lai, and Wue, *Picturing Hong Kong*, 109.

162 Kang Gwan (姜琯), *Gyechoo-Gisa* (癸秋記事; Report of 1783’s Autumn) (1783). *Gyechoo-Gisa* documents the process and expenditure for having his father’s portrait painted. *Sajin* (寫眞) is also found in this document, meaning ‘to draw a portrait,’ and *yusang* (遺像) to mean ‘portrait of ancestor.’ For the original text and its translation into contemporary Korean, see Yi Tae-ho (이태호), *Yethwagadeureun Uri Eolgureul Eotteoke Geuryeonna: Joseonhugi Chosanghwawa Kamera Opseukura* (옛화가들은 우리 얼굴을 어떻게 그렸나:}).
the portrait paintings of Korean envoys composed by literati of the Qing dynasty in China as a gift during the 19th century. In fact, xiaozhao was a popular form of portrait painting in late 18th-century China, and the term can be traced back to the late Ming dynasty. It is a term for a portrait painting that was more casual and exchangeable among envoys to Beijing than ritual or formal in use. The term is also found in a 19th-century Chinese document that explains the process of taking a photograph: Huaxiaozhaofa (畫小照法; Technique to paint a small portrait). The document was also introduced to Korea at the time. In Hanguk Sajinsa: 1631-1945 (한국 사진사: 1631-1949; History of Korean Photography: 1631-1945), Choi Injin, referring to Huaxiaozhaofa (畫小照法), presents xiaozhao (小照) as one of the earlier terms for photography in China. However, I presume that the author of

조선후기 초상화와 카메라 옵스쿠라; How Painters of the Past Painted Our Face: Portrait Paintings of Late Joseon and Camera Obscura (Seoul: Saenggagui Namu, 2008), 157–161.

Cho, Chosanghwa Yeongu: Chosanghwawa Chosasangnon (조상화 연구: 초상화와 초상론; Study of Portraiture: Portrait Painting and Its Theory) (Seoul: Munye Chulpansa, 2007), 2261. For the painting on which sojo (小照) is transcribed, see ibid., 262.


Zhou Shouchang (周壽昌), Siyitang Rizha (思益堂日札), ed. Xu Yimin (許逸民) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1888). Zhou's book was published first in 1846. Huaxiaozhaofa (畫小照法) could be translated literally as 'technique to paint a small portrait' though it is about taking a photograph. Stuart and Rawski translate the title of the book as 'portrait method.' See Stuart and Rawski, Worshiping the Ancestors, 166. Zhou uses another term for photography in 1883, which is zhaoxiang (照相). See Shanghai Sheyingjia Xiehui and Shanghaidaxue Wenxueyuan, Shanghai sheyingshi, 1–2.

Choi, Hanguk Sajinsa, 27.
Huaxiaozhaofa (畫小照法) did not create or translate ‘photography’ into xiaozhao (小照), but regarded the result of the new invention as a process producing a ‘small portrait’ since xiaozhao was well circulated as a term for a small portrait at the time.\(^{167}\) In fact, Huaxiaozhaofa (畫小照法) could be translated as ‘how to paint a small portrait’, and its contents present the process of quying (取影; taking shadow/image) through a strange device, the name of which the author did not know. Xiaozhao (小照) is the term Zou Boqi used in the title of his text about getting an image by camera obscura: Xiaozhao zishu (小照自述; Writing on Portrait).\(^{168}\) A diary by an anonymous writer of the late Qing dynasty records his visit to a photo studio in Shanghai in 1871, with xiaozhao (小照) referring to the portrait photograph:

春木须照小照 即偕至三兴照相楼照之.
Chunmu needed to have his picture taken; so together we went to Sanxing’s photography studio.\(^{169}\)

Here, zhaoxianglou (照相楼) refers to the photo studio, while the author uses xiaozhao (小照) for the portrait photograph. In addition, zhao 照 is used as a verb for taking a

\(^{167}\) Yi Gu also contends that Zhou Shouchang, the author of the document, understood photography as a type of portrait. Yi, “What’s in a Name?,” 124.

\(^{168}\) Hu and Ma, Zhongguo sheyingshi, 24.

\(^{169}\) “Jiangyun Guan Riji (絳蕓館日記; Diary of the Hall of Crimson Rue),” in Qingdai Riji Huichao (清代日記汇抄; Selected Collection of Diaries of Qing Dynasty) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1982), 306, as quoted in Roberta Wue, “Essentially Chinese: The Chinese Portrait Subject in Nineteenth-Century Photography,” in Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture, eds. Wu Hung and Katherine R. Tsiang (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center; Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2005), note 17, 411.
photograph in the text, instead of *hua* 畫 (to paint), which appears in the aforementioned
document on photography called *Huaxiaozhaofa* (畫小照法). It seems that *xiaozhao* (小照)
referred to a portrait while the method of making it changed from *hua* 畫 ‘to paint’ to *zhao* 照
‘to light’.

*An Anglo-Chinese Vocabulary of the Ningpo Dialect*, published by the Shanghai
American Presbyterian Mission Press in 1876, presents *xiaozhao* (小照) as both ‘portrait’ and
‘photograph’.¹⁷⁰ About ten years later, *xiaozhao* (小照) can be found only to mean
‘photograph’ in an English-Chinese dictionary.¹⁷¹ In fact, *xiaozhao* referred to a portrait,
either in painting or photography, depending on the verb preceding it. In figure 1.5., the
*Tuhua ribao* (圖畫日報; Daily Pictorial) of 1909 introduced the portrait painter and
photographer as notable occupations of the time. The term *xiaozhao* appears in both
illustrations of the practitioners; *hua xiaozhao* (畫小照) for ‘portrait painter’ on the left side
and *pai xiaozhao* (拍小照) for ‘photographer’ on the right side. *Pai* 拍 (to beat), the verb, is
still used to mean ‘taking’ a photograph.¹⁷²

As in Korean, *xiaozhao* (小照), pronounced *shōshō*, was circulated to refer to a
portrait photograph in early twentieth-century Japan. The first edition of the aforementioned

¹⁷⁰ William T. Morrison, M. J. Knowlton, and Joseph A. Leyenberger, “Photograph,” *Anglo-Chinese
Vocabulary of the Ningpo Dialect* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1876); Morrison,
¹⁷¹ Kuang, “Photograph.”
¹⁷² Huanqiushe Bianjibu (環球社編輯部), *Tuhua ribao*, 404.
Chōmin’s book includes an example of this. Among the many terms for photography, 

xiaozhao was the most widely circulated throughout East Asia, as the term was also used in Vietnam. It is found in a document concerning the oldest extant photographs from Vietnam. Phan Thanh Giản (潘清簡, 1796-1867) had himself photographed when he was sent to visit Napoleon III in 1863 to negotiate the Treaty of Saigon (fig. 1.10). Phạm Phú Thứ (范富恕, 1821-1882), one of the envoys, accompanied him and recorded his travel to the West. Trần Xuân Toản translated Phạm’s records into French in the Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hué. The account details Phạm’s experience with photography in France. On September 20, 1863, the envoys met local photographers who were eager to take pictures of these foreign guests of

---

173 Kōtoku Shūsui (幸徳秋水), “In (引); Preface,” in Ichinen Yūhan; Zoku Ichinen Yūhan (一年有半・続一年有半; A Year and a Half • A Year and a Half, Continued) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2001), 10, as quoted in Fukuoka, “Iei Toshite Shōzō,” 269.


175 Phảm Phú Thứ, Nhat ký di Tây: nhật ký của sứ bộ Phan Thanh Giản sang Pháp và Tây Ban Nha 1863-1864 (Diary about Going to West: Diary of Phan Thanh Giản’s Mission to France and Spain), trans. Quảng Uyên (Đà Nẵng: Nhà xuất bản Đà Nẵng, 1999). My sincere gratitude to Nguyễn Đức Hiệp for giving me the information on Phạm Phú Thứ’s record on photography.

France:

On the 8th day (September 20\textsuperscript{th} 1863), dark clouds, a cold wind blowing and light rain falling by interval. At the ngo hour (noon) the sky became a little calmer. Dressed in court dress, one after the other we went to the second floor of the hotel which is covered with glass windows, and we were photographed. (The hotel has one floor composed of several spans, whose roof and walls are made of glass panels to receive sunlight. This is what photography consists of: one first takes a glass plate, covered with a combination of liquid matters. It is placed behind a glass tube, in front of which the person stands and looks straight within the tube. Under the action of sunlight entering through the tube, the glass plate receives the impression of an image; there is not even a hair in/as difference. Europeans are used to do this manipulation with the greatest desire. All those with whom we just met want to exchange a portrait with us; the high and the low officials all do the same thing, saying that they see there the testimony of a reciprocal memory. Afterwards, under the guidance of that civil servant, photographers often came with their device/camera to the hotel and invited us to be photographed; they offered each of us a copy of these portraits. After being printed, each small portrait costs one franc, the price of the labor; those that are a little larger cost 4 or 5 francs. \footnote{Phạm, “L’ambassade de Phan Thanh Giản (1863-1864),” 1921, 156. The original text follows: Le 8e jour (20 septembre 1863), il arrivait par intervalles de sombres nuages, un vent froid soufflait et une pluie fine tombait. A l’heure ngo (midi) le ciel devint un peu serein. Vêtus du costume de cour, l’un après l’autre nous nous rendîmes à l’étage de l’hôtel qui est recouvert de vitres, et nous nous y fimes photographier. (L’hôtel a un étage, composé de plusieurs travées, dont la toiture et les murs sont composés de plaques de verre, pour recevoir la lumière du soleil. Voici en quoi consiste la photographie: on prend d’abord une plaque de verre, recouverte d’une combinaison de matières liquides; on la place derrière un tube de verre, devant lequel se tient la personne, qui regarde en face l’intérieur du tube; sous l’action de la lumière solaire qui pénètre par le tube, la plaque de verre reçoit l’impression d’une image; il n’y a pas même un cheveu de différence. Les Européens ont l’habitude de faire cette opération avec le plus grand désir. Tous ceux avec qui on vient de faire connaissance veulent échanger avec vous un portrait; les supérieurs et les inférieurs font tous la même chose, disant qu’ils voient là le témoignage d’un souvenir réciproque. Dans la suite, sous la conduite de ce fonctionnaire, des photographes vinrent souvent avec leur appareil à l’hôtel et nous invitérent à nous faire pho- tographier; ils nous offraient chacun un exemplaire de ces portraits. Après le tirage, chacun des petits portraits revient à un franc, prix du travail ; ceux qui sont un peu plus grands coûtent 4 ou 5 francs.)}
A day before, Phạm made a note that the envoys were supposed to have their portraits taken for the head of the state:

Mr. Ha-ba-lý informed us with admiration that "the head of the State wanted to see the portrait of the ambassadors. The high civil servant of the capital had already commanded a craftsman to come to the embassy. He was responsible for proposing that the ambassadors be in formal attire when the photographs were to be taken the next morning, photographs will be offered to the head of the State."

In the original documents written in Chinese, the word for portrait is yingxiang (影像) and the photograph is xiaozhao (小照). Furthermore, in the record made on November 1, 1863, one can learn of these envoys’ experience with cartes-de-visite:

The 20th day (November 1, 1863), it rained. At the time vi (from 1 to 3:00 pm), Mr. Cam-ba-xa-lè-gió (5), the French Minister of French rituals/habits/traditions, had us carry an official letter in which the following was written: "At a time vi (from 1 to 3:00 pm) the 24th day, he would come and pick us up at the middle of this same time frame we would present ourselves to the Royal Court of France." Shortly after, Mr. Ha-ba-ly brought us three cartes-de-visite and told us that the Minister of rituals/habits/traditions expressed his admiration to the three of us. At nightfall, he returned and took from us three cartes-de-visite in response to the compliments from the Minister.

178 Ibid., 155. M. Hà-ba-lý nous informait avec admiration que: «le chef de l’Etat voulait voir le portrait des ambassa- deurs. Le grand fonctionnaire de la capitale avait déjà donné l’ordre à un artisan de venir à l’ambassade. Il était chargé de prévenir les ambassadeurs d’être, le lendemain matin, en tenue officielle pour prendre les photographies destinées à être offertes au chef de l’Etat.»

179 Phạm Phú Thứ (范富庶), ed., “Tây Hành Nhật Kí (西行日記; Diary on Journey to the West),” in Giá Viên Biệt Lục (蔗園別錄; Gia Vien Special Record), 1863. My sincere gratitude to John Balaban and Lê Văn Cương in Nôm Preservation Foundation for offering the copy of the original text at the library of the Institute of Han Nôm Research, Hanoi.

180 Phạm, “L’ambassade de Phan Thanh Giản (1863-1864),” 1921, 266–267. Le 20e jour (1er novembre 1863), il plut. A l’heure vi (de 1 à 3 heures du soir), M. Cam-ba-xa-lè-gió (5), ministre des Rites français, nous fit
Mingtie (名帖), the literal meaning of which is ‘a portfolio of name’, refers to the cartes-de-visite in the original text written in Chinese characters.\footnote{Phạm, “Tây Hành Nhật Kí (西行日記; Diary on Journey to the West),” 43–44. My sincere gratitude to John Balaban and Lê Văn Cương in Nôm Preservation Foundation for offering the copy of the original text at the library of the Institute of Han Nôm Research, Hanoi.}

Just as a carte-de-visite is related to an identification card, zhao 照 relates to the term for ‘passport’ in China. The contemporary word for passport is huzhao (护照; 護照), the literal translation of which is ‘to carry zhao’. For passport, zhizhao (執照; to grab or control zhao) or guanzhao (關照; taking care of zhao) was used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries\footnote{Mrs. Arnold Foster, An English and Chinese Pocket Dictionary, in the Mandarin Dialect (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1893), 94, s.v. passport; Donald MacGillivray, A Mandarin-Romanized Dictionary of Chinese (Shanghai: The Presbyterian Mission Press, 1918), 121, s.v. Chih-Chao.} Zhizhao (執照) currently refers to a license in China. Huzhao (護照), pronounced họ chiếu, refers to a passport in Vietnam, having had the same meaning during the Joseon dynasty in Korea, pronounced hojo.

Zhaoxiang (照相) or zhaoxiang (照像) currently is considered a foreign term in Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. However, when photography was introduced in East Asia, it was porter une lettre officielle dans laquelle il était dit ceci: « A l’heure \( vi \) (de 1 à 3 heures du soir) du 24e jour, il viendrait nous prendre, et au milieu de la même heure \( vi \) nous nous présenterions à la Cour royale de France. « Peu après, M. Ha-ha-ly nous apporta trois cartes de visite et nous dit que le ministre des Rites faisait transmettre ses compliments à nous trois. A la nuit tombante, il revint et prit de nous trois cartes de visite en réponse aux compliments du ministre.
well circulated throughout East Asia. *Xiezhaow (寫照)* and *xiaozhaow (小照)* were also widely used to describe a photographic image even while they connoted portraiture in East Asia. At the same time, *zhao 照* itself referred to a human likeness as it contributes to terms used to signify a funerary portrait photograph (*yizhaow*) as well as a passport (*huzhaow*) in China.

**The Order of the Image, *Xiang 像* (J. *zō*, K. *sang*, V. *tuồng*)**

*Xiang 像* seems to be the most general term for a portrait regardless of medium, whether painting, sculpture, or photography. Lobscheid’s 1866 English-Chinese dictionary defines *xiang* as a ‘portrait’ and ‘portraiture’.183 *Xiang 像*, pronounced *sang*, can be found in inscriptions written on nineteenth-century paintings in Korea.184 Pronounced *zō* in Japanese, it contributes to *inzōkyō (印像鏡)*, the term for daguerreotype listed in an 1848 Japanese-Dutch dictionary titled *Kaisei Zoho Bango Sen (改正增補蛮語箋; Revised and Expanded Record of Barbarian Language)*.185

*Xiang* is an element of *yixiang (遺像; 遺像; V. *di tuồng)*, the current term for both funerary portrait painting and a photograph in China and Vietnam. *Yixiang* means a portrait

---

183 Lobscheid, *Yinghua Zidian*, vol. 3 (1866), 1342, s.v. portrait.
184 See the portrait of Kim Jeong-hui, in Yi, *Yethwagadeureun Uri Eolgureul Eotteoke Geuryeonna*, n.p.
left behind, or a bequeathed portrait, indicating that it is intended for mortuary use.\textsuperscript{186}

Pronounced \textit{yusang} in Korean, the term appeared in \textit{the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty} as a ‘portrait painting’ as early as 1434, and as late as 1888.\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Yixiang} was used in Japan as well. Pronounced \textit{iizō}, it is often found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Japan to refer to a ‘posthumous image’.\textsuperscript{188}

As with other terms for photography and portrait, \textit{xiang} is often combined with a variety of characters to devise various terms for photography and portraiture. As has already been discussed, \textit{yingxiang (影像: J. eizō, K. yeongsang)} is a combination with the character \textit{ying 影}. \textit{Huaxiang (畫像: K. hwasang)} appears as a term for a ‘portrait’ and a ‘photograph’

\textsuperscript{186} Stuart and Rawski state that \textit{yixiang} is commissioned during one’s life for the purpose of being venerated after death rather than being made posthumously; thus, they argue that translating the term as ‘posthumous portraits’ is misleading. Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshiping the Ancestors}, 94. However, the current use of the term does not distinguish whether the image is made before or after one’s death.

\textsuperscript{187} Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History), ed., “Sejongui Chosanghwareul Geurineun Munjewa Jejue Gammokgwaneul Pagyeonhaneun Munjereul Nonuihada (세종의 초상화를 그리는 문제와 제주에 감목관을 파견하는 문제를 논의하다; Discussions on Making the Portrait of King Sejong and Dispatching an Official to Jeju Island),” \textit{Sejongsillok (世宗實錄; Annals of King Sejong)}, 64-gwon, 16-nyeon, Joseon Wangjio Sillok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) (April 1434), http://sillok.history.go.kr (accessed May 30, 2012); Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History), ed., “Jikgang Kim Yeong-seoni Sangsoreul Ollida (직강 김영선이 상소를 올리다; Appeal by Jikgang Kim Yeong-seon),” \textit{Gojongsillok (高宗實錄; Annals of King Gojong)}, 25-gwon, 25-nyeon, Joseon Wangjio Silok (朝鮮王朝實錄; Annals of the Joseon Dynasty) (October 1888), http://sillok.history.go.kr (accessed May 30, 2012). In addition, the term \textit{yixiang} is often found in titles of portrait paintings of officials during the Joseon dynasty. It is also found in an early 20th-century portrait painting attributed to Chae Yongsin (蔡龍臣, 1848-1941) who used photographs for painting portraits. See the portrait of Yun Jeung (尹拯) dated 1919 in Munhwajaecheong (문화재청; Cultural Heritage Administration), \textit{Hangugui Chosanghwja}, 301.

\textsuperscript{188} Gerhart, \textit{The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan}, 153.

On the other hand, one can find *juzō* (寿像) printed on wrapping paper around a glass plate portrait of Eishindō (影真堂), a photo studio run by Ukai Gyokusen (鵜飼玉川) in 1860s Japan. *Juzō* (寿像) means ‘portrait painting’ or ‘sculpture made during one's lifetime’. Kinoshita states that *juzō* (寿像) is equivalent to *izō* (遺像; C. yixiang, K. yusang), the Chinese term for funerary photo-portraiture.

One can deduce that a portrait photograph was intended for after-death use as soon as the technology started to gain popularity in mid-nineteenth-century Japan. *Jü 寿* appears in Tokyo in Kuichidō banju (九一堂万寿), which was the name of the photo studio opened in 1872 by Uchida Kuichi (內田九一), who also

---

189 Gale, *Hannyeong Jadyeon* (1897), 55, s.v. 화상.


191 Kinoshita, *Shashingaron*, 18; Gerhart, *The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan*, 153–156. Gerhart distinguishes *juzō* from *yizō* in medieval Japan; the former being made during one's life and not solely for the mortuary purpose while the latter is commissioned posthumously and is entirely mortuary.
photographed the Emperor and the Empress Meiji the same year.¹⁹²

*Ju 寿* is a simplified form of *shou* 壽 in Chinese, meaning ‘life’ or ‘longevity’. It contributes to *dashou* (大寿; 大壽), the term for funerary portrait painting in late nineteenth-century China. *Dashou* (大寿; 大壽) can be found in de Groot’s text:

Among the well-to-do citizens of Amoy it is a general custom to produce polychromic full-length pictures of their deceased father and mother [...] to keep them in the hall of the house, hung against the wall. In some few cases such a portrait is made during the lifetime of the person whom it represents; mostly, however, the painter is not called in until after death to take the sketch, which he can complete at leisure in his own workshop. If he can manage to have it ready before the burial, the family hung it on the wall just over the coffin, the idea being that it may serve the same purpose as the wooden soul-tablet, viz. As a seat for the spirit of the dead, an alter ego doing duty for the body now shut up in the coffin. With a view to this object, the family are always very anxious to obtain a good portrait. Hence the painter is in many instances compelled to do the face over and over again, until he succeeds in convincing them that the likeness is perfect. As the portrait is intended to enable the deceased to live on among his descendants even though he has been translated from this life, it is called a *taī siū* or “large longevity”. [...] The image is always in a very stiff, sitting posture, which the Chinese consider the height of fashion and distinction. It always shows the full face, never the profile. The dimension averages commonly between seven and eight decimetres, but in order to conciliate the Chinese ideas of esthetics, it is pasted on a much larger scroll of white paper which, like a geographical map, is fastened to a wooden roller above and below. [...] *taī siū* is carried in his funeral procession; after the burial it is hung up against one of the side walls of the hall, either to remain there, or, as in a few cases, to be transferred to the temple dedicated to the worship of the ancestors of the clan in common.¹⁹³

---


¹⁹³ De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 1:113–114. De Groot presents 大壽 as Chinese characters of *taī* siū. Amoy is a current Xiamen (廈門) in southeastern China. Stuart and Rawski also present *dashouxiang* (大壽像) as one of the terms for ancestor portraits, which is supposed to be made during one’s life, contrary to
One can see how portrait painting led to funerary photo-portraiture through its role in funeral processions. Two points are noteworthy in de Groot's text. One is the timing of making one’s portrait and the other is the description of the posture of the portrait's subject.\footnote{194} The fact that a portrait painting was made after death can be found in another term for funerary portrait painting: \textit{jiebo}(揭帛), which means ‘lifting a cloth covering the face of the dead’.\footnote{195}

Likewise, making a posthumous image became a photographic practice in China. The Chinese post-mortem photographs are supposed to be sent to relatives of the dead who could not attend the funeral, and missed their last chance to say farewell.\footnote{196} The family hired a professional photographer and dressed the dead in their best clothing for this last picture (fig. 1.11). The posthumous portrait was not always made in an orderly manner. For example, a

de Groot's observation. There might be variation depending on the region, as they note later. See Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshipping the Ancestors}, 94.

\footnote{194} Meanwhile, what de Groot describes as a “stiff, sitting posture” in “full face” came to be an object of ridicule for Western photographers, when photographers had the opportunity to take portrait photographs of Chinese. What they constructed as a myth of Chinese portrait photography can be seen in Miller's photographs, which the photographer took by hiring local models. See Wu Hung, ‘Inventing a ‘Chinese’ Portrait Style in Early Photography: the Case of Milton Miller,” in Brush & Shutter, 69–90

\footnote{195} \textit{Jiebo} is also called \textit{jiebai}(揭白), deriving from a practice of covering the dead's face with a piece of white silk. Wan Xinhua (萬新華), “Xiaoxiang, Jiazu, Rentong: cong Yu Zhiding <bamiao Wang Yuanqixiang> zhou tanqi (肖像.家族.認同: 從禹之鼎〈白描王原祁像〉軸談起; Portrait•Family•Identity: Speaking of the Scroll Painting of the Portrait of Wang Yuanqi in Line Drawing’ by Yu Zhiding),” \textit{Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan (中正大學中文學術年刊; Journal of Chinese Literature of National Chung Cheng University)} no. 15 (June 2010): note 3, 212. Stuart and Rawski translate the term as 'lifting the shroud'. See Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshipping the Ancestors}, 94.

Chinese local pictorial magazine introduced a bizarre case of producing a post-mortem photograph in 1912 (fig. 1.12). According to the written description on the left of the illustration, a mistress of the deceased man received a notice about the murder of her supposed husband from the police and brought a photographer to record the last appearance of the dead man.

As xiāng 像 is the most extensively used term for a representation, it is understandable that it became a component of the terms for photography (zhaoxiāng and yingxiāng) as well as for a portrait in ritual use (yixiāng and shouxīang). At the same time, various terms containing xiāng were widely circulated throughout East Asia.

The Order of Face, Xiang 相 (J. sō, K. sang, V. tuông)

This section deals with xiāng 相, the character meaning ‘face,’ which, when combined with two different characters, can signify ‘photography’ or ‘portraiture’: zhaoxiāng (照相) and dingxiāng (頂相).

As already discussed in relation to zhao, xiāng 相 contributes to zhaoxiāng (照相), the term for photography in China. Lobscheid’s 1866 English and Chinese dictionary translated

---

197 Zhenxiang Huabao (真相畫報; The True Record) 1, no. 7 (1912).
xiang 相 as a ‘portrait’, and yingxiang (影相) as a ‘photograph’, as discussed earlier. The term zhaoxiang (照相) appears as early as 1872 in photo studio advertisements in Shenbao (《申报; The Shanghai Newspaper}). For example, one can find zhaoxiang in a short introduction to photography in the 1876 edition of Shenbao:

照相之法. 西國所創, 中國所無, 所照人像, 神情畢肖, 毫髮之差, 亦一奇也.

Photography was invented by the west and was not found in China before. The portraits it takes are quite like reality, showing people’s expressions and only a difference as little as a hair might be caught. It is magical.

Here, zhaoxiang zhifa (照相之法) means a ‘technique of photography.’ The photography studio was called zhaoxianglou (照相楼), as one can see in the aforementioned 1871 diary written by an anonymous Shanghai painter. Pronounced chiếu tướng in Vietnamese, one can find zhaoxiang (照相) in the 1898 Dictionnaire Annamite-Français referring to a ‘photographier.’

198 Lobscheid, Yinghua Zidian, vol. 3 (1866), 1342, s.v. portrait.
201 “Jiangyun Guan Riji (絳蕓館日記; Diary of the Hall of Crimson Rue),” 306, as quoted in Wue, “Essentially Chinese,” note 17, 411.
Xiang 相 means ‘face.’ The Dictionnaire Élémentaire Annamite-Français of 1868 presents tướng 相 as the word for ‘visage’, while indicating its Chinese root. It is crucial to note that xiang 相 is historically related to physiognomy. One can trace the emergence of physiognomic individuality in the commemorative representation of the human face to the Five Dynasties period (907-960) in China. In the modern period, xiangxue (相学; study of xiang), xiangfa (相法; rule of xiang), and xiangshu (相術; art of xiang) all refer to physiognomic theories in Kuang’s English-Chinese dictionary. To observe physiognomy is xem tướng in Vietnamese, as the nineteenth-century Vietnamese and French dictionary states. Gwansang (観相; J. kansō; observing a face) refers to examining one’s physiognomy in Korea and Japan.

Realistic representations of an individual’s face have often been associated with the practice of physiognomy, which regards the face as a map of destiny and character. The

---


205 Kuang Qizhao (鄺其照), “Photograph.” Xiangmian (相面) and fengjian (風鑑) also referred to physiognomy in China. See Okawa Yōichī (小川陽一), “Minshin no Shōzōga to Ninsōjutsu -minshin shōsets kenkyū no ikkantoshi- (明清の肖像画と人相術―明清小説研究の一環として); Portrait painting and the technique of physiognomy during Ming and Qing era -as a part of the study on novels from the periods),” Tōhoku Daigaku Chūgoku gogaku bungaku ronshū (東北大学中国語学文学論集; Tohoku Journal of Chinese Language and Literature) no. 4 (November 30, 1999): 49.

attempt to read a subject’s fate through his or her physical appearance is said to have flourished during the Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE), when such procedures were used to select officials. Extant manuals of physiognomy can be traced back to the tenth century. Shenxiang quanbian (神相全编; Complete Guide to Spirit Physiognomy) is a compendium of texts and manuals on physiognomy written in the early Ming dynasty (1367-1458) in China. The book is still widely used as a guide to physiognomy in Taiwan and Japan. The book is also found in Hanguk Sojang Joong-guk Hanjeok Chongmok (韓國所藏 中国漢籍総目; Complete List of the Classics Related to China in Korea), which contains a comprehensive list of Chinese books circulated in Korea before 1900. In the aforementioned novel from the late Ming dynasty, Jin Ping Mei (金瓶梅, The Plum in the Golden Vase or The Golden Lotus), one can find numerous detailed descriptions of the characters’ physical appearances following the analyses of Shenxiang quanbian. In the nineteenth century, a variety of texts on physiognomy was also available, including Shenxiang huibian (神相彙編; Collection of Spirit Physiognomy) and Xiangli Hengzhen (相理衡眞; Weighing the Truth on the Basis of Physiognomy).

---

the Principles of Physiognomy).\textsuperscript{210} In addition, one finds advertisements for physiognomists as soon as newspapers began to be published in the 1870s.\textsuperscript{211}

Physiognomy was not only related to folk beliefs, which caused it to be criticized by official scholars, it also had connections to Taoism and the Confucian classics, including Yi Jing (易經; Book of Changes).\textsuperscript{212} Mette Siggstedt proposes that the popularity of physiognomy influenced the desire for a real likeness in portraits, suggesting that a portrait could be used to judge an individual’s destiny and inner character.\textsuperscript{213} Xiezhen mijue (寫眞秘诀; Secrets of Portraiture), the aforementioned Qing treatise on portraiture, also adopts terms and concepts from the texts on physiognomy.\textsuperscript{214}

Following from the relationship between xiang 相 and physiognomy, zhaoxiang (照相), the term for photography can be understood in terms of portraiture or face images.

Does xiang also relate to ritual uses of portraiture? In Japan, China, Korea, and Vietnam,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[210] Gao Dingyu (高鼎玉), Shenxiang huibian (神相彙編; Collection of Spirit Physiognomy) (Shangyang: Jiangzuo shulin, 1843); Claypool, “Figuring the Body,” 335; Chen Zhao (陳釗), Huitu jiaozheng Xiangli hengzhen (繪圖校正相理衡真; Weighing the Truth on the Basis of the Principles of Physiognomy) (Shanghai: Jinwentang, 1915).
\item[212] Lee Seung Hwan (이승환), “Joseonhugi Gwapyewa Choi Han-giwa Cheuginhak (조선후기 과폐(科弊)와 최한기 측인학(測人學); Choi Han-ki’s Inquiry on Characterology),” Hanuksasangsahak (韓國思想史學; The Study of Korean History of Thought) 16, no. 1 (2001): 159–88.
\item[214] Ibid., 738–740.
\end{footnotes}
dingxiang (頂相; J. chinsō, K. jeongsang, V: đỉnh tướng) referred to portraits of Zen Buddhist monks, which were made for ritual purposes, the history of which dates back to the twelfth century. Thus, as dingxiang (頂相) reveals, xiang 相 is deeply intertwined with the ritual use of the human likeness.

During the Middle Ming period (the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries), there was a dramatic increase in portrait painting with an emphasis on the face as a tool for representing an individual’s identity, while one can witness the disjunction between the faithfully represented face and the rest of a given composition in Chinese portraiture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When xiang was adopted as a term for photography, it retained its connotation as a face image showing the subject’s destiny and inner character.

**Death, Photography, and Modernity**

The five characters that are the building blocks of various terms for photography come from the terms signifying human likeness, as encounters with the new technology

---


216 Kesner, “Face as Artifact in Early Chinese Art,” 46–47.

developed through having a portrait produced. The terms for photography also contain a trace of death in that representations of a person have long been used in rituals and memorials in East Asia. For example, shashin (写真) played a crucial role as a token that a samurai might leave with his family before his departure for the battlefield, from which there was little guarantee of his return. In light of the fact that the character shin 真 denoted portraits, assuming its posthumous use, shashin (写真) seems to embody the imaginary of commemoration from the moment that it emerged as a term for photography. The other four characters also incorporated significance associated with portraiture and its posthumous role. After shashin, or sajin, became a fixed term for photography, its connotation of general portraiture came to be abandoned. Thus, another term for portraiture accompanies the term ‘photography’ for the purposes of subdividing the genre: chosang sajin(肖像写真; J. shōzō shashin; portrait photography).

Shashin (写真; 寫眞) also dominated the terms for photography in Korea, even while it was considered a foreign or Japanese creation in China. In the mid- to late nineteenth

218 Ishii Kendō (石井研堂), “Shishi to Shashin to Kanzō (志士と寫眞と奸像; Men of High Purpose, Photography and Image of an Enemy),” in Zōtei Meiji jibutsu kigen (增訂明治事物起原; Revised Collection on the Origin of Things in Meiji) (Tokyo: Kuresu Shuppan, 2004), 463–464; Fukuoka, The Premise of Fidelity, 156–158. Fukuoka presents this use of photographs as memento mori. However, the commemorative use of the photograph serves as more than memento mori, particularly its use in memorial services and funerals. Although it is not clear whether those photographs of samurai were used for ritual purposes, leaving one’s portrait is more than a reminder of death in East Asia: I see the use of photographs by the samurai as a harbinger of funerary photo-portraiture deployed later in national memorial services.
century, there were many neologisms in Chinese characters—mostly created by the Japanese—that the Chinese could not understand. Those who considered themselves the owners of the Chinese writing system began to lose their authority, while Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese embraced the aura as well as the familiarity carried by neologisms in Chinese characters. As the new hegemonic power of the modern era, Japan led the Sinicization of language in the region. Meanwhile, the rise of the nation-state established the concept of a national language, making terms for photography an object of translation in East Asia. The various terms I have explored had more currency when the new medium was introduced in East Asia, but later they came to be a mode of “Othering,” as the history of photography developed into a discipline based on national boundaries.

III. Desire for and Fear of Verisimilitude

The five characters constituting the word ‘photography’ make it clear that photography was conceptualized within the existing mode of thinking about portraiture. The new invention seamlessly met the demands of and desires for portraiture. The quest for verisimilitude has generally been assumed to be a pivotal ambition in the pursuit of portraiture in East Asia because of the possibility of achieving the essence of the subject’s spirit. This idea can be seen in chuanshen (傳神), another Chinese term for portraiture, the literal meaning of which is ‘conveyance of spirit’. A painter was meant to capture his
subject’s spirit by representing the subject’s appearance as true-to-life as possible.

Some scholars propose that the desire for realism facilitated photography’s acceptance into the portraiture genre. Yi Gu contends that the dominance of sheying over other terms for photography hinges on the rediscovery of the medium’s claim for truth around the time when direct observation gained significance in Chinese visual culture. Gu seems to suggest that representation was considered to be a transparent reference to the objects depicted. However, funerary photo-portraiture reveals the existence of a quite different epistemology for representation and reality.

‘Mirror’ and ‘shadow’, two key concepts contributing to words for ‘camera’ and ‘photography’, were thought to reveal a reality that the naked eye could not see, as it was assumed that the human eye could be deceived easily. For example, the jing 鏡 (mirror) often appears as a tool through which one is able to see the real essence of something or somebody. In Dianshizhai huabao (點石齋畫報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio) of 1889, a man discovered by viewing his wife’s reflection in a mirror that she was a fox spirit disguised within a human body. As presented in this chapter, jing, ‘the mirror’, is a

---

220 Gu, “What’s in a Name?”.
character constituting the terms for the camera obscura and the camera in the early history of these devices in East Asia. The mirror is often considered a form of magic that can show the truth beyond apparent reality, allowing one to see what the naked eye cannot see, and taking one to a place and time beyond imagination. Thus, one can understand how xiyangjing (西洋镜; 西洋镜; mirror of the West) was the name for peepshows and kinetoscopes that showed scenes and people of the West in late nineteenth-century China.

The introduction of the microscope, telescope, and camera jeopardized the relationship between what once had been understood to be the invisible and the visible. However photography was not necessarily treated as a medium by which to expand human vision, as funerary photographic portraiture did not serve to show the spirit of the deceased. In addition, a critique of portrait photography developed in Japan around the technology’s deceptive character. An illustration of five cartes-de-visite titled Shinhatsumei utsushie no henka (新發明寫真畫の變化; ‘Transforming into Monstrosity through the Newly Invented Copied Picture’) appears in a book published in 1875, which criticized the Meiji government’s promotion of civilization and enlightenment derived from the West. The subjects of the cartes-de-visite were transformed into monstrous figures in later illustrations. The images were said to have revealed the fraudulent nature of photography, while
paralleling the author’s discussion of modern civilization’s ‘true face.’ At the same time, the desire to photograph could be suppressed by invisible spirits, as one can see in an article in *Dianshizhai huabao* (*點石齋畫報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio*) that describes how Westerners repeatedly failed to take photographs in *Guozijian* (*國子監; School of the Sons of the State*), the highest educational institution of the Qing dynasty. The article suggested that the repeated photographic failures were the result of spirits trying to keep the national institute from becoming infiltrated by the Western eye.

A study of funerary photo-portraiture reveals that photography was expected to testify to the existence of things and lives that one cannot see in daily life, rather than to serve as a medium for conveying an unmediated reality. This skepticism about the capacity of the human eye’s perceptual ability is related to the belief that one’s essence, which is immortal, is invisible.

The tension between reality and representation, as well as the anxiety related to the subordinate quality of representation, has been one of the more popular subjects of eulogies

---


223 “Yingzhao Zhiqi (映照志奇),” *Dianshizhai huabao* (*點石齋畫報; Pictorial from the Stone-Tablet Studio*), June 13, 1898, https://www.sinology.org/cmmn/spotstone/inhaSearch_view.asp?idx=4622&page=1&search_item=&search_word=%E6%98%A0%E7%85%A7%E5%BF%97%E5%97%8E%E5%A5%87&search_num= (accessed in August 7, 2012).
inscribed on portrait paintings in East Asia. In particular, word play with terms referring to portraiture is often found. For example, a number of eulogies written as inscriptions on portrait paintings of Buddhist monks brood on the character zhen 真 as both ‘real/truth’ and ‘representation’ in Korea. A monk named Seong-kyu (聖奎, 1728-1812) wrote a eulogy for his own portrait painting in 1810, which deals with zhen 真:

Are you [referring to the painting] the real/true or am I? 
Seen from the original figure, neither of them is real/true.

Gwon Donin (權敦仁, 1783-1859), one of the literati of the late Joseon period, wrote a eulogy for a monk named Uijeon (倚琠, ?-1854) in 1855, which reflects on the xiang 相 and ying 影 of the monk:

Say, the portrait of the monk is not real
Thirty-two images are empty ones (illusion) […] 
Image is not image; portrait is not portrait 
Thus, this is a real image of the monk.

---

224 Eulogies accompanying portrait paintings were written either by the subject of the painting in anticipation of his death or by one of his acquaintances.

225 Inscribing a eulogy on a portrait painting is common practice in East Asia, and continues even after the shift to photography. For instance, the aforementioned Zou Boqi left a eulogy on his photographic self-portrait. See Moore, “Zou Boqi on Vision and Photography in Nineteenth-Century China,” 45–46.

226 This translation is based on a contemporary Korean one in Shin, Jinnyeonggwa Chanmun, 162. For the image, see ibid., 158.

227 Shin, Jinnyeonggwa Chanmun, 214. For the image, see ibid., 210.
As writing a eulogy for portraits presumes the ritual use of the portrait after the subject’s death, numerous eulogies meditate on seemingly dichotomous concepts, including presence/absence, reality/representation, and death/life. An epitome of the Zen Buddhist idea of these binaries can be found in a eulogy for a monk named Uisun (意恂 1786-1866) written by Shin Heon (申櫶, 1810-1884), who was responsible for signing the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876 and the U.S-Korea Treaty of 1882:

師來既空 其去來空 本空去空 將亦無同 一幅丹靑 弛留神丰 儼然天竺 本無其跡
撈之掬之 水明松風 師在不在 孰謂始終

If it is empty that the monk’s coming to this world, his leaving is also empty
Coming and going are empty, and thus will remain empty
Spirit and form are within a painting
Great pleasure is present but there is no trace of it
Trying to catch and capture, but the sun is the moon reflected on water
In vain like a wind touching a pine tree
Who would call the monk’s presence and absence the beginning and the end.228

T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf explore the dual meaning of the character

\textit{zhen} 真/眞 through medieval portraiture of the Chan/Zen Buddhist abbots.229 They explore the idea of the Buddhist epistemology of representation and the real, wherein \textit{zhen} 真/眞, the real or essence, is formless, and so cannot be captured in \textit{zhen} 真/眞.

---

the portrait. Thus, true representation is non-representation, and, ironically, non-representation cannot be signified except through representation. One’s physical form cannot claim the subject’s *zhen*, its true nature, but more importantly, the invisible essence cannot be found apart from the visible form. The visible and the invisible perform, not as a binary concept, but as supplementary one to the other. Likewise, funerary portraits stand for the invisible presence of the subject’s spirit, not for his or her absence. Going beyond a mere resemblance, the portraits signify similitude “without any of them being able to claim the privileged status of model for the rest,” as Michel Foucault noted. Therefore, funerary portraiture suggests a quite different epistemology of photography, particularly in its relation to realism. Funerary portrait photography structures a reality where the living and the dead, as well as the visible and the invisible, live together, rather than reflecting a pre-existing reality beyond its frame.

Roberta Wue points out that ‘likeness’ in Chinese portrait photography is conceptualized quite differently from the Western embrace of objectivity as amplified by photography. For example, a Chinese sitter’s requests for an ‘accurate likeness’ followed codified and standardized formats that were built up culturally. This codification is shown by what Western photographers and portraitists witnessed when they experienced Chinese


photographic practice during the nineteenth century. The Chinese insisted on a specific pose, which showed their faces frontally, with both ears visible, and generally they wished to include objects, like hats or clothes, that could testify to their social status.\textsuperscript{232} Wue, like many other scholars of Chinese photography, has drawn a connection between portrait photography and its emulation of ancestor portrait painting. She explores how the strict code of showing one’s face and body is related to the social etiquette displayed in public meetings where Chinese demeanor is similar to that shown in ancestor portraits.\textsuperscript{233}

Despite the similarity of styles between ancestor portrait painting and early portrait photographs in China, it would be wrong to say that all photographic portrait practices exclusively follow the codes of the ancestor portrait. There were demands for portraits with purposes different from those made to be worshipped after one’s death. This demand is apparent in the popularity of courtesans’ portraits in late nineteenth-century Shanghai. Moreover, the Chinese clientele took into consideration how a portrait would be perceived in public. For example, a Chinese client of English portraitist Walter Goodman refused to wear full court dress lest people assume the image was intended for worshipping.\textsuperscript{234} Indicators of individual identity were supposed to reflect one’s status within society and the family. Thus, 

\textsuperscript{232} For various Westerners’ accounts on Chinese having portraits made, see Ibid., 257, 264–266.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid., 268–270.
\textsuperscript{234} The client was known to be the Chinese ambassador to England. \textit{The North China herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette}. (July 13, 1878), as quoted in Wue, “Essentially Chinese,” 264–265. Wue also points out the difference between ancestor portraits and photographic portraits in China. Ibid., 273-277.
the conveyance of the spirit should be facilitated by faithfully portraying the clothing appropriate for the subject’s class, as well as the full face, since clothing was believed to affirm one’s fate to be noble or wealthy. Moreover, a realistic representation of the face is intended to evoke the so-called heavenly-endowed physiognomy rather than to transcribe, for example, the features of age or illness. In photographs, the sitter barely smiles or makes an expression lest his or her physiognomy be distorted.235 The funerary portrait should show what the subject achieved in life through attire and face. Commoners often wore their best clothing, which was generally the apparel from their weddings. This practice continued, and eventually the formal suit became the norm for funerary photo-portraiture. On the other hand, the protocol of portraiture appears to have conformed to the technical limits of early photography. For example, according to a Japanese guideline published in 1886 on how to prepare for one’s portrait photograph, one was required to wear less visually distracting clothes and not to smile.236

Jan Stuart challenges the established scholarly understanding of Chinese ancestor

---


portraiture as more generalized than an accurate representation of one’s likeness. She argues that depicting one’s ancestor without any containment of emotion or personality should be understood as an attempt to give the subject of the image an ancestry detached from the world of the living as well as to show his or her physiognomy as faithfully as possible. However, other types of portraits, whether photographic or painterly, rarely indicate any emotional qualities. Thus, a portrait, whether painted or photographed, needs to be understood within the strict codes of representing likenesses. The formal and public context, as opposed to the casual and private one, along with the desire to show the dignity and authority of one’s social status, beg to be taken into consideration when one attempts to have one’s portrait created. Additionally, the ancestor portrait might require even further markers of dignity since it was made explicitly for ritual use.

With strict codes and styles, it is evident that the genre of portraiture in East Asia has hinged historically on the degree of realism it achieves in its representation of a given subject. The notion of ‘likeness’ can be traced back to an eleventh-century text by a Chinese Neo-Confucian scholar Cheng Yi (程頤, 1033-1107), whom many scholars have cited in their discussion of the pursuit of realism in portrait paintings in East Asia:

今人以影祭，或畫工所傳，一髭髮不似當，則所祭己是別人，大不便。

These days people do an ancestral rite with a portrait painting. If only one hair [in a

portrait] is not correctly rendered in the image, the sacrifice will be for another man, which makes one very uncomfortable.238

富家及士, 置一影堂亦可. 但祭時不可用影. [...] 大凡影不可用祭, 若用影祭, 須無一毫差方可. 若多一莖鬚, 便是別人.

The wealthy and scholarly family could have a portrait hall. However, one should not use a portrait painting in an ancestral rite. [...] In general, portrait painting cannot be used in ancestral rites. In case it be used, there should be no difference even in a single hair. If only one strand of beard is drawn more than original, it would be another person.239

In his discussion of the importance and meaning of Cheng Yi’s text in the practice of portrait painting of the Joseon dynasty in Korea, Kang Kwanshik (강관식) points out how Cheng Yi’s text has been misunderstood. Kang argues that many have misinterpreted it as an aesthetic discourse encouraging artists to compose portraits revealing the utmost likeness to the sitter. But, that interpretation is different from the original implications of the Neo-Confucian treatise,240 which stressed the importance of the name tablet on which the name of

---


240 Kang, “Teolgwa Nun”, Stuart and Rawski see the statement as emphasizing realistic representation as well, see Stuart and Rawski, *Worshiping the Ancestors*, 80. However, Kesner raises a doubt about the statement suggesting realistic representation as a condition for ancestor portraits. Kesner, “Face as Artifact in Early Chinese Art,” 48.
the dead is transcribed over the use of a portrait painting, both of which were commonly used together in Buddhist rituals. Kang argues that Cheng Yi’s intention was not to stress the importance of the sitter’s likeness in a portrait, but instead to underscore the impossibility of achieving it, thus encouraging the use of the spirit tablet. In fact, Cheng Yi’s anxiety reveals precisely how widespread was the use of portrait paintings for ritual purposes, because even this Confucian scholar dwelt on the use of portraits in ritual.

Acknowledging Neo-Confucian antipathy toward the use of portrait painting in ancestral rites, Siggstedt reverses the assumption of an antagonism in relation to the concept of likeness: if the likeness of one’s ancestor is real to the extent of one single hair, it would be considered a parallel to this ancestor. Siggstedt’s argument ultimately encourages a question in relation to photography: since the medium can capture the sitter to the extent of one single hair, does photography make it possible for one to consider the portrait as somewhat equivalent to the subject?

An important aspect of the shift from funerary portrait paintings to funerary portrait photographs is the resistance that the medium encountered. The new technology was not

---

241 Kang, “Teolgwa Nun.” Stuart also points out Cheng Yi’s and the Neo-Confucianists’ antipathy toward the use of ancestor portraits in ancestral rites. Nevertheless, she views the suppression of the portrait painting in rituals as caused by the over-emphasis on realistic representation rather than understanding Cheng Yi’s remark as a rhetorical device. See Stuart, “The Face in Life and Death,” 200. For the Buddhist effect on the realistic representation of one’s likeness and its relation to ancestor portraits, see ibid., 202.

242 Nevertheless, Siggstedt also understands the statement of Cheng Yi as an emphasis of representing one’s likeness as real as possible, Siggstedt, “Forms of Fate,” 724–725.
always welcomed and often encountered a variety of hostile reactions from people.

Simultaneously, it is important to remember that exposure to photography occurred mostly in urban areas and was concentrated within treaty port cities such as Shanghai and Canton. Several accounts exist in which Westerners relate their encounters with individuals completely unfamiliar with the camera. For example, curiosity and awe distinctly characterized an encounter in Taiwan:

Mr. Sutton, an excellent photographer, having taken some views in the town [of Makung in Pescadores] on the morning of our departure [late May 1866]. On this occasion the crowd was with difficulty kept off from the apparatus, their extreme curiosity proving rather inconvenient.243

Photographer John Thomson also wrote, “carrying out my task involved both difficulty and danger. In many places there were those who had never set eyes on a palefaced stranger … I therefore frequently enjoyed the reputation of being a dangerous geomancer, and my camera was held to be a dark mysterious instrument.” A crowd who gathered around D. K. Griffith even threw stones at the photographer.244

Photography was tied to various superstitions that made it difficult to imagine the use of photographic images for ritual purposes. For example, Griffith found that the hostile responses of local people toward the camera derived from their fear that photography caused death:

The unfortunate hostility to photographic manipulation is due to a strange belief […]


244 *The Photographic News*, October 29th, 1875; Worswick, “Photography in Imperial China,” 143.
that the photographic image is the soul of the original, the withdrawal of which from the body very naturally produces death. This tragic end may not take place for a month or more, but I have heard two years given as the longest time the photographed victim can exist.245

The belief that photography stole one’s soul and could lead to death can be found in Japan as well. In 1862, a Japanese individual attributed his illness to having been photographed. At the time, there was a widespread anxiety surrounding photography. Superstitions ranged from shortening life to stealing the soul, and extended so far as to predict the premature death of an individual posed in the middle of a three-person portrait.246

An article from the Arizona Republican explains the trouble that Shimooka experienced.247 He asked a girl in his neighborhood to pose with his foreign clients in their souvenir photographs, but when she later fell ill her parents threatened to sue him. The girl was believed to have been afflicted as a result of being photographed many times. Ironically, a similar superstitious fear of photography came to be an object of mockery when the Japanese tried to take photographs of local people in Taiwan, which had been ceded to Japan in 1895.248

245 The Photographic News, May 28th, 1875, as quoted in Worswick, “Photography in Imperial China,” 143.
246 Ozawa Takeshi (小沢健志), Bakumatsu, Meiji no shashin (幕末・明治の写真; Photography of Late Edo and Meiji Period) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1997), 96; Fukuoka, “Selling Portrait Photographs,” 356.
247 “Japan’s First Native Knight of the Film,” Arizona Republican, February 26, 1911; “Japanese First Photographer,” The Sun, February 12, 1911, Second edition.
Lu Xun (魯迅, 1881-1936), one of the most renowned writers in China, wrote about the superstitions related to photography that he had heard as a child. In one example, Westerners were known to take the eyes of the local people and preserve them in salt, and then use those preserved eyes to make electric wires and photographs. Even after the locals became more familiar with the technology, they continued to resist it for fear of having their spirits stolen. Also, people generally avoided the half-length photograph since it was considered the equivalent of being cut in half, which had been one of the cruelest forms of punishment during the Qing dynasty.249

In Korea, Westerners were also the targets of irrational fears. This anxiety was due not only to their foreign appearance, but also to their being practitioners of new and strange technologies, including photography. It was rumored that Westerners kidnapped children to make medicine for the ‘magic box’, i.e., the camera, by boiling them to produce a special powder for the camera, and using their eyes to make the lenses.250

Not withstanding the fear and skepticism, photography became a dominant medium for funerary photo-portraiture. The next section deals with the ways in which portrait painters facilitated the transition by adopting the new technology.


250 Choi, Hanguk Sajinsa, 124.
IV. Precursors of Funerary Photo-Portraiture

Portrait painters working from photographs in East Asia bridged the gap between funerary portrait paintings and photographs. A number of trade painters used photography, while photo studios at times produced painted portraits in treaty port cities in China, including Hong Kong and Shanghai. In addition, the limitations of color and size in early photographs created a new market for portrait painters. Photography effectively served to diversify the practice of portrait painting rather than closing it off. Since the advent of photography in China, there was an expanding market for transforming daguerreotypes into enlarged and colored paintings in Chinese port cities such as Canton due to the abundant presence of foreign sailors. From the 1850s, Chinese painters made enlarged portraits of their Western clients’ daguerreotypes or painted their faces onto them. A number of painters began to rely on the technique of photography, becoming pioneers of the new invention.

Painting not only complemented the limits of early photography by acknowledging the limits of size and color, but also reflected the pitfalls associated with taking a frontal view photograph of a human figure. The proportions of the upper and lower body appear awkward in several portrait paintings made from photographs of figures seated in chairs or with their legs crossed in that the upper parts of the legs look shorter than in the original photograph.

In John Thomson’s *Illustrations of China and its People*, one encounters a photograph of a painter with Thomson’s explanation of the way portrait painters worked at the time (fig.
Lumqua was a Chinese pupil of Chinnery, a noted foreign artist, who died at Macao in 1852. … There are a number of painters established in Hong Kong … The occupation of these limners consists of mainly in making enlarged copies of photographs. Each house employs a touter, who scours the shipping in the harbour with samples of the work, and finds many ready customers among the foreign sailors. These bargain to have Mary or Susan painted on as large a scale and at as small a price as possible, the work to be delivered framed and ready for sea probably within twenty-four hours. The painters divide their labour on the following plan. The apprentice confines himself to bodies and hands, while the master executes the physiognomy, and thus the work is got through with wonderful speed. … These pictures would be fair works of art were the drawing good, and the brilliant colours properly arranged; but all the distortions of badly taken photographs are faithfully reproduced on an enlarged scale.  

The painter in the photograph is Lam Qua (林官, 1801-1860), whose real name was Guan Qiaochang (关乔昌;關喬昌). His clients were the hong merchants who traded with the

---

251 John Thomson, *Illustrations of China and Its People* (London: S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1873), in MIT Open Courseware,  

West as well as foreigners in the port city. Lam Qua is also known to be the son or grandson of Spolium, whose studio was popular in Canton. Lam Qua’s studio was packed with a number of portraits in various stages. He also worked in Macao around 1835, as The Canton Register shows. Moreover, Jules Itier, who is known to have made the earliest daguerreotypes of Chinese views and people during his visit from 1843 to 1846, made a visit to Lam Qua’s studio. Itier made Lam Qua a daguerreotype portrait and later admired how the Chinese painter copied it on ivory. Thus, one can see that Lam Qua had access to a daguerreotype as early as the 1840s.

Chinese painters were also shown working with daguerreotypes in an image from the Illustrated London News (April 30th, 1859) (fig. 1.14). The artist in the middle appears to be making an enlarged portrait from the daguerreotype that he holds in his hand. Thomson also discussed Queen’s Road in Hong Kong, which was lined with numerous portrait studios.

254 Clunas, Art in China, 198. For more on Spolium, see Crossman, “Spolium -- Paintings on Glass and Portraits,” in The Decorative Arts of the China Trade, 35–53.
255 Conner, George Chinnery, 264.
258 Kinoshita, Shashingaron, 54.
including the studio of the photographer Lai Afong (賴華芳, 1839-c.1890). Thomson visited the studio of a Chinese painter named Ating in Hong Kong, where several artists were producing enlarged versions of photographs. His description of a photo studio in Hong Kong demonstrates that painters were working on transferring photographs into enlarged oil paintings there too. The depiction also shows that photography studios were not exclusively for taking pictures, but were also used as sites for painting. 

Huazhen youhua yingxiang (華真油畫影相; Huazhen Oil Painting and Photography), shown in a photograph taken in Hong Kong around 1900 (fig. 1.9), is another indication of the existence of photography-painting studios. Hong Kong Photographic Company published an advertisement in The China Directory, promoting its services, including enlargements from photographs, in 1875. In addition, the demand for daguerreotypes seemed high among Chinese patrons of portrait studios as early as 1850. Daguerreotypists C. Düben and L.

---


262 For the image of Huazhen studio, see Plate 35 in Waley-Cohen, Lai, and Wue, Picturing Hong Kong, 100. For the image of the advertisement, see figure 1 in Régine Thiriez, “Photography and Portraiture in Nineteenth-Century China,” East Asian History 17/18 (December 1999): 79.
Saurman placed an advertisement in *The North China Herald* where they promoted their daguerreotype service for those who wanted to have their portraits painted by Chinese oil painters.\(^{263}\)

It is not clear when the Chinese adopted photography for funerary use. However, it is significant that the Italian painter, Marciano Baptista, a student of Irish expatriate artist George Chinnery, began to produce post-mortem portrait photographs in China after 1860.\(^{264}\) Meanwhile, there is a record by a German traveler to Beijing about the popularity of funerary portraits, describing how painters came to compete with photographers in the late nineteenth century.\(^{265}\)

A record of John Everett’s sail to Canton in 1847 discusses his engagement with portraiture in China. The record reveals how his portrait painter, Tingqua (the brother of Lam Qua), was also in the process of painting a portrait from a post-mortem daguerreotype.\(^{266}\) The function of the painting, however, is not clear, and it is not known whether it was funerary or

---


\(^{266}\) Thomas N. Layton, *Gifts from the Celestial Kingdom: a Shipwrecked Cargo for Gold Rush California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 56–57. For the reason why a number of painters' names end with 'qua,' it is said to have been the practice of foreign traders to call local painters working for themselves, see Wang Yong (王鏞), *Zhongwai meishu jiaoliushi (中外美术交流史; A Chinese-foreign exchange history of arts)*, 217–218, 226–229.
for an ancestral rite. Also, Đặng Huy Trứ, a Vietnamese ambassador to Guangdong in 1865 and from 1867 to 1868, had his portraits painted by a Chinese painter named Li Ruiyan (李瑞岩), and the paintings have been commemorated in his family shrine (fig. 1.15). In Hanoi, Đặng set up his own photography studio in 1869.267

It is interesting to note Everett’s complaints leveled against Tingqua’s painting practice. He criticized Tingqua’s practice of painting his clients as unique portraits attached to identical bodies. It is unlikely that this practice was problematic for Tingqua, considering that it conforms to the funerary portrait painting practice in China in which the painter is called in to sketch the face of the dead and then complete the image with attire appropriate to the deceased’s social status.268 In cases in which it was not possible to observe the face of the dead, portrait painters would often show an album of facial sketches to the subject’s living relatives, allowing them to pick and choose various features specific to the dead.269 In the early twentieth century, the drawn facial models that populated such albums were replaced by a selection of photographs. A European observed the practice of choosing facial characteristics from an album of possible features:


268 Wue also states that the likeness is focused on the face while the other elements within the image receive little attention in Chinese portrait painting and photography. See Wue, “Essentially Chinese,” 268.

269 Ajumunmulhakhoe (아주문물학회) and Seoul Sirip Misulgwan (서울 시립 미술관; Seoul Museum of Art), eds., Widaehan Eolgul: Gungnaechoecho Hantpjungpsil Chosanghwa Daejeon(위대한 얼굴: 국내최초 조한·중·일 조상화 대전; Picturing Spirit: Portraiture in East Asia) (Seoul: Ajumunmulhakhoe, 2006), 19; Stuart and Rawski, Worshiping the Ancestors, 94–95.
A shopkeeper who always attracts customers is the portrait painter. He is an important personage and does business behind closed doors --that is, his shop is not open to the street as most are, but has a front partition with a door and show window. On the window is pasted a collection of small pictures of human heads cut from newspapers and magazines. Inside the shop more quantities are stored away. When a widow, it may be, wishes a likeness of her consort who left no pictured memorial behind him, or a youth perhaps craves a reminder of the granduncle he never saw, they find their way to one of these portrait shops. The shopkeeper spreads out before them an array of pictures, and after careful study a selection is made of a particular portrait which either bears some imaginary resemblance to the dear departed, or is what the sorrowing relatives would choose to have him look like. The shopkeeper then paints the head in life size and adds a body clothed in whatever style of garments may be mutually decided on. The finished portrait is finally hung on the wall of the family dwelling and pointed to with pride and affection as the face of the deceased ancestor.\textsuperscript{270}

Furthermore, it was common for ancestor portraits to be created in workshops in China where production was divided between several artisans.\textsuperscript{271} Another portrait practice is related to the depiction of couples. The deceased’s portrait would be completed and positioned next to a blank face representing the living spouse.\textsuperscript{272} An additional practice involved pasting a portrait face and head onto a pre-painted body.\textsuperscript{273} This custom was practiced until the mid-twentieth century, even as the technologies of representation continued to advance. In Taiwan, one can find the photograph of a face pasted onto paper with a painted or printed body (figs. 1.16 and

\textsuperscript{271} Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshiping the Ancestors}, 95–99; Stuart, “The Face in Life and Death,” 210–211.
\textsuperscript{272} Ajumunmulhakhoe and Seoul Sirip Misulgwan, \textit{Widaehan Eolgul}, 12; Ajumunmulhakhoe (아주문물학회), ed., \textit{Widaehan Eolgul ( 위대한 얼굴; Picturing Spirit: Portraiture in East Asia)} (Seoul: Ajumunmulhakhoe, 2003), 43; Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshiping the Ancestors}, 95.
\textsuperscript{273} Stuart and Rawski, \textit{Worshiping the Ancestors}, 103–104; Stuart, “The Face in Life and Death,” 210–211.
This was an economically efficient practice, considering that the photographer charged more for a photograph of one’s full body than a photograph of only the face. Thus, the history of the portrait-making process must be considered as a mixture of photographic and painting techniques.

Historically, photography has emulated the style and form of ancestor portrait painting. Early portrait photography featured a straight frontal posture that was derived from the use of portrait painting in a ritual context. Thomson’s description of the portrait photographs taken in Lai Afong’s studio explains how the early photographers and their customers eagerly followed the iconic pose of ancestor portraits:

[...] as far as the natives were concerned, the majority wore the Buddhistic expression of stolid indifference, and were seated all of them full front, with limbs forming a series of equal angles to the right and left. A Chinaman will not suffer himself --if he can avoid it --to be posed as to produce a profile or three-quarter face, his reason being that the portrait must show him to be possessed of two eyes and two ears, and that his round face is perfect as the full moon. The same careful observance of symmetry is carried out in the entire pose of the figure. The face, too, must be as nearly as possible devoid of shadow, or if there be any shadow at all, it must be equal on both sides.

Régine Thiriez has discussed how the Chinese also adopted and adapted from

---

274 Thiriez also mentions this practice of pasting a photograph onto pre-painted portrait. See Thiriez, “Photography and Portraiture in Nineteenth-Century China,” 99; figure 25 in ibid., 98.

275 Yi Jung-hui (이중희), Hanguk Geundae Misulsa Simcheung Yeongu (한국 근대 미술사 심층 연구; Further Studies on Korean Modern Art) (Seoul: Yegyeong, 2008), 35; Wu, “Inventing a ‘Chinese’ Portrait Style in Early Photography: The Case of Milton Miller.”

276 Thomson, The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China, 189–190; Matthews, “Chinese Photography: Notes toward a Cross-Cultural Analysis of a Western Medium,” 4; Worswick, “Photography in Imperial China.”
Western imagery various poses and angles apparent in portrait photographs.\textsuperscript{277} However, portrait paintings, including posthumous compositions, had already existed in various forms. In fact, a three-quarter view was the preferred position for several imperial portraits and grew from a desire to show one's physiognomy faithfully.\textsuperscript{278} In addition, during the nineteenth century in China, new groups of painters introduced a variety of styles different from the literati painters. Wealthy merchants in treaty port cities, including Canton and Shanghai, generally commissioned these new-style portraits.\textsuperscript{279} Thus, the customers of the early photo studios were, essentially, the patrons of famous painters, ultimately showing little resistance to experimenting with new poses and styles for their portrait photographs.

In order to understand the emergence of the new style of photographic portraits it is useful to compare the photographic practices of Chinese Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.\textsuperscript{280} After the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Chinese immigrants fell under the strict control of the U.S. government, which required photographic identification for them, beginning with all Chinese women who were considered potential

\textsuperscript{277} Thiriez, “Photography and Portraiture in Nineteenth-Century China,” 102.
\textsuperscript{278} Siggstedt, “Forms of Fate,” 736–737.
\textsuperscript{279} For the new groups of painters in the nineteenth-century China, see Li, “Art for the Market”; Wue, “Essentially Chinese”; Vinograd, \textit{Boundaries of the Self}.
prostitutes. Portrait studios were crowded with those who had to have their photograph taken, exposing the Chinese to identity photography. The guideline in the application form of 1892 is as follows:

The photographs shall be sun pictures, such as are usually known as card photographs of sufficient size and distinctness to plainly and accurately represent the entire face of the applicant, the head not to be less than 1-1/2 inches from the base of the hair to the base of the chin.282

Some people used a full-length photograph similar to the traditional style of portrait painting.283 The full frontal photograph of the upper body is typical of funerary photo-portraiture these days, although it is not clear when its format came to be similar to or adopt that of identity photographs. The identity photographs might have been used to commemorate the dead, since family members often solicited the official photograph upon the holder’s death, when the Immigration Bureau would otherwise have discarded it. Often it was the only photograph of their family member.284

Chae Yongsin (蔡龍臣, 1848-1941) was a portrait painter who utilized photography in Korea in the mode of Chinese painters in port cities who adopted the new technology. He


282 “Form of Application, Act of May 5, 1892,.” n.p., (Berkeley: Scrapbook 4 (Chinese Exclusion) Box 6, Ng Poon Chew Collection, Asian American Studies Collection, Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley), as quoted in Ibid., 59–60.

283 Ibid., 62–65.

284 Ibid., 73–74.
was well known for painting royal portraits, including a portrait of King Gojong. One of his paintings from 1911 contains the term *yimjin* (臨眞; imitating after jin) on the back of the scroll.\(^{285}\) The word denotes that he painted the portrait utilizing a photograph (fig. 1.18). The painting is based on a photograph of Hwang Hyun taken by Kim Kyujin, who opened the first photography studio in Korea (fig. 1.19). Chae’s workshop, which he operated with his son and grandson, notably provided a home-visiting service to customers residing in distant regions.\(^{286}\) They made the client’s photographic image for painters to copy in the studio. His customers also brought or sent photographs of their late family members to his workshop so that funerary portrait paintings could be created.\(^{287}\)

In Japan, the privileged status of royals and aristocrats encouraged them to have portraits made specifically for ritual use. In addition, *shini-e* (死絵; death prints) were very popular during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Shini-e* are prints of celebrities, including *kabuki* actors, made after death for commemoration (figs. 1.20 and 1.21). As a subgenre of *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵), *shini-e* were produced according to the demands of


\(^{286}\) Gungnip Jeonju Bangmulgwan (국립 전주 박물관; Jeonju National Museum), Seokji Chae Yongsin, *Buseuro Sarameul Mannada* (석지 채용신, 봉으로 사람을 만나다; Seokji Chae Yongsin, meeting people with his brush), 17.

\(^{287}\) Bak-Seo Unsu (박서운수), “Chae Yongsingwa Kim Eunhoui In Mulhwa Bigyo Yeoungu (채용신과 김은호의 인물화 비교 연구; Portrait Paintings of Chae Yongsin and Kim Eunho)” (PhD diss., Sungshin Women’s University, 1999), 30.
admirers. Hamano Shiho (浜野志保) and Yamada Shinya (山田慎也) argue that shini-e is a precursor of iei (遺影), the funerary photo-portrait. Ito Shiori (伊藤紫織) explores specific patterns of shini-e and its use for commemorative purposes. It is notable that an incense burner (香炉; kōro) is placed before a hanging scroll painting with a portrait of a kabuki actor (figs. 1.22 and 1.23). As a form of picture-within-a-picture, these shini-e show that the way of commemoration was enacted by burning incense before the portrait of the deceased, while others illustrate the main subject of shini-e communicating with the previously deceased kabuki master through the hanging scroll (figs. 1.24 and 1.25). The dead man extending his hand from the picture frame echoes the desire for communication between the living and the dead through funerary photo-portraiture.

291 Ibid., 187–188.
Not exclusive to Kabuki actors, a portrait painting in a hanging scroll seemed to have been used for the purposes of commemoration. For example, one can find a hanging scroll of a couple within Kurimuraka enkaizu (栗村家宴会図; Banquet of Kurimura Family) painted in 1849 (fig. 1.26). The hanging scroll of the deceased ancestors is hung in a space called tokonoma (床の間), a recessed area reserved for artistic appreciation or meditation in a Japanese reception room. The baby in the arms of a woman, bottom left, is said not to have been born at the time when the painting was made, indicating that the picture of the family banquet is an expression of a wish for the succession of the next generation. Contact between the deceased and living family members is achieved through portrait painting within and outside the picture frame.

Hamano proposes that the prohibition against interment in urban areas during the Meiji era (1868-1912) might have been a reason for using iei in funerals. However, as Karen M. Gerhart’s The Material Culture of Death in Medieval Japan shows, the mortuary use of portrait paintings and sculptures has a long history. Considering that a record shows that people placed a photograph of the emperor onto their kamidana (神棚; god shelf), as seen in a local newspaper from 1872, the ritual use of photography was not unimaginable at the
time.  

In Japan in the late nineteenth century, there was a painting genre called *kage-e* (影絵; shadow painting). *Kage-e* is a term that refers to a painting of a shadow reflected onto *shōji* (障子; a paper sliding door or room divider) (fig. 1.27). As a subgenre of *ukiyo-e*, it illustrated famous *kabuki* actors and things that a naked eye cannot see, such as ghosts and devils. Ochiai (Utagawa) Yoshiiku (落合芳幾, 1833–1904), a famous *ukiyo-e* painter, illustrated how he made *kage-e* for *kabuki* actors (figs. 1.28 and 1.29). The painter traces the silhouette of his subject onto a sheet of paper placed over a sliding door.

Timon Screech explores how *kage-e* pertains to the Western genre of the silhouette in its relation to the desire to reveal otherwise invisible things. The idea that shadow images can be more truthful than conventional portraits anticipates what photography would bring to the genre of portraiture. At the same time, Kinoshita argues that *satsuei* (撮影), the term which means ‘to take a photograph’, or more literally ‘to capture a shadow’, was specifically

---


related to the practice of painting a silhouette. The connection between photography and the desire to fix a shadow played a crucial role in the early history of photography in the West. In addition to skiagraphia, the term that Henry Fox Talbot chose for his earliest photographic experiments, a reference to Pliny’s *The Corinthian Maid* is considered meaningful in relation to the originary desire for creating a substitute for loss. Bringing a Derridean concept of the supplement to his analysis, Geoffrey Batchen argues that representation and desire supplement, rather than precede or follow, the other.\textsuperscript{298} Batchen’s claim for a supplementary relationship within the experience of desire can parallel the concept of *kage-e* used in a memorial service. *Kage-e* verifies the absent presence of the soul of the deceased as well as the present absence of his or her physical body, passing on to funerary photo-portraiture its role as a supplement to death. In addition, *kage-e* are known to have been used in mortuary rituals at the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{299}

Yamada explores various precursors of funerary photo-portraiture in Japan.\textsuperscript{300} What is called *kuyō egaku* (供養絵額; votive picture tablet) was popular in Iwate Prefecture from the late Edo period (1840s) to the early Showa period (1930s). It is a painting on a wood plate or an engraved wooden tablet, which is then painted over.\textsuperscript{301} The dead person is depicted

\begin{itemize}
  \item Batchen, *Burning with Desire*, 112–120.
  \item Kinoshita, *Shashingaron*, 63–65.
  \item Yamada, “Nakihito Wo Omou: Iei No Tanjo (亡き人を想う—遺影の誕生; Remembering the Dead: The Birth of Funerary Photo-Portraiture).”
  \item Hanamakishi Kyōiku Iinkai (花巻市教育委員会), *Kuyō Egaku Ni Miru Raise No Sugata: Kuyō Egaku to Iei Ni Yoru Kuyō Shūkan* (供養絵額にみる来世の姿: 供養絵額と遺影による供養習俗; Appearance of the
\end{itemize}
performing daily activities, including his favorite pastimes, within the picture. The picture tablet is then dedicated to a Buddhist temple by a bereaved family (fig. 1.30). *Kuyō egaku* reveals the desire of the bereaved for the dead to continue a happy life with other family members in the other world. In Chōsenji (長泉寺; Chōsen temple) of Iwate, funerary portrait photographs are exhibited with *kuyō egaku* and portraits of soldiers (fig. 1.31). In addition to *shini-e* and *kuyō egaku*, Yamada argues that the spread of the war dead’s portraits dedicated to a temple must have encouraged the general public to use the likeness of the dead in funerals and ancestral rites, as it was already popular for *samurais* and soldiers to take their own portrait photographs before they left for the battlefield in the 1860s and 1870s. The advent of the war dead’s portrait photographs for the purpose of memorials came to place an emphasis on achievements during one’s life, while *shini-e* and *kuyō egaku* contain the symbols of the other world, which are made for praying for a happy afterlife. In addition, the replacement of head-and-torso photographs with depictions of the full body are notable in the transformation of *shini-e* and *kuyō egaku* into funerary photo-portraiture. Yamada suggests that the emergence of funerary portrait photography is involved in the formation of the


modern Japanese nation-state, particularly because soldiers emulated the style of Emperor Meiji’s portrait photograph in a military uniform.\(^{303}\)

There were other transformative uses of funerary portrait photography in the early twentieth century. For instance, a Japanese photographer had his portrait printed on a ceramic burial urn as an experimental effort to apply a photographic technique (fig. 1.32). Meanwhile, a portrait photograph of the deceased was pasted onto his mortuary name tablet.\(^{304}\) Even when photography became a dominant medium for funerary portraiture, some families of the war dead asked a painter to paint from the deceased’s photograph while adding posthumous medals (fig. 1.33).\(^{305}\) In an exhibition titled *Suspending Time: Life --Photography --Death*, which was held in 2010 at Izu Photo Museum, Japan, the aforementioned burial urn with a portrait printed was shown with hanging scrolls of portrait paintings made after photography (fig. 1.34).\(^{306}\) In the context of funerary portraiture, photography and painting have supplemented each other, enhancing the desired effect for representing the deceased.\(^{307}\)

\(^{303}\) Yamada, “Nakihito Wo Omou: Iei No Tanjo(亡き人を想う—遺影の誕生; Remembering the Dead: The Birth of Funerary Photo-Portraiture).”

\(^{304}\) Kohara Masashi (小原真史), “Between Life and Death, Public and Private, East and West.”

\(^{305}\) Ibid., 241.

\(^{306}\) Geoffrey Batchen, Kai Yoshiaki (甲斐義明), and Kohara Masashi (小原真史), *Suspending Time: Life --Photography --Death* (Shizuoka: Izu Photo Museum; Nohara, 2010).

It is tempting to use the term ‘hybrid’ to describe the in-between stages of funerary photo-portraiture. Additionally, the practice of funerary photo-portraiture itself may be seen as a hybrid genre, since funerary photo-portraiture essentially combined Western photographic technology with local image practices. Crehan notably recalls the biological roots of the term ‘hybrid’, something that retains the connotation of separate elements. ‘Hybrid’ has been used at times to designate the way cultural products fashioned in the West may be adopted in non-Western cultures. Hybridity presumes that distinct cultures and genres exist. In a way, the term implies that ideas and objects never lose the trace of their roots, forever allowing one to make a distinction between what is pure and what is hybrid. The location of production does not guarantee any persistent locality. Thus, hybridity does not accurately describe the photographic practice of the Other; it is equivalent to “Othering the Other” and “marginalizing the marginalized.”

The desire to have one’s photographic portrait made conflicted with the fear of the

---

308 In a similar way to his attempt to re-conceptualize ‘mimicry’ as a postcolonial discourse, Homi Bhabha presents ‘hybridity’ as a way to overcome the dichotomy of the colonizer and the colonized. According to him, hybridity is an ambivalent space and moment where the colonized are able to enact their political agency to subvert the authority of the colonizer. It is also an attempt to resist considering cultural encounter as either different or identical to the other. Nevertheless, it is not the colonizer but the colonized who gain the strategies of mimicry and hybridity, thus still holding the binary. On the other hand, Spivak warns against “too uncritical a celebration of the ‘hybrid,’ which inadvertently legitimizes the ‘pure’ by reversal” in the age of globalization. See Homi Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London; New York: Routledge, 1994); Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 65.

309 Crehan, Gramsci, Culture, and Anthropology, 58-67.
technology that produced such magically realistic images. At the same time, the desire to convey the spirit through portraiture concurred with the fear of having the spirit stolen through the new medium of representation. As people became familiar with the photography, the desire for representation overcame their fears of the technology, which so often had been embedded in their broader fears of the foreign and the West.

V. Conclusion

This chapter explores the prehistory of funerary photo-portraiture by tracing the history of the related terminology for photography and portrait painting. The various terms used to refer to photography and portraiture were shared throughout East Asia. From philological exploration of the nomenclatures, one can see that the historical concept of representing the invisible is deeply embedded in the history of the naming of both funerary photo-portraiture and photography. The Buddhist implication of image worship as well as the Confucian practice of filial piety sustained the aura of funerary photo-portraiture in its focus on the representation of, not so much the present absence, as the absent presence of the ancestor.310

Photography passed through numerous negotiations with local traditions devoted to the representation of human likeness in East Asia. The desire to capture the essence of a

310 Filial piety is deeply related to Daoist practices as well, see Alan Kam-leung Chan and Sor-hoon Tan, eds., *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).
person permeates the history of portraiture in East Asia, as mirrors and shadows were believed to reveal the invisible truth of a reflected image. This chapter shows that Chinese characters denoting shadow and mirror constitute the building blocks of the terms for photography and camera in East Asia.

In East Asia, a shadow is not a mere trace of a person, but is considered to reveal an essence or truth that is otherwise invisible. For example, a Japanese print shows the shadow of a woman reflected on a sliding door (fig. 1.35). The print contrasts the difference between the shadow and the appearance of the woman: the woman clad in a kimono turns out to be a fox in the shadow reflected on the sliding door.311 At the same time, the shadow as essence is related to the legend of the Shadow Cave in Buddhism. According to a Buddhist sutra, Buddha left his shadow on the wall of a cave where he defeated dragons so that the shadow could preach the Law for 1500 years, extending even after his nirvana.312 Thus, the shadow functions as a substitute for the invisible presence of the divine being, just as ying 影, the character referring to ‘shadow’, is used to designate the image of Buddha (佛影; foying).313 The tensions between the visible and the invisible, as well as between absence and presence,


impregnate the representation of both ancestors and Buddha.

*Zhen* 真/眞, the character referring to truth, was also adopted as the term for photography and portraiture in East Asia. Its referent shifted from the signified to the signifier as the status of funerary portraiture was elevated from a mere representation of the deceased to a replacement of the loved one. The character’s use in designating a visual representation is also intertwined with the history of visualizing Buddhist divine beings in East Asia. An endeavor to have invisible sacred beings become visible parallels the desire to claim the presence of the deceased in material representations.

In this chapter’s second section, two important matters were investigated in relation to the way that portraiture merged with the new medium in the late nineteenth century: the desire for realistic representation and the resistance to new technologies. The quest for verisimilitude accompanied the fear of the new technology as popular stories mythologized the tension between the visible and the invisible. The contradiction between the pursuit of fidelity and a generic prototype in making funerary portraiture derived from the dual meaning of representation in East Asian culture. The impossibility of capturing the essence of a person in material representation supplemented the belief that the presence of the essence may be recognized only through representation. The representation of invisible beings, including Buddhist divine beings and ancestors, validates the presence of their immortal essence.

---

314 Choi, “Quest for the True Visage: Sacred Images in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Art and the Concept of Zhen.”
The poor quality of early photographic portraits sustained the market for portrait painting as the influx of foreign cultures also promoted the local business for painted portraits. This chapter’s last section surveyed the work of those portrait painters who functioned as the precursors on which the practice of funerary photo-portraiture was built. The local portraitists were keen to adopt the new technology as an aid to creating Western-style portraits, while many of them became the first generation of photographers in their regions. This group of early photographers-cum-portraitists played a critical role in establishing a market for funerary photo-portraiture.

With this body of research as my foundation, my next chapter looks at museums and memorials commemorating historical victims with a view to understanding how the practice of portrait photography in funeral and memorial services in East Asia is intertwined with patriarchal ideology based on the Confucian family structure.
Chapter Two

Funerary Photo-Portraiture: Archives and Museums

I. Introduction

This chapter explores the ways in which funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia has been integrated with nationalism and structured by patriarchal hegemony. It will focus on the archiving and exhibiting of funerary portrait photographs of war dead and historical victims. Ancestral worship and funeral ceremonies are male-dominated practices, as the eldest male descendant hosts the attendant rituals. Likewise, ritual photographic practice is based on Confucian patriarchal family dynamics. In East Asia, this ethos has extended from the family to the nation-state, enabled by social institutions that include public education and the military. Demonstrating respect before funerary portrait photographs in a public memorial hall is an example of a practice grounded in the private commemorations of one’s own family members and ancestors. The process of colonial expansion and the construction of national identities has relied on fostering and promoting patriarchal ideology, and the commemoration of those who died for their countries has similarly played a crucial role in sustaining the male-dominated social order. In their postcolonial endeavors to establish national identities, countries previously colonized by Japan maintained the social and political systems that had been practiced during the colonial period, including the construction of memorial museums.
and archives to honor national heroes and martyrs.

Benedict Anderson asserts that commemoration of the war dead is a component of the modern nation-state. He points out that the tombs of unknown soldiers are imbued with “ghostly national imaginings” that evince the character of a nation-state’s approach to death. In a similar vein, funerary portrait photography plays a crucial role in “a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning.”¹ Then, do funerary portrait photographs of soldiers serve the cause of nationalism in the same way as monuments to the war dead? Characterizing Anderson’s rumination on nationalism as Eurocentric, Partha Chatterjee maintains that nationalism was imagined as an anti-colonial emancipator of peoples in Asia and Africa. He contends that postcolonial misery derives from the failure of new countries to imagine themselves differently from their imposed Western or colonial heritages of old forms of modern states.² Chatterjee argues that patriarchal ideology was reconstructed by nationalist endeavors against colonial rules, and asserts that the “new patriarchy” continued after independence.³ Rochona Majumdar explores how this new patriarchy was structured through photographic practices of conjugality in late nineteenth-

How did the male-dominated practice of photographic commemorative service structure the patriarchal national identity during the colonial and postcolonial periods in East Asia?

This chapter explores how funerary portrait photographs are institutionalized and archived in various national memorial halls and museums. In particular, the collecting of funerary portrait photographs of the war dead is investigated as one of the crucial tactics of Japanese colonial expansion. Even during the postcolonial period, the archiving and displaying of funerary portrait photographs continue as tactics deployed to structure national identity in the countries that make up East Asia. This chapter argues that funerary portrait photographic practice is complicit in militarism when it is used and institutionalized by nation-states. The archiving and displaying of funerary portrait photography sustains and is sustained by patriarchal ideology. Indeed, the etymologies of patriarchy and archive share the same root: the Greek arkhē, meaning ‘the source of power or authority’.

This chapter presents a genealogical study of funerary photo-portraiture by exploring how vernacular practices of portrait photography secure the historical construction of violence that begins within the imaginary boundary of the family unit. Showing that funerary portrait photography interacts with imperialism, colonialism, and cold war politics, this chapter aims to reveal the way micro-processes of power enacted by vernacular photographic

---

practices within and beyond the family sustain those ideologies and hegemonies. The
transnational memories manifested in these vernacular photographs blur the distinction
between colonizers and colonized as well as the division between victimizers and victims. A
study of these relationships highlights the complicit factors that result in oppression and
exploitation. The final section of this chapter explores the possibility of establishing a trans-
archive to challenge the patriarchal structure of the nation-state and the family.

II. National Archives

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki National Peace Memorial Halls for the Atomic Bomb
Victims were opened to the general public in 2002 and 2003, respectively, as projects initiated
by the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare under the Atomic Bomb Survivors’
Assistance Act. The memorial halls commemorate those who died during the atomic bombings
of 1945. They are not the first public establishments to keep the records of what occurred on
August 6 and 9, 1945 in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In 1955, about three years after the Allied
Occupation, the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum
were opened. Their mission was to promote elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the
world by displaying the horrors nuclear bombs had inflicted on the Japanese people.  

5 From the museum leaflet, also available through the museum website:
The newer memorial halls requested that families submit funerary portrait photographs of the victims. The Hiroshima Hall, for example, has a separate space devoted to commemorating the victims, with a screen showing funerary portrait photographs (fig. 2.1). A Hiroshima newspaper, *Chūgoku Shimbun* (中国新聞), initiated the archiving of funerary portrait photographs of atomic bomb victims in 1998. Preparing a series of special issues entitled “Funerary Portrait Photographs Speak”, the newspaper collected and displayed the personal information of victims, including their funerary portrait photographs, on its website.6 These funerary photographs were archived later in the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall.

The memorial halls have posted guidelines for archiving the personal information of victims, including their names and photographs (fig. 2.2). A victim must have died of direct impact or of exposure to radiation to qualify for inclusion; fetuses and relief workers are eligible. The family and friends of the deceased may apply to have a person memorialized on condition that the funerary photograph will not be returned. The photographs are displayed on a large screen so that visitors may appreciate the sheer number of victims, although applicants may request non-disclosure of personal information and pictures.7 The screen

---


shows 216 funerary portrait photographs at a time. The Hiroshima Memorial Hall held around 3,800 funerary portrait photographs when it opened; as of 2011, the number has increased to 17,538.

Both halls offer digital databases to access victims’ identifying information, allowing visitors to search by name or birthplace. Visitors pay respects by bowing or offering flowers before a large screen on which groups of funerary portrait photographs appear in rotation. When I searched for victims named Kim in the Hiroshima Memorial Hall in 2010, a woman’s funerary portrait photograph appeared on a search screen and then was transposed onto the large screen. While looking at her image I wondered whether it was appropriate to place this woman in the category of victim. Without any personal memory of her, by what means does a memorial activity begin? To answer this question, it is necessary to ruminate on the nature of archives.

The memorial halls are distinctive in that they have digitized the funerary portrait photographs of the atomic bombing victims. Although the systemizing of individual identities

---


9 “Kokuritsu Heiwa Kinenkan, Nyūkan 200 Mannin Doitsuinin Josei Ni Hanataba (国立平和祈念館、入館200万人 徳ツ人女性に花束; National Peace Memorial Hall, A Flower Bouquet to German Woman, the Two Millionth Visitor.),” Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞; Asahi News), November 5, 2011, Morning edition.
for commemorative purposes holds implications different from those of archives of criminals’ bodies of nineteenth-century Europe, it shares several features of what photography implicates when it is deployed to the task of an archive. In Allan Sekula’s study of photographic archives of social bodies, he points out that photography is “tamed” into an emblematic image through a filing system merged with statistics, forgoing the specificity of each individual image. In another article on photographic archives, Sekula expounds on the myths surrounding an archive that capitalizes on photography. In addition to its illusory claim to truth, photography deployed by an archive turns a historical event into a spectacle. He points out that the photographic archive offers an experience in place of a logical argument, thereby shifting between “nostalgia, horror, and an overriding sense of the exoticism of the past, of its irretrievable otherness for the viewer in the present.”

A single funerary portrait photograph in these memorial halls serves as a representative of all victims of the atomic bombing. It is an image emptied of the particular traces of an individual life. One is expected to pay respect and offer condolence before the funerary portrait photographs of Koreans, Americans, and Japanese without taking into account any of the distinctions among the circumstances of their deaths. Commemorating

---

12 Ibid., 448.
these victims through funerary portrait photographs is an act, less of remembering, than of
forgetting. Jacques Derrida expounds upon the myths of archive in terms of psychoanalysis,
asserting that remembering and forgetting are not binary concepts but ideas that supplement
each other.13 ‘Archive’, according to Derrida’s analysis of its etymology (Arkhē, which
“names at once the commencement and the commandment”)14, is grounded in the authority
given to those who preserve and record legal documents. Thus, an archive is subject to the
power that produces and controls it, making the archiving activity future-oriented rather than
shaped by the past. As national institutions, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki memorial halls are
bound to present-day political and economic concerns, including nuclear power development,
as well as by present-day interpretations of Japan’s defeat in World War II.

Two refrains are dominant in the memorial halls: the commemoration of the sacrifice
of the dead and the wish for a permanent peace for the world. By employing the rhetoric of
sacrifice, the memorial halls strive to enshrine the victims as sacred and give meaning to their
deaths as deeds in service of ending the war and thereby bringing peace to the world. The
result is to obscure two agendas of the atomic bombing: the responsibility of the Emperor and
his high command in resisting surrender and the moral issues inherent in the United States’
decision to deploy the atomic bomb. Takahashi Tetsuya sets forth a religious connotation

13 Jacques Derrida, Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression, trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: University of
14 Ibid., 1.
embodied in the etymology of the word *sacrifice* in Chinese characters. Pronounced *gisei* in Japanese, 犠牲 is a shared term meaning ‘sacrifice’ in East Asia, each character of which designates animals, such as a lamb or a cow, sacrificed in a ritual to a god. The victims of the atomic bombing are called *giseisha* (犠牲者; people who suffer for others).\(^{15}\) The memorial halls are impregnated with the idea that the peace and prosperity of Japan were engendered by virtue of the sacrifice of the atomic bombing victims, making it imperative to memorialize their death. Takahashi asserts that this rhetoric of sacrifice is intertwined with the state ideology of normalizing and legitimating the deaths in the context of the Japanese Empire forcing its people to die for their Emperor and nation during wartime.

Achille Mbembe argues that an archive is a religious space in that a series of rituals takes place within these establishments while preserving traces of life and death as relics.\(^{16}\) The religious character of the memorial halls in East Asia derives not only from their adoption of the rhetoric of sacrifice, but also from their archiving of funerary photographic portraiture. Portrait photographs of historical victims are displayed in museums and memorials throughout the world, but their use in East Asia has a distinctive implication in that photographs of the deceased are integral to family rituals. As a result, memorial halls and

\(^{15}\) Takahashi Tetsuya (高橋哲哉), *Kokka to gisei (国家と犠牲; Nation-State and Sacrifice)* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 2005), 19–21.

museums acquire a ritualistic character. By extending this private commemoration to a public venue, it helps to structure the collective memory. What motivated the Japanese government to establish new structures to display funerary photographs and personal memoirs in the twenty-first century when there have been such archives since the 1950s? While the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is operated by a public foundation financed by the city of Hiroshima, the national government manages the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims. Kinoshita points out that there are three categories of war dead in Japan that guide the national government’s determination to offer pensions. Financial compensation for atomic bombing survivors was made available in 1994 when a new law was enacted. Only families of those who died in the line of duty and survivors of the atomic bombings are eligible for monetary compensation. For others who died in the war, including civilians and atomic bombing victims, the government established commemorative projects. The display of funerary portrait photographs and personal memoirs is a form of restitution by the government that obviates the need for more costly financial compensation.

---


18 For more details on the establishment of memorial halls, see Nishimura Akira (西村明), Sengo Nihon to sensō shisha irei: shizume to furui no dainamizumu (戦後日本と戦争死者慰霊: シズメとフルイのダイナミズム; Post-war Japan and Commemoration of the War Dead: Dynamism of Relief and Unrest) (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2006), 169–186. Nishimura presents various responses of the bereaved families to the government’s decision to build national memorial halls as well as to the display of funerary portrait photographs.
The memorial hall in the original Japanese lexicon has a religious implication. While the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum is called Hiroshima Heiwa Kinen Shiryōkan (広島 平和 記念 資料 館), the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims is called Kokuritsu Hiroshima Genbaku Shibotsusha Tsuitō Heiwa Kinenkan (国立 広島 原爆 死没者 追悼 平和 祈念 館). What is distinctive about the lengthy names of the halls emerges from the use of different Chinese characters for the English word ‘memorial’: Kinen (祈念) for the latter structure, with a religious implication, in contrast to Kinen (記念) for the former. Kinen (記念) is a general term for ‘memorial’ or ‘memorialization’, while Kinen (祈念) means ‘to pray for someone or something’ in Shinto and Buddhist practices. In modern Japan, Kinen (祈念) entailed rituals held in Shinto shrines or Buddhist temples to pray for victory at war, the Emperor’s recovery to health, and the repose of the war dead. Thus, the designation of the memorial halls of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as Kinenkan (祈念館) has the intention of creating a space for ritualistic acts reminiscent of rituals performed on a public and national scale when Japan waged several wars, including the Pacific War.

In the West, portrait photography found its place in wars during the early phase of the new technology’s development. It was a common practice for soldiers to visit a photo studio to have their likeness made in case they should not return alive from a campaign, while
images of heroes were made public.\(^\text{19}\) Albums of war photographs contributed to establishing a collective memory of historic events and promoting patriotism. Public displays and publication of photographs of corpses brought home the reality of the battlefield; Matthew Brady’s “The Dead of Antietam” (1862) is the first example in the U.S.\(^\text{20}\) The shock of the bereaved family immediately segued into making the violent death heroic:

Have heart, poor mother; grieve not without hope, mourn not without consolation. This is not the last of your boy … there is reserved for him a crown which only heroes and martyrs are permitted to wear.\(^\text{21}\)

How did belief in the immortality of the soul and the war dead’s transformation into national deities affect how photographs of soldiers were memorialized and displayed in East Asia? Making funerary portrait photographs public and serving the collective memory has its own history in Japan. Public memorial services for the war dead required various ritualistic objects, including funerary portrait photographs and name tablets. Since the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), the use of funerary portrait photographs routinely became inclusions of memorial services at home. Fūzoku gahō (風俗画報; An Illustrated Magazine of Japanese Life) carried an illustration of a bereaved family at a memorial service for a


\(^{21}\) Ibid., 85.
soldier killed in action (fig. 2.3). According to the accompanying text, the soldier lost his life in China in 1894, and his superior officer visited the bereaved family out of respect. In the image, the deceased’s first son burns incense before the altar on which his father’s funerary portrait photograph sits while the second son, on the far right, stabs a doll in the form of his father’s Chinese enemy. The illustration suggests a prototype of a war memorial service as it includes not only the bereaved family members but also a fellow soldier and future soldiers willing to die for their country. The photograph’s accompanying article claims that combat death honors a soldier as it is an act of protecting kōkoku (皇国), the country of the Emperor. About five months after the illustration was published, the Meiji Emperor participated in a memorial service for the war dead of the First Sino-Japanese war (1895-95) at Yasukuni shrine. Thus, the private memorial service evolved on a national scale with the Emperor mourning his people as the head of state.

Public memorial services employed funerary portrait photographs. In a photograph of a memorial service for the war dead in Oita University in the early 1940s, a group of framed funerary portrait photographs were placed behind the altar (fig. 2.4). The memorial service was performed in the Shinto manner for former students who had died in battle. Shinto clergy stood at the right of the altar, praying and chanting, while twigs of the sacred sakaki (Cleyera

---

22 Yamashita Shigetami (山下重民), “Gunjin Izoku No Tamamatsuri (軍人遺族の魂祭; A Memorial Service by the Bereaved Family of a Soldier),” Fūzoku Gahō (風俗画報) 95 (July 1895): 3–5.
Japonica) and strips of white paper were displayed, elements central to Shinto rituals. The president of the university is shown delivering a memorial address to the deceased, not to the living: the war dead listen to the message and gaze at the mourners. Another photograph shows a memorial service held at Kyoto University after WWII. On the left, a representative of the school stands before a microphone (fig. 2.5). The funerary portrait photographs of the war dead were placed above the altar while participants bowed toward the images of the deceased.

Memorial services for the war dead played an integral role in structuring the identity of the nation-state as well as its people, particularly adopting various modes of visualizing national rituals. In addition to being placed on an altar in public memorial services, funerary portrait photographs were deployed in displays and exhibitions. Government and military authorities issued photography albums of the war dead as well as of memorial services held in shrines or on battlefields. An album titled *Kaigun senshisha shashinchō* (海軍戰死者寫真帖; *Photography Album of the Naval War Dead*) carries funerary portrait photographs of sailors who lost their lives in combat and were later enshrined in Yasukuni shrine (fig. 2.6).  

---


The album cover shows that it was made for commemorating the naval war dead of the
Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Each leaf contains various forms of portrait photographs
of the sailors; most are half-length, while others are full-length. The lack of a consistent style
suggests that sailors were asked to prepare their own photos rather than the naval service
making them. In whatever way the navy acquired these photographs, they funded and
managed their archiving in order to structure the identity of soldier-citizens serving their
country.

Funerary portrait photographs merged with the culture of exposition when they were
exhibited in Sacred War Expositions during the late 1930s and early 1940s, as Japan waged
the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War. As a means of visualizing wars
conducted outside the island nation, several *seisen hakurankai* (聖戦博覧会; sacred war
exposition) were organized in local cities as propaganda. In one exposition, a memorial
service for the war dead called *eireisai* (英霊祭; ritual for the honorary spirits) was
performed, and one of the exhibition halls was devoted to displaying the relics and the
funerary portrait photographs of dead soldiers (fig. 2.7). The bereaved family donated the
funerary portrait photographs, likely at the request of the exposition organizer. Rather than

---


being concerned about having the deaths of their sons and fathers become a public spectacle, the family embraced the desire of the nation-state to ritualize the deaths of these soldiers as a sacred sacrifice for Emperor and country. For government and military authorities, the management of the bereaved family was crucial in creating the illusion of sacred death in order to justify the continuation of the wars.

Visualization of the wars and ritualization of the war dead extended to colonial territories, including the Korean peninsula and Taiwan. Halls of sacred wars and feats of arms were set up at the Joseon Great Exposition of 1940. Funerary portrait photographs of soldiers were displayed for colonial citizens in Korea in order to encourage military enlistment (fig. 2.8). The exposition catalogue stipulates that the hall of feats of arms displays funerary portrait photographs and relics of three hundred soldiers called military deities who lost their lives on the battlefields of the Second Sino-Japanese War, including volunteers from the Korean peninsula. The bereaved families of Korean soldiers were invited to the hall as well as to the ceremony of Kōgun kanshahi (皇軍感謝日; Day of Gratitude to Imperial Army).

Transforming personal memories into collective memory led to the development of

---

archiving and exhibiting funerary photo-portraiture. The archiving and displaying of funerary portrait photographs in the Hiroshima National Memorial Hall for the atomic bomb victims echoed the rhetoric of funerary portrait photographs deployed by the Japanese government during the first half of the twentieth century, as efforts to memorialize those who died at war and in the atomic bombings have been imbued with the discourse of sacrifice. The conflicting memories of the war and the atomic bombing were converted into a discourse on sacrifice and peace through the amnestic power of the apparatus of state ideology. At the same time, bereaved families’ efforts to come to terms with the deaths of atomic bombing victims by making their deaths meaningful found a way to place the dead into the imaginary of a sacrifice for the nation-state. In the late 1960s, the bereaved families of Nagasaki medical college students who died during the atomic bombing of 1945 had the dead enshrined in Yasukuni shrine because they were training to become medical officers when the atomic bomb was dropped.28 This act of commemoration confirms that when claims for peace are conceived within the framework of the nation-state, another kind of violence is perpetrated by justifying war under the guise of peace.

The spectacle of funerary portrait photographs was sustained by Japan’s wartime establishment of memorial halls and museums commemorating the war dead. In addition to public memorial services held in shrines and temples, the public was encouraged to visit war

\[\text{28 Nishimura, } Sengo Nihon to sensō shisha irei, 146–168.\]
museums and exhibition halls. Students were required to pay respect before funerary portrait photographs of the war dead in rooms designated for the war dead of the students’ family members (figs. 2.9 and 2.10). In figure 2.9, a female student in the front row makes an offering to the deceased while strips of white paper hanging above the doorway indicates that the space is a Shinto ritual site. In figure 2.10, students hold a piece of paper toward the funerary portrait photographs of the war dead displayed on the wall. They seem to be reading a commemorative message to the deceased. The war dead in photographs, now transformed into national deities, were supposed to be listening to this message and to serve as exemplars for future soldiers.

The practice of establishing a school space dedicated to the commemoration of the war dead began during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). The schools would ask for funerary portrait photographs of the war dead to use in memorial services in their auditoriums. Beginning in 1943, as wartime conditions at home grew harsher, the Japanese government encouraged the establishment of chūreishitsu (忠霊室; a room for loyal spirits) or eireishitsu (英霊室; a room for honorary spirits) through government publications,

---


including *Shashin Shūhō* (写真週報; Photography Weekly).\(^{31}\) This kind of institutionalization of commemorative practice served to indoctrinate future soldiers in the ethos of war by promoting honorable death for Emperor and country as an ideal to be admired.

In conjunction with Yasukuni shrine as official commemorative sites for the war dead, Yūshūkan (遊就館; Hall for Learning from High-Principled People) served to visualize the wars that Japan waged and to memorialize the achievements of the war dead. The museum opened in 1882 in the precinct of Yasukuni shrine, while the plan of its establishment originated from the idea of constructing a hall where *ema* (絵馬) ‘wish plaques’ were exhibited as offerings to the deities of the Shinto shrine.\(^{32}\) Thus, Yūshūkan derives from a religious institution while the military authorities managed its operation for the general public as an educational entity of Japanese militarism until the end of WWII.

As a national war museum, arms and weaponry are the main articles on exhibit at Yūshūkan, while funerary portrait photographs of the war dead are displayed on walls (fig. 2.11). According to a museum catalogue published in 1933, the funerary portrait photographs

---


of the war dead during the First Sino-Japanese War were hung on the wall in one of the
galleries so that visitors would be overwhelmed by feelings of respect and reverence for their
achievements in the way they were for the patriotic spirits enshrined in Yasukuni shrine. Deification of the war dead in the shrine often included a display of their relics and the
funerary portrait photographs in Yūshūkan.

As the first military museum in Japan, Yūshūkan was one of the sacred sites colonial
citizens were motivated to visit, while bereaved families from colonial territories were invited
to the Yasukuni shrine. According to an almanac of the museum, more than 7,000 students
from Korea and about 200 students from Taiwan visited Yūshūkan in 1942, while student
visitors from Manchuria numbered over 1,500. The museum held a travelling exhibition in
several cities of Taiwan in 1934. The exhibition was not merely for the display of weaponry
and arms, but also served as a memorial service for the war dead. An altar for
commemorating the souls of the war dead was set up at the center of the exhibition space.
The timing of the exhibition was not coincidental. A year before, Japan had resigned from the

34 “Chizome No Nisshōki Nado Yasukuninjinja, Shin Gōshisha No Ihin o Chinretsu (血染の日章旗など
靖国神社、新合祀者の遺品を陳列; The National Flag Stained with Blood, Yasukuni Shrine, Display of the
Relics of the Newly Enshrined War Dead),” Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞; Asahi News), September 29, 1941, morning edition.
36 “Yūshūkan Junten No Eirei Saidan e Saisen o Ageru (遊就館 巡展の慰靈祭壇へ 賽銭をあげる; Offering a
Money to a Commemorative Altar in Yūshūkan Travel Exhibition),” Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō
(台灣日日新報; Taiwan Daily News), January 31, 1934.
League of Nations following the Mukden Incident (Manchurian Incident) of 1931 and the relics of the war dead of the Mukden Incident constituted a part of the travelling exhibition.37 The travelling exhibition of Yūshūkan was part of an effort to structure the identity of colonial citizens through visualizing and ritualizing the war. From the 1930s, the Taiwanese public was flooded with a plethora of eireisai (英霊祭; ritual for the honorary spirits) of the war dead through annual memorial services for those who had died during the Wushe Incident (Musha Incident) as well as the Mukden Incident, while the Japanese authority began to construct Shinto shrines throughout the island.38 The travelling exhibition of Yūshūkan in 1934 was also crucial for the next year’s thirtieth anniversary of the Russo-Japanese War, when various memorial services for the war dead were performed throughout Taiwan. The Taiwan Great Exposition was held to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan in 1895. These efforts to ritualize and visualize war were a part of the Kōminka movement (皇民化; Japanization or Projects of Incorporating Colonial Citizens into Imperial Subjects) that paved the way to the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, structuring the identity of the Taiwanese as distinct from continental Chinese. At the same time, they reflect the sense of crisis that the Japanese authorities experienced in its

37 “Tainan No Yūshūkan Junten (臺南の遊說館巡展; Travelling Exhibition of Yūshūkan in Tainan),” Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō (台灣日日新報; Taiwan Daily News), January 25, 1934.
38 Among 68 Shinto shrines built in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period, 30 of them were built in the late 1930s, see Nakajima Michio (中島三千男), Kaigai jinja atochi no keikan henyō (海外神社跡地の景観変容; Changes and Traces of Overseas Shrines) (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 2013), 17.
management of colonial citizens, as socialist awareness developed among Taiwanese intellectuals, and the boom of mass media since the 1920s diversified how they understood society.39 Yūshūkan, with its colonial memories, still plays a role as an institution for memorializing the war dead.40

Five days after the Hiroshima National Memorial Hall for Atomic Bomb Victims opened its doors on August 1, 2002, the prime minister, Koizumi Junichirō, visited the hall to celebrate its inauguration. The timing of his visit was to join the event with the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Ceremony held every August 6 to memorialize the day of the bombing. Koizumi was known to visit Yasukuni shrine for commemorating the war dead. About three months earlier, he had visited the Yasukuni shrine on the eve of its annual spring rites for the dead.

That same year, Yūshūkan re-opened its doors after a several-year-long renovation. The homepage of the Yasukuni shrine stipulates the aim and meaning of Yūshūkan:

Each article displayed in this museum is filled with wish of predecessors who named this museum Yushukan [sic] and sincerity of enshrined divinities who devoted


themselves to build "a peaceful nation." By touching directly the sincerity of enshrined divinities who dedicated their precious lives for their loving motherland, hometowns and families, you may find something precious.41

Among the nineteen galleries of the renovated exhibition space, four galleries are devoted to displaying the relics and the funerary portrait photographs of the war dead. The galleries are named Yasukuni no Kamigami (靖国の神々; Deities of Yasukuni) (fig. 2.12).42 A newsletter of Yasukuni shrine invited bereaved families to donate funerary portrait photographs.43 Thus, the archival impulse for funerary portrait photographs has persisted since the late nineteenth century.

The discourse of peace found in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki National Memorial Halls for Atomic Bomb Victims is echoed in Yūshūkan. Heiwa Kinen (平和紀念; Commemoration of Peace) is the phrase deployed in a number of memorial halls and museums in Japan, while the parlance was structured through the war experience. Originally, heiwa (平和; peace) had referred to harmony within family and society, but it evolved as an antonym of ‘war’ once it was adopted in the late nineteenth century as a translation of the

English word ‘peace’. Yūshūkan, which served to propagate the values of Japanese militarism, now functions as an educational institution for peace and a site to commemorate the war dead. Ishida Takeshi explores various trajectories of the term *heiwa* as it has been imagined and deployed from the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War through the Japanese protest movements against the Vietnam War. ‘Peace’ referred to a state of non-war rather than one of anti-war, as Japanese colonial expansion played out under the name of Tōyō Heiwa (東洋平和; Peace in the Orient). Yūshūkan justifies the Japanese wars of imperial domination and reinterprets them as deeds for peace. What distinguishes the “peace” promoted by Yūshūkan from the one supported by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Memorial Halls?

The plans for the national peace memorial halls in Hiroshima and Nagasaki were made in 1998 as neo-nationalism arose in Japan and a number of rightwing and nationalist organizations were established during the 1990s. In particular, the Japan Conference and the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform were founded a year before the government initiated the project of the national peace memorial halls. The Japan Conference had a close

---


relationship with the ruling party and the Diet, supporting the public presence of the Imperial family and the revision of the Constitution to allow for the maintenance of an army. Both organizations are well known for their refusal to recognize Japanese aggressions during the first half of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{46} At the same time, victims from other countries in Asia began to sue for postwar reparations while The Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery was organized as a people’s trial in 2000.\textsuperscript{47}

In addition to the memorial halls in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, numerous peace museums were established in an attempt to restructure the national identity of Japan during the first decade of the twenty-first century. More than fifty years after Japan’s defeat in the war, the establishment of museums and memorials reveals the sense of crisis that has been spreading within Japanese society on the loss of memory of the war and those who died during the war. The generations born after the war have no memory of war and peace museums and memorials are reshaping the collective memory. Japanese peace museums do not necessarily entail anti-war movements. They have been selective in mounting exhibitions wholly under their control. For example, a proposed exhibition by the Netherlands Institute


for War Documentation in 2000, which focused on Japanese aggression in Indonesia during its occupation period from 1942 to 1945, could not find a venue in Japan. 

During my visits to Yūshūkan, I encountered a funerary portrait photograph of a Korean man. The same photograph was found in another peace museum in Chiran, a small city about 870 miles from Tokyo. The man was a kamikaze who died during the last stages of the Pacific War. As a military deity, he was enshrined in Yasukuni shrine, while his funerary portrait photograph is displayed in Yūshūkan and Chiran tokkō heiwa kaikan (知覧特攻平和会館; Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots). Chiran Peace Museum, established in a city where runways were built for kamikaze sorties, displays funerary portrait photographs, wills, and diaries that kamikaze left behind (fig. 2.13). Some of the funerary portrait photographs show the subjects in uniform, suggesting that they had themselves photographed immediately prior to their final flights. The captions under those funerary portrait photographs contain the pilot’s name, age, and birthplace. Finding several pilots from Korea and Taiwan, I wondered whether it is appropriate to treat them as war criminals or victims conscripted against their will. The museum memorializes the deaths of kamikazes as having undertaken sacred deeds for peace. 

Eirei kōnā (英霊コーナー; The Corner of Heroic Souls) refers to the section where more than a thousand funerary portrait photographs are displayed,

---


and where visitors may access the museum’s digital database to search pilots by name and birthplace. The rhetoric of visualizing war and peace has been played out through funerary portrait photographs of the kamikazes, memorializing their sacrifice to Japan while expunging the national and colonial violence that conditioned their willingness to die.\footnote{For more on kamikaze pilots, see Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). For the recent popularity of kamikaze films and essays, see Yoshikuni Igarashi, “Kamikaze Today: The Search for National Heroes in Contemporary Japan,” in Ruptured Histories: War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia, eds. Sheila Miyoshi Jager and Rana Mitter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 99–121.}

Korean participants in the attacks were forced to volunteer for the suicidal service, yet absent evidence to support the claim, they are touted as having volunteered.\footnote{Bae Young-Mi (배영미) and Nogi Kaori (野木香里), “Iljemalgi Joseonin Teukgongdaewonui ‘Jiwon’gwa ‘Teukgongsa’ (日帝末期 朝鮮人 特攻隊員의 志願과 特攻死; Volunteer and Death by Special Attack of Korean Special Attack Unit Members in Last Years of Japanese Colonial Rule),” Hanilminjongmumyeongu (한일민족문제연구; The Journal of Korean-Japanese National Studies) 13 (2007): 289–326.} Thus, by displaying their funerary portrait photographs and last wills, the Chiran Peace Museum forced those martyrs named ‘divine wind’ (kamikaze) to serve the interests of Japan even after death. As one of the peace institutions with the highest number of visitors after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Peace Museums, this kamikaze memorial institution made application to register some of their collection to UNESCO’s Memory of the World in 2014, in an effort to insert the memory of kamikaze into the discourse on world peace. Kamikaze pilots did not die for world peace but rather for the national ambitions of Japan and for their Emperor. Here is an example of how collective amnesia may be substituted for collective responsibility.
The postwar impulse of Japan to represent the war dead as heroes in service of peace reiterates performances that pivot on wartime rituals for the dead. A funeral for members of the attack unit in the raid on Pearl Harbor was held in 1941 in Tokyo. The navy hosted the memorial service, while many citizens were allowed to pay respect to the funerary portrait photographs of the heroic souls (fig. 2.14). In an example of how a colonial authority may structure the identity of its colonial citizens by creating a spatio-temporal field as a form of public memorial where all may experience the war and mourn the dead, the stories of these honored soldiers was carried throughout the colonial territories of Japan, including Taiwan where footage of the funeral service was shown in Taipei City Public Auditorium (present-day Zhongshan Hall).

One can see how the rhetoric of memorializing the war dead via funerary portrait photographs was applied to wartime propaganda films encouraging enlistment and reiterating the idea that dying for one’s country is honorable. Joseon Haehyeop (조선해협; Straits of Joseon, 1943), a film made in Japanese colonial Korea, starts with a scene in which the protagonist pays respect to the funerary portrait photograph of his older brother who had died

---


53 Kawase Kenichi (川瀬健一), ed., Shokuminchi Taiwan de Jōeiareta Eiga (植民地台灣で上映された映画, 1935(昭和10)年-1945(昭和20)年; Films Shown in Taiwan During the Japanese Colonial Period, 1935-1945) (Kashihara: Tōyōshisōkenkyūjo, 2010), 300.
in battle (fig. 2.15). The film tells the story of the protagonist volunteering for military service while his wife labors in a factory that supports the war effort.

In postcolonial Korea and Taiwan, where cold war politics dominated events following independence from Japan, rituals memorializing those who sacrificed their lives have structured the new identity of the nation-state. National heroes have been cast as anti-colonial heroes on the one hand and anti-communist martyrs on the other hand. Nonetheless, the rhetoric of performing commemorative rituals remains similar to that of the colonial period. At the same time, a cult of personality was constructed for strong national leadership, which will be explored in the chapter three. In postcolonial Taiwan, after its retrocession to the Republic of China and Chiang Kai-shek’s evacuation of the Guomindang (KMT, Chinese Nationalist Party), construction of a new national identity was facilitated by commemorating those who died for the nation-state. For Taiwanese people who experienced the Japanese colonial period, those who were deemed national martyrs changed from military deities enshrined by the Japanese to revolutionaries who had fought against Japanese aggression and the Qing Dynasty to establish modern China. Rituals for memorializing those new national heroes were performed in the former Shinto shrines, now transformed into zhonglieci

---

54 Park Gi-Chae (박기채), Joseon Haehyeop (조선해협: Straits of Joseon) (Joseonn yeonghwa jejak jusikoesa, 1943).
Shrine for Unswerving Loyalty), which emerged in China during the 1930s. The main objects used in these memorial services have been name tablets rather than funerary portrait photographs. Nonetheless, funerary portrait photographs are stipulated as one of the objects to be archived in shrines for national heroes following the statute concerning national shrines for loyal martyrs. Some shrines display funerary portrait photographs of national martyrs. In figure 2.16, funerary portrait photographs are hung on wall while name tablets are placed on shelves behind incense burners. In figure 2.17, a group of funerary portrait photographs are shown under four Chinese characters meaning ‘martyrs’ funerary portrait photographs’ as President Ma Ying-jeou leads a memorial service to national martyrs.

Postcolonialism does not necessarily entail a severance from the Japanese colonial legacies in Taiwan, as practices reminiscent of the colonial period are carried out. For example, a memorial park for Hatta Yoichi (八田與一, 1886-1942) was opened in 2011 where his residence was located during the colonial period. The equivalent of about four million US dollars was spent on the project memorializing Hatta’s achievement as the engineer who designed the Chianan Irrigation System under the direction of the Government-General of Taiwan.

---

55 Cai Jintang (蔡錦堂), “Taiwan No Chūretsushi to Nihon No Gokoku Jinja Yasukuni Jinja to No Hikaku (台湾の忠烈祠と日本の護国神社・靖国神社との比較; Comparison Between Taiwan National Revolutionary Martyr’s Shrine and Yasukuni and Gokoku Shrines of Japan),” in Taiwan No Kindai to Nihon (台湾の近代と日本; Modern Taiwan and Japan), ed. Taiwanshi kenkyū bukai (台湾史研究部会) (Nagoya: Chūkyōdaigaku shakai kagaku kenkyūjo, 2003), 337–57.

Taiwan in the 1920s. Japanese politicians joined President Ma Ying-jeou at the opening ceremony, while Takeda Tsuneyasu (竹田恒泰), a member of the Japanese imperial family as well as Tainan Culture and Tourism Ambassador, held a Shinto memorial service in front of Hatta’s statue. It is perplexing to see that Takeda has been appointed as a delegate sustaining Japan-Taiwan friendship as he is well known for his rightwing stance on nationalism, particularly supporting ultra-nationalist activities against Korean residents in Japan. Takeda’s appointment may be explained by his being a descendant of Kitashirakawa, who died in Taiwan during his expedition to the island and was later enshrined as a tutelary deity of the island with regular worship services in Shinto shrines during the colonial period. Various projects devoted to preserving Japanese colonial traces have operated since the mid-1990s in tandem with attempts to re-interpret the Japanese colonial past in Taiwan under the name of indigenizing Taiwanese history, which is a gesture of distancing Taiwan from Chinese history promoted by


Jeremy E. Taylor explores the re-evaluation of Japanese colonial legacies into pro-colonial nostalgia through preservation projects of colonial relics and monuments. He contends that attempts to rediscover the happy spatio-temporal past of Japanese colonialism has to do with pro-colonial Taiwanese historiography as well as the Japanophilia trend in contemporary Taiwanese society, leading to the commodification of history as an object of nostalgia and exotica. In contrast, Yoshihisa Amae argues that revisiting Japanese heritage is a postcolonial endeavor to construct Taiwanese history. Without providing a thorough rumination on what postcolonial means, he suggests that a mixture of Japanese and Chinese styles in restored colonial relics attests to inherently hybrid and multicultural Taiwanese society, while regarding the preservation of the colonial remnants as pro-colonial is equivalent to the postwar attempt to de-Japanize the island by the Guomindang. However, Yoshihisa stops short of exploring what sort of ideology this historical re-evaluation of the Japanese colonialism supports. By preserving Shinto shrines, is it possible to ignore that students were forced to pay respect in honor of the Emperor, and encouraged to die for him by volunteering to serve in the war for the Japanese Empire? In addition, I also wonder whether

---


an attempt to re-write the history of Taiwan should make an effort to cast light on the positive effects of the Japanese colonial period while trivializing the colonial violence toward comfort women. It is an attempt to mythologize a modernity achieved through a colonial system. Modernity did not solely mean the industrial developments symbolized by Hatta’s irrigation project, but one that included violence and exploitation inflicted on thousands of people, including over eight thousand Taiwanese boys pressed into military factories in Japan during the Pacific War era. Yoshihisa’s preservation of a “beneficent” Japanese colonial legacy is a postcolonial phenomenon in Taiwan that represents the a-historicizing and depoliticizing of the colonial past.

When I took a field trip to the Kyushu area of Japan, where many memorial halls and museums commemorating ‘Special Attack Units’ of the Japanese army and navy are located, the director of a small private museum displaying materials concerning kamikaze told me that he was concerned about the young generation’s ignorance of those who

---

62 For more on the Taiwanese child laborers during the Japanese colonial period, there is a documentary film on them: Guo Liangyin (郭亮吟), Lude Haipingxian: Taiwan shaoniangong de gushi (綠的海平線:臺灣少年工的故事; Shonenko: the untold stories of Taiwanese child laborers in WWII), Documentary (Center for Asian American Media, 2006). I am grateful to Chu-Chiun Wei for drawing my attention to this material.

63 For a critique of this kind of postcolonial discourse, see Ella Shohat, “Notes on the ‘Post-Colonial’,” Social Text, no. 31/32 (1992): 99–113.

64 Special Attack Units, tokubetsu kōgeki tai (特別攻撃隊), engaged in suicid attacks, such as kamikaze (suicide aircraft) and kaiten (manned torpedos and suicide watercraft).
sacrificed for the nation-state during the war.\textsuperscript{65} When he asked me to sign my name in the visitor’s book, he recognized from my surname that I was from Korea. In an apparent attempt to show me that former colonial citizens hold good memories of the colonial period, he showed me photographs of Taiwanese visitors who had shared their memories of training in a kamikaze unit.

The ambivalence in Taiwan toward the colonial past is evident in two groups of Taiwanese within Yasukuni shrine precinct. On every August 15\textsuperscript{th}, observed as the date of the defeat of the Japanese and the independence of the former colonial citizens, one group protests against the enshrinement of the Taiwanese who had served as imperial soldiers, while the other group, Taiwan Minzhengfu (台灣民政府; Taiwan Civil Government), claims that they are still subjects of the Japanese Emperor.\textsuperscript{66} This political ambivalence toward the Japanese colonial period led to ambiguity on the deaths to be memorialized, as seen in the War and Peace Memorial Museum in Kaohsiung City, Taiwan. The museum commemorates the soldiers who died during WWII and the Chinese Civil War, both those who served Japan and those who fought for Nationalist China. The veteran who promoted the establishment of the museum had served in the Japanese imperial army during the colonial period and the Guomindang navy after independence, but found that the nation-state does not honor the military servicemen who failed

\textsuperscript{65} I visited Yokaren shiryōkan (予科練資料館; Yokaren Museum) in Oita in the summer of 2011.

\textsuperscript{66} For Taiwan Minzhengfu’s support of the enshrinement of the Taiwanese in Yasukuni shrine, see http://www.taiwan.gr/worshipping-the-yasukuni-jinja (accessed April 4, 2014).
to return to Taiwan after their defeat in the Chinese civil war. The rhetoric of victimization and sacrifice imbues the museum, leaving open the question of whether it can promote peace through commemorating both former Japanese imperial soldiers and nationalist Chinese soldiers, while at the same time romanticizing military service to the nation-state.

In contrast, there is a case in which nation-states actively engage in establishing an institution commemorating historical victims of Japanese aggression. The Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall in China, opened in 1985, emphasizes the cruelty of the Japanese aggression of 1937 and identifies the massacre as a national shame. The memory of those historical victims led to the espousal of patriotism, while the museum serves as a site of nationalistic education. The museum was established as a response to a 1982 controversy when the Japanese Ministry of Education asked publishers to alter Japanese history textbooks to recast Japanese aggression as a nationalist campaign. The museum has been expanded twice, in 1997 and 2007. For the later expansion, the museum requested donations of funerary portrait photographs and relics of the massacre victims. One gallery is equipped with a black plastic

67 For more on the museum, see http://peace.khcc.gov.tw/internet/topic/about.htm (accessed April 23, 2014). For more on the veteran who initiated the establishment of the museum, see Xu Zhaorong (許昭榮), Taiji laobing de xieleihen (台籍老兵的血淚恨; Resentment and Sufferings of Taiwanese Veterans) (Taipei: Qianwei, 1995).


69 “Nanjingdatusha Yunantongbao Jinianguan Zhengji Yunanzhe Yixiang Yiwu (南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆征集遇难者遗像遗物: Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall Collects the Victims’
virtual pond on which funerary portrait photographs of the victims are reflected with the use of electric candles (fig. 2.18). The number ‘300,000’ is projected onto the ceiling above, referring to the number of casualties. This gesture of archiving funerary portrait photographs reminds one of similar tactics used by the Hiroshima National Peace Memorial Hall for the Atomic Bomb Victims. Even though both institutions promote world peace by exhibiting atrocities and commemorating the dead, they associate victimhood with national identity.\textsuperscript{70}

Kirk A. Denton points out that the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall, along with other institutions recording the Japanese atrocities, has served to create an external Other to divert the internal struggles in post-Mao Chinese society, including class resentment.\textsuperscript{71} While the memory of Japan’s past is at the center of inventing a national history in Taiwan and China, the rhetoric of sacrifice and victimhood has persisted through the practice of commemorating the deaths of national subjects. The use of funerary portrait photographs of historical victims in national memorials encourages revisiting selective parts of the past, rendering them vivid and familiar for the living, most of whom did not experience the event. Through this process,

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{71} Kirk A. Denton, \textit{Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postsocialist China} (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), 133–152.
\end{flushleft}
national memorials serve to continue ideological structures that sustaining violence inflicted weaker groups.

The archival impulse of funerary portrait photographs is found in postcolonial Korea as well. After independence in 1945, most Shinto shrines were demolished, while Syngman Rhee, the first President of South Korea, ordered a statue of himself built at the site of Joseon Grand Shinto Shrine (朝鮮神宮; Chōsen Jingū). The colonial legacy of archiving funerary portrait photographs continues to serve as a tactic to structure national identity. Funerary portrait photographs have been deployed as a symbol of patriotic sacrifice for the nation-state, romanticizing the identity of soldier-citizen. When the naval ship Cheonan sank in 2010, presumably struck by a North Korean torpedo, a national memorial service was created for those who died onboard. The Ministry of National Defense is said to have edited the portrait photographs of the dead seamen by inserting the national flag in the background and ordered all enlisted men to have their portrait photographs taken anew with the national flag and the flag of their corps in the background. This strategy to assemble portrait photographs in case they need to be used for funerary purposes echoes the colonial period practice of

---


ritualizing the war dead. For example, a memorial museum was opened in 2008 in Hwacheon, where soldiers were trained to fight in the Vietnam War.\textsuperscript{74} In addition to a museum displaying artifacts related to the war experience, the local government built a war experience center so that the visitors might have the chance to enter a tunnel emulating the ones in Vietnam, as well as a simulated jungle where tanks and bunkers are placed. Yet the museum does not acknowledge the Hà My Massacre, perpetrated by Korean marines against unarmed civilians.\textsuperscript{75} Instead, narratives of sacrifice and heroism fill the space. The Cold War hegemony tenaciously adheres to the colonial rhetoric of visualizing the war dead within postcolonial Korean society, as in the War Memorial of Korea (전쟁기념관; 戰爭記念館), which since 1994 has held a commemorative service for the national hero of the month.\textsuperscript{76} The need to justify war leads to sanctifying future wars and militarism as the rhetoric of sacrifice and heroism grounded in patriarchal and phallocentric ideologies sustains a fascist violence inherent in imperialism and modernization.


Can funerary portrait photographs participate in archival projects that are constructed beyond the limits of commemoration and within the boundaries of nationalism and masculinity? Before exploring the possibility of trans-archives that engage both the living and the dead in international projects imagining solidarity among global citizens, it is necessary to ruminate on the gender-based nature of war memory, which has thus far been invisible in archives and public institutions. The next section examines how memorial practices deploying funerary portrait photography are grounded in the process of structuring a particular identity for women in relation to the family and the nation-state.

III. Funerary Portrait Photography and Ghost/Spirit Marriage

Photography has played a crucial role in the construction of the family, as one can see in the use of portrait photographs for funerary purposes in East Asia. As a way to record life events and family occasions, photography has become part of the paraphernalia of weddings and marriage since the advent of the new technology. In particular, portrait photographs of brides and grooms became a regular part of the occasion as they served to record and commemorate this rite of passage. In the West in the nineteenth century, marriage certificates
were often framed with tintype or albumen photographs of the newlyweds.\footnote{Henisch and Henisch, The Photographic Experience, 1839-1914, 166–173; Geoffrey Batchen, Forget Me Not: Photography & Remembrance (Amsterdam: Van Gogh Museum, 2004), 36–40.} This type of photographic marriage certificate was a way to confirm the marital bond, adding “an extra element of indexical weight to the signatures that had already authenticated the event.”\footnote{Batchen, Forget Me Not, 36.} Photographs served as mementos of marriages and wedding anniversaries. Endlessly banal photographs of weddings reveal how a social unit based on heterosexuality was institutionalized. Outside the West, wedding photographs also served to structure a new patriarchal order, which negotiated the traditional model of extended family and the ideal of nuclear family emulating the Victorian model, as seen in colonial Bengal in the late nineteenth century.\footnote{Majumdar, Marriage and Modernity, 126–166.}

Some photographic practices in East Asia raise questions about the relationship between photography and marriage. Can photography tie the knot of those who have never met, rather than merely documenting what has occurred? Can photography precede the event of marriage? Can photography support a marriage in the afterlife?

In East Asia, portrait photography has played a unique role in the establishment of family through a twentieth-century phenomenon called Picture Marriage. These were marriages arranged by exchanging portrait photographs and letters in the absence of meeting...
one’s prospective partner in person.\textsuperscript{80} It was prevalent among Japanese and Korean male immigrant laborers in the United States and Canada where they found it impossible to meet women of their own race.\textsuperscript{81} Another type of marriage, called ghost marriage, was carried out via portrait photography, particularly funerary photo-portraiture. I will provide a brief history of ghost marriages in East Asia before exploring how ghost marriage and its deployment of funerary portrait photography are institutionalized to structure a national identity underpinned by patriarchal family ideology.

It is a common belief in East Asia that when people die unmarried, their afterlife will be unhappy, especially as they lack descendants to host memorial services for them. The unmarried dead supposedly wander the earth, bringing shame to their families. Ghost

\textsuperscript{80} For more a detailed description of how picture marriage is processed, see State Board of Control California., \textit{California and the Oriental: Japanese, Chinese and Hindus.} (Sacramento: California State Print. Office, 1922), 154–155; Yuji Ichioka, “Amerika Nadeshiko: Japanese Immigrant Women in the United States, 1900-1924,” \textit{Pacific Historical Review} 49, no. 2 (May 1980): 339–57. Yuji Ichioka notes that ‘picture bride’ is a misnomer. The original term in Japanese is \textit{shashin kekkon} (写真結婚), literally meaning ‘photo-marriage.’ However, there is another term for picture bride in Japanese: \textit{shashin hanayome} (写真花嫁), meaning ‘photo-bride’. In Korean, \textit{sajin shinbu} (사진신부) was generally used, which means ‘photo-bride’ as well.

marriage or posthumous marriage is a solution for unmarried souls. There are numerous circumstances that might prompt family members of the wandering souls to consider holding the ghost marriage. The deceased may appear in a family member’s dream asking for a marriage, or some other unfortunate event or illness has stricken the family, or a male family member has married after his elder brother has died unmarried, or just from general sympathy toward the deceased. A substantial amount of research on ghost marriage in East Asia exists, but none of it explores the use of funerary portrait photography in depth. Ghost marriage is

82 There are a number of different terms for ghost marriage in each language of East Asia, including yeonghon gyeolhon (영혼 결혼; spirit marriage) in Korean; minghun (冥婚; shadowland marriage) in Chinese; shiryōkekkon (死霊結婚; marriage of the spirit of the dead), shigokon (死後婚; after-death marriage), meikon (冥婚; shadowland marriage) in Japanese; Gusō, nu, nibichi (グソー・ヌ・ニービチ; marriage by moving remains) in Okinawan dialect.

a way to attend to the afterlife of the deceased by affording them descendants. The marriage facilitates the adoption of a male descendant within the same family line. The adopted progeny will inherit property or money from the deceased and is expected to host a memorial service for his new “parents.” In addition, ghost marriage provides a woman with new ancestry as she is supposed to move from her father’s family lines to her husband’s, and thus is excluded from her birth family’s ancestors. In Korea and China, it is customary to bury the deceased couple in a common grave after the marriage ritual. The couples are introduced via acquaintances, monks, shamans, or even matchmakers. Recently, ghost marriages have become a social problem in China as a black market for female corpses has given rise to families selling their daughter’s corpses to families seeking brides for their deceased sons.

---


Ghost marriages are made not only between two dead persons but also between the dead and the living. In Taiwan, parents of a daughter who dies unmarried place bait, often money enclosed in a red envelope, on the street to attract a living male partner for the ghost marriage. Once a man picks up the envelope, the parents appear and ask him to perform a ghost marriage with their deceased daughter. He must accept the offer for fear of vengeance by the wandering soul as well as in exchange for the generous financial reward from his prospective parents-in-law. His only obligation is to place an ancestor tablet of his ghost wife onto the ancestor altar of his family. He is not restricted from marrying other women. Even a married man may be a bridegroom in a ghost marriage. In a wedding ritual, the dead partner could be represented by the ancestral tablet, funerary portrait photograph, or effigy. In some cases, the portrait photograph of the deceased is pasted onto the ancestral tablet or figurine. In Taiwan, a generic photograph of a smiling woman, often clipped from a magazine or wall calendar, may be used for the face of the dummy representing the bride (fig. 2.19). In other cases, a photograph of the living bride may be enshrined with a photograph of the dead groom in a temple of Japan. The parents of the deceased often find a woman that their dead

son described through a shaman, and ask her for a portrait photograph.\textsuperscript{87} Ghost marriage is a way of mourning, while the funerary portrait photograph imagines the life of the deceased rather than to function as a \textit{memento mori}. More importantly, the afterlife of the deceased is imagined within the same paradigm of the living, which serves to reinforce a patriarchal family structure. Even in cases in which women perform a ghost marriage in order to remain a spinster in southern China, the marriage is still a crucial element of one’s social life.\textsuperscript{88}

I encountered several ghost marriages through mass media in Korea where funerary portrait photographs as well as dolls and ancestral tablets are used in wedding rituals. I also encountered the relics of ghost marriages in Yūshūkan (遊就館), the war museum in Yasukuni Shrine in Japan.\textsuperscript{89} As seen in figure 2.20, glass boxes contain funerary portrait photographs of the war dead with bride dolls, while others include name tablets of the war dead with their bride dolls.

In a ghost marriage, the family hosts a wedding between their deceased son and a doll that bears the generic features of a bride in a wedding rite. The bride doll, called \textit{hanayome}


ningyō (花嫁人形) in Japanese, is purchased for the purpose of the spirit marriage (another term for ‘ghost marriage’). Enclosed within the glass box is the doll with a photograph of the deceased as well as other offerings, including letters from family members. Ellen Schattischnieder notes that color photographs of the deceased, sometimes snapshots of them in memorable locations, dominate bride-doll marriages of northern Japan. According to Schattschneider, there also exist groom dolls for deceased females, but numerous bride-doll marriages only came to emerge during World War II in those regions of Japan where conscription of young men was highly concentrated. The use of hanayome ningyō in spirit marriage originates from the practice of a bride giving a bride doll to her mother-in-law, while the idea of making a bride doll derives from the emergence of Shinto wedding services modeled after the wedding of the Taishō Emperor (大正天皇) in 1900.

It is often said that the bride doll comes to resemble the face of its partner’s funerary portrait photograph, while both the doll spouse and the deceased are supposed to age. The resemblance is considered proof that the marriage ritual has been performed properly and that

---

90 Schattschneider, “Buy Me a Bride,” 858, note 23 in 878. She contrasts this to the use of black-and-white photographs for memorial services. However, color photographs are not considered exceptional for the purpose of commemoration. Recently in Japan, the elderly have made visits to photography studios every year to have their funerary portrait photograph updated, predominantly in color. This trend is one of the preparatory activities for one’s own death, which is called shūkatsu (終活; activities for ending).
91 Ibid., 857, 859, 862.
the dead spouse has transmigrated successfully into the state of Buddhahood. However, bride dolls dedicated to the war dead in the Yasukuni shrine are not supposed to resemble the funerary portrait photographs of their spirit husbands who are national divinities. The faces of those who sacrificed their lives in service to the Emperor are too holy to be imitated by any form of representation.

A 1997 exhibition titled Eireini agerareta Hanayome Ningyō (英霊に挙げられた花嫁人形; Bride Dolls Dedicated to Heroic Souls) in Yūshūkan showed forty-four bride dolls with funerary photographic portraits of the war dead, as well as the letters from their bereaved families. The dedication of bride dolls began in 1982 when Yūshūkan reopened after its closure by the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, and currently about 180 dolls are consecrated to the war dead in Yasukuni shrine, while the dolls are selectively shown in the Sanshūden (参集殿; hall of reception for worship service) during the month of their spirit husband’s death. One should note that bride dolls are ‘dedicated’ to those who

94 Schattschneider, “Family Resemblances,” 147–150.
95 Ibid., 158.
died on a battlefield rather than being equal marriage partners. Family members, mostly parents, purchase a bride doll and give the object an identity by naming it in order to make the doll an appropriate partner for the war dead in the afterlife. Schattschneider explores how the dedication of bride dolls to the war dead is related to *imon ningyō* (慰問人形; comfort doll) that Japanese women offered to soldiers, including kamikaze.\(^9^9\) She reveals that sending the soldiers feminine dolls was promoted nationally so that the soldiers could carry them as amulets or have a companion on their journey to death, confirming heterosexual ideology with a distinction between women’s and men’s duties during wartime.\(^1^0^0\) In relation to photography, the soldiers made their official identity photographs with the dolls under their uniforms, while others embellished their portrait photographs with a death poem on its reverse, giving them to the girls who had given them dolls.\(^1^0^1\) *Imon ningyō* is closely related to death, as is *hanayome ningyō*. Schattschneider contends that neo-nationalist Shinto commemoration of the war dead contradicts the private and Buddhist dedication of bride dolls. Priests in the Yasukuni shrine claim that the bride dolls are dedicated, not as a symbol of the spirit marriage, but as one of the offerings to the national deities.\(^1^0^2\) However, the

---


100 Ibid., 340.

101 Ibid., 341, 345.

image of the mother dedicating the virtual bride to her son is deeply intertwined with an ideological attempt to imagine the nation-state as a family, creating ideal images of woman, one of which is ryōsai kenbo (良妻賢母; good wife, wise mother). Buddhist beliefs supported the colonial desires of Japan, in contrast to Schattschneider’s assertion that it was antimilitarist.\footnote{103} 

During wartime, womanhood was structured around the image of a good wife and wise mother who sends her husband and son to war. Journals and magazines for women continued to create and promote images of women who could be patriotic citizens and devout subjects of the Emperor by encouraging their sons to die for their country and the Emperor.\footnote{104} This ideal of womanhood and motherhood was claimed as the essence of Japanese women, a state that foreign women could not achieve. Women’s magazines supported the nationalism


and militarism of Japan by carrying images of exemplary women, such as a woman with her
child performing a service of kagezen (陰膳), offering a meal to those who are away, often
represented in the portrait photograph (fig. 2.21). Other images contain women with the
funerary portrait photographs of their husbands who sacrificed their lives for the sacred war,
just as those same women were about to send their sons to war (fig. 2.22). Illustrations of
women paying respect in the Yasukuni shrine were prevalent in women’s magazines as well
(fig. 2.23). The image of woman as a mother of Japan during the war overlaps the one of
those who dedicated hanayome ningyō after the war, perpetuating a heterosexual and
patriarchal ideology of family and nation-state.

This image of patriotic motherhood also proliferated in colonial Korea and Taiwan
during the war. Photographs of mothers with funerary portrait photographs of their husbands
or sons are easily found in colonial newspapers of the time (figs. 2.24-2.27).105 In the
overseas Japanese empire, the image of the mother was geared toward encouraging the
conscription of her son, but mothers in colonial territories were not allowed to share the same
legal and social support as those mothers in Japan, since the law protecting the welfare of

105 “Sinchwiui Yuyeonge Baerye (神鷲의 遺影에 拜禮; Worshipping funerary portrait photograph of a
kamikaze pilot),” Maeil Sinbo (매일신보), June 15, 1945, Morning edition; “Yuyeongape Myeongbok Giwon
(遺影앞에 冥福祈願; Praying for the Repose in front of the Funerary Portrait Photograph ),” Maeil Sinbo
(매일신보), April 18, 1945, Morning edition; “Yuigonno tori Kodomomo Gunjinni 遺言の通り子供も軍人に;
Following the Will, Child to be a Soldier),” Taiwan nichinichi shimpō (臺灣日日新報), October 5, 1937, Day
edition; “Shizukana Mibōjinno Sugata (静かな未亡人の姿; Calm Appearance of a Widow),” Taiwan
nichinichi shimpō (臺灣日日新報), August 17, 1940, Day edition.
mother and child was enacted only in Japan. Nevertheless, the image of good wife and wise mother structured modern womanhood among both the colonizing and the colonized.

The ideal of being a good wife and wise mother, *ryōsai kenbo* (良妻賢母) in Japanese, was shared throughout East Asia as an invented tradition. Several scholars explore how the continuation of submissive roles for women within family and society was propagated as a state ideology in Japan. *Ryōsai kenbo* was spread to the overseas empire of Japan through the system of female education. In Korea, the ideal image of women as good

---


wives and wise mothers served as colonial hegemonic ideology, not a corroboration of existing ethos imposed on women. Good wives and wise mothers were structured through several organizations of women as well, such as Patriotic Women’s Association (愛国婦人会; Aikoku Fujinkai) and the Greater Japan National Defense Women’s Association (大日本国防婦人会; Dai Nihon Kokubō Fujinkai). Those women’s organizations were supposed to send off their sons and husbands with great joy and honor as well as to send comfort bags to soldiers in the battlefield. They visited and consoled wounded soldiers and bereaved families, while cleaning the tombs of national heroes and building a tower for deceased military deities.

Women did not only remain mourners but came to be subjects to be mourned during wartime. A book titled *Yasukuni Retsujoden* (靖國烈女傳; Biographies of Yasukuni’s Exemplary Women) presents stories of women who sacrificed their lives for their country,


including military nurses. The book, published in 1941, served to promote the ideal image of women during the War. According to Kawamura Kunimitsu, around fifty-seven thousand women are enshrined in Yasukuni as national deities, most of whom were military nurses during the war. Museums also served as sites for commemorating the deaths of these nurses. In 1938, the Japanese Red Cross Museum held a memorial service for the nurses who lost their lives in combat areas. The practice of institutionalizing memorial rituals continues today as a local branch of the Japanese Red Cross set up a memorial altar within its small history museum for its deceased members who were dispatched to the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War (fig. 2.28).

Retsujo (烈女, Exemplary Women) is a Confucian concept of womanhood, illustrated in Lienü Zhuan (烈女傳; Biographies of Exemplary Women) during the Han dynasty in

---


114 “Hakui No Tenshi Ireisai (白衣の天使慰霊祭; Memorial Service for the White-Robed Angels),” Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞; Asahi News), October 29, 1938, Morning edition.

China. Lienü Zhuan was used as a textbook throughout East Asia for educating women on how to be a good wife, daughter, and mother. Womanhood was structured by institutionalizing the ideal of mother and wife as entities who are chaste, wise, and benevolent, as well as courageous enough to devote their lives for their country as well as for their families. The familial duties of women were incorporated into the nationalist ideology as the nation-state conferred honor on the women who sacrificed their lives for the Emperor, designating them retsujo. The highest honor for retsujo was to be enshrined in Yasukuni shrine, and their stories were published in newspapers.

One can witness the continuation of memorializing exemplary women as a tool to sustain national identity in the establishment of memorial museums in postwar Japan. In 1989, the Himeyuri Peace Museum (ひめゆり平和祈念資料館; Himeyuri Heiwa Kinen

---


Shiryōkan) was built to commemorate members of the female student nursing corps who died during the Battle of Okinawa in 1945. Himeyuri refers to the Okinawa Female Normal School and the Okinawa First Girl’s High School.\(^{118}\) When the Allies attacked Okinawa, the southernmost island of Japan, in April 1945, the female students of Himeyuri were mobilized as nurses to the Okinawa Army Field Hospital, located in an underground cave. As the battle turned against Japan, the Himeyuri students were ordered to disband and exit the cave while soldiers remained to hide themselves from the fierce bombings. The female nursing students became a symbol of the Battle of Okinawa, particularly as those who sacrificed their lives for Japan. Himeyuri girls were enshrined in Yasukuni shrine, erasing the contradictory memories of the war waged in Okinawa, a small island which was forced to be the final defense against the Allied Powers. The collective memory of Himeyuri is intertwined with the history of Okinawa, which had been an independent kingdom before its annexation by Japan in 1872. After the defeat of Japan in WWII, Okinawa, the southernmost prefecture of Japan, was occupied by the United States until its reversion to Japan in 1972. The story of Himeyuri served to corroborate Okinawa’s Japanese-ness as a strategy during the reversion struggle of the 1960s. Himeyuri Peace Museum was opened in 1989, when the Education Ministry made it compulsory that all schools raise the Rising Sun flag and sing a national anthem praising

\(^{118}\) For information on Himeyuri Peace Museum and the female students nursing corps, see the museum’s website, http://www.himeyuri.or.jp/EN/info.html (accessed April, 5, 2014) and Linda Irene Angst, “In a Dark Time: Community, Memory, and the Making of Ethnic Selves in Okinawan Women’s Narratives” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2001).
the imperial reign. This was also the time when Chiba Shōichi was engaged in legal battles against the government. In 1987, he was charged with burning a Japanese national flag at the National Athletic Meet held in Okinawa as a demonstration against the government’s re-adoption of the symbols of Japanese militarism. The Himeyuri female nurse students, mostly from the elite class, were valorized not only as patriotic daughters of Japan but also as representatives of Okinawan women’s wartime suffering, while the stories of civilian killings by Japanese soldiers and compulsory group suicides were silenced. In addition to retsujo, gunkoku shōjo (軍國少女; military girls) served to designate the Himeyuri students as adolescent girls who willingly joined the military campaigns of their nation-states, even though some of the Himeyuri survivors expressed antipathy to the stories and images established by the museum. One of the galleries, named the ‘chamber of requiem’ (鎮魂; chinkon), is filled with funerary portrait photographs of the Himeyuri students (fig. 2.29). The requiem chamber is at the center of the semi-circular museum, where visitors are supposed to mourn the deaths of the Himeyuri girls. The funerary portrait photographs present the dead both as devout nationalists and as war victims. The rhetoric of sacrifice and

---

119 For Chiba Shōichi’s story and war memories of Okinawan people, see Norma Field, In the Realm of a Dying Emperor (New York: Pantheon Books, 1991), 33–104.

120 For interviews of the survivors, see Angst, “In a Dark Time,” 159–176.

victim echoes in the museum built for the purpose of supporting peace in the world.

While the Himeyuri girls were dying during the Battle of Okinawa, another group of women was exposed to hellish air bombardment and naval gun barrage. However, they were designated neither as ryōsai kenbo nor as retsujo, but were forced to devote their lives to the war efforts of their nation-states. They were called Ianfu (慰安婦; comfort women), enforced military sexual slaves.

When Okinawa reverted to Japan from American occupation in 1972, a Korean woman was subject to deportation as an illegal immigrant. She told an immigration officer her story as a comfort woman during the war, which she had hidden for thirty years. She was given an alien registration card and remained on the island until her death in 1991. When a local newspaper published her story in 1975, it drew enormous attention from the public, as it was the first time that the history of comfort women was made public, let alone by a person directly involved in the experience.122 The Korean woman said that she had been lured to the island by the prospect of a better job and easier life, as she had lived through various hardships in Korea. The Japanese military authorities are known to have established around

130 comfort stations in Okinawa, where women were forced into sexual slavery. Unlike the Himeyuri, the lives and deaths of these comfort women were not the subjects of memorials as they are excluded from the official collective memory of the war.

The history of comfort women remained hidden until the Korean comfort woman told her story. They were not designated exemplary women, but instead were subjects of gossip and humiliation. At the opposite end of the spectrum from good wives and wise mothers, these women were compelled to service the male citizens of the country. Most of the women who were forced into these violent journeys remain outside the social imaginary of national commemoration. They resist modes of memorializing offered by a patriarchal ideology. Instead, the surviving comfort women and their supporters hold funerary portrait photographs of deceased comfort women during protest demonstrations in which they demand an official apology and compensation from the Japanese government. These women serve as a living museum or archive to challenge the nationalist aim of defining the lives of the deceased, while official memorials for “exemplary” women are located in fixed places where the souls of the dead serve patriarchal nationalist ideals.

In East Asian culture, victims of violent deaths are believed to be unable to leave the

---

realm of the living, wandering aimlessly until the cause of their demise is revealed and those responsible are punished. The funerary portrait photographs of comfort women thus symbolize the endless wandering of shamed souls who join protests to provoke the Japanese government into addressing this aspect of war violence properly. When survivors filed a lawsuit against the Japanese government in 2003, funerary portrait photographs of Taiwanese comfort women were carried to a Tokyo district court. The practice of carrying a funerary portrait photograph is common in Japanese courts, as the deceased are believed to observe how the case proceeds, and funerary portrait photographs of comfort women are often found at demonstrations outside Japan as well. The comfort women who attended the Japanese court by way of their funerary portrait photographs lost their case.

124 Taiwan Joseishi Nyūmon Hensan Iinkai (台灣女性史入門編纂委員會; The Compilation Committee of Taiwanese Women’s History), ed., Taiwan Joseishi Nyūmon (台灣女性史入門; Introduction to Taiwanese Women’s History) (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 2008), 83.

The archival impulse of the nation-state has ignored and silenced this unwanted counter-memory of war by memorializing only funerary portrait photographs of the chosen group of women designated good wives, wise mothers, and pious daughters. The archival impulse for funerary portrait photographs and the establishment of institutions commemorating the deaths of exemplary women are structured under the rubric of patriarchal imagining of family and nation-states. Tomiyama Ichirō (冨山一郎) propounds that violence does not emerge suddenly from a state of emergency, but evolves from a mode of living. In addition to the persistent archival impulse for the rhetoric of victimization and sacrifice, postcolonial national imagining has held tenaciously to a patriarchal family ideology, which has been perpetrating violence upon its marginalized groups.

During my research on comfort women, I encountered another group of comfort women through a funerary portrait photograph of a man in Korea. According to an article on his death, his identity photograph was used for his funeral. It is not unusual for an identity photograph to be so employed, as a formal photograph is appropriate for funerary purposes. In his case, the identity photograph was the only photograph made of him during his lifetime. He was born in a town adjacent to a U.S. military base in Korea, the child of a Korean mother and African American soldier. His mother was a comfort woman serving the American

---

126 Tomiyama Ichirō (冨山一郎), Senjō no kioku (戦場の記憶: Memory of Battlefield) (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 1995).
soldiers. He did not know who his father was, and his mother had abandoned him. His community took care of him, as he was intellectually disabled and had not received any education. Moreover, he was not registered as a citizen of Korea, thus remaining outside the boundary of any legal responsibility or rights. When a swindler discovered that intellectually disabled people are eligible for financial support from the government, he made the abandoned son apply for an identity card. That was the first and last time the camp town man had his photograph taken. Afterwards, he was found beaten to death in his room. The community held a funeral for him using his identity photograph as his funerary portrait.

While the issue of comfort women during the Japanese colonial period is of national concern, the issue of camp town prostitutes has been treated in a very similar way to state-regulated prostitution system in Japan, including obligatory regular medical check-ups for sexually transmitted diseases. National security interests had overshadowed the practice, which was imagined by fears invented by cold war politics. The life and death of camp town prostitutes have been represented to reveal the way imperial as well as national violence has

---

been inflicted upon women.\textsuperscript{128} The suffering of the Other is established by the imagined anxieties surrounding national and hegemonic identity, which subsumes personal identity within the same spatial and temporal boundary. Ethnic division marginalizes the miserable hardships of the Other. Increasingly, military town brothels in South Korea are filled with women from the Philippines.\textsuperscript{129} Filipino women obtain culture and entertainment visas from the Korean government, which presumes that they will be employed as singers or dancers. However, most of them are sent by employment agencies to towns near U.S. military bases to work as prostitutes, becoming trapped in the sex trafficking system of Korean agencies. As Korean prostitutes became single mothers or place their children in overseas adoptions, the Filipino women and their children find themselves in the even more vulnerable social status of outsiders in a socially imagined homogenous society.

Discussions of violence against women tend to be silenced when the boundary between “us” and “them” is blurred. Women as victims are readily accepted into nationalist discourse, while women as perpetrators continue to be excluded. At the same time, victims’


suffering is willingly represented when it is viable to position ourselves as unaccountable voyeurs or benevolent protectors. Universal human rights emerge when one seeks a negotiation in an attempt to evade the dilemma of complicity in structural conditions that generate violence, emulating a sympathetic spectator or a seemingly responsible global citizen. One might ruminate on the possibilities of trans-archive or counter-archive as a strategy of practicing counter-memory, which aims to nullify attempts to institutionalize commemorations of the dead for the purpose of structuring a national identity grounded in patriarchal family ideology.

IV. Conclusion: Trans-Archive or Counter-Archive

From selling their daughters and wives to asking them to sacrifice for their countries, families have structured colonial and fascist desires that individuals are persuaded or forced to carry out. In addition to the issue of class and the lack of a labor market for women, the imaginary called “family” has played a crucial role in gendering diasporas of structured

---

Family fascism has constructed an individual desire for identity, gendering the national identity as well as labor force in global market. At the same time, funerary photographic portraits as well as the family photograph album may be understood under the rubric of family fascism. The archival impulse for funerary portrait photographs has been sustained by the desire for maintaining the status quo of patriarchal national ideology.

In the context of a post-9/11 United States, Judith Butler explores how loss and grief lead to violence as a form of national melancholia and retribution. Archives and museums displaying funerary portrait photographs in East Asia have served as a means of heightening nationalist discourse. Funerary photo-portraiture has served as a tool to endorse those who can be mourned or in a similar way that obituary, according to Butler, is “the instrument by which grievability is publicly distributed.” Can we imagine an alternative way of public mourning without simply discarding archives and museums?

In response to archiving efforts that render some deaths as unmarkable and ungrievable, there have been attempts by nongovernmental organizations and international

---


133 Ibid., 34.
coalitions of civil and feminist activists to establish a site to publicize these silenced stories.

The Women’s Active Museum on War and Peace (Onnatachi no sensō to heiwa shiryōkan; 女たちの戦争と平和資料館) in Tokyo has striven for social recognition of wartime violence against women, particularly comfort women, protesting since its establishment in 2005 against the Emperor system of Japan. The War and Women’s Human Rights Museum in Seoul functions in a similar way by recounting the untold stories of comfort women.

While the Tokyo museum displays portrait photographs of comfort women (fig. 2.30), not all are funerary portrait photographs, as some of the subjects survive. Visitors are unable to distinguish the dead from the living, thereby experiencing the intertwining of the lives of the living with the afterlives of the deceased. In addition, it is impossible to identify the nationality of the photographed women, which supports the museum’s aim of transnational solidarity against patriarchal violence. The Seoul museum creates a site for mourning the deceased comfort women with funerary portrait photographs printed on the faces of black bricks that make up a latticed partition wall of the museum (fig. 2.31). Visitors are invited to place flowers in the open spaces between the bricks. Is this way for the museum to display funerary portrait photographs different from the way other museums for the war dead ask

---

134 For more information, visit the website of the museum, http://wam-peace.org.

135 The museum opened in 2012, transforming a private house into an exhibition space with donations from individuals. The museum originally was to be built within Seodaemun Independence Park where those who died for independence are commemorated. However, some organizations of bereaved families of independence activists protested against the establishment of the museum within the park in that the stories of comfort women are inappropriate to be included in the discourse of independence activities.
visitors to pay respect before funerary portrait photographs? The War and Women’s Human Rights Museum serves as a place to maintain a counter-memory of the war dead, particularly of those who were designated as war heroes or military divinities. Furthermore, the museum does not serve as a site of mourning of comfort women as a closed archive, but as a place in which to engage in discourse on the social and historical conditions that engender violence.

Delegates from the Korean Council for the Women Drafted into Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, which operates the museum, made visits to the homes of women who were raped by Korean soldiers during the Vietnam War. One Korean soldier’s abandoned child stands before a funerary portrait photograph of his mother to inform her of the visit. The majority of these Vietnamese women bore children who now suffer from their minority status as mixed-race persons born of unwed mothers. Since 2013, the Nabi (Butterfly) Fund, which was established by two surviving comfort women of Korea and by the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery have begun to offer financial assistance to those children, now adults in their thirties.136

---

Mourning before funerary portrait photographs of the historically and socially marginalized requires us to challenge the symbolic order of the patriarchal and heterosexual family that is embedded in the vernacular use of portrait photography. Attempts to create a trans-archive or counter-archive by domestic and international civic organizations reveal how one’s daily life may be complicit in continuing structural violence, particularly by consuming archives as a spectacle of the Other. The archiving of funerary portrait photographs risks their becoming presented in a way similar way to how mug shots are organized and categorized. In 2012, I visited the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia where mug shots of the deceased are exhibited inside former torture chambers. The museum building was constructed as a high school before the Khmer Rouge, 1975-1979, converted it into a secret prison. The prison was discovered when Vietnam invaded Cambodia, purging Pol Pot, when Vietnamese forces discovered an enormous archive of mug shots. The Vietnamese authorities converted the prison into a museum to illustrate the cruelty and brutality of the Khmer Rouge and legitimate the Vietnamese-backed government and the Vietnamese military occupation until 1989.137 Several thousand mug shots are exhibited and also archived on an online database in women with financial support. The Korean and Taiwanese comfort women reject any kind of charity from the Asia Women’s Fund. For more on the problems of the fund, see Martin Albrow and Hakan Seckinelgin, eds., *Global Civil Society 2011: Globality and the Absence of Justice* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 19–20.

the Documentation Centers of Cambodia and Yale University. A selection of mug shots was included in a traveling exhibition titled *Facing Death*, from 1997 to 2001, which began at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. It was this exhibition that inspired Susan Sontag to ruminate on the violence of photography in representing atrocities in “Regarding the Pain of Others.” Regardless of its denotation as funerary portrait photograph or identity photograph, for most visitors to the memorial halls and museums, portrait photographs of historical victims are images of the Other. Immersing oneself in melancholia before funerary portrait photographs of the Other is another kind of violence, further marginalizing the marginalized. We should struggle with the question of how to mourn the death of the Other, because mourning that fails to transform and dislocate the self descends into melancholia. Jacques Derrida says, “nothing is more unbearable or laughable than all the expressions of

---

138 For on-line databases of the mug shots in Tuol Sleng, see http://www.tuolsleng.com, and http://www.yale.edu/cgp/img.html. Other materials including mug shots are microfilmed in Cornell University library. For various archival forms of Tuol Sleng mug shots, see Michelle Caswell, “Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence and Voice in Khmer Rouge Mug Shots” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 2012); Michelle Caswell, *Archiving the Unspeakable: Silence, Memory, and the Photographic Record in Cambodia* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014).

139 The exhibition was organized by Photo Archive Group, founded by two American photojournalists who were involved in preserving mug shots in the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. The organization sold some prints to the museum. See Caswell, “Archiving the Unspeakable,” 2012, 128–131.

guilt in mourning, all its inevitable spectacles.”¹⁴¹ Derrida asserts that encountering the Other is inherently related to the work of mourning:

[...] of the possibility of stating the other or speaking to the other. We shall see how it does so; but already we know the issue is unmistakably that of death, of this moment of mourning ... the most difficult because everything we say or do or cry, however outstretched toward the other we may be, remains within us. A part of us is wounded and it is with ourselves that we are conversing in the work of mourning and of Erinnerung ... let us weep no longer over ourselves, alas, when we must no longer be concerned with the other in ourselves, we can no longer be concerned with anyone except the other in ourselves ... Beyond internalizing memory, it is then necessary to think, which is another way of remembering.¹⁴²

The banality of archived funerary portrait photographs is intertwined with violence in our daily lives. The possibility of trans-archives should be imagined from an attempt to transcend both spatial and temporal boundaries, evincing the relationality between sites and moments of violence. It is imperative that we critically engage in the current practices of archiving and institutionalizing the dead. At the same time, we need a language different from the heteronormative one that sustains the patriarchal impulse of archiving.


Chapter Three

Funerary Photo-Portraiture and State Funerals

I. Introduction

In 2014, a Japanese high school student posted on her Twitter account a snapshot of Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko, creating an uproar in Japan.¹ She had taken the photograph when the imperial couple visited her hometown, and wanted to share the moment on social media. Many Japanese criticized her for publicly displaying on a vulgar medium what they consider to be sacred images, while others praised her attempt to draw the imperial family closer to ordinary people. This twenty-first century stir around the posting of an image of the Emperor dramatized the public sentiment that the Emperor as symbol of the nation-state has remained sacrosanct. Photographs of the Emperor had been treated as sacred objects beginning in the 1870s, when the Japanese government distributed portrait photographs of Emperor Meiji for public display by local authorities and schools. The practice lasted until 1946, when Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) made his Ningen Sengen (人間宣言: Humanity Declaration), declaring that he was not a god, but merely the symbol of the nation-state of Japan.

Monarchs and national leaders in the West have long utilized portrait photography as a political device by which to structure the identity of modern nation-states. Wilhelm I (1797–1888) allowed his portrait photographs to be displayed in shop windows as salable items, and distributed to select subjects his royal likeness bearing his autograph. Wilhelm II (1859–1941) used his portrait photographs to create a distance from his subjects by enacting a copyright law to protect his likeness, while Queen Victoria visualized the monarch’s body as a symbol of bourgeois heterosexism by publishing her personal diaries and circulating photographs of the royal family for sale in the market for celebrities’ likenesses.

Outside the West, rulers of princely India embraced photography as a tool to document their courtly life, often becoming practitioners themselves. Court painters adopted the technology as their rulers adorned palaces with photographs and gave royal likenesses as gifts to colonial officials. Portrait photographs of princes were displayed as ethnographic spectacles for Westerners, and, from 1877, a photographic portrait of Queen Victoria was used as a symbol of her power as Empress of India.

---


In Benin, Nigeria, the first royal photographer was appointed in 1933, while images of the royal family had been taken by the British since their conquest of the region in 1897.\(^5\) King Mongkut of Siam exchanged his royal photographic likeness with Queen Victoria as early as the 1860s.\(^6\) While royal likenesses had been reproduced since the introduction of photography in the mid-nineteenth century, photographs and lithographs of Thai kings were placed on tables alongside other offerings, commemorating deceased sovereigns since the 1920s.\(^7\) Maurizio Peleggi’s argument that Thai monarchs’ portrait photographs were perceived as an “emanation, rather than as representation, of the monarch’s mystical self” highlights the sacredness of monarchs’ and state heads’ portrait photographs in East Asia.\(^8\)

Although studies on royal portrait photographs in these regions offer valuable glimpses into the history of royal photography, they fail to explore its ritualistic uses within specific socio-political contexts. This chapter focuses on the ways in which portrait photographs of national leaders acquired sacred status through the cult of personality and the ritualization of national ceremonies, including state funerals, in East Asia. In “Imperial

---


\(^8\) Peleggi, “The Aesthetics and Politics of Royal Portraiture in Thailand.”
Exposure: Early Photography and Royal Portraits across Asia,” a symposium held at the Freer and Sackler Galleries of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. in 2011, scholars discussed various modes of visualizing monarchs and royal family members, from Emperor Meiji of Japan, and Empress Dowager Cixi of China, to Thai royal portraits. However, there was no discussion of the use of monarchical portrait photographs in royal and state funerals. This chapter sheds light on the commemorative uses of monarchical portrait photographs in state funerals.

A key factor that distinguishes how East Asian persons experience royal and state portraits from how such portraits are experienced in the West is that in the East there is a belief that the subject of a portrait is gazing upon the viewer rather than the viewer gazing at the portrait. The East Asian person bows before the likeness, often kept in a sacred place in the home or school, as one would bow to the living person. As sovereignty moved from monarchs to commoners, national leaders often assumed a status above the law and superior to other humans, establishing themselves as dictators. In the twentieth century, the sense of being gazed upon by the souls of monarchs extended to portrait photographs of presidents and political party chairmen, as most pointedly seen in the cult of national leaders of China since the 1920s and of North Korea since the 1950s.

This chapter explores the process by which portrait photography of monarchs and

---

9 Selected essays were published in *Ars Orientalis* 43 (2013).
heads of state became sacred before they came to be used in funerary services in East Asia. It also traces the ways in which portrait photography was used in state funerals as a device to structure national identity and to promote individuals’ roles as ritual participants and loyal subjects.

II. Monarchy and Portrait Photography in East Asia

Monarchical interest in portrait photography in East Asia began in Japan in 1872, when Emperor Meiji had himself photographed for the first time. King Gojong of Korea followed suit in the early 1880s, as did Empress Dowager Cixi of China around 1903. Creating an imperial cult played a critical role in the construction of national identity when Japan restored the imperial monarchy in 1868. Prior to the Meiji Restoration, Japanese emperors had been invisible to the public, as they retained only symbolic status—a shogun (military governor) held the actual political power. With the restoration of the monarchy, Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) became publicly visible through various efforts, including his relocation to Tokyo from Kyoto, imperial excursions across the country, and the official distribution of his portrait photograph to schools and local government offices.\(^\text{10}\) His

activities were recorded in woodblock prints and photographs by which his subjects could see his ‘sacred countenance’ for the first time. Taki Kōji (多木浩二) investigates how portraits of Emperor Meiji were created and circulated as a political tool to construct a new national identity following the resumption of monarchical power.11

Emperor Meiji’s first photo portrait was made for the purpose of exchanging images of sovereigns at diplomatic meetings in the West (fig. 3.1). Made in 1872 by Uchida Kuichi (内田九一), the owner of a photo-studio in Tokyo,12 the image shows Meiji in traditional imperial court dress, which some government officials considered unsuitable to their desire to represent Japan as a modern nation-state. The next year, the Emperor had another portrait made in which he is wearing a modern military uniform (fig. 3.2). The photograph was distributed to government and local administrative offices and Japanese embassies and legations. The public’s response to the imperial portrait may be seen in The Illustrated London News:13 The visitors appear to be in awe of the sacred portrait (fig. 3.3). Despite the


general public’s eagerness to obtain copies of the sacred image, Uchida’s request to reproduce the portrait was rejected, and public circulation was prohibited.

From the late 1880s, the Japanese government utilized photography as a propaganda tool. The Ministry of Education decreed that Emperor Meiji’s portrait photograph be distributed to schools and instructed that a ritual be created to demonstrate respect toward the sacred image. The Emperor supposedly disliked being photographed, so a new portrait photograph was made that did not require the emperor to sit before a camera. Edoardo Chiossone, an Italian draftsman, made a conté sketch of the emperor at a government meeting, and Maruki Riyō 丸木利陽 photographed the sketch (fig. 3.4). The combined manual/mechanical representation produced an idealized image of the monarch as head of state and the military that presents the thirty-six-year-old emperor looking more authoritative and dignified than in his earlier photograph. The government distributed copies of the image to schools and government offices throughout the empire in their effort to signal the emperor’s omnipresent power. Japanese subjects were expected to accept and honor the image as the manifestation of a god in human form whose arrival was to be greeted with special rituals. Consistent with the Japanese government’s emulation of Prussian models for modernizing the nation-state, including its constitution, the distribution of royal portraits to

---

14 Fujitani, Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan, 84.
schools seems to have followed the German practice.\textsuperscript{15}

Portraits of emperors and empresses were placed in specially designated structures, often built in the form of a Shinto shrine (fig. 3.5).\textsuperscript{16} Reading the Imperial Rescript on Education before portraits of the emperor and empress was required at ceremonies on national and public holidays, including the emperor’s birthday. \textit{Fūzoku Gahō} (風俗画報; An Illustrated Magazine of Japanese Life) shows how the ceremonies were performed (fig. 3.6).\textsuperscript{17} Students bowed before imperial portraits while listening to the school principal read the Imperial Rescript on Education. The sacred portraits were placed in what appears to be a \textit{kamidana} (神棚), an altar enshrining Shinto deities (fig. 3.7). Japanese people place \textit{kamidana} in their homes and workplaces to worship Shinto deities. The status of the emperor as a god in human form would have required this kind of structure to house the emperor’s likeness.

The emperor’s portrait was also reproduced in a hanging scroll format that could be hung in the home. In another illustration in \textit{Fūzoku Gahō}, one can see the portrait in a home on \textit{Tenchōsetsu} (天長節), the emperor’s birthday, which had been designated a national

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{15}] Giloi, “Copyrighting the Kaiser,” 415.
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] Miyachi Masato (宮地正人) et al., eds., \textit{Biju ru waido Meiji jidaikan} (ビジュアル・ワイド明治時代館; Visual Wide Theater of Meiji Period) (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2005), 192–193.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] “Shōgakkō Gantan Chokugo Hödoku Haishōka Zukai (小學校元旦勅語奉讀拜唱歌圖解; Reading the Rescript on Education and Singing Together on New Year’s Holiday),” \textit{Fūzoku Gahō} (風俗画報), no. 64 (January 1894): 22–23.
\end{itemize}
holiday in 1873 (fig. 3.8).\textsuperscript{18} The illustration shows all the symbolic elements by which to structure a national identity, including the national flag and the emperor’s portrait displayed on the national holiday held for the monarch. The accompanying article on Tenchōsetsu reveals that people were supposed to show respect to the sacred portrait as a way to celebrate the emperor’s divine birth.\textsuperscript{19}

The emperor’s portrait played a crucial role in acculturating soldier-citizens to Japan’s militaristic zeitgeist. The Japanese government established conscription in 1872, and the emperor, as head of the military, had his portrait distributed to all military units. In victory celebrations, the emperor’s portrait served to remind citizens for whom they had fought. For example, people paid respect to portraits of the emperor and empress when celebrating the Japanese victory in the suppression campaign of the Taiwanese in 1896 (fig. 3.9).\textsuperscript{20} The far right image shows returning soldiers saluting the imperial portraits with their hats off.

The practice of paying respect to the portrait photograph of an emperor, whether living or dead, offered the public an opportunity to be gazed upon by the soul of their sacred


\textsuperscript{20} “Shibaku Gaisen Gunjin Kangeikai (芝區凱旋軍人歡迎會; Welcome Party for the Triumphant Troops in Shiba District),” \textit{Fūzoku Gahō Taiwan Tobi Sōjō Zue Dai Ichihen (風俗畫報 臺灣土匪掃蕩圖會第1編; Special Issue on the Suppression of Taiwanese Aborigines)}, no. 111 (March 25, 1896): 29.
sovereign. In contrast to the Western practice of memorializing the dead by looking at their photographs, worshipping this relic of the deceased in East Asia is the proper commemorative practice. Guidebooks on modern manners for citizens of the Japanese empire included chapters on how to pay respect to the sacred portraits of emperors and empresses (fig. 3.10). Ill manners were not merely gauche; they were considered irreverent. Uchimura Kanzō (内村鑑三), a Christian, refused to bow during the ceremonial reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1891 because he considered doing so an act of idolatry. Uchimura’s conduct triggered a scandal called ‘the incident of disrespect’, which provoked a social backlash against Christians. *Goshinei fukei jiken* (*御真影不敬事件; Incidents of Disrespect to Imperial Portraits*) prompted a fear of being viewed as disloyal to the emperor and, in turn, the nation-state. A Japanese representative of the Methodist Mission in Fresno, California refused to bow to the portrait of Emperor Meiji during a ceremony for the emperor’s birthday in 1911. His conduct divided the Japanese community of the United States into those supporting the individual’s choice not to pay respect to the portrait and those who considered the subject of the scandal a traitor to Japan. The incident also provoked conflict between

---


22 For the details on incidents of disrespect to imperial portraits, see Omata Noriaki (小股憲明), *Meiji ni okeru fukei jiken no kenkyū* (*明治期における不敬事件の研究; Research on Disrespect Incidents during Meiji Period*) (Tokyo: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2010), 285–289.
Christians and Buddhists. In an article responding to the incident titled “The Christian Viewpoint on the Emperor’s Portrait,” Reverend Kitazawa Tetsuji (北沢鉄治) supported the individual’s right to choose, arguing that not all people share the same attitude toward the emperor’s portrait. Kitazawa presented three attitudes toward the sovereign’s representation: “to respect the Emperor in Japan through the portrait, to respect the portrait as a portrait and nothing more, and to respect the portrait as the embodiment of some transcendental value.” Christians were supposed to pay respect to the emperor’s portrait with the second idea in mind, as an act of respect, but distinctly not one of worship. His argument failed to persuade the majority of the Japanese community, leading to his ostracism.

Socialists and anarchists refused to align themselves with the Japanese government’s endeavor to structure national identity through consecrating the emperor and creating rituals to reinforce the monarchical state. After the Kotoku incident, an alleged attempt to assassinate Emperor Meiji in 1910, a group of socialists were executed under the section of the Criminal Code titled ‘Crimes against the Throne.’ The families of the convicts were ostracized and excluded from participating in rituals to pay respect to the portraits of emperor

and empresses. At schools, teachers took turns guarding the sacred portrait of the emperor. There was an incident in which some teachers died trying to save the portrait from destruction in a fire.

Later, a building called hōanden (奉安殿) was designated to contain the portraits of the emperor and empress along with the Imperial Rescript on Education (fig. 3.11). Students were obliged to show respect to the emperor by bowing toward the hōanden whenever they passed it, as well as during ceremonies on national holidays, such as the birthday of the emperor (fig. 3.12).

The portrait photograph of the emperor was distributed to Korea and Taiwan during colonization. Beginning in 1895, the headquarters of the Government-General of Taiwan contained a special room called a goshineishitsu (御真影室; Room for Imperial Portrait) where portraits of the emperor and empress were kept. In Korea, imperial portraits were distributed to Japanese public schools in treaty ports, such as Incheon and Busan, as early as 1892. After colonization in 1910, the Government-General of Korea mandated distribution

25 “Umoreta Koe: Daigyaku Jiken Kara 100nen (埋もれた声: 大逆事件から100年; Buried Voice: 100 Years Since the Case of High Treason)” (Tokyo: NHK, August 22, 2010).
26 Liao Wenshuo (廖文碩) and Wang Jianjun (王建鈞), “Taiwan Yu Chaoxian Zongdufu Jianzhu Zhi Bijiao (臺灣與朝鮮總督府建築之比較; Comparison Between the Presidential Architecture of Taiwan and Korea),” Guoshiguan Guanxun (國史館館訊; The Academia Historica Newsletter) 1 (December 2008): 174.
of the imperial portrait.

Royal images underwent a series of rituals before installation in schools or offices. When an officer carried the imperial portrait from Japan to Seoul, all members of the Government-General were expected to welcome its arrival at the train station. A ritual of transferring the imperial image was held in the offices of the Government-General in Seoul before its transfer to local offices and schools. Once the portrait arrived at its final destination, all local citizens attended an enshrining ceremony. For the Korean public, the practice of bestowing the sovereign’s portrait was a familiar event. After the Eulsa Treaty (Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty, 1905), acculturation to royal rule began. In 1907, Itō Hirobumi, the Japanese resident-general of Korea, began distributing the portrait of Korean King Sunjong, and from 1910, the portrait of Emperor Meiji replaced that of King Sunjong.

The Japanese effort to assimilate colonial citizens into imperial consciousness by deploying national symbols such as the emperor’s portrait may be traced as early as 1873, when the national flag and a photograph of the emperor were sent to Okinawa, one of the first colonies to receive the imperial portrait. The Ryukyu Kingdom, which once had tributary

---

29 Ibid., 386–389.
relationships with Japan and the Qing dynasty in China, was annexed by Japan in 1868 and
designated Okinawa prefecture in 1879. The Japanese government needed to inform an
otherwise ignorant citizenry of their new sovereign and the nation-state they had just
“joined.”

Another important ritual involving the imperial portrait is Hōkanshiki (奉還式; Ritual
for Reverential Return), a series of official procedures required for returning an imperial
portrait to Tokyo. In colonial territories, the portraits in local cities were always returned to
the offices of the Government-General in Seoul.31 When the portrait of Emperor Taishō was
to be replaced in Hamhung, Korea, in 1916, ten-thousand people gathered at the train station
to see off the sacred object.32

The most remarkable return of a portrait occurred after Japan’s defeat in the Second
World War. Japanese subjects had been expected to protect imperial portraits from falling
into enemy hands,33 so all imperial portraits in colonial territories were to be returned to
Tokyo. Following the surrender of Japan, Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP),
which exerted political and economic control over Japanese society from 1945 to 1952,
abolished all rituals related to imperial portraits and ordered the demolition or re-purposing of

31 “Goshinei Hōkanshiki (御真影 奉還式; Ritual for Reverential Return of the Imperial Portrait),” Taiwan
Nichinichi Shimpō (台灣日日新報; Taiwan Daily News), January 17, 1917, Day Second edition.
32 “Hamgyeongnamdo, Eojinyeong Bonghwan (함경남도, 御真影 奉還),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), February 1,
1916.
33 Field, In the Realm of a Dying Emperor, 69.
As it was unimaginable to the Japanese to place the emperor’s portraits in storage or to discard them, and because it would have been embarrassing for the Japanese government to admit that it had acted under SCAP orders, a tactful—and tactical—solution was devised. The Ministry of Education announced a plan for imperial portraits to be sent back to government offices on the pretext that a new imperial robe would be made, thereby necessitating that a new portrait be created; they deliberately gave no date for the completion of the new portrait. Details on the return were conveyed to local schools, including how to pack and ship the portraits. An empty frame that once contained the imperial photograph may still be seen at Tokyo University.

The return of the imperial portraits and the ban on their ritual use did not result in the complete disappearance of the emperor’s representation. In 1946, the Imperial Household Agency released a notice on imperial portraits, designated goshashin (御写真; honorary photography) instead of goshinei. The notice specifies how to treat photographs of the

---

34 Satō Hideo (佐藤秀夫), Goshinei to kyōiku chokugo (御真影と教育勅語 3; Imperial Portraits and the Rescript on Education 3), 10:120, 145, 236.
36 Ibid., 10:160–165.
imperial family, allowing the imperial images to be placed with other types of portrait photographs. Anyone wishing to acquire photographs of the imperial family, it says, can ask the Imperial Household Agency to issue them. Even SCAP allowed the display of the emperor’s portrait in classrooms under the condition that they would not be used as objects of worship. However, the prohibition against their ritual had to be reiterated many times, as schools often violated the SCAP policy.

In China, the Empress Dowager Cixi, (1835-1908), the de facto ruler of the Qing dynasty from 1881 until her death, was the first royal figure to embrace photography as a diplomatic device. The decision to produce multiple representations of Her Majesty followed the empress dowager’s introduction to the practice of using images of royal figures as a political and diplomatic ruse in the West, particularly after her escape to Xi’an during the Boxer Uprising in 1900. Cixi is said to have hung a portrait of Queen Victoria in her private apartment, acknowledging the British monarch’s embrace of portrait photography. The empress dowager made it clear which image was used for diplomacy and which had been made for private purposes. A banner inscribed with Da Qingguo (大清国; The Great Qing State) and Huangtaihou (皇太后; Empress Dowager) appears only in photographs and

---

38 Satō, Goshinei to kyōiku chokugo 10:236–237.
39 Ibid., 10:266, 268, 270.
40 Grant Hayter-Menzie, Imperial Masquerade: the Legend of Princess Der Ling (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Libraries, 2008), 200, 203; Anderson, “‘A Semi-Chinese Picture’: Hubert Vos and the Empress Dowager of China,” 102.
portrait paintings designated for formal use\(^{41}\) (figs. 3.13-3.17).

It was permissible for Cixi’s photographic likeness to be made only by the court photographer, Yu Xunling.\(^ {42}\) The use of the royal photographs was strictly controlled by *Shengrongzhang* (聖容帳; Register of Sacred Likeness), established by the *Neiwufu* (內務府; Imperial Household Department).\(^ {43}\) However, the Empress Dowager could not contain the desire of the public to consume images of famous figures, including the royal family, and copies of her portrait photographs were offered for sale in shop windows.\(^ {44}\) In her article on portraits of the Empress Dowager Cixi around 1904, Cheng-hua Wang provides useful material concerning the circulation of the Empress Dowager’s photographs in advertisements of a photo-studio in Shanghai and a publisher known for selling photo-albums of celebrities.\(^ {45}\)

It is unlikely that Cixi or the *Neiwufu* authorized the likeness of the Dowager Empress to be

\(^{41}\) Cixi never seemed to imagine herself in modern clothing, as she inherited and kept the traditions of the Qing dynasty.

\(^{42}\) Hubert Vos argued that he took pictures of Cixi when he was called for producing a portrait painting of her. “Painting an Empress: Hubert Vos, K.C.D.D., the First Man to Portray the Dowager Empress of China,” *The New York Times*, December 17, 1905. A Japanese photographer was said to take photos of Cixi, see Wang, “Going Public,” 129–130.


distributed to the general public, let alone to be commodified. Unlike the Japanese government, the Qing government saw no benefit in distributing the imperial likeness to its subjects.

In Korea, King Gojong (1852-1919) had himself photographed beginning in the early 1880s for diplomatic exchanges of sovereigns’ photographs. He wore traditional Korean imperial dress in early photographs, including in the image made by Percival Lowell, who served as foreign secretary for a special Korean diplomatic mission to the United States, and in another photograph given to Alice Roosevelt in 1905 when she visited Seoul with members of the Taft Mission to Asia (figs. 3.18 and 3.19). The photographs in imperial dress are full-length portraits similar to imperial portrait paintings.

During the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897), the creation of royal portrait paintings and their enshrinement in royal portrait halls were state rites. Books about the rites for the

---


47 For all the details on the portrait photographs of Gojong, I am indebted to the following source. Kwon Heangga (권행가), “Gojong Hwangjeui Chosang: Geundae Sigangmaecheui Yuipgwag Eojinui Byeonnyong Gwajeong (고종 황제의肖像: 近代 시각매체의 流入과 御眞의 변용 과정; A Study on the Portraits of Emperor Gojong)” (PhD diss., Hongik University, 2006).

painting of the royal portrait were published, describing the process of selecting painters and the ritual of transporting a portrait to royal halls. Royal portraits were carried on ‘spirit palanquins’, accompanied by high-ranking officials and honor guards. In contrast, royal portrait photographs were not enshrined in royal portrait halls, demonstrating the lower status of photography within the court.

Photographs of King Gojong were most likely circulated in Japan as well, as suggested by the Japanese name of the photographer (figs. 3.20 and 3.21). Unlike Emperor Meiji of Japan and Empress Dowager Cixi of China, King Gojong did not designate a royal photographer. Moreover, he did not intend to distribute his portrait photographs to his subjects. However, lithographs of the sovereign were accessible via a Christian newspaper as early as 1897, when a missionary used the imperial likeness to attract the attention of the Korean public.

After the declaration of the Korean Empire in 1897, King Gojong strove to establish a new identity for Korea as a modern nation-state of which he was the monarch. Using both oil painting and photography, his portrait was made often between 1899 and 1904—until the

---

49 Spirit palanquin was usually used in funeral procession. The coffin carried a corpse and the soul of the deceased was believed to require a separate carriage.

50 Choi In-jin (최인진), *Hanguk Sajinsinmunsa* (*韓國新聞寫眞史: History of Photography in Korean Newspaper*) (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1992), 43–45. The lithographical image is not found, though.

51 Among the oil paintings of Gojong, there is a work painted by Hubert Vos in 1899, who later painted Cixi’s portrait in China. The portrait painting by Vos was exhibited in the Exposition Universelle of 1900. See Kwon, “Gojong Hwangjeui Chosang,” 102–103.
outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)—although Gojong and his government
prohibited the sale of the sovereign’s image.\textsuperscript{52} During this five-year period, one can see
portraits of Gojong wearing a Western-style military uniform (figs. 3.22-3.24). In contrast to
the portrait photograph of Emperor Meiji in military dress, Gojong’s portraits were not
distributed to the Korean general public but were reserved for foreign eyes. The modern
military uniform was meant to project Gojong as holding a status equivalent to sovereigns in
the West, but after Japanese colonization in 1910, the authorities no longer allowed Gojong to
be presented in this light. In a picture postcard celebrating the colonization, Gojong wears
traditional Korean imperial dress while Emperor Meiji, placed above the image of Gojong,
wears a military uniform (fig. 3.25). In addition, an earlier image of Gojong was used for the
postcard, making him appear younger than Emperor Meiji, though they were the same age.
The postcard, which was made in Japan, was intended to depict Japan’s dominion over
Korea.

Exposure to the practice of exchanging photographs among Western sovereigns
encouraged monarchs of East Asia to sit before a camera. Emperor Meiji of Japan
institutionalized and ritualized the distribution of imperial portrait photography, while
Empress Dowager Cixi of China and King Gojong of Korea were unwilling to use their
likenesses as tools to publicize their monarchial power. The Japanese monarchy magnified

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 71–93.
the sacredness of imperial likenesses through mechanical reproduction as emperors were considered divine beings in human form, while the Chinese monarchy did not find it beneficial or necessary to distribute imperial likenesses within its territory. Japanese colonization put a halt to King Gojong’s use of portrait photographs as a representation of his sovereign power over the Korean Empire, but Gojong’s portrait photograph was circulated to show him as a newly annexed member of the Japanese royal family.

III. Monarchical State Funerals and Photography (1897-1920)

A national or state funeral holds a different significance from a public funeral in that the nation-state hosts and controls the funeral, and the costs are borne by the national treasury, including the cost of building temporary memorial altars to house the funerary portrait photographs placed throughout the country and abroad. The day of the funeral is designated a national holiday, so that all citizens may mourn as one. Enormous funerary portrait paintings or photographs appeared in most state funerals in contemporary East Asian societies, including those of Mao Zedong (1893-1976) of China, Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) of Taiwan, and Kim Il-sung (1912-1994) of North Korea (figs. 3.26-3.28).

In Japan, the constitutional monarchy embraced Shinto as its state religion. The drive to build a modern nation-state centered on an emperor-cum-god entailed various strategies of
visualizing the emperor, including the distribution of his portrait photographs. The public deployed funerary portrait photographs when memorializing their national leaders and acquired the visual products of state rituals, including commemorative photo-albums and picture postcards. The deaths of the emperors and members of the imperial family demanded national mourning that required all subjects and colonial citizens to perform commemorative gestures, including a ritual called yōhai (遥拝; worship from afar), and the wearing of black armbands. Nevertheless, the funerary portrait photograph of the emperor was not officially displayed during the funeral, although members of the public voluntarily set up temporary altars containing the emperor’s portrait. Only in 1989, at the funeral of the Emperor Shōwa (1901-1989), was the imperial funerary portrait photograph officially displayed for the general public to pay respect before it.

The first imperial funeral after the Meiji Restoration was for the Empress Dowager Eishō (英照皇太后) in 1897. A one-year period of mourning was proclaimed, which included a thirty-day moratorium on entertainment, including dance and music. The Empress Dowager was interred in Kyoto, the former imperial capital, where the mausoleums of the earlier emperors and empresses are located. Eishō’s funeral was not designated a


kokusō (国葬: State Funeral), but rather a taisō (大喪: Grand Funeral) or gosōgi (御葬儀: Imperial Obsequies), both of which were terms used exclusively for the funerals of emperors and empresses.  

Although there is no record of whether the portrait photograph of the empress dowager was used for funerary purposes, high ranking government officials who had received the empress dowager’s portrait photograph might have commemorated the sacred image of the deceased at home. In addition, a commemorative photography album was published for Eishō’s funeral. The fifty-page album contains forty-seven photographs of the funeral procession in Tokyo, crowds on the street, the bier of the deceased, funeral halls, and scenes of the interment in Kyoto. The album was published by Genrokukan (玄鹿館), Kajima Seibeis (鹿島清兵衛, 1866-1924) photo studio in Tokyo. Rikugunshō (陸軍省; Ministry of Army) commissioned Kajima to complete the project because he had the equipment and

---

55 Kunaichō (宮内庁; Imperial Household Agency), Meiji Tennō Ki (明治天皇紀; Chronicles of Emperor Meiji), vol. 9 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), 180–201.  
56 The portrait photograph of Empress Dowager Eishō was bestowed upon selected high officials in 1876. Nihon shashin kyōkai (日本写真協会), Nihonshashinshi Nenpyō 1778-1975.9 (日本写真史年表 1778-1975.9; Chronicle of Japanese History of Photography 1778-1975.9), 88.  
58 For more on Kajima, see Tokyo-to Shashin Bijutsukan (東京都写真美術館), ed., Nihon no Shashinka: Kindai Shashinshi o irodotta Hito to Denki, Sakuhinshu Mokuroku (日本の写真家：近代写真史を彩った人と伝記・作品集目錄; Biographic Dictionary of Japanese photography) (Tokyo: Nichigai Asoshietsu, 2005), 118.
skills necessary to photograph at night, when traditional imperial funerals were held.\textsuperscript{59} Using a magnesium flash, Kajima was able to photograph the imperial obsequies in Kyoto.\textsuperscript{60}

Shinto elements were dominant in Empress Dowager Eishō’s funeral, as one can see from the photographs in the album. There was neither a Buddhist sutra reading nor an offering of incense, both of which were considered Buddhist funerary protocol. In an effort to modernize the state occasion, gun salutes were adopted, while a military band played a dirge.\textsuperscript{61} It is not clear whether the commemorative album of the Empress Dowager Eishō’s funeral was circulated or distributed to local authorities or whether it was produced exclusively for Emperor Meiji, as he and Empress Shōken (昭憲皇后) did not participate in the funeral rite in Kyoto.\textsuperscript{62} Popular magazines gave the public a chance to observe how the imperial funeral was performed. Fūzoku Gahō, a popular pictorial of the time, published

\begin{flushleft}
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{60} Anne Tucker, ed., \textit{The History of Japanese Photography} (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003), 346. Shinto funeral rites ended around midnight, while the burial was completed the next morning.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{61} Keene, \textit{Emperor of Japan}, 531–532. The dirge was titled \textit{Kanashimi no kiwami} (悲しみの極み; Extremity of Grief). It was composed by Franz Eckert (1852-1916), a German composer who also made a Japanese national anthem as well as the one of the Korean empire. For more on the dirge, Nakamura Rihei (中村理平), \textit{Yōgaku dōnyūsha no kiseki: Nihon kindai yōgakushi josetsu (洋楽導入者の軌跡: 日本近代洋楽史序説; The Trace of Innovators of Western Music: Introduction to Western Music in Modern Japan)} (Tokyo: Tōsui Shobō, 1993), 306–320.
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{62} It is said that both were ill and there was a concern on the imperial trip during the winter. Instead, other royal members represented them. Keene, \textit{Emperor of Japan}, 531.
\end{flushleft}
special issues for the grand funeral with a portrait photograph of Eishō taken by Ogawa Kazumasa (小川一眞, 1860-1929) (fig. 3.29).\(^{63}\) Taiyō (太陽; The Sun) also published a special issue on Eishō’s funeral and upon the thirtieth anniversary of the death of Emperor Kōmei, her husband.\(^{64}\) This was the first time that a magazine carried the funerary portrait photographs of the late emperor and empress dowager, which had been omitted from the commemorative album commissioned by the Ministry of Army (fig. 3.30).\(^{65}\) In addition to illustrations of the nighttime funeral cortege, one can see portraits of statesmen and peers who participated in the funeral.

Members of the royal family and imperial occasions, both of which had been concealed from the eye of ordinary people, became a chief concern for the Japanese nation-state. Leafing through the aforementioned magazines, looking at photographs of the empress dowager’s funeral, and reading detailed descriptions of how imperial obsequies were

---

\(^{63}\) Fūzoku Gahō Rinji Zōkan Gotaisōzue (風俗画報 隨時増刊 御大喪圖會; Fūzoku Gahō Extra Edition: Selected Images of the Imperial Funeral), no. 135 (February 25, 1897); Fūzoku Gahō Rinji Zōkan Gotaisōzue Gekan (風俗画報 隨時增刊 御大喪圖會下巻; Fūzoku Gahō Extra Edition: Selected Images of the Imperial Funeral, Volume 2), no. 136 (March 10, 1897).

\(^{64}\) “Kōmeitennō Oshikinensai & Eishōkōtaigō Gotaisō Kiji (孝明天皇御式年祭 & 英照皇太后御大葬記事; Thirtieth Anniversary of the Late Emperor Kōmei & The Funeral of the Late Empress Dowager Eishō),” Taiyō (太陽; The Sun) 3, no. 4 (February 1897). Taiyō (太陽; The Sun) was one of the leading monthly journals published from 1895 to 1928. It was well known for including photographic images and brief English translations targeting foreign readers. For more on the journal, see Suzuki Sadami (鈴木貞美), ed., Zasshi “Taiyō” to kokumin bunka no keisei (雑誌「太陽」と国民文化の形成; Journal The Sun and the Formation of National Culture) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2001).

\(^{65}\) In the caption, the funerary portrait photograph was denominated as gosonei (御尊影; Imperial Portrait).
performed, reminded the public of the new identity of their country as an imperial monarchy. When the album was delivered to Emperor Meiji, it contained photographs of crowds waiting for the funeral cortège and individuals appearing not only as subjects structuring a national identity but also as objects of the imperial gaze (fig. 3.31). Large numbers of people were mobilized for the funeral procession, and students and public officials gathered at stations where the train carrying the coffin stopped during its trip from Tokyo to Kyoto. For three days after the Shinto funerary rite in Kyoto, ordinary people were allowed to visit the funeral hall to pay respect to the late empress dowager, while Naimushō (内務省; Home Ministry) created a place in Tokyo for people to write their names as a mark of respect.⁶⁶

Eishō’s funeral was also a significant occasion in Taiwan, Japan’s colony since 1895. An official announcement was published through the Taiwan Government-General’s official gazette telling the public how to hoist the national flag and instructing subjects to wear black crepe.⁶⁷ On the day of the funeral, all people were supposed to perform a ritual called yōhai (遥拝; worship from afar), in which they bowed toward Tokyo as an expression of

---


condolence. The wearing of mourning clothes was decreed in the temporary palaces of Joseon (Korea) for nine days in order to commemorate Empress Dowager Eishō’s death. This was a diplomatic gesture during the period of power struggle between Russia and Japan over the Korean peninsula, particularly when King Gojong stayed in the Russian legation after the assassination of his first official wife by the Japanese military in 1895.

After annexation to the Japanese empire, all state occasions were observed in the colonies. An earlier state funeral had played an important role in reinforcing the unity of Taiwan into the order of the Japanese empire before Eishō’s funeral. Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (北白川宮能久親王) died in Tainan, Taiwan in 1895, during the first Sino-Japanese War. His death was remarkable in that he was the first member of the royal family to die outside Japan since the Meiji Restoration. His body was shipped to Tokyo and a state funeral was decreed. Shinto shrines were built in Taiwan to worship him as kami (神; deity). Afterwards, almost all shrines built in Taiwan enshrined him as a major tutelary

---

68 Shibahara Senyū (芝原仙雄), ed., Taibei shifanxuexiao chuangli sanshi zhounian jinianzhi (臺北師範學校創立三十周年記念誌; Commemorative Issue for the 30th Anniversary of the Foundation of Taipei Education School) (Taipei: Shibahara Senyū, 1926), 145.


70 “Taiwan Jinja Kensetsu No Kengi (台湾神社建設の建議; Suggestion of Constructing Taiwan Shrine),” Tokyo Asahi Shim bun (東京朝日新聞), January 17, 1896, Morning edition.
deity of the island, and the Taiwanese public had to pay respect to him on a specified ritual date by visiting shrines. As he had been an eminent figure of the Meiji period, his photographs and colored lithographs were circulated among the public in Japan. The Taiwanese public could gain access to portrait photographs of the prince through commemorative photography albums (fig. 3.32). More importantly, the portrait photograph was housed in Taiwan Shrine, which was built in Taipei to enshrine Prince Kitashirakawa six years after his death, suggesting the strong possibility of the portrait’s commemorative ritual use. After Taiwan’s independence in 1945, all shrines were demolished or transformed for other uses. The kami of Prince Kitashirakawa found shelter through an enshrinement ritual in Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo. His portrait photograph was relocated to Japan, possibly when the Shinto priests were evacuated.

After the publication of the commemorative photography album of the Empress

---

71 A portrait photograph of the prince, taken two years before his death, was briefly discussed in a dissertation on a local photography studio in Kumamoto. Karen M. Fraser, “The Tomishige Studio and the Development of Domestic Commercial Photography in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2006), 150–151.


Dowager Eishō’s funeral, photographs of imperial funeral rites were made into an album. In addition to albums made of the funerals of Emperors Meiji (1912), Taishō (1926), and Shōwa (1989), commemorative photography albums were made of the funerals of Gojong (1919) and Sunjong (1926), the kings of Korea during Japanese colonization.

In addition to the production of a photography album, the construction of a Shinto shrine is a notable commemorative act in Japan. Building a shrine confirms the presence of the dead as *kami* ‘deity.’ Several Shinto shrines were built in Taiwan for Kitashirakawa. Emperor Meiji also had a shrine for worshipping him after his death, while other military and political leaders were enshrined as national deities, either in shrines established especially for them or in the Yasukuni shrine.

Emperor Meiji died in July 30, 1912.74 In response to news of his deteriorating health, subjects prayed for their sovereign’s recovery, some before the emperor’s portrait (fig. 3.33).75 The state funeral was held in Tokyo on September 13, 1912, and the emperor was buried in Kyoto the next day. Immediately after the emperor’s death was announced, the Governments-General of Korea and Taiwan posted notices prescribing behavior for the mourning period.

---

In *Fūzoku Gahō*’s special issue for the imperial funeral, one can see that Tokyo citizens paid respect before the late emperor’s portrait (fig. 3.34). A memorial altar was placed under Emperor Meiji’s portrait, which was hung on a wall alongside offerings and an incense burner, which is a Buddhist, not a Shinto, funerary object. Mourners bowed, and some wore black armbands. The accompanying article illustrates how Tokyo citizens responded to hearing the news of their emperor’s death. All stores were closed and black cloths hung over their windows. Some stores voluntarily displayed the emperor’s portrait as a mark of respect, while others framed his newspaper portrait and draped it in black silk.

Crowds of Tokyo residents rushed to the front of the imperial palace, crying on their knees and praying for the heavenly bliss of their dead leader (fig. 3.35). Japanese residents abroad paid respect before portraits in Japanese consulates. On the day of the funeral, venues for *yōhai* (遙拝; worship from afar) were set up in schools and local offices with an altar where the imperial citizens could offer *tamagushi* (玉串), a Shinto offering to a deity, and all were expected to perform *yōhai* at midnight, when a cannon marked the time.

---

76 “Gotaisōchuno Tokyo Shinai (御大喪中の東京市内; Tokyo During the Imperial Mourning Period),” *Fūzoku Gahō* (風俗画報), no. 437 (September 1912): 17–18.


On the day of the state funeral for Emperor Meiji, General Nogi Maresuke and his wife killed themselves, in the tradition of samurai following their lord into death. Their suicides were considered powerful expressions of fealty to the emperor. Nogi had placed the late emperor’s portrait on a table in his home to pay his final respects. Nogi’s portrait photograph was sold to the public, and for a public memorial service for General Nogi and his wife, their portrait photographs were hung inside the memorial hall (fig. 3.36). This was the first time in Japan that funerary portrait photographs were displayed in a public memorial service for eminent national leaders. Although the funeral of General Nogi was not a state funeral, he was designated a national deity and a Shinto shrine was built for him.

While the imperial office and the government did not use the late emperor’s portrait in the funeral or memorial service, they published photo albums and emaki (絵巻; Picture Scroll) as records of the funeral. Meiji Tennō gotaisō oshashinchō (明治天皇御大葬御写真帖; Photography Album of the Imperial Funeral of Emperor Meiji) contains photographs

---

80 Kunaichō (宮内庁; Imperial Household Agency), Meiji Tennō Ki (明治天皇紀; Chronicles of Emperor Meiji), vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1972), 843; Keene, Emperor of Japan, 712.
81 “Gunshin Nogi Taishō Shashin Shōzō (軍神乃木大将写真肖像; Photographic Portrait of General Nogi, the Military Deity),” Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞; Asahi News), September 21, 1912.
82 “Nogi Shōgun Dai Chōsaikai (乃木將軍大弔祭會; Grand Memorial Service for General Nogi),” Fūzoku Gahō (風俗画報), no. 440 (December 1912): 17.
83 Taisōshi (大喪使), Meiji Tennō gotaisōgi shashinchō (明治天皇御大喪儀写真帖; Photography Album of the Imperial Grand Funeral of Emperor Meiji); Ogawa Kazumasa (小川一真), Gotaisōgi shashinchō (御大喪儀写真帖; Photography Album of Imperial Grand Funeral).
of General Nogi and his funeral along with photographs related to Meiji’s death. In addition to the official photography album published by the committee of the grand funeral, the public could access photo-compilations through magazines and journals that recorded the details of the late emperor’s last traces in the secular world. Various photographs of the late emperor were carried in newspapers of the Japanese colonial territories, including Korea and Taiwan. A disk with an engraved bust of the late emperor was sold in Tokyo and Keijō (present-day Seoul). Representatives from colonies took part in the imperial funeral, while the general public was supposed to join a *yōhai* ritual to pay respect to the late emperor. Protocols similar to those of the colonizing power were followed in colonies. These customs included wearing black crepe, closing official offices and businesses, and a specified duration of the mourning period. The demise and funeral of the emperor provided colonial citizens of the Japanese

---


86 “Meiji Tennō Osonzō (明治天皇御尊像; The Sacred Bust of the Emperor Meiji),” *Asahi Shim bun (朝日新聞; Asahi News)*, September 21, 1912.
Empire with an opportunity to imagine their identity as subjects of the sacred emperor.\textsuperscript{87}

After Emperor Meiji’s death, his portrait photograph was kept for annual memorial service in schools, military installations, and local government offices.\textsuperscript{88} Meanwhile, new portrait photographs of the imperial family, including Emperor Taishō, Empress Teimei, and Crown Prince Hirohito (the future Emperor Shōwa) were distributed for a national holiday celebrating the emperor’s birthday in 1913.\textsuperscript{89} The birthday of Emperor Meiji was designated a new national holiday in 1927, marked by a memorial service that included his portrait at schools throughout the Japanese Empire, including Korea and Taiwan.

Relics of the late emperor were institutionalized as objects of an exposition. In accord with the first anniversary of the emperor’s demise, \textit{Meiji Kinen Hakurankai} (明治記念博覽會; \textit{Commemorative Exposition for Meiji}) was held in 1913. The exposition memorialized achievements of the reign of Emperor Meiji and commemorated those who contributed to constructing the monarchical nation-state, including General Nogi. One hall contained the emperor’s relics, while another hall reserved for Nogi was filled with items donated by

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{87} Nakajima Michio (中島三千男), “Meijitenmō No Taisō to Taiwan (明治天皇の大喪と台湾; The Grand Funeral of Emperor Meiji and Taiwan),” in Ōken to Girei (王権と儀礼; Sovereign Power and Rites), ed. Amino Yoshihiko (網野善彦) et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002), 285–96.

\textsuperscript{88} “Eojinnyeongwa Yukgun (御眞影과 육군; The Imperial Portrait and Army),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), July 30, 1913.

\textsuperscript{89} “Eojinnyeongui Hasagi (御眞影의 下賜期; The Time to Bestow the Imperial Portrait),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), October 19, 1913.
\end{flushright}
citizens.\(^{90}\) The exposition displayed scenes related to the reign of Meiji, and employed a kineorama, a device that combined a panorama and a diorama. Visitors were amazed to look at the enthronement ceremony of Emperor Meiji, as well as his sacred travel around the island. The exposition was described as a chance to reminisce and experience what had occurred during the forty-five-year reign of Meiji. About eight thousand people visited the exposition on its first day.\(^{91}\) It is notable to find that yōhaisho (遥拝所; Hall for worship from afar) was set up for visitors to pay respect to the late emperor on the date of the first annual ritual of his death.\(^{92}\) Furthermore, the exposition held a memorial service for General Nogi on the date of his death with a special screening of several film clips recording the late general’s accomplishments.\(^{93}\) Another exposition was held the next month to show the funeral of Emperor Meiji in Tokyo, which aimed at demonstrating the expansion of the Japanese Empire by exhibiting indigenous items and people of its colonies, including Korea and

---


\(^{91}\) “Meiji Kinen Hakurankai (明治記念博覧会; Commemorative Exposition for Meiji),” *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞; Asahi News), June 26, 1913.

\(^{92}\) “Meihakuni Yōhaisho (明博に遥拝所; A Hall for Warship from Afar in the Commemorative Exposition for Meiji),” *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞; Asahi News), July 27, 1913.

\(^{93}\) “Meihakuno Nogisai (明博の乃木祭; Ritual for Nogi in the Commemorative Exposition for Meiji),” *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞; Asahi News), September 12, 1913.
Taiwan. The exposition also memorialized the late emperor with a *Takushoku hakurankai kinen shashinchō* (拓殖博覧会記念写真帖; Commemorative Photography Album of Colonial Exposition) that contained photographs of Emperor Meiji, as well as of General and Mrs. Nogi.

The government built a shrine in 1921 to commemorate the late emperor, naming it *Meiji Jingū* (明治神宮; Meiji Shrine), and designating Emperor Meiji and Empress Shōken as *saijin* (祭神; enshrined deities). In *Meiji Jingūki*, the book recording the process of establishing the shrine, the portraits of the late sovereign and his wife are also designated as *saijin*. Thus, the emperor’s likeness was equated with the emperor himself. Yamaguchi Teruomi (山口輝臣) points out that there had been no tradition of building a shrine for a deceased emperor. The Meiji shrine established the tradition, as photographs of deities came to be incorporated into the enshrining convention of sacred objects. In 1923, General Nogi was also enshrined as a deity with a shrine commemorating his suicide.

While the first modern imperial funeral was held in Japan for Empress Dowager Eishō in 1897, it was through the postponed state funeral of Empress Myeongseong (明成皇后)

---

96 Mizoguchi Hakuyō (溝口白羊), *Meiji Jingūki* (明治神宮紀; Records on Meiji Shrine), 9–10.
In 1898 that a state funeral was first considered useful to the formation of the modern nation-state in Korea. In 1895, Japanese military personnel assassinated Empress Myeongseong, the first wife of King Gojong. At this time, Korea was the object of a power struggle between Russia and Japan. After the latter’s victory in the first Sino-Japanese War, Empress Myeongseong became anti-Japanese and pro-Russian. The funeral of Empress Myeongseong was delayed for about two years because King Gojong sought the execution of those involved in the assassination, which would have been required before the funeral took place. However, Japanese efforts to cover up the crime foiled Gojong’s plan. In response to political crises, King Gojong fled to the Russian legation in 1896, and declared the establishment of the Korean Empire in 1897, in his attempt to establish a modern nation-state analogous to Western states. King Gojong changed his title to Emperor Gwangmu and that of his late wife to Empress Myeongseong.

The Empress Myeongseong’s funeral was the first state funeral after the proclamation of the Korean Empire in 1897. One aspect of this modernization was that ordinary citizens were permitted to join the funeral procession, carrying various palanquins of objects related to the late empress. *Gukjang Dogam Uigwe (國葬都監儀軌; An Illustrated Book of State Funeral)* had been published for the funerals of sovereigns during Joseon dynasty visually

---

98 For all the details on the historical background and on the state funeral of Empress Myeongseong, I am indebted to the following source. Han Yeong-u (한영우), *Myeongseonghwanghuwa Daehanjeguk (명성황후와 대한제국; Empress Myeongseong and Korean Empire)* (Seoul: Hyohyeongchulpian, 2001).
recording the details of the funerals, including the funerary instruments and scenes of the procession. However, as portraits of kings and queens were considered too sacred to be exposed to the general public, they were not included. Instead, they were housed in a *Jinjeon* (眞殿; Portrait Hall) where only the imperial family visited for commemorative services on assigned days. *Gukjang Dogam Uigwe* of the late empress’s state funeral shows modernized military personnel attending the procession. 99 Although Gojong, newly designated as Emperor Gwangmu, participated in memorial services in the *Jinjeon*, the portrait of Empress Myeongseong is not in the illustrated records of her funeral. 100 The illustrated books of the state funeral were not published for the public, but were intended only for the emperor, prince, and state institutions. A rare photograph of Empress Myeongseong’s funeral procession is found in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. The image, however, does not show much detail of her funeral (fig. 3.37). 101 The national event was not so much visualized by locals as recorded by foreigners who were present in Korea at


100 In fact, the whereabouts of the empress’s portrait is unknown. There are several alleged portrait photographs of her and there is much debate about which is the real image of Empress Myeongseong. For more details on the debate, see Kwon Heangga (권행가), “Myeongseonghwanghuwa Gungmoui Pyosang (明成皇后와 國母의 표상; Representation of Empress Myeongseong as the Mother of the Nation),” *Misulsa Yeongu* (미술사연구; Journal of Art History), no. 21 (2007): 203–30.

Emperor Gwangmu intended to utilize the state funeral of Empress Myeongseong as a step toward reinforcing the new identity of the modern state by uniting his people as subjects of the Korean Empire. From 1910, the royal family of Japan subsumed the imperial family of the Korean Empire. During the Japanese colonial period (1910 to 1945), Gojong (Emperor Gwangmu) and Sunjong (Emperor Yunghui) were the only Koreans afforded state funerals of the Japanese Empire.

In 1911, a year after the Japanese annexed Korea, there was a royal funeral for Consort Eom (Eombi or Sunheon Hwanggwibi). It was not a state funeral of the Japanese Empire, but rather, followed Korean traditional imperial funerary protocols with modern elements added. In general, the Korean royal court does not hold a funeral for consorts of kings, but it made an exception for Consort Eom because she was the birth mother of the crown prince. The Illustrated London News published photographs of her funeral cortege, with a comment that this kind of traditional ritual would disappear due to Japanese efforts to Westernize Korea (fig. 3.38). Consort Eom’s portrait photograph was carried in Maeilsinbo (每日申報), a newspaper institutionalized by the Japanese government-general of Korea (fig.

102 For one of the descriptions on Empress Myeongseong’s funeral procession by foreigners, see Lillias H. Underwood, Fifteen Years Among the Top-Knots or Life in Korea (Boston; New York: American Tract Society, 1904), 204–207.

As it was an event within the Japanese Empire, the news of her funeral was reported in Taiwan and Japan (fig. 3.40). Consort Eom was the first Korean imperial family member to have her funerary portrait photograph published in newspapers. The photograph of Consort Eom in Western dress was taken around 1907, when Gojong abdicated the throne to Sunjong (fig. 3.41).

Gojong died on January 21, 1919, seven years after the death of Emperor Meiji. His funeral was held on March 3, 1919. It was designated a state funeral (國葬; K: gukjang; J: kokusō) and performed in Shinto style, mixed with some elements of a Korean traditional imperial funeral. Several Japanese military leaders attended the funeral, and the Imperial

104 “Jagire Hungseohan Deoksugungeombi (昨日에 薨逝 한 德壽宮 嚴妃; Consort Eom of Deoksu Palace Passed Away Yesterday),” Maeilsinbo (每日申報), July 21, 1911.

105 “Genhi No Sōgi (厳妃の葬儀; Funeral of Consort Eom),” Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō (臺灣日日新報), August 4, 1911; “Kōkyo Seru Chōsen Genhi Denka (薨去せる朝鮮厳妃殿下; The Deceased Your Highness Consort Eom in Joseon),” Tokyo Asahi Shimbun (東京朝日新聞), July 21, 1911, Morning edition.


107 “Ko Daikuni Ri Taiō Kokusō No Ken (故大勳位 李太王國葬 件; Concerning the State Funeral of the Late Great King of Yi),” Chōsen Sōtokufu Kanpō (朝鮮總督府官報; Gazette of the Government-General of Joseon), January 27, 1919; “Kokusōni Kansuru Saigi Shidai (國葬ニ關スル祭儀諸次第; Ritual Procedure Concerning
Household Agency in Japan declared the suspension of court business on the day of the funeral.\textsuperscript{108} The state funeral committee members included the governor-general of Korea and the adopted son of Ito Hirobumi. As was the case in Consort Eom’s funeral, Gojong’s death was recounted in Taiwan, where school was canceled on the day of his funeral, while Buddhist organizations held memorial services for the deceased.\textsuperscript{109}

Gojong’s funerary portrait photograph was published in Maeilsinbo (毎日申報) (figs. 3.42 and 3.43).\textsuperscript{110} On the day of his funeral procession, about a month after his death, an illustrated portrait adapted from the photograph was carried alongside photographs of Korean imperial family members (fig. 3.44).\textsuperscript{111} The image of Gojong in a tailcoat, chosen for the photograph carried in the newspaper to announce his death, was an edited version of the one

\begin{flushleft}


\textsuperscript{109} “Kokusou to Kakugakkou Jugyo Kyushii (國葬と各學校 敬弔授業休止; State Funeral and Cancelation of Class for Condolence),” Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo (台灣日日新報; Taiwan Daily News), March 2, 1919; “Kokusou to Haicho (國葬と廢朝; State Funeral and Suspension of Court Business),” Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo (台灣日日新報), March 3, 1919.

\textsuperscript{110} “Hunggeohaosin Itaewangjeonha (薨去하오신 李太王殿下; The Late His Highness The Great King of Yi),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), January 23, 1919.

\textsuperscript{111} “Bongsong GoYitaewang Yeonggu (奉送故 李太王靈柩; Seeing Off the Hearse of the Late Great King of Yi),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), March 3, 1919.
\end{flushleft}
published for his birthday a few months earlier (fig. 3.45).  

Considering that the most recent photograph is usually chosen for a funerary purpose, the photograph might have been the most appropriate as it showed his most recent appearance. Nevertheless, representing the former sovereign absent any indication of his monarchical power distinguishes the image from the portrait photographs of Japanese emperors, which were highly controlled in order to display the sovereign as the highest leader of the military. In the same issue of the newspaper announcing Gojong’s death, other small photographs of the deceased were carried (fig. 3.43). The images of the former sovereign in oval and diamond-shaped frames appear to emphasize the loss of sovereign power as they represent Gojong in a very casual manner, a representation that would have been unimaginable for the Japanese emperor. On the other hand, photographs of the Japanese national flag at half-mast and of the trees bestowed by emperor and empress of Japan reinforced the status quo of the Japanese Empire (figs. 3.46 and 3.47). Nevertheless, no photograph was used for funerary purposes within the court.

After the three-year mourning period, a ritual transporting of the portraits of Gojong to the

112 “Deoksugung Ui Tanshinil (德壽宮의 誕辰宴; The Birthday of Gojong),” Maeilsinbo (매일신보), September 8, 1919. I thank Kyungmin Lee for providing this information.

113 “Itaewangjeonha Hungge (李太王殿下薨去; The Death of the Great King of Yi),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), January 23, 1919.

114 “Haehyeongirui Geumgok (하현궁일의 着枯; Geumgok on the Day of the Internment),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), March 5, 1919; “Sijungui Bangiwa Gisaengdeurui Manggok (시중의 반기와 기생들의 哭歌; Flag at Half-mast and Wailing of Prostitutes on the Street),” Maeilsinbo (毎日申報), January 24, 1919.
Royal Portrait Hall was performed in 1921; no photographs were included.  

Gojong’s funerary photographic portrait was also published in a Taiwanese newspaper (fig. 3.48). Images of the cortege were put into photographic albums, even though photographing the cortege was prohibited. In Japan, a photography album was circulated, titled *Riōke Kinen shashinchō* (*李王家紀念写真帖; Commemorative Photography Album of the Family of King Yi*). It included photographs of Gojong’s funeral and portraits of the Korean royal family. Compared to the photo albums of Japanese emperors and empresses, which aimed to give the public visual access to the solemn atmosphere and dignity of the funeral, the images of the late Korean king are represented as a selection of exotic spectacles (fig. 3.49). The photography album of Gojong’s funeral was targeted to the Japanese public as a visual record of a funeral performed in one of the colonial territories of the Japanese Empire.

For Koreans, the meaning of the state funeral changed from an event that strongly

---

116 “Ko Ri Taiō Denka (故 李太王 殿下; The Late Great King of Yi),” *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* (臺灣日日新報), March 3, 1919.
reinforced their identity as a community to a performance that disparaged them as subordinate persons. The death of Gojong in 1919, and a rumor that he had been poisoned by the Japanese, catalyzed a national independence movement called the March First Movement. A date to demonstrate against Japanese colonial power was set to follow the funeral procession of Gojong on March 3, 1919, when many people were planning to visit Seoul for a farewell to their former sovereign. Beginning on March 1st, numerous demonstrations calling for the independence of Korea occurred throughout the Korean peninsula, and continued for several months, although the Japanese brutally suppressed them. The March First Movement led to the establishment of a Korean provisional government in Shanghai, which made numerous attempts to regain Korea’s independence from Japan. The March First Movement demonstrated that the death of an important political figure could motivate people to reconsider their national identity, and that funerals could reinforce their identity through their shared loss. But, while state funerals facilitated the structuring of a constitutional monarchy in Japan, King Gojong’s attempt to use the state funeral of Empress Myeongseong to establish a new identity for Korea as an empire failed. His own funeral, hosted by the Japanese colonial government, instigated a thwarted independence movement.

Chinese Emperor Guangxu (1871-1908) and Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) died a few months after constitutional monarchy was established. Isaac Taylor Headland, a British missionary to China, recorded and distributed to foreign diplomats the edicts
concerning the succession of the throne and the announcements of the deaths of the royal figures. Diplomatic representatives were expected to pay their respects before the coffins during the lying-in-state period, but not before the funerary portrait photographs of the deceased. A state mourning period of twenty-seven days was declared, and government-funded obsequies were planned for the next year when the imperial mausoleums were to be completed. Emperor Guangxu was entombed on March 20, 1909, while Empress Dowager Cixi’s burial was on November 9, 1909. The enormous amount of money to be spent on the imperial funerals was provided by the Ministry of Finance, augmented by contributions from governors and viceroys of provinces. The West China Missionary News carried a description of Chengdu, a city in Southwest China, in mourning. The color red was prohibited, music was prohibited for twenty-seven days, and schools were closed for five days. For the first time, foreign diplomats, including Westerners, paid their respects before

122 “Imperial Funeral Expenses,” The North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, December 5, 1908.
the biers of a Chinese emperor and empress dowager and participated in an imperial funeral.¹²⁴

The Western media showed photographs of the funeral processions (figs.3.50-3.52), but the royal portraits were not displayed at public memorials. A memorial tablet rather than a portrait was deployed in the Chinese Legation in Berlin.¹²⁵ Taking pictures of the cortege was prohibited, although some attendees, including Westerners privileged with extraterritoriality, succeeded in recording the scene. A Chinese photographer was sentenced to a ten-year prison term for photographing the empress dowager’s funeral procession,¹²⁶ while a newsreel of the funeral was shown publicly, although it is not clear whether filming the cortege was lawful.¹²⁷ Despite the empress dowager’s embrace of photography and her willingness to distribute her portrait photographs as diplomatic maneuvers, her portrait might have been considered too sacred for public exposure. A Chinese official bowed before Cixi’s


¹²⁶ “News from East Asia,” *The North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette*, December 4, 1909. The photographer was the subordinate of Duanfang, one of the powerful politicians of Qing imperial court. Duanfang was impeached because he allowed his subordinate to take a picture of the Empress Dowager’s funeral cortege. See Edward J. M. Rhoads, *Manchus & Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861-1928* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 152.

portrait when he encountered it in the reference library of the *Daily Mail* office in London in 1906.\(^{128}\) Even during her lifetime, Cixi’s portrait was seen only by a select group of people and then only for specific purposes. Her portrait painting was covered in heavy royal drape when it was carried out of the Forbidden City for the Louisiana Purchase Expositions in St. Louis in 1904, and later to President Theodore Roosevelt, in Washington, D.C. (fig. 3.53).\(^{129}\) The royal portrait was transported upright with formal ceremonies performed at each stop of its journey.\(^{130}\) However, her portrait photograph was reproduced in a newspaper article announcing her death in Taiwan, a former province of the Qing dynasty that was later ceded to Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-5). Cixi’s portrait photograph appeared in both Chinese and Japanese editions of *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* (*臺灣日日新報, C: Taiwan riri shinbao; Taiwan Daily News*) (figs. 3.54 and 3.55).\(^{131}\) In addition to being one of the few cases of a portrait photograph of Cixi used in announcing her death, the format of the

---


\(^{130}\) Wang, “Going Public,” 172.

\(^{131}\) “Seitaikōhōgyō (西太后崩御; Demise of Empress Dowager Cixi),” *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō* (*台灣日日新報, Taiwan Daily News*), November 17, 1908; “Qingguozhidaxiongbian (清國之大凶變; The Great Calamity of Qing Empire),” *Taiwan Riri Shinbun* (*台灣日日新報; Taiwan Daily News*), November 18, 1908.
photograph is noteworthy.\textsuperscript{132} All other photographs of Cixi capture her in full length, following the tradition of imperial portrait painting, but the portrait photograph in \textit{Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō} is three-quarter length, which must have seemed unimaginable, because it cut short the imperial body. It is unclear how the media acquired the image or whether they cropped it. Her portrait photograph was circulated in France around the same time, although the image was not identified.\textsuperscript{133} Considering that \textit{Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō} was funded by the office of the governor-general under Japanese colonial rule, the way the newspaper dealt with the image of Cixi might have emulated other media in Japan. \textit{Asahi shimbun} (朝日新聞; Asahi News) carried the portraits of Cixi and Guangxu emperor (fig. 3.56).\textsuperscript{134} The images are less than half-length and look like illustrations rather than photographs. While the Japanese newspaper carried images of the deceased for the reader’s edification, \textit{Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpō}’s use of Cixi’s portrait seemed to bear more weight in that it was aimed at the former subjects of the Qing Empire.

The desire for representation of a national figure produced various modes of visualizing Cixi’s last moments. For instance, Cixi’s portrait was also reproduced in \textit{Xingsu huabao} (醒俗画報; \textit{Enlightening Customs Pictorial Magazine}), an illustrated magazine

\textsuperscript{132} Los Angeles Herald also featured the image of Cixi, but it looks like the wrong person. “Aged Chinese Empress Died; Riots Feared,” \textit{Los Angeles Herald}, November 16, 1908, Morning edition.

\textsuperscript{133} “The Late Empress of China,” \textit{The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser}, July 29, 1909.

\textsuperscript{134} “Shinkokuno Daifukō (清国の大不幸; The Great Misfortune of Qing),” \textit{Asahi Shimbun} (朝日新聞; Asahi News), November 15, 1908.
published in Tianjin (fig. 3.57). A part of the caption under the image says, “we paint the noble face with deep sadness (谨恭绘御容以志哀慕).” Atop the oval frame appear two dragons symbolizing imperial power. Cixi is represented not with full-body, but above the chest, while the wrinkles on her face are realistically depicted. Compared to other painterly and photographic portraits of the empress dowager, this illustration in a local magazine looks quite humble. The image must have been made at a time when photographs of Cixi were beyond the control of the Qing court. Meanwhile, *Qing Xitaihou sangshilu* (清西太后喪事録; Record of Empress Dowager’s Funeral), a photo-album recording Cixi’s funeral procession, was published in 1908 by Ruihua (瑞華), a Beijing photo studio. Another photo-studio, Tongsheng (同生), in Shanghai, was invited to Beijing to take pictures of the burial processions of Emperor Guangxu and Cixi in 1909. The production of albums and photographs, however, does not appear to have been supported by the Qing court.

Nevertheless, one can see that photographs of the funeral processions became collectable

---

135 Hou Jie (侯杰) and Wang Kunjiang (王昆江), eds., *Xingsu huabao jingxuan: Qingmo Minchu shehui fengqing* (醒俗画报精选: 清末民初社会风情; Selection of Enlightening Customs Pictorial Magazine: Social Customs of Late Qing and Early Republican Period) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 2005), 58.
137 Chen Shen (陳申) et al., *Zhongguo Sheyingshi = History of Photography in China, 1840-1937* (中国摄影史 = History of Photography in China, 1840-1937), 90.
objects. At the same time, seals commemorating the funeral of Emperor Guangxu may be observed in a series of picture postcards from 1909 (figs. 3.58 and 3.59). The round seal is inscribed “Chinese Emperor’s Funeral, 1, 5. 1909” in the outermost circle; *dezongjing huangdi yudazang jinian* (德宗景皇帝御大葬記念; Commemoration of Emperor Guangxu’s Grand Funeral) and bears the Chinese calendar date in the inner circles. The postcards’ producer was Japanese, but it is not clear who manufactured the seal. The postcards of Emperor Guangxu’s funeral were the first reproduced images of state funerals in Chinese history.

Empress Dowager Cixi and the Qing court paid no attention to the use of portraiture in state funerals, although it is possible that her portrait painting was hung in one of her residences in the inner court before the interment the next year, as befits the tradition of the

---

138 For the photographs of Cixi’s funeral procession in 1909, see Shen Hong (沈弘), ed., *WanQing yingxiang: xifangren yanzhong de jindai Zhongguo* = The Image of Old China in the Western Perspective (西方人眼中的近代中國 = The Image of Old China in the Western Perspective) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 150–169.

139 Liu Boxian (留伯仙), *Wangshi: WanQing mingxinpian toushi* (往事: 晚清明信片透視; Seeing through the Postcards of the Late Qing) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 2001), 99–100.

140 Guo Dong (郭冬) and Wang Tailai (王泰來), eds., *Jianzheng 1900-1911: Jiedu wanqing mingxinpian; 见证 1900-1911: 解读晚清明信片; Witness 1900-1911: Reading the Postcards of the Late Qing* (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikequanshu chubanshe, 2012), n.p.

Qing dynasty. It was at the state funeral of Empress Dowager Longyu, Emperor Guangxu’s empress and Cixi’s niece, that a portrait photograph was used for funerary purposes (fig. 3.60). As regent, Longyu had assumed responsibility for educating the three-year old Puyi, successor to the imperial throne, whom the Empress Dowager Cixi had appointed from the royal family because Emperor Guangxu did not have an heir. Longyu died in 1913, a year after she endorsed the abdication of the Qing emperor, an event that marked the beginning of the Republic of China. A national memorial ceremony was held in Taihe Hall in the Forbidden City, where a photograph of Longyu was exhibited. The official gazette published details for a national mourning service for Longyu, including an order that all military officers and officials wear black bands on their left arms and carry swords during the twenty-seven day mourning period. The Cabinet funded the burial of the empress dowager. In addition to Taihe Hall, where officials, loyalists, and lamas paid respects, temporary pavilions were set up for the public to bow before the portrait of the Empress

---

142 Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: a Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 286–287. Rawski notes that portrait of Tongzhi emperor, son of Cixi, was hung before the burial.


144 Yu, “Empress Xiao Ding Jing of the Yehe Nara Clan.”


Dowager Longyu. However, the portrait that the public viewed seems to have been a painting, as it is described as “a beautiful example of Chinese art.” Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that a portrait of a royal figure was officially displayed in a memorial service, considering that portrait paintings of emperors and empresses had been retained for ritual use within the Forbidden City. The photograph of the mourning hall of Longyu is currently in the collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing. From the picture of her mourning hall, one can see that the portrait photograph of Longyu is placed at its center, while officials in mourning dress pose for the camera (fig. 3.60). One should also note that her photograph is dissimilar from traditional portrait paintings of emperors and empresses. The image is neither full-body length nor full frontal view. Even the royal throne and other symbols of imperial power are absent. The plaque over Longyu’s portrait contains four Chinese characters: nüzhongyangshun (女中堯舜; a woman comparable to emperors Yao and Shun), which refer to a wise and exemplary woman rather than indicating her status as empress dowager of Qing. Longyu was the very person who had put an end to the Qing dynasty by signing the Act of Abdication of the Emperor of the Great Qing in 1912. From the perspective of the republican government that funded her funeral, it was better to commemorate her as a pioneer of the Republic of

147 “Empress Dowager’s Funeral,” The North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, March 22, 1913.
148 Ibid.
149 Liu Beise (劉北汜) and Xu Qixian (徐啓憲), eds., Gugongzhencang renwu xiezhenxuan = Exquisite figure-pictures from the Palace Museum (故宮珍藏人物寫真選 = Exquisite figure-pictures from the Palace Museum) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 1994), 73.
China than as a royal member of the Qing dynasty. The government also published an illustrated book titled *Guomin aidaohui jishilu* (国民哀悼会紀事録, Record of People’s Gathering for Condolence) in 1913. The book contains a photograph of the Empress Dowager Longyu (fig. 3.61), in which the term used for the image is *yuying* (御影, Imperial Portrait), not *yixiang* (遺像; funerary portrait photography). The photograph is presented in an informal style showing the empress dowager only above the chest, in contrast to portrait paintings of the Qing imperial family in full-body length. The expenses for her funeral are recorded in *Guomin aidaohui jishilu* (国民哀悼会紀事録, Record of People’s Gathering for Condolence), including the costs for the photograph and the oil painting of Longyu and its glass frame. According to the record, the scenes of *aidaohui* were made into three volumes of photo books, consisting of sixty albums, each of which contains eighteen pictures.\(^{151}\)

The use of *guomin* (国民; people) in the book’s title suggests that the funeral of a political figure evolved into an event about structuring the identity of sovereigns as well as citizens. Another term, *aidao* (哀悼), meaning condolence or mourning, is crucial to structuring national identity because what is called *aidaohui* (哀悼会; Gathering for Condolence) emerged as a form of national memorial service that emulated the Western

---


151 Ibid., 546–547.
Aidaohui for Empress Dowager Longyu was held in Taihe Hall of the Forbidden City for seven days. A text describing the scenes of aidaohui for Longyu were accompanied by photographs in the periodical *Zhenxiang huabao* (*Truth Record*; *The True Record*) in 1913 (fig. 3.62). However, the periodical carries the image of another person for a yixiang (funerary portrait photograph) of Longyu, as clearly evidenced by comparing it with other photographs of the empress dowager (fig. 3.63). Neither the name of the photographer nor the source of the image is acknowledged, suggesting the possibility that the photograph might have been purchased from a commercial photo-studio that sold celebrities’ images to the public. A picture of Longyu had been distributed earlier, as seen in illustrated calendars. In the unprecedented case of the yixiang of the empress dowager being made public, it is surprising that the image is of a different person. The same person’s image is also found accompanying the empress dowager in one of Cixi’s photographs (fig. 3.64). Her name was Der Ling, the first lady-in-waiting of Cixi, and a sister of Yu Xunling, the sole court photographer of the empress dowager. It is not known how the photograph of Der Ling was circulated.

---


153 Ibid., 317.

154 “The Services of the Condolence of the Late Lung Yu, the Empress Dowager of the Late Ching Dynasty,” *Zhenxiang Huabao* (*Truth Record*) no. 15 (1913): n.p. *Zhenxiang huabao* is a pictorial magazine published from 1912 to 1913, for more on the magazine, see Carol Lynne Waara, “Arts and Life: Public and Private Culture in Chinese Art Periodicals, 1912-1937” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1994).
particularly as misrepresenting the Empress Dowager Longyu, but the apparent error makes it
evident that the periodical as well as imperial photographs were beyond the control of the
Qing court and the republican government.\textsuperscript{155}

Along with other ceremonial occasions, such as nuptials, funerals were institutionalized after the Republican government was established in 1912. Funerary photo-portraiture came to be included in funerals and funeral processions in \textit{lizhi} (礼制; Regulation of Ritual), a law promulgated by the Republican government.\textsuperscript{156} Other notable changes proclaimed in \textit{lizhi} were the wearing of black armbands, bowing three times to a photograph rather than prostration before an altar, and giving a eulogy.\textsuperscript{157} Empress Dowager Longyu’s funeral was held a few months after the promulgation of \textit{lizhi}, which demonstrated a mixture of the funeral as instituted by the Republican government and the imperial form of ritual as marked by Manchu imperial officials wearing traditional white mourning clothes posing before Longyu’s photograph (fig. 3.60) in her altar. As the first state funeral after the foundation of Republic of China, Empress Longyu’s funeral played a symbolic role in heralding the end of the Qing Empire and the beginning of Republican China.

\textsuperscript{155} This was not the first time that Longyu was misrepresented. In a picture postcard published a year before she died, Longyu was portrayed with the image of another person. Chen Shouxiang (陈绶祥), Fang Lin (方霖), and Bei Ning (北宁), eds., \textit{Jiumeng chongjing : Fang Lin, Bei Ning cang Qingdai mingxinpi xuanji} (旧梦重惊: 方霖、北宁藏清代明信片选集; Old Dream Heavy Sadness: Fang Lin and Bei Ning’s Collection of Qing Dynasty’s Postcards) (Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1998), 300.

\textsuperscript{156} Zhou, \textit{Beijing Binzang Shihua} (北京殡葬史话; History of Funeral in Beijing), 104.

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 103–105.
In East Asia, various forms of government created state rituals that used photography to visualize newly established national events. Individuals participated in state funeral of monarchs and royal families by visiting memorial halls open to the public, and by viewing images of commemorative photography albums of the deceased. In Japan, the sacred status of a monarch’s portrait photograph encouraged the general public to commemorate the sovereign through his likenesses, although the government did not officially display the emperor’s portrait photograph during the state funeral. Korean monarchs’ attempts to modernize the state funeral did not include funerary portrait photography, although portrait photographs of royal family members were circulated through newspapers and photography albums as a way to visualize rituals in the newly colonized territory of Japan. The republican government of China utilized the funerary portrait photograph of the Qing dynasty’s last empress dowager to emphasize the transformation from a constitutional monarchy to a republic, purging the sacredness from royal portraits, yet, beginning in the 1920’s, it began to confer a quasi-sacredness to portraits of its heads of state.

IV. Funerary Photo-Portraiture and Heads of State since the 1920s

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had profound impact on Russia’s Eastern neighbors, including China, Japan, and colonized Korea and Taiwan. The Communist Party was established in China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan in, respectively, 1921, 1922, 1925, and 1928.
This imported ideology was conflated with the anti-colonial movements in Korea and Taiwan, while it instigated a conflict with the nationalist party in China, leading to civil war. The communist party of Japan challenged the authority of the emperor and imperialism. The Japanese government suppressed all political resistance to the constitutional monarchy from the mid-1920s. Besides social and political changes, communism introduced the idea that portraits of national leaders could be used as ideological state apparatuses. The use of Lenin’s portrait influenced the ways in which Sun Yat-sen’s portrait was deployed in China. A new type of public funeral was created as an alternative to state funerals hosted by the colonial governments of Korea and Taiwan. The influx of communist-style portrait photographs and the established use of monarchical likenesses influenced how portrait photographs of national leaders and social figures were used in daily life and in their funerals.

The first funeral for a head of state in republican China was held for Yuan Shikai, the first president of the Republic of China, who died on June 6, 1916. For planning his state funeral, held in Beijing on June 28, 1916, the republican government sought advice from the United States. The government announced a twenty-seven day mourning period and ordered flags to be flown at half-mast. His funerary portrait photograph was placed on an altar for a three-day Guomin zhuidaodahui (国民追悼大会; National Memorial Service) in

---

159 For the details on Yuan’s funeral, I refer to the following material. Zhou, *Beijing Binzang Shihua* (北京殡葬史话; *History of Funeral in Beijing*), 324–345.
the Temple of Agriculture (先農壇) (figs. 3.65 and 3.66), while his portrait photograph was carried in the funeral procession, and a larger portrait was placed on an altar in his hometown until his interment. The photograph used for the memorial service was one he had taken for his inauguration ceremony in 1913 (fig. 3.67). The photograph was chosen to represent him as the former head of the Republic of China rather than as the new monarch, a role that the government had denied him.

A memorial service for Yuan was also held in Washington, D. C.\textsuperscript{160} His portrait photograph was placed high above the mourning altar, where an incense burner was set (fig. 3.68). The insignia of the Daughters of the American Revolution was located above the funerary portrait photograph as the memorial service was held in the organization’s hall. President Wilson participated in the ceremony, and Chinese representatives placed a huge floral wreath beneath the deceased’s photograph. Despite Chinese government efforts, Yuan’s funeral failed to construct an imaginary of national unity. Due to his attempt to restore a dynastic regime, Yuan faced several revolts, losing his authority as head of state, particularly in Southern China. Few visitors paid respect to his portrait, and some even rejoiced at the news of his death.\textsuperscript{161}


Beginning with Sun Yat-sen’s funeral and memorial services, Chinese state funerals served fully as propaganda tools that incorporated a comprehensive use of funerary portrait photographs.\(^{162}\) The visualization of deceased national figures began to emulate the Soviet Union’s public display of Lenin’s body, which carried over to other leaders, including Mao Zedong. Sun Yat-sen, the first provisional president of the Republic of China, and one of the founders of the Nationalist party, died on March 12, 1925. The Nationalist government ordered a glass coffin from Russia, and his body was embalmed and lay in state in Beijing’s Central Park before it was carried to Nanjing for interment. A large funerary portrait photograph of the deceased hung above a casket (fig. 3.69). Russian representatives carried the coffin as pallbearers in a public memorial service.\(^{163}\)

The term designating Sun’s memorial service changed from zhuidaodahui (追悼大会; Big Gathering for a Memorial Tribute) or aidaohui (哀悼会; Gathering for Condolence), which had been used for memorial services of national leaders in the past, to gongji (公祭; Public Ritual). Ji 祭 connoted sacredness both for the imperial family and to the public. The term designated various ritual services to heaven, earth, and imperial ancestors hosted by

---


\(^{163}\) “Christian Funeral Rites Held for Dr. Sun Yat-sen,” The China Press, March 20, 1925. Lev Karakhan was one of them.
emperors, while in common usage it also connoted a memorial service for anyone’s ancestors. The term implies an obligation to perform a ritual. The new designation for the memorial implies that all citizens had a responsibility to worship Sun Yat-sen as a national ancestor. Moreover, *gongji* came to be an occasion on which citizens learned the lessons left behind by their late leader. For *gongji* in Beijing, photographs, movie projectors, and loudspeakers delivered Sun’s speeches and recounted his accomplishments.\(^{164}\) *Gongji* also came to mean a place where people assembled for political protest.\(^{165}\) People railed against imperialism and warlords in public memorial services for Sun.

A local English language newspaper characterized the state funeral as an attempt to “bolshevize Dr. Sun’s memory,” as Sun specified in his will that he wished to have his funeral performed in a way similar to Lenin’s.\(^{166}\) In contrast to Yuan Shikai’s state funeral following advice from the United States, Sun’s state funeral following the style of Lenin’s funeral, reflecting the shift in hegemony. Banners with anti-imperialist slogans were hung at the memorial service in Beijing, where the body of Sun lay in state for two weeks.

---


Memorial services for Sun were held throughout the country, either in shrines with traditional offering tables bearing Sun’s portrait, or in a modern way, with people bowing three times before his funerary portrait photograph (figs. 3.70-3.72). In the memorial service held in Beijing’s Central Park, a photograph of the deceased was distributed with a flower and a flyer containing Sun’s will. In addition, visitors offering condolences in Beijing were able to pay their respects by looking at his actual face lying in the coffin. Numerous memorial services were held outside China, including in Taiwan, Japan, Vietnam, and the United States. The portrait of the deceased leader was essential for those who wanted to memorialize Sun, as it served as a substitute for the presence of the late leader.

After the death of Sun Yat-sen, the United Front between the Communists and the Nationalists began to deteriorate. On April 12, 1927, the Nationalist party, led by Chiang Kai-shek, suppressed the Communist members and their organizations. After unifying China in 1929, one of the projects proclaiming the new national identity was the removal of Sun’s remains to a mausoleum in Nanjing. Sun’s will specified that he wished to have himself entombed at Purple Mountain, in Nanjing, where Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of the Ming

167 For more on various memorial services for Sun in China, see Harrison, The Making of the Republican Citizen, 144–146.
169 Zhou, Beijing Binzang Shihua, 356.
Sun's Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, was buried. Sun had made several official visits to Nanjing as gestures of defiance against the Qing dynasty of Manchu, as Zhu had restored a regime led by Han Chinese, thereby defeating the Yuan dynasty of Mongols. Nanjing was also where Sun was elected as the first provisional president of the Republic of China.

On June 1, 1929, the Nationalist government performed a re-interment ceremony at the Sun Yat-sen mausoleum in Nanjing. Schools and government offices were closed to allow for commemoration, while memorial services were held throughout the country. All citizens were expected to make a silent tribute at noon. The ceremony was not called a state funeral, but an enshrinement ceremony (奉安大典; fèng’ān dàdiàn). The term for mausoleum, Zhongshan ling (中山陵) is notable in that ling 陵 is a term for imperial mausoleums. Contrary to imperial tombs that are used as ritual sites exclusively for imperial family and high officials, the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum remains a place for national rituals in which every citizen participates as a national family member. The mausoleum has a capacity of fifty-thousand people. The party’s propaganda efforts may be seen in everything related to the late founding father of China, from the construction of his

---

170 Nanjingshi danganguan (南京市档案馆) and Zhongshan lingyuan guanliju (中山陵园管理处), eds., Zhongshanling dangan shiliao xuanbian (中山陵档案史料选编: Collected Archival Materials on Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1986), 324.


172 For more on Sun Yat-sen mausoleum and its design in relation to structuring Chinese modern visual culture, see Lai, “Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument.”
mausoleum to his enshrinement ceremony. Chiang Kai-shek managed the cult of Sun Yat-sen as a means of legitimizing the party and ensconcing himself as Sun’s successor. As a representative of the right-wing faction of the Nationalist Party, he had excluded all left-wing members from the planning committee of the enshrinement ceremony. While decay precluded the display of Sun’s body, this alteration of rites was presented as a political statement against Marxist-Leninist leanings.\textsuperscript{173} As relations with Russia deteriorated after Chiang’s purge of communists, Russia chose not to send delegates to the funeral, even though they had sent the only foreign diplomats to the funeral ceremonies of Sun in 1925.

Sun’s remains traveled by train and ship from Beijing to Nanjing,\textsuperscript{174} stopping in other cities along the way in a propaganda campaign replete with party slogans and national flags. A large portrait of Sun Yat-sen was fixed to the front of the train and a memorial hall with portraits of other revolutionary martyrs occupied one of the cars (figs. 3.73 and 3.74).\textsuperscript{175} Until the 1940s, when China was embroiled in civil war, Sun’s funerary portrait was exhibited regularly on propaganda trains (fig. 3.75).\textsuperscript{176}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[175] Wang, “Creating a National Symbol,” 49.
\item[176] “Shishi Sheying Xinwen (時事攝影新聞; Photographic News on Current Events),” \textit{Yaxiya Huabao (亚细亚画报; Asia Pictorial)} 4, no. 7 (1942): 10.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Tongsheng (同生) photo-studio in Beijing published a memorial album of the journey.\textsuperscript{177} The album of one-hundred-and-sixty photographs\textsuperscript{178} is in the collection of the National Museum of China.\textsuperscript{179} Tan Zhengxi (譚正曦), the photographer as well as the owner of Tongsheng studio, described his experience of making photographic records of the national ceremony enshrining the late leader.\textsuperscript{180} According to Tan, the studio had a good relationship with Sun; Tan’s father, the studio’s founder and a strong supporter of the revolution, had taken pictures of Sun. Soong Ching-ling, Sun’s widow, and Sun Fo, Sun’s son, asked Tan to photograph the enshrinement ceremony from Beijing to Nanjing in 1929. Soong selected photographs and made them into a three-volume set. A prominent figure of Nationalist Party, Hu Hanmin titled the album 

\textit{Zongli fengan jiniance} (總理奉安紀念冊; \textit{Memorial Album of the Party President’s Enshrinement}).

The cult of Sun Yat-sen passed through several stages after his death. National

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{177} Zhongguo guomindang zhejiangsheng zhixingweiyuanhui xuanchuanbu, ed., \textit{Zongli fengan jiniance} (總理奉安紀念冊; \textit{Memorial Album of The Party President’s Enshrinement}) (Hangzhou: Zhongguo guomindang zhejiangsheng zhixingweiyuanhui xuanchuanbu, 1929).
\textsuperscript{178} Wang, \textit{Weiren Xiangce de Mangdian}, 413. Wang reveals that he donated the album to National Library of China in 1956.
\textsuperscript{179} Even though the title of the album is slightly different, it is the same album according to the description in the website of the museum.
\end{flushright}
holidays were decreed to commemorate the events of his life, including his birth, the revolution, and his death, and citizens were organized to celebrate those holidays.\textsuperscript{181} Commemoration of Sun as \textit{Guofu (國父; Father of the Nation)} included deifying his personal effects, including his portraits.\textsuperscript{182} During the Northern Expedition of the Nationalist Party (1926-1928), party soldiers distributed portraits of Sun, as well as copies of his political testament and propaganda leaflets, to motivate local people to support the fight to unify China.\textsuperscript{183} Sun’s portrait was believed to be a useful tool for national unity, particularly in regions where multiple ethnic groups found it difficult to imagine a single community under the nation-state of China. Tibetan, Mongolian, and Hui Muslim communities were supposed to bow before Sun’s portrait in 1939, on their shared ritual day for a lake deity in Qinghai, the northwestern region of China. The lake ritual had been transformed into a state-religious ceremony during the Qing dynasty as a tool to assimilate and control diverse ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{184} A Muslim leader pandering to the Nationalist Party had distributed Sun’s portrait in 1927 as a way of “civilizing” these groups, whom the Nationalist government considered “barbarians.”

Despite aspirations for the modern concepts of national unity and equality, the local citizens

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{181} Harrison, \textit{The Making of the Republican Citizen}, 155–157.
\textsuperscript{182} Designating Sun Yat-sen as Guofu was suggested by a local newspaper immediately after his death, comparing him to George Washington. Ibid., 146.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 179.
\end{flushleft}
just crammed the portrait into their dirty sacks along with meat.\textsuperscript{185}

Portraits of Sun were elevated to the status of objects legitimizing national identity. The Nationalist Party institutionalized a ritual memorializing Sun by issuing a decree requiring the reading aloud of his political testament and paying silent tribute at every party meeting. Attendees were required to bow three times before Sun’s portrait in a weekly memorial gathering for Sun, while party affairs were to be reported before the late leader’s portrait (fig. 3.76).\textsuperscript{186} Sun’s soul was believed to participate in party meetings, observing how well the party operated. Later, the ritual procedure, including bows to Sun’s portrait, became a legal requirement in political institutions and schools.\textsuperscript{187} The sense of being gazed upon by the soul of the emperor or an ancestral spirit reverberates in these uses of Sun’s portrait photograph.

By the 1940s, Sun Yat-sen’s portrait, newly designated Guofu Yixiang (国父遗像; Funerary Portrait Photograph of Father of Nation), was a required element of every classroom and public place in China and Taiwan, and Sun was called Guofu (Father of Nation) rather than zhongli (总理; Party President), his earlier designation.\textsuperscript{188} In 1948, a

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., 46–47.

\textsuperscript{186} Lai, “Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument,” 41.

\textsuperscript{187} Harrison, The Making of the Republican Citizen, 187.

\textsuperscript{188} The official designation for Sun as Guofu started under Wang Jingwei’s regime in 1941, which was a puppet state established by Japan during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Li Gongzhong (李恭忠), Zhongshanling: Yige
decree on hanging *Guofu Yixiang* included details about how to place and treat the portrait.\(^{189}\)

*Guofu Yixiang* began to be hung in Taiwan in 1946, after its independence from Japan, and, starting in 1947, a decree on hanging Sun’s portrait in schools was enforced (figs. 3.77 and 3.78).\(^{190}\)

Sun Yat-sen’s portrait continued to be commemorated at schools along with those of the presidents, from Chiang Kai-Shek to Lee Deng-hui, until the decree was repealed in

---


In China, rituals before funerary portrait photographs, which previously had been confined to nobility and members of the imperial family, helped to structure the country’s modern national identity. Ritualistic gestures toward funerary portrait photographs of national leaders also served to acculturate the public into a cult of personality. Funerary portrait photographs used in state funerals mirror familial imaginary as the designation of national leaders as guofu (father of the nation) structured the state funerals and memorial services in relation to ancestral memorials performed within the framework of the patriarchal family.

Thus, funerary portrait photographs displayed in state funerals and social institutions sustained the patriarchal ideology of the modern nation-state of China. This practice may be compared to other East Asian state rituals, which similarly assisted in establishing a secular modern nation-state after World War II.

In postcolonial Korea, Syngman Rhee (1875-1965), the first president of South Korea, emulated the visual tactics of the colonial period. Following his election in 1948, the Korean

public was expected to hang the national flag to celebrate the president’s birthday. The birthday of the head of the state was to be celebrated even during the Korean War (1950-1953). In honor of his eightieth birthday, in 1955, a new portrait painting was presented in a grand, national celebration, and the Office of Public Information distributed black-and-white portrait photographs of the president to schools at the end of the year. A distribution ceremony was held to bestow the honorary portraits of the president to local offices (fig. 3.79). In 1960, a ten-year-old student was awarded first prize in a poetry contest for the president’s eighty-fifth birthday, for a poem that begins with an image of the president gazing at the students in the classroom. The first president of South Korea turned out to be a dictator, and resigned a month after his birthday, self-exiling to Hawaii.

Park Chung-hee (1917-1979) seized the presidency of South Korea through a military coup in 1961. His propaganda tactics included distributing his portrait photographs to schools and issuing a National Charter of Education. Students were required to memorize every word of the charter. When Park was assassinated in 1979, he became the first president to be the

---

subject of a state funeral in the Republic of Korea (figs. 3.80 and 3.81). A number of people cried while kneeling when the cortege passed by rather than rejoicing at the end of his sixteen-year military dictatorship.

Following the division of the Korean peninsula in 1953, North Korean leaders also distributed their portraits to schools. Idolization of Kim Il-sung (1912-1994) and Kim Jong-il (1941-2011) was performed in various ways, including paying respect to the portraits of the leaders at schools and in the home (fig. 3.82). The portrait photographs of the Kims are designated ‘Photograph No.1’ in North Korea. By analyzing local newspaper articles, Byeon Yeong Wook explores how the Kims utilized Photograph No.1 to reinforce their regime’s authority. He points out that the systematic use of the leader’s portrait began in the 1960s, when a procedure establishing Kim as Suryeong (수령; 首領; paramount leader) began to take shape. The birthdays of the two late leaders are national holidays.

When Kim Il-sung died in 1994, a ten-day mourning period was announced, during which all entertainment was prohibited. His official residence was converted into a

---

195 In fact, Kim Gu was subject to the first state funeral when he was assassinated in 1949. But the colleagues of Kim denied the government’s suggestion for a state funeral because they doubted that the assassinator was from the government and President Rhee. Instead, Kim was subject to what is called Gukminjiang (國民葬), a partially funded state funeral. The wife of Park Chung-hee was also subject to Gukminjiang when she was assassinated in 1974.

mausoleum in which Kim’s embalmed body lies in state, and where the public may pay respect on specific holidays, including New Year’s Day. After his death, Kim’s photographs were reproduced on a large scale in Nodong Shinmun (로동신문; Labor Newspaper), the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party of North Korea. The newspaper exclaimed that the photographs reminded the people of the eternal presence of Kim Il-sung.197 A new portrait, called Taeyangsang (태양상; Image of the Sun), was used in Kim Il-sung’s funeral.198 Kim’s portrait had remained the same for twenty-five years: he wore a Mao jacket and bore a stern facial expression. The new portrait showed him with a big smile, partially white hair, and wearing a business suit (fig. 3.83).199 Both portraits are painted representations, which made it easier to idealize the image. Students were assigned to clean the frame of the leaders’ portraits twice a day with a special tool designated for the purpose. A student was honored when she died trying to save the leader’s portrait from a fire in her home.200 On national voting days, everyone is expected to bow to sacred portraits hanging above the ballot box (fig. 3.84).201

After independence from Japan in 1945 and the Korean War in the early 1950s, when

197 Ibid., 28.
198 His birthday was named Taeyangjeol (태양절; The Day for the Sun) in 1997.
200 Ibid., 80.
cold war politics created a social climate in which strong leadership was deemed necessary for national security, the leaders of South and North Korea visualized themselves following the mode utilized by the Japanese emperor during the colonial period. Funerary portrait photographs of the leaders of South and North Korea served to sustain the myth that the head of state is a sacred being, precluding opportunities to challenge the manufactured desire for strong leadership.

In postcolonial Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek, who had coordinated the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen, was aware of the roles that various visual tactics played in structuring a national identity and creating a cult of personality. After Chiang fled to Taiwan in 1949, following defeat in the Chinese Civil War, he managed his public image through various strategies. The cult of Chiang began immediately with the erection of a statue of Chiang, streets were named after him, the public was required to celebrate his birthday, and teachers and students visited the Presidential Palace to bow to his portrait. Portraits of Chiang were required elements in most national ceremonies during his lifetime, including the National Day celebration, and were hung in all public offices and schools until 1995, when Chen Shui-bian, the mayor of Taipei city, enforced a law to remove portraits of Chiang and his son from

---


official and educational institutions.  

After defeat in WWII in Japan, General Douglas MacArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, believed it would be useful for the emperor to retain his status as a national symbol, and the emperor and MacArthur needed each other for their respective political strategies. Hirohito was worried about punishment for war crimes and the possibility of dethronement by communists; MacArthur sought a way to secure American hegemony throughout northeast Asia, including Japan. Emperor Shōwa (Hirohito) proclaimed himself to be a human being and no longer a god. In exchange for this declaration, Hirohito was absolved from responsibility for war crimes in the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal. When Hirohito made the humanity declaration on January 1, 1946, MacArthur issued a statement that the emperor would lead the democratization of Japan, thereby transforming the emperor into a symbol of democracy rather than one of war. For the first time, the Japanese people witnessed a photograph of the emperor that included another person, General MacArthur (fig. 3.85). The formerly sacred image of the emperor was transformed into one of an ordinary human being.

The visualization of Emperor Shōwa and the imperial family became active symbols.

---


205 Toyoshita Narahiko (豊下楢彦), Shōwa Tennō, Makkāsa kaiken (昭和天皇・マッカーサー会見; Meeting between Emperor Shōwa and MacArthur) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008).
of postwar Japan throughout the occupation era (1945-1952). The emperor’s birthday remained a national holiday, and he made a number of tours throughout the country as a symbol of the new nation-state. As Morris Low shows, images of Emperor Shōwa no longer dressed in military uniform presented Hirohito as a symbol of peace, scientific advancement, and thoughtful national and family leadership. Nonetheless, public interest in the emperor and the imperial family waned as the emperor’s image as human supplanted the divine one.

When the emperor’s health deteriorated toward the end of 1988, the Japanese media inundated the public with news of his critical medical condition. The media encouraged self-restraint, and entertainment of all kinds was considered inappropriate to the delicate condition of their national symbol. When the emperor died after several months of illness, the government distinguished between funerary rites hosted by the state from those held by the Imperial Household Agency, as a gesture toward the separation of religion and government. Japanese citizens witnessed the rituals for the first time through television. Takashi Fujitani explores how images of television structured the visual experience of Emperor Shōwa’s funeral. He observes that excessive control of the media in order to create a meta-narrative

---

207 For more on fears and suppressions imposed on the general public concerning the demise of Emperor Shōwa, see Masao Miyoshi, *Off Center: Power and Culture Relations Between Japan and the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 170–177.
for the imperial funeral led to trivializing the events and de-auratizing the emperor rather than maximizing the state’s aim for unity among the Japanese public. The rate of video rental soared during the three-day weekend of national mourning, when all television programming was preempted for coverage of the emperor’s life and funeral.\textsuperscript{209} While there were some ritualistic suicides in the wake of the emperor’s death, most Japanese were only mildly interested in the demise of their monarch. At the same time, a series of demonstrations and rallies challenged the emperor’s elevated status and raised anew the issue of his responsibility for the war.\textsuperscript{210}

Despite the dominance of electronic media images, the funerary portrait photograph of the emperor rose to prominence in 1989. Immediately following the day of the state funeral, the government allowed the general public to visit Shinjuku Gyoen National Garden, where for nine days they could pay respect to the portrait photograph of the late emperor (fig. 3.86).\textsuperscript{211} In contrast to the funeral of Emperor Meiji, when the public placed the sacred portrait in a memorial service, the government controlled where to place the deceased

\textsuperscript{209} For more descriptions of the general public’s response to the demise for Emperor Shōwa, see Thomas Crump, \textit{The Death of an Emperor: Japan at the Crossroads} (London: Constable, 1989), 206–218.

\textsuperscript{210} For more on the funeral of Emperor Shōwa and its socio-political implication, see Ako Nakano, “Death and History: An Emperor’s Funeral,” \textit{Public Culture} 2, no. 2 (1990): 33–40.

\textsuperscript{211} “Ippan Sankan Hajimaru Shinjukugoen No Sōjōden 3 Tsuki 5-nichi Made No 9-kakan (一般参観始まる新宿御苑の葬場殿 3月5日までの9日間; The General Public’s Memorial Service Starts for Nine Days Until March 5 at the Memorial Hall in Shinjuku Gyoen National Garden),” \textit{Asahi Shimbun} (朝日新聞; Asahi News), February 25, 1989, Evening edition.
emperor’s photograph.

Photographs of the monarchs gained sacredness through invented rituals of distributing and treating the likeness of the emperor, who before WWII in Japan had been considered a god in human form. Institutionalization of the monarch’s portraits was intertwined with the process of sacralizing the emperor as a god as well as a process of secularizing the sovereign through mechanical reproduction of representation. In 1920s China, funerary portrait photography was institutionalized through the cult of Sun Yat-sen. *Guofu Yixiang (Funerary Portrait Photograph of Nation’s Father)* played a crucial role in structuring national identity both in China and in postcolonial Taiwan. Heads of state continued to visualize their power through distributing their portrait photographs.

V. Conclusion: The Rhetoric of Funerary Photo-Portraiture

This chapter investigated how funerary portrait photography was incorporated into the process of building the nation-states of East Asia and of structuring the national identities of citizens through engagement with the politics of commemoration and the cult of personality. Modernization accompanied the reification of traditions such as the monarchic funeral, as state funerals conformed to the protocols of religious rituals and Confucian patriarchal ideology. The patriarchal legacy of ancestral rites was absorbed into the establishment of the nation-state as a family. The Japanese colonial experience coalesced around the mythification
and the deification of the emperor through rituals surrounding the sovereign’s portrait photograph. The protocols created for Lenin’s funeral influenced those who were engaged in creating alternative ideologies for nation-states in the 1920s. Along with the display of the deceased’s body, funerary portrait photographs became a requisite element of memorial services.

The emergence of memorial photography albums is crucial to the understanding of how national rites were visualized. Those who did not have the opportunity to participate in a state funeral were able to comprehend the mourning observances for monarchs and heads of state second-hand. They could have a memorial service at a makeshift altar with a funerary portrait photograph of the dead. In addition, state funerals led to the establishment of pilgrimage sites such as memorial halls, mausoleums, and museums where one bows before a funerary portrait photograph.

Postwar East Asian heads of state pursued cults of personality, supported by proclaiming states of emergency sustained by cold war politics in which imagined fear of the enemy supplied the rationale for strong leadership. Photography played a crucial role in visualizing power and leadership, as heads of state distributed their portrait photographs and institutionalized their uses, thereby transferring the charisma of kings and emperors onto their likenesses: the sacredness of imperial and royal portrait photography persisted in these secular representations.
When Douglas MacArthur died in 1964, the South Korean government created a temporary mourning site, and President Park Chung-hee offered a flower and incense before the portrait of MacArthur (fig. 3.87). In 2005, there was a demonstration to demolish MacArthur’s statue, which had been erected in 1957 to memorialize the general’s achievement during the Korean War. As a response to the protest against this attempt to remove the trace of MacArthur, a group of shamans who had enshrined General MacArthur as their deity held a ritual to memorialize him. One of them said that the deity of General MacArthur still affected the security of South Korea, so it was deplorable to find some South Koreans disparaging his accomplishments.\footnote{212 Nam Jongyeong (남종영) and Ha Jeongmin (하정민), “Yeongi Dwaeseodo Hangeugel Gubeobosinda (영이 deactivate 한국을 굽어보신다; His Soul Taking Care of Korea),” Hangyeore 21, October 2005, http://h21.hani.co.kr/arti/cover/cover_general/14927.html (accessed February 14, 2014); “Korea’s Shaman Power,” The Straits Times, December 3, 1979.} The commotion surrounding MacArthur echoes one of Bertolt Brecht’s allegories on God:

Someone asked Herr Keuner if there is a God. Herr Keuner said: I advise you to think about how your behavior would change with regard to the answer to this question. If it would not change, then we can drop the question. If it would change, then I can help you at least insofar as I can tell you: you already decided: You need a God.\footnote{213 Bertolt Brecht, Prosa 3 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1995), 18, as quoted in Slavoj Žižek, The Parallax View (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 97.}

Reasons varied to pay respect before the funerary portraits of MacArthur, Emperor
Shōwa, Kim Il-sung, Chiang Kai-shek, and Mao Zedong. Some may have mourned their deaths sincerely, while others made a gesture to what the deceased symbolized, including state violence and dictatorship. These leaders’ souls were recalled through various modes of memorialization as well as for the purpose of challenging and disputing the legacies they left. The Confucianist order inherent in the use of funerary portrait photography characterized the process of establishing modern nation-states in East Asia to the extent that the head of the state assumed the role of sustaining the patriarchal hierarchy as the father of the nation-state-cum-family. The deployment of funerary photo-portraiture in state-hosted rituals reveals how the secular supplements the sacred in East Asia. Giorgio Agamben argues that the secularization of nation-states structures the sacredness of a monarch and a head of the state. The secular is an extension of the sacred, and Agamben urges the need for profanation. He makes a distinction between secularization and profanation:

Secularization is a form of repression. It leaves intact the forces it deals with by simply moving them from one place to another. Thus the political secularization of theological concepts (the transcendence of God as a paradigm of sovereign power) does nothing but displace the heavenly monarchy onto earthly monarchy, leaving its power intact. Profanation, however, neutralizes what it profanes. Once profaned, that which was unavailable and separate loses its aura and is returned to use. Both are political operations: the first guarantees the exercise of power by carrying it back to a sacred model; the second deactivates the apparatuses of power and returns to common use the spaces that power had seized.

---


215 Ibid., 77.
Under the name of the sacred, people came to be involved in paroxysms of violence, including colonial and imperial aggressions inflicted on the Other. By bowing before a funerary portrait photograph of an emperor or dictator, one participates in an act that legitimizes his power and domination. The desire for a strong national leader facilitated religious nationalism in a violent form, as colonialism and dictatorship were sustained in sacred form.

But there have also been profanations of state funerals and funerary portraits. For example, a Chinese supervisor of a garment factory in Cambodia tore up the funerary portrait photographs of King Norodom Sihanouk when the monarch died in 2012. She felt that her factory workers were neglecting work. Her desecration violated Cambodian law, which stipulates that the king’s image may not be desecrated. She was forced to kneel before the funerary portrait photograph of the late king, and was later deported to China. Her action was not an act of profanity but one of violence intended to force the laborers to return to work. The incident provoked a protest against autocracy in China. Four Chinese citizens photographed themselves tearing up the funerary portrait photograph of Mao Zedong. When the story was reported by the Chinese state press agency, the protestors and their families were threatened with death, although some Chinese deemed the protest a good way to question Mao’s legacy. The police later detained the leader of the protest. Agamben argues that profanation does not signify a simple abolition of an apparatus. Instead, a new use of the
apparatus should be created, even though it sometimes ends with parodic or episodic value.\textsuperscript{216}

Artistic intervention is one way to profane the funerary portrait photography deployed as an ideological state apparatus. Ōura Nobuyuki, a Japanese artist, made a series of collages using portrait photographs of Emperor Shōwa in \textit{Holding Perspectives} (figs. 3.88-93). The artist juxtaposes the face of Emperor Shōwa with female nudes, tattooed bodies, and an image of an atomic bomb mushroom cloud. His work was exhibited in the Toyama Prefectural Museum of Modern Art in 1986, but the Toyama Prefectural Assembly questioned the museum’s plan to purchase Ōura’s collages in 1990.\textsuperscript{217} Right-wing groups demonstrated against the exhibition, leading to an incineration of the exhibition catalogue. About eighteen years later, his work was included in an exhibition titled \textit{Into the Atomic Sunshine: Post-War Art under Japanese Peace Constitution Article 9} in Tokyo and New York.\textsuperscript{218} However, the collages were excluded when the exhibition travelled to Okinawa in 2009, because the museum determined that the collages were inappropriate for display in an institution that has an educational purpose for younger generations.\textsuperscript{219} As a protest against the

\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., 86–87.


\textsuperscript{218} Shinya Watanabe, \textit{Into the Atomic Sunshine: Post-War Art under Japanese Peace Constitution Article 9} (Japan: Exhibition Committee, 2008).

censorship by the Okinawa Prefectural Museum of Art, a gallery in Tokyo exhibited Ōura’s collages along with other works dealing with photographs of Emperor Shōwa. Funerary portrait photographs of Japanese emperors and dictators of modern nation-states of East Asia served as apparatuses of a socio-political mechanism of violence and discrimination. Profaning memorial practices de-auratizes the established role of funerary portrait photography, as Ōura’s artistic intervention shows.

---

Chapter Four

Artists and Funerary Photo-Portraiture

I. Introduction

This chapter examines artistic interventions into the vernacular practices of funerary portrait photography in East Asia. In recent decades, a number of East Asian artists have explored the deployment of funerary portrait photographs in the structuring of nation-states and the formation of patriarchal family ideology. Their work has also investigated the traumatic implications of funerary portrait photographs of historical victims. In many ways, their work offers a useful counterpoint to my own academic study of the same phenomena.

II. Family and Funerary Portrait Photography

Commemorating the dead through funerary photo-portraiture plays a crucial role in family life in East Asia. Several artists have approached funerary portrait photography as a way to explore how personal identity is formed, and how it continues to evolve. Rather than categorizing artistic practices according to nationalities, this section presents artists who produced artwork of this kind in the 1990s and 2000s, seeking similarities and differences in their uses of familial memory and funerary portrait photographs.

Fukase Masahisa (深瀬昌久, 1934-2012)’s Kazoku (家族; Family) is a series of
black-and-white photographs of the artist’s family (fig. 4.1). As the son of a photo-studio owner, Fukase was exposed to photography as a structuring element in family life as he assisted his father taking pictures of their clients participating in family events. His book presents a selection of the artist’s family photographs spanning sixteen years, from 1971 until his father’s death in 1987. Fukase followed his father’s practice of using a large-format view camera kept in his father’s studio. The album illustrates the Fukase family history: children grow to adulthood, while some adults disappear, presumably having died. A partially nude woman disappears from the album—because she got a divorce—and deceased family members reappear in the form of their funerary portrait photographs. The book’s final image is the artist’s father’s funerary portrait photograph.

Kazoku is a bizarre family album. While Fukase appropriates the formal characteristics of studio-made family photographs—having the women sit in front holding the children while their male relations stand behind them—oddities appear. For example, in some photos, some family members, including Fukase’s wife, appear partially nude while the other family members turn their backs to the viewers. In another example, the artist stands

---

behind his father while they both show their bare chests. In such ways, Fukase subverts the customary manner of family albums.

Yomota Inuhiko (四方田犬彦) argues that Fukase’s work de-mythologizes the structure of family portrait photography by introducing subversive elements.4 Fukase’s odd photographs suggest that family albums are grounded in exhibitionism and voyeurism. As a tool to structure family identity, the ordinary family album is shown frequently, while family portrait photographs often adorn a living room to show a happy family. Leafing through Fukase’s family album, the viewer becomes a voyeur, while the partially nude subject and the turned backs of her relations challenge the power of the viewer’s gaze.

The photographer later disclosed that he had invited actor friends to pose partially nude for the purpose of making his group portraits unique.5 Thus, the supposed family portraits of Fukase cross the boundary of a family established by blood ties while also crossing the boundary of truth and fiction.

Pierre Bourdieu contends that the “family photograph is a ritual of the domestic cult in which the family is both subject and object.”6 Similarly, Sontag points out that, when used

---

as an element of family ritual, photography restates “the imperiled continuity and vanishing extendedness of family life.”7 Fukase’s Kazoku resists the tendency to romanticize and sacralize family life.

Another of Fukase’s photography books, Chichi no Kioku (父の記憶; Memories of Father), traces the artist’s father’s life. Emerging from the artist’s experience of his father’s death, the book is explicit in showing the ashes of his late father as well as his dead body (fig. 4.2).8

A practice that has long been one of the main reasons for visiting a local photography studio in East Asia, funerary photo-portraiture is a way to prepare for one’s death, and Fukase would have witnessed the practice many times in his father’s studio. Fukase had made funerary photographs of his family members, including his father. As Iizawa Kōtarō (飯沢耕太郎) points out, Fukase’s engagement with funerary portrait photography is autobiographical and personal, as he only took funerary portrait photographs of his own family.9 In a 1974 exhibition, Fukase showed funerary portrait photographs that he had made

---

8 Fukase, Chichi no Kioku (父の記憶; Memories of Father) (Tokyo: IPC, 1991).
of his family members and that were not yet in use (fig. 4.3). Funerary portrait photographs ordinarily have a black ribbon draped over both sides of the frame and a third ribbon at the center. Placing a ribbon on one side only indicates the celebration of a specific event, such as winning an award or being elected to local public office. In order to indicate that the photographs are not yet in use, Fukase tied a ribbon to the upper corners of the picture frames. Even before publishing photo books showing his family life, Fukase tried to challenge the way family photographs were shown. For the visitors of the exhibition, figures shown in Fukase’s photographs were unknown, but the black ribbons suggested that the subjects were being honored. In this way, Fukase played with photographic truth-value by employing devices that give specific but deceptive meaning to the photographs.

Fukase’s family photo-studio, which had been operating for three generations, closed after his father’s death. *Kazoku* serves also to memorialize the studio that captured moments of other family’s lives, including births, marriages, and deaths. Fukase’s inclusion of his father’s funerary portrait photograph foregrounds the patriarchal structure of his family. His work is a homage to his father’s career, memorializing the father-son relationship. He is the first son in his family to host a family funeral, to carry the funerary portrait photograph in a

---

funeral procession, or to hold annual memorial services. However, while Fukase creatively explores various aspects of family photographic practices, his works do not challenge the patriarchal order on which it is grounded.

In a work akin to Fukase’s family album, Chinese artist Song Yongping (宋永平, 1961-) created a photographic record of the last ten years of his parents’ lives,11 which he later developed into the book, My Parents (1998-2001) (fig. 4.4).12 The series begins with an early photograph of the artist’s parents when they were young and healthy, which contrasts dramatically with later photographs that show them bedridden in their dilapidated apartment. In several photographs, the artist poses with his parents, all three subjects dressed only in their underwear. In some photos, the parents appear with medical apparatuses, and later his mother is shown holding her husband’s funerary portrait photograph. The series ends with two photographs: one shows the parent’s funerary portrait photographs, the other their bedroom in a shambles (fig. 4.5). While Fukase’s photographs show his father’s funerary portrait photograph with other living family members, Song Yongping leaves his parents’ funerary portrait photographs unattended. The life and death of Song Yongping’s parents, photographed in black and white, are made public, showing the frailty of his aged parents.


12 Silvia Fok, Life and Death: Art and the Body in Contemporary China (Bristol; Chicago: Intellect, 2013), 81–82.
rather than capturing happy moments of family life, as family snapshots normally do. The last two photographs of the series contrast with each other. Song Yongping places the funerary portrait photographs in his parents’ bedroom rather than on an altar, a gesture that returns their souls to their former private place. But the next picture disrupts the usual practice of mourning, as it shows an abandoned photograph of the artist’s parents, taken by the artist, among piles of everyday detritus in the same room. Song Yongping’s work de-mythologizes the commemorative practice by de-romanticizing family life in favor of showing the harshness of aging and death.

Another Chinese artist, Song Dong (宋冬; 1966- ), intervenes in a space where ancestral worship rituals once had been held. In 1998, Song Dong created a site-specific work in the former Imperial Ancestral Temple in the Forbidden City, Beijing. The Imperial Ancestral Temple, where the emperor had offered memorial services to his forefathers, has been re-purposed as a public space where anyone may visit and which has been used as a

---

13 For more on family snapshots and their socio-political implications when made public, particularly in England, see Gillian Rose, Doing Family Photography: The Domestic, The Public, and The Politics of Sentiment (Farnham, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).


15 The exhibition was to be titled It’s Me: An Aspect of Chinese Contemporary Art in the 90s, but it was canceled by government authorities just before opening day. Wu Hung curated an exhibition at the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art in University of Chicago in 2000 that incorporated Song’s work and the issues surrounding the cancelation of the Beijing exhibition. Wu, Exhibiting Experimental Art in China (Chicago: The David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art; University of Chicago, 2000), 73–84.
venue for entertainment, including opera and fashion shows. Song Dong’s installation transformed this space, once deemed too sacred to allow access by the public, into an exhibition space, while retaining its tradition as a space that reinforces a patriarchal genealogy of family identity. In *Father and Son in the Ancestral Temple*, Song Dong projected his and his father’s portraits onto three columns of the Main Ritual Hall.

Government authorities cancelled the exhibition before the public could view it. In 2000, Song Dong revised and re-staged the exhibition for the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art at the University of Chicago. In the original installation, a composite portrait of the artist and his father was presented as an animated video image projected onto the middle column of the ritual hall, while each of the other two columns showed individual portraits of the artist and his father. For the exhibition in Chicago, Song Dong made all the portraits into video-animated images, accompanied by a recording of the artist and his father narrating important events in their lives.

In *Father and Son*, the father’s image is not a funerary portrait photograph, but most of Song Dong’s works deal with his personal memories of his parents. When his father died, he created several works of art as a way to mourn. For example, he collaborated with his mother on *Waste Not*, an installation of the objects that she had collected to fill her house in

---

16 For various transformations of the Imperial Ancestral Temple from the fall of the Qing dynasty throughout Mao’s era and the 1990s, see ibid., 94–95.
order to cope with the emptiness created by her husband’s death (fig. 4.7). Song Dong also produced a video using his father’s portrait (fig. 4.8), in which the artist caresses his father’s portrait photograph as it is projected onto the surface of water. The video is part of a series entitled *Touching My Father* (1997, 2002-2011, 2011), through which Song Dong attempts in various ways to touch his father physically. The artist said that he never touched his father’s body until the moment he encountered his father’s corpse. He videotaped himself touching his father’s body for the first time, but exhibited the tape tightly sealed rather than play its contents (fig. 4.9). The artist chose not to reveal this most private moment but instead offered the object that contains the memory.

In 2011, Song Dong showed all his works related to the memory of his parents in an exhibition titled *Dad and Mom, Don’t Worry About Us, We Are All Well*, held at the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts in San Francisco. The exhibition served as a memorial service for his parents for the purpose of sending a message from their descendants that they are well. Rather than placing a funerary portrait photograph on an altar, Song Dong chose a video screen and image projection, engaging himself in a performative use of photography that placed the audience in the role of mourners. In an interview about *Waste Not*, he appeared

---

19 Song Dong and Center for the Arts at Yerba Buena Gardens, *Song Dong: Dad and Mom, Don’t Worry About Us, We Are All Well* (San Francisco: Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, 2011).
with his mother’s photographic portrait pinned to his shirt (fig. 4.10). The gesture had two meanings: in *Waste Not*, Song Dong had placed a sofa in the exhibition space for his mother to chat with visitors. After his mother died, the sofa was still in place, but without her presence. Song Dong sat on the sofa with the interviewer while wearing his mother’s portrait photograph on his shirt, thus acknowledging her absence while honoring her presence as his collaborator. Wearing a portrait references the Chinese practice of wearing a badge inlaid with Mao Zedong’s portrait. Song Dong replaced the cult of Mao, the father of modern China, with his mother’s portrait photograph. The cult of Mao, which had swept away all the exhibition spaces in China, is thus challenged by Song Dong’s commemorative work honoring his parents, who were persecuted during the Cultural Revolution.

Song Dong has a predecessor in the tactic of transforming memorial practices across media. Shigeko Kubota (1937-2015) recorded herself mourning her father’s death before a television screen showing her father’s image. In *My Father* (1975), Kubota provides the viewer with a text explaining that her father has died (fig. 4.11). The artist filmed herself

---

20 http://www.moma.org/explore/multimedia/videos/46/348 (accessed May 3, 2014). The interview was held in 2009 and the installation was on view at the museum from June 24 to September 7, the same year.

21 Song Dong was born in 1966, when Mao initiated the Cultural Revolution. His father was sent to re-education camps because he was considered a counterrevolutionary. Song’s father narrates his biography in *Father and Son in the Ancestral Temple*. For the transcription, see Wu, *Exhibiting Experimental Art in China*, 80.

caressing the television monitor on which is shown video footage of her father and Kubota watching a television program on New Year’s Eve two years prior. The artist inserts several texts that give details of her father’s struggle against cancer, her grief and sadness over his death, and his funeral, which she was unable to attend. The images and sounds of Kubota crying are played against those of Japanese popular singers. Her father’s absence and presence are amplified through the use of two television monitors, one showing his presence and the other showing Kubota mourning his absence. In this way, the artist’s private mourning becomes public through television monitors.

Song’s and Kubota’s commemorative gestures transform the mode of traditional memorials that place funerary portrait photography on altars. Television has played a crucial role in structuring commemorative practice as today anyone may view funeral services of public figures, as happens during state funerals. Funeral parlors in Japan and Korea allow the bereaved to pay respect to the dead before a monitor on which a funerary portrait photograph or biographical video images appear. Kubota said, “video is a living altar,” a comment that gives insight into her exploration of the media in relation to death.23

Kubota’s father was a Buddhist monk who often performed funeral services. Midori Yoshimoto argues that Kubota’s exposure to rituals for the dead influenced the artist’s

exploration of video in relation to death. Kubota created video pieces that utilize graves, including *Marcel Duchamp’s Grave* (1975) and *Korean Grave* (1993), and made sculptures out of operating video monitors displaying images of her late husband, Nam June Paik (figs. 4.12 and 4.13).

Thai artist Tulapop Saenjaroen (1986-) also engages a father’s death through video. The *Return* (2008) is a video in which the viewer sees photographs of the funeral of the artist’s father while listening to the voice of his soul (fig. 4.14). The five-minute video offers a glimpse into Thai funeral practices, in which the funerary portrait photograph is placed, not on an altar, but some distance away from the urn of the deceased’s ashes, which are placed at the center of the altar (fig. 4.15). Showing photographs of his family mourning his father’s death, Tulapop enacts his father’s soul coming back to the artist. The father says that he comes back to the artist and never leaves, asking whether the artist remembers the time he shared with his father. He also asks the artist to take good care of his mother, invoking his return to a family reunion sixteen years after his death. The video ends with the appearance of the artist finishing the recording of his voice, thus revealing that the work is a mixture of fiction and fact. The artist reflects his desire to recall his father’s soul by performing on his behalf. While Song Dong and Kubota engage the loss of their fathers

---


through their attempts to touch the deceased, Tulapop gives a voice to the deceased. The artist also strives to create a richer memory of his father, whom he had lost when he was only five years old. By performing the voice of the returned soul of his father, the artist intervenes in the absence and the invisible presence of his deceased father. In his funerary portrait photograph, the father is visible yet inaudible, while in *The Return* he is invisible yet audible. Tulapop stretches the limits of funerary photographic practice by using other media, all the while demythologizing the belief in the presence of a soul.

Commemorative works for one’s parents may originate with a request from the artist’s parents, as was the case with Amanda Heng (1951- ), a Singaporean artist whose mother asked her to take her funerary portrait photograph. Another Woman (1996-1999) is a series of photographs on which Heng collaborated with her mother, beginning with her mother’s funerary portrait photograph (fig. 4.16). As a member of the Chinese diaspora community in Singapore, Heng’s mother experienced a life that was structured by the traditional Chinese extended family, and saw historical developments that isolated her. For example, the government policy of establishing Mandarin and English as national languages discouraged her from speaking her Southern Chinese Teochew dialect. While the artist is

fluent in both official languages, the policy made it difficult for her to communicate with her mother in her native tongue. Heng conceived the idea of an alternative means of communication through taking photographs. The title of the work bears implications for the displacement of women of her mother’s generation in Singapore, as well as for the dislocation of women everywhere.

Heng is an important figure on the Singaporean art scene, particularly as a feminist challenging traditional women’s roles in the Chinese community. She helped to establish art communities such as The Artists Village, in the 1980s, and Women in the Arts (WITA), in 2000. Another Woman has been exhibited in several venues, with variations for each installation. In Womanifesto (Bangkok, 1997), she interspersed the photographs of her mother and herself with kwai teow, a type of Chinese rice noodle that her mother’s family had produced commercially, and that still may be found in local markets in Thailand. As did Song Dong’s mother, Heng’s mother held onto useless objects of little value. The artist brought these things into the exhibition space of Another Woman. But, unlike Song Dong,

---


30 Cheo, “Participatory Practices Between Mother and Daughter,” 100. For more on the exhibition, see http://www.womanifesto.com/womanfest01.htm (accessed June 9, 2014).
Heng made her mother’s possessions into abstract forms, binding them with masking tape or wrapping them in newspapers. The artist described the installation as a re-interpretation of her mother’s altar, where she prayed at home every morning for her ancestors. Heng also placed electric altar candles to indicate the purpose of the installation (fig. 4.17). The photographs in the installation depart from traditional funerary portraiture by showing the artist and her mother in the nude, facing each other (fig. 4.18). Heng described conflicts with family members over presenting her mother in the nude. In the end, she compromised by covering with black tape the parts of the photos that had offended her relatives.

As with Song Dong, touching a parents’ body concerns Heng in Another Woman. Both artists attributed to Chinese culture the discouragement of physical contact between parents and children, and sought alternative ways to touch their parents through artistic projects. Heng’s photographs show that the artist and her mother touch each other’s body in ways foreign to their culture: the mother covers her daughter’s breasts with her hands, the artist’s hands cover the portraits of her mother, and they hug in the nude. Rather than evoking sympathetic reactions from viewers, these images de-familiarize physical and emotional engagement between parent and child. Heng makes public intimate physical contact while

32 Ibid., 111.
providing her mother with an opportunity to display her body. While Another Woman is not part of any practice of mourning, the artist’s mother encouraged Heng to create an artistic way to explore the mother-daughter relationship that began with her suggestion to prepare a portrait photograph for funerary use.

In relation to the representation of his mother and the mother-child relationship, renowned Japanese photographer Nobuyoshi Araki (1940- ) wrote an essay about his mother’s funerary portrait photograph.³³ He noted that Fukase made his parents’ funerary portrait photographs, while he had failed to do so. Instead, Araki chose to blow up a Polaroid image of his mother from her photo album. He opined, “photography certainly is filial piety.”³⁴ Araki felt that he was sharing time and space with the deceased when he re-photographed his mother’s Polaroid photograph for funerary purpose. The artist also photographed his mother’s dead body before placing her in the coffin, and confessed his unfulfilled desire “to photograph her nipples, her pubic hair.”³⁵ In contrast to Song Dong’s


³⁴ Araki, “My Mother’s Death,” 166.

³⁵ Ibid., 171. For the image of his late mother, see Miki, Isshiki, and Sato, Araki: Nobuyoshi Araki: Self, Life, Death, 554–555.
and Heng’s desire to touch the bodies of their parents, Araki remained a voyeuristic Other to his mother. At the same time, his desire to photograph his mother’s body demythologizes the body of the mother, making it an object of erotic male gaze, just as Araki has produced obscene images of female bodies using his photography models. While Song Yongping and Heng photographed their parents partially nude, Araki refrained from doing so, even though he took pictures of her many times in life, mostly on family occasions. Uncharacteristically, he kept private his mother’s image and her funerary portrait photograph.

Araki chose the death of his wife, Yoko, as the occasion on which to produce a funerary portrait photograph of the deceased, as well as images of a funeral. After his wife’s death, Araki exhibited photographs recording the last months of her life as she suffered from cancer. The photographs show her hospital stay and the rituals following her death, including the funeral, the procession to a crematorium, and a small altar in Araki’s home. He published the photographs in a photo book titled *Sentimental Journey/Winter Journey*.³⁶ It is a sequel to *Sentimental Journey*, his photo book of their honeymoon, which famously reveals intimate acts of the couple, including his wife in the nude and having sexual intercourse.³⁷ In *Sentimental Journey/Winter Journey* there are photographs of the deceased in her coffin and

---


her ashes, as well as photographs of Araki performing the funeral service. Anne Christine Taylor explores how this photo-book is related to Araki’s conceptualization of photography as *shishōsetsu* (私小説), ‘I-novel’, a literary form in which the writer tells his or her personal story while blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction, private and public.\(^{38}\) Noting the performativity of *shisōsetsu*, Yoshiaki Kai places Araki’s works within the discourse of *sunappu*, a genre of photography formulated in Japan by a group of photographers that included Araki, and that had adopted banality, amateurism, and everydayness as their artistic strategy. Hyewon Yi interprets Araki’s strategy as participant observation imbued with reflexive and autobiographical characteristics.\(^{39}\) However personal and private Araki’s photographs may be, *Sentimental Journey/ Winter Journey* is a highly selected view of the time and space Araki shared with his wife, including scenes after her death. Araki never shows Yoko’s decline in her struggle against the cancer, but chooses instead her pale face surrounded by flowers in her coffin and her funerary portrait photograph, which was chosen from images Araki had taken during their honeymoon. In addition, the book refrains from exhibiting erotic images of the deceased, as he had done in the book about his mother.


Sentimental Journey/ Winter Journey illustrates Araki mourning Yoko’s death, holding her funerary portrait photograph in the funeral procession, and carrying the urn of her ashes on the subway ride home from the crematorium. Rather than documenting Yoko’s final illness, Sentimental Journey/ Winter Journey offers a record of Araki’s daily life with, and then without, Yoko. The book shows images of an empty balcony of their house, their cat, and the artist at home without Yoko. While Kubota seems overwhelmed by the loss of her father, Araki’s photo-book reveals how one can come to terms with a profound loss through a funeral and memorial service. Araki made a portrait of himself wearing Yoko’s favorite coat and holding her funerary portrait photograph (fig. 4.19). By hiding his face in the shadow of the frame of Yoko’s photograph, he masquerades himself as his absent wife, which amplifies for the viewer his sense of loss, and also contributes to the cult of Araki as a producer of unconventional images.\footnote{For Araki’s attempt at his own personal cult and a feminist critique of his work, see Hiroko Hagiwara, “Representation, Distribution, and Formation of Sexuality in the Photography of Araki Nobuyoshi,” Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique 18, no. 1 (2010): 231–52. Although Hagiwara’s critique of Araki’s work and the Western reception of it engages the viewer in Araki’s photographs of women’s bodies, Hagiwara does not question the heterosexual ideology grounded in Araki’s works.} For Araki, photography, including its funerary use, is a tool for cultivating his public persona and adding to his autobiography.

Performing a commemorative service with funerary portrait photography is one of several artistic strategies employed by Song Sanghee (1970- ), a Korean artist who
investigates myths about nation-states and gender bias. Song Sanghee created *Her Funeral* (2006), a thirteen-minute video in which she participates in her own funeral (fig. 4.20) by positioning herself within a picture frame as if it is her funerary portrait photograph. Song Sanghee’s funeral contains all the elements typical of funerary services in Korea, particularly as they are mixed with Christian features. During the ceremony, she nods at mourners, cries, and sings a Christian dirge with them. An incense burner and the name tablet of the deceased are on the altar, behind which is a folding screen where a cross is drawn in red and a red silk drape bearing Chinese characters commemorating the dead is hung. The family members are seated around the altar to greet mourners. The women wear traditional white dresses, while the men act as funeral hosts in black business suits with armbands. *Her Funeral* reveals the patriarchal structure of an East Asian funeral. While the artist responds to mourners, they do not acknowledge her living presence. One of the mourners makes a gesture to caress the artist’s face within the photo frame. Song Sanghee performs her soul through funerary photo-portraiture that demarcates the absence and presence of the deceased being: the invisible presence of the soul with the visible absence of the physical body of the dead.

---


42 I thank the artist for providing me with access to the work.
Song Sanghee’s sculpture *Ready to Die* (2006) represents an executioner’s electric chair assembled from bicycle handlebars, lamp and chair parts, and various other metal industrial scraps. These elements include a lighted halo above the lampshade that induces the charge to the victim’s head and a picture frame ready to accept the funeral portrait image of the deceased (fig. 4.21). In contrast to *Her Funeral*, in which the soul of the dead is visible, *Ready to Die*’s empty picture frame awaits spiritual occupancy. The work suggests both an execution and the practice of having one’s funerary portrait photograph taken as preparation for the end of one’s life. Alluding to both absence and presence, it invites the viewer to imagine that a person seated on the apparatus will transform from a physical body into an invisible soul, remembered by one’s image.

Reading both these works by Song Sanghee as autobiographical gestures, Manray Hsu observes that the artist made the works after she left her homeland to relocate in Europe.43 Hsu interprets the artist’s choice of death as her theme as related to her decision to displace herself from her homeland. If so, Song Sanghee’s adoption of funerary portrait photography seems to renew the relationship between herself and her homeland rather than to sever her tie to it.

While Song Sanghee participates in her own funeral through her pantomime funerary photo-portrait, Kuratani Hironao (倉谷拓朴, 1977- ) provides the public with an opportunity to have their own funerary portrait photographs made. At the Echigo Tsumari Triennial of 2006, Kuratani transformed a one hundred-year old house into a photo-studio in which he took funerary portrait photographs of visitors (fig. 4.22). Replicating a commercial studio practice, he charged each customer about thirty USD for the service. After the triennial closed, Kuratani continued to run the studio for the benefit of local citizens, and extended his project to other cities, including Tokyo and Yokohama. He encouraged his “customers” to replace their funerary portrait photographs with the passage of time. In the abandoned house-cum-studio that he named Myoukayama Photo Studio (名ヶ山写真館), Kuratani collected for display old portrait photographs from local citizens. Thus, the studio became a small museum of funerary portrait photographs. His performance as a commercial studio photographer is distinctive in that he asks his subjects to meditate on their lives and deaths with their eyes closed until they feel they are ready to be photographed. The finished

47 Ibid., 12.
photograph becomes the property of the customer, not the photographer. Unlike the artists discussed earlier, Kuratani does not engage in his photographic practice as a personal memorial gesture. He only provides a time and place for visitors to ruminate on life and death while having their funerary portrait photographs taken. Kuratani was told that at least one of his clients’ photographs was used in her funeral.  

The artists discussed so far make artistic interventions into how portrait photography is used in funerals and memorials on a personal level. The deaths of family members play crucial roles in their artistic investigations, while funerary portrait photographic practice provides a way for them to explore how one engages in one’s own death. At the same time, the artists bring personal commemoration into the public arena, creating a place for particular experiences to become universal. Conversely, they transform public spaces into personal ones, blurring the boundary between public and private.

III. State Violence and Funerary Portrait Photography

A number of artists have made artistic interventions into the ways in which nation-states

---

48 Kuratani Hironao (倉谷拓拓), “Iei Shashin-ka Ni Naru to Iu Koto (遺影写真家になるということ; To Be a Photographer of Funerary Portraiture),” Za Shashinkan: Nihon Shashinkan Kyōkai Kaiho (ザ・写真館: 日本写真館協会会報) 62 (July 2010): 33. I extend thanks to Nihon Shashinkan Kyōkai for providing me with a copy of this article.
perpetrate violence against their citizens, often exploring how funerary portrait photography is engaged with memorializing historical victims. This section examines how several artists from East Asia involve themselves in the uses of funerary photographic portraits of historical victims from the second half of the twentieth century. I will look at Minamata disease victims in Japan, victims of the Gwangju Democratization Movement (1980) in South Korea, and identity photographs of Cambodian genocide victims (1975-1979).

Tsuchimoto Noriaki (土本典昭, 1928-2008), a Japanese documentary film director and photographer, exhibited funerary portrait photographs of those who died of Minamata disease. Well-known for his film, *Minamata* (1971), which raised international public awareness of mercury poisoning in the small fishing village of Minamata, Japan, Tsuchimoto devoted more than thirty years to recording the lives of the Minamata victims and their families. W. Eugene Smith (1918-1978) and Kuwabara Shisei (桑原史成, 1936- ) are also known for their photographs of Minamata disease. In addition to the renowned photograph

“Tomoko Uemura in Her Bath,” published in *Life* magazine in 1972, one may see in

“Minamata,” Smith’s 1975 photo-book, images of local citizens parading with funerary portrait photographs of those who died of mercury poisoning (figs. 4.23 and 4.24).\(^5\) The catastrophe was caused by a chemical factory discharging methylmercury into Minamata Bay, which, in turn, had contaminated the local fish. As the largest environmental disaster in postwar Japan, Minamata disease is emblematic of the violence that can be inflicted through complicity between government and business.\(^3\)

Tsuchimoto’s traveling exhibitions promoted a grass roots movement and evolved into a counter-archive to the National Minamata Disease Research Center, which was established in 1973 with government funds, although it has failed to bring about effective governmental action. Establishing his own production company to make documentary films on Minamata disease, Tsuchimoto produced a series of filmic records on the struggles of those afflicted and their families.\(^4\) At the Minamata Tokyo Exhibition (1996), Tsuchimoto

---

\(^5\) W. Eugene Smith and Aileen Smith, “Mercury Pollution Ravages a Japanese Village: Death-Flow From a Pipe,” *Life*, June 2, 1972. Smith's photograph of Tomoko has been withdrawn from further publication and public exhibition since 1997. Tomoko's family came to feel that the photograph failed to honor her life and death. Aileen Mioko Smith, Eugene's second wife, who had owned the copyright to the image since her former husband's death, granted the family's request by transferring the copyright to them.


\(^4\) Ibid., 231–232.
exhibited around 500 funerary portrait photographs of Minamata disease victims (fig. 4.25).\textsuperscript{55}

Prior to the exhibition, he contacted the bereaved families to secure their permission to display the images in public. Gaining access to the personal information of Minamata patients was challenging, as the records are kept by Chisso, the chemical company responsible for the contamination. About a third of the families declined to allow the display of their funerary portrait photographs. One reason may have been that a group of local citizens contended that the notoriety of Minamata disease had brought economic hardship to their town, and so were hostile toward victims and their families. Some families may have feared that their neighbors would shun them, so they agreed to the display of their funerary portrait photographs on the condition that they would not be exhibited in Minamata. As a result, some funerary portrait photographs were covered with black paper when they were exhibited in Minamata in 2001.\textsuperscript{56}

Those black sheets of paper became a powerful symbol of prejudice and discrimination against the Minamata disease victims.

Does Tsuchimoto’s display of funerary portrait photographs differentiate itself from the national archives that form a commemorative space through funerary portrait photographs, as was discussed in Chapter Two? The display of Minamata disease victims’

\textsuperscript{55} Timothy S. George, \textit{Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan} (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 289–291.

\textsuperscript{56} “Ōwareta Iei No Haran (覆われた遺影の波乱; Turmoil of Covered Funerary Portrait Photographs),” \textit{Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞: Asahi News)}, May 13, 2013, morning edition.
funerary portrait photographs does not serve to sustain national identity through the rhetoric of sacrifice. The families of those who died of mercury poisoning from the wastewater of a chemical plant are unlikely to claim that their loved ones’ deaths were sacred deeds for their nation-states. Visitors witnessing the funerary portrait photographs of Minamata disease victims are not inspired to patriotism, but instead are asked to ruminate on the violence inflicted by corporate greed and government complicity, as well as the prejudices and discriminatory conduct of the public against the small fishing village that suffered from the ravages of chemical poisoning.

Two Korean photographers, Noh SunTag (1971-) and Yi Sangil (Lee Sang-ill, 1956-) explore how funerary portrait photographs are used in structuring the collective memory of a specific instance of state violence. Both artists deal with the Gwangju Democratization Movement, also known as the May 18 Democratic Massacre, in South Korea.57

There are two cemeteries for commemorating the victims of the movement in Gwangju, the city where, between May 18 and May 27, 1980, a great many civilians were killed by soldiers and police during demonstrations against the military dictatorship (estimates of the number of casualties vary widely, from hundreds to as many as two

57 The section on Noh’s work is a revised version of a previously published article. See Jeehey Kim, “Memory of the Dead and Responsibility of the Living: Noh SunTag’s ‘Forgetting Machines’ (2006-2007),” The Trans-Asia Photography Review 2, no. 1 (Fall 2011), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0002.110 (accessed May 12, 2014).
thousand dead). The victims were temporarily buried in the Old Cemetery, to which they were often carried in handcarts or trash trucks. Because the military dictatorship prevailed until 1987, the massacre remained unacknowledged during that time. Only in 1997 did May 18th become a national memorial day, and in that year a new cemetery was established. The government asked the families of the victims to move their relatives’ remains to the new cemetery, where there would be tombstones and weatherproofed housings for funerary photo-portraits. Some of the bereaved families refused the government’s request because they had not received official apologies from those who were involved in the violent suppression.

Today the “National May 18 Cemetery” includes both the old and new cemeteries. Noh took photographs in the old cemetery where funerary photo-portraits, often housed in glass boxes, were damaged by exposure to inclement weather. He made The Forgetting Machines series (2006-2007) by photographing the funerary photographic portraits that were placed in front of the tombs of those who died during the Gwangju Democratization Movement (fig. 4.26). The images are distorted, tainted, burnt, and even obscured by trapped water vapor. Noh recorded these portraits as he found them.

According to some East Asian belief systems, at death, one’s being is transformed into an ancestor-god, but those who die by murder or unfortunate accident fail to transform themselves into ancestor gods. Instead, they wander the earth possessing the living and causing mishaps. Thus, the funerary photo-portraits allow the dead to gaze upon the living
rather than the living to gaze upon the dead. One prepares one’s own funerary photo-portrait when getting close to the time one will become an ancestor god, usually in one’s 70s or 80s. In the case of an unexpected or premature death, an identification photograph is often used for funerary purposes. In the old cemetery of Gwangju may be found numerous student identification photographs re-purposed as funerary photo-portraits. There is even a wedding photograph used for the tomb of a young female victim that Yi re-photographed (fig. 4.27).

Koreans rarely have funerary photo-portraits at their graves. During the ten days of the democratization movement in Gwangju, when so many civilians were killed, funerary photo-portraits were placed on coffins or in front of graves in order to identify the dead. The May 18 Memorial Foundation commissioned Noh to make a photographic record of the National May 18 cemetery, including the new cemetery, memorial hall, and large-scale statues evoking patriotism. However, the foundation rejected his work, including The Forgetting Machines, because they felt that his images failed to show the heroic achievement of the democratization movement and how democracy was realized in South Korea.

In a way similar to Noh’s approach, Yi Sangil has taken photographs of the May 18 cemeteries for ten years. Yi was in Gwangju during the uprising of 1980, making photographic records of the event as a military photographer. He returned to the city every year from 1984 to 2000, until the government built a new cemetery and memorial park for the
victims. Mangwol-dong, the title of Yi’s photographic works, is the name of a town located on the outskirts of Gwangju. On May 28, 1980, the government sent approximately 129 corpses to Mangwol-dong for entombment over the objections of the bereaved families. After completing his military service, the artist became a professional photographer. Gwangju of May 1980 came to be a theme of his oeuvre. He said that he was very anxious when he revisited Gwangju in 1984 for fear that someone might recognize him from the time of the uprising. His fear of being seen was amplified unexpectedly when he visited the cemetery of Mangwol-dong. Yi was overwhelmed by the faces, especially the eyes, of the victims’ funerary portrait photographs. Unlike the violence of their deaths, they looked calm and some were even smiling. Yi could not fathom the gap between the moment when he witnessed the atrocities and the time when he gazed at the funerary portrait photographs of the victims.

Yi photographed those funerary portrait photographs and distorted them either by overexposing the negatives or by altering them chemically. In addition, Yi photographed how the funerary portrait photographs deteriorated over time. One photograph is covered with snow, while another portrait is distorted as a consequence of the crack in its glass cover. In 2000, Yi held an exhibition of his Mangwol-dong series in Gwangju. The Gwangju Biennale Foundation sponsored his exhibition to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the

---

58 Song Sujong (송수정) and Yi Sangil (이상일), eds., Geunarui Hulasong (그날의 훌라송; Hurroo Hurroo), exh. cat., (Busan: GoEun Art Foundation, 2013), 17.
democratization movement as a part of the biennale projects the same year.  

Noh’s *The Forgetting Machines* and Yi’s *Mangwol-dong* call into question what memorialization can achieve. A large number of memorials and commemorative facilities serve to make atrocities comprehensible, familiarizing us with what should never have happened. Noh and Yi reveal an irony of remembering: the National May 18 Cemetery exhorts us to remember what happened during the demonstration, yet remembering accompanies forgetting. *The Forgetting Machines* and *Mangwol-dong* reveal how institutions like memorials and museums, as well as mass media, are complicit in neglecting to ruminate on the way the historical events occurred, including the processes before and after their outbreak. In the name of memorialization and commemoration, several films were produced on the Gwangju Democratization Movement, often mythifying the event and transforming the violent deaths into a rhetoric of sacrifice. Does democracy always require sacrifice of the public, making it inevitable that we endure repeated acts of violence? Commemorating those who were targeted by violent suppressions often results in mere spectacle for those who did not experience the atrocities firsthand, rather than a thoughtful consideration of its causes and

---

59 *Isangirui Mangwoldong* (이상일의 망월동; *Selected Photographs of Lee, Sang-Ill*), exh. cat., (Gwangju: B-Time, 2000).

effects.

In “Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and The Archive,” Giorgio Agamben explores how terms like ‘sacrifice’ and ‘responsibility’ are used in a confusing way. The first term originates from the idea of a religious death, although it has been used in relation to historical victims, such as those killed in the Holocaust, while the second term carries an implication of legal obligation rather than the mere feeling of guilt.\(^61\) Agamben points out that this confusion often evokes a naïve humanitarian sense of collective guilt rather than recognizing how dramatically ethical categories differ from judicial categories, as well as how law is often misconstrued as the equivalent of truth and justice.\(^62\) The decision by some of the bereaved families to remain in the old cemetery challenges the idea of forgiveness by refusing to let the massacre be relegated as an event in the past or as an ineluctable event in the process of the democratization of South Korea.

Agamben calls into question archival projects commingled with witness testimony, pointing out the non-coincidences of the whole and the part, as well as the necessity of attending to what neither the dead nor the survivors experience. He also emphasizes the impossibility of making a distinction between the human and the inhumane, revealing a gray zone between insider and outsider, terms that often refer to those directly involved in


\(^{62}\) Ibid., 17–39.
historical afflictions and those who were merely onlookers. *The Forgetting Machines* and *Mangwol-dong* challenge the archival project of enshrining historical victims, an effort that can lead to a clear demarcation between insider and outsider.

In the National May 18 Cemetery, a funerary photo-portrait enshrinement hall was established next to the new cemetery, where visitors could pay silent tribute before the victims' photographs rather than visiting the graves. In contrast to the enshrinement hall in the old cemetery, visitors are expected to pay tribute before each victim's grave, often before a damaged funerary photo-portrait like those in Noh's and Yi’s works. It is believed that some who died while suffering continue to wander through the old cemetery, while others are worshipped as honorable ancestor-gods and national spirits symbolizing patriotism in the new cemetery.

Noh and Yi’s re-taking of vernacular photographs is related to the strategy of ‘doubling’, which is an attempt to intervene in the way funerary photo-portraits are used in memorial facilities. Rather than mere copying, reframing portrait photographs functions as a supplement a la Derrida.\(^63\) The faces in *The Forgetting Machines* and *Mangwol-dong* implore us to contemplate their fates rather than to worship them as heroes.

---

Two Vietnamese-American photographers make artistic engagements with the memory of the Vietnam War and the Khmer Rouge massacre in Cambodia. Unlike Noh and Yi, who choose to re-photograph the existing photographs of the historical victims, Dinh Q. Lê (1968- ) and Binh Danh (1977- ) create their own versions of photographic works, using found photographs of the events and portrait photographs exhibited in commemorative institutions.  

Dinh Q. Lê began photo-weaving as early as 1989, inspired by the memory of his aunt weaving a grass mat when he was a child in Vietnam. He cuts photographs into strips and weaves them into unique patterns of images. Lê’s well-known photo-weaving uses identity photographs displayed in the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum. For Cambodia: Splendor and Darkness (1998-2000), he wove together strips of portrait photographs of Khmer Rouge massacre victims and reproductions of carvings from the Angkor Wat temples, creating a multilayered, crisscrossed admixture of images (figs. 4.28 and 4.29). Lê reveals that the current promotion of the Angkor Wat temples as a national sacred site and a tourist attraction ironically is related to the Pol Pot regime’s imagining of Cambodia as a successor to the

64 Both artists were included in an exhibition on the Vietnam War at the Drawing Center, New York. See M. Catherine de Zegher, ed., Persistent Vestiges: Drawing from the American-Vietnam War (New York: The Drawing Center, 2005).
66 For the artist’s description of the working process, see Moira Roth, “Obdurate History: Dinh Q. Le, the Vietnam War, Photography, and Memory,” Art Journal 60, no. Summer (2001): 50.
glorious past of the Angkor period. He intends to transform the national monument into a memorial for Tuol Sleng victims through his photomontage works.\textsuperscript{67}

In \textit{The Texture of Memory} (2001), Lê adopts techniques from embroidery, stitching the faces of Tuol Sleng prisoners in white thread onto white cotton sheets (fig. 4.30). The artist says that he wanted to create a work in Braille after reading an article on Cambodian women who suffered hysterical blindness from their trauma. The title of the work is adopted from James E. Young’s book on Holocaust memorials.\textsuperscript{68} The artist intends the viewer to touch the work. As it is difficult to see the portraits from a distance, Lê hopes that, over time, the hands of viewers will stain the embroidery, thereby making it more visible against the background. The artist makes the work a participatory project as he considers that the viewer’s touch is also a part of the remembering process.\textsuperscript{69} In addition, he commissioned the embroidery from local women living in Ho Chi Minh City.\textsuperscript{70} Even though \textit{The Texture of Memory} can be designated as communal work between the artist and local women, as well as between the viewer and the producers, the name of the women remains unknown and Lê seems to claim the sole ownership of the work.

\textsuperscript{67} Ibid., 51.


\textsuperscript{69} Roth, “Obdurate History,” 47.

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 51–52.
As Lê weaves stills from Hollywood films about the Vietnam War and snapshots that he found in Vietnam in *From Vietnam to Hollywood* (2006), he engages in vernacular photographic practices as a way to explore memorial politics (fig. 4.31). The artist purchased a large number of photographs in bulk, mostly family snapshots, from local antique shops and junk shops in the hope that he could find the photographs that his own family left behind during their escape to the United States in the late 1970s. The artist created an Internet archive of the photographs as part of a project on refugees and asylum seekers under the auspices of the Sherman Contemporary Art Foundation, Sydney in 2011. He named the project *Erasure Archive* and intends visitors to look through this collection of ‘oan hon’ (lost souls). The artist also hopes that some visitors may find their lost relatives in the archive.

Another Vietnamese-American artist, Binh Danh, deals with portrait photographs displayed at the Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide. Danh is well known for his chlorophyll prints, foliage imprinted with photographic images, mostly Vietnam War images appropriated from mass media. Using sunlight, the artist exposes the leaves between glass plates with the

---

71 http://www.erasurearchive.net
73 For more on the artist, visit his homepage www.binhdanh.com.
negatives he made from found images, and casts them in resin for permanent preservation.\textsuperscript{75}

John Schafer observes that Danh’s artistic use of photosynthesis evokes the American tactic of defoliation through suppressing photosynthesis during the war.\textsuperscript{76} The artist explores the technique to examine the memory of the Vietnam War by using found images of the historical events in a series of works, including \textit{Immortality: The Remnants of the Vietnam and American War} (fig. 4.33). He tried to “make an altar that represented the loss on the Vietnamese side,” using leaves as artistic material.\textsuperscript{77} He was inspired by camouflage uniforms worn by soldiers at war, which led him to experiment with the invisibility of war’s ravages, such as the effects of Agent Orange.

Titled \textit{Ancestral Altars}, Danh made works about the Khmer Rouge massacre victims (fig. 4.34).\textsuperscript{78} He creates foliage prints using portrait photographs of the deceased, on display in the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, Cambodia. The portraits originate from mug shots of the victims, which were taken when they were abducted to Tuol Sleng, a former high school re-purposed as a prison from 1975 to 1979. The faces printed on the leaves appear ghostly, as

\textsuperscript{78} http://binhdanh.com/Projects/AncestralAltars/AncestralAltars.html (accessed June 5, 2014).
suits the artist’s intent to make memorial objects for the spirits of the deceased.

Both Danh and Lê deal with portrait photographs of Tuol Sleng victims, while they also explore the relationship between memories of the Vietnam War and images reproduced by mass media. When David Spalding interviewed Lê about the risks involving those photographs in his artistic project, the artist contended that mediation and contextualization are crucial; the MoMA exhibition of Tuol Sleng photographs failed at both.79 Artistic intervention can lead to revealing how various images are produced to create collective memories of specific historical events such as the Vietnam War. However, it is not necessarily successful if viewers are asked to critically engage themselves in events for which they do not feel responsible. Even though Lê’s artistic strategy of weaving photographs, which is similar to photomontage, appears an effective way to interrupt the American view of the Vietnam War, it remains problematic when he also braids the identity photographs of Khmer Rouge victims. As discussed in Chapter Two, Khmer Rouge officials took portrait photographs of all the inmates in Tuol Sleng before they tortured and killed them. These “dead portraits” were discovered by Vietnamese troops when they invaded Cambodia, and as a consequence, the prison was transformed into a museum that showed the cruelty of the Khmer Rouge as well as legitimized the Vietnamese occupation. Where does Lê’s photo-weaving of those victims’ portraits intervene in the structure of a continuing violence? One

work from the series *Cambodia: Splendor and Darkness* is a triptych, which one critic reads as an emulation of Christian religious art.\(^{80}\) In this case, Lê’s work associates itself with the rhetoric of sacrifice, rendering the violent death of Tuol Sleng inmates sacred. Like Lê’s woven photographs, Danh’s photo-leaves imprinted with Tuol Sleng prisoners’ portraits share the danger whereby some artistic engagements create a site of mourning that Abigail Solomon-Godeau describes as “generically elegiac.”\(^{81}\)

### IV. Conclusion

This chapter showed how some artists in East Asia deal with the death of a family member or address the deaths of historical victims by intervening in the practice of funerary portrait photography as a site of mourning. Some artists come to terms with their family members’ demise through communicative gestures, while others make an autobiographical gesture toward death by theatricalizing the period of mourning. Meanwhile, there are artists who have tried to engage critically with the way in which deaths caused by state violence are memorialized or erased, exploring public mourning sites that include funerary portrait photography. While some artistic gestures draw attention to the fact that memorialization can


lead to silencing historical victims, one should note that the aestheticization of the death of
the Other can also lead to making a spectacle of atrocities. This is a temptation that must be
resisted.
Epilogue: Ethics of Funerary Photo-Portraiture

This dissertation explores ways in which the dead are memorialized through funerary portrait photographic practices in East Asia, a region where the dead are believed to continue their lives as invisible souls, retaining a version of their familial, socio-political, and historical relationships with the living. Funerary photo-portraiture functions as a focal point and a reminder of these relationships between the living and the invisible souls of the dead. The nation-states of this region are adept at appropriating the customs and rhetoric of funerary photo-portraiture in order to reinforce national identity through public memorials and commemorative institutions.

However, funerary portrait photography has also been used to disrupt and challenge the construction of national identity. For example, on a cold day in 2007, Southeast Asian and Chinese laborers marched on the streets of a small town in Korea, holding aloft funerary portrait photographs of foreign workers who had died in a fire while in detention for their illegal labor in Korea. Thus, the living and the dead together challenged the Korean government’s policy toward foreign laborers. This use of funerary portrait photographs by foreigners raised questions about what constitutes Korean national identity in the context of an increasing influx of laborers from other countries, disrupting Korea’s longstanding investment in ethnic homogeneity. This action was an effective use of mimicry, a strategy
where, more typically, natives appropriate an authentic cultural strategy of their colonizers as a way to disrupt the system of colonization itself.¹

Throughout my research trips for this dissertation, one question has followed me tenaciously, particularly when I encountered funerary portrait photographs of those who died violently: how I can make an ethical intervention into the discourse of photography as it relates to mourning? In order to find possible answers, I studied the historical and political trajectories of the practice of mourning through funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia. In this epilogue, I contemplate the ethical issues that might mediate future research.

As one cannot know how or when one’s life will end, what does it mean to have a funerary portrait photograph already prepared? Customarily, East Asians prepare their funerary portrait photographs when they feel ready to die, having reached an age they consider appropriate for such preparations. In cases of violent death, however, identity photographs have been re-purposed by family members as funerary portrait photographs. When the deceased are identified by name only, they are memorialized with an empty picture frame or a name tablet. But having prepared one’s likeness for funerary use does not ensure how the portrait photograph will be used. For example, the Japanese government solicited the funerary portrait photographs of those who died in the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and

Nagasaki in order to establish a collective memory for the benefit of the nation-state, disregarding the disparities between individual experiences of the events.

I encountered other practices of using a portrait photograph for funerary purposes that extended beyond the boundaries of custom and, for that matter, my imagination. For example, a wedding photograph of a bride was used in a funeral. I noticed this photo-portrait in a newspaper in 2010; the news concerned the death of a Vietnamese woman whose Korean husband killed her eight days after she moved to South Korea. The wedding photographs, which she had taken at her wedding five months prior in Vietnam, were the only pictures she had with her in Korea. The woman had married ten days after she met her future husband through a Korean marriage agency, and thus did not know that her husband, who was twenty-seven years older than she, suffered from mental illness: he claimed that a ghost had asked him to kill his wife. The news of her death prompted legislative proposals concerning international marriages between Korean men and women of foreign nationality, calling for prospective marriage partners to view documents showing legal, financial, and health status. The news article reveals details about the bride’s identity: her name, age, education, and the economic status of her family in Vietnam. However, her husband is identified only by his surname, Jang. In their wedding photograph, his face is concealed by a blur, as the law protected the identity of the murderer. The honorary consulate general of Vietnam in the city where the bride had lived organized a small public funeral for her where anyone could visit
and mourn for the dead. With little knowledge of policies on international marriage in Korea, I felt uncomfortable witnessing what was happening within my own society. I wondered, beyond mere sympathy, where I should position myself between her and her husband, other than as a voyeur pretending that my country, Korea, was not responsible for her death. My position as a researcher of vernacular practices of photography is subject to many difficult questions of this sort, many concerns, anxieties, and desires. Even while this dissertation explores various ways of mourning through funerary photo-portraiture, the photograph of the Vietnamese bride poses a difficult question: how can I mourn her death or the deaths of anyone with whom I share no personal memory?

From the many examples I have laid out in this dissertation, it becomes clear that funerary photo-portraiture does not function as *memento mori*, but rather as a crucial element in practices of mourning. Abigail Solomon-Godeau explores the artistic practice of Christian Boltanski, a French artist who created a series of works engaging the Holocaust, declaring that his artistic intervention in memorializing the historical victims could end up with being merely “generically elegiac.” Solomon-Godeau distinguishes Boltanski’s art from historical commemoration attempts to make a site for mourning via vernacular portrait photographs of the dead, bringing to bear Freudian concepts of mourning and melancholia. According to

---

Freud, the process of mourning derives from realizing the singularity of one’s loss as well as its irrevocability. Melancholia is pathological insofar as it represents a failure to detach oneself from the lost object. Solomon-Godeau warns that Boltanski’s aesthetic efforts carry the danger of silencing the causes of the death of historical victims, which then makes it impossible to mourn. What if one could indeed mourn successfully, rather than falling into melancholia? Freud wrote, “… when the work of mourning is completed the ego becomes free and uninhibited again.”

For Freud, mourning and melancholia both involve the ego’s reaction to loss, and as such are solipsistic activities. Funerary photo-portraiture operates outside this Freudian imaginary. In East Asia, mourning is not performed for the subject or the ego. Death is not a loss, but instead requires the mourner to respond to the transformation of the dead into an invisible being. Mourning starts when the living stand before the funerary photo-portrait, but it never ends, as the living continue the relationship with the dead by daily and annual commemorative rituals.

Speaking of Freud, it is important not to misconstrue memorial uses of photography in East Asia in terms of the concept of the fetish. Christian Metz outlined several characteristics of photography, which make the medium, unlike film, subject to fetishization: its materiality

---


4 Solomon-Godeau finds it solipsistic, for example, for Barthes to conceptualize photography as always evoking one’s own mortality. Solomon-Godeau, “Mourning or Melancholia,” 8.
and its dependence on the spatial-temporal order of the spectator rather than of the producer of the image, and its availability for private and familial engagement. Another condition that qualifies photography as a fetish is its indexicality: “the print of what was but no longer is.”

Metz argues that photography, as a timeless signifier that one might possess in the present, shares its immobility and silence with death, affirming Barthes’ essentialization of the medium as a reminder of one’s own mortality. According to Metz, both fetishism and photography function in and around loss and death:

Film gives back to the dead a semblance of life, a fragile semblance but one immediately strengthened by the wishful thinking of the viewer. Photography, on the contrary, by virtue of the objective suggestions of its signifier (stillness, again) maintains the memory of the dead as being dead.

However, funerary photo-portraiture reminds viewers of the disembodied spirit that still surrounds them, and always will. Keeping funerary photo-portraits reminds viewers of how the dead lived and of their responsibility to mourn. Funerary photo-portraiture exists to sustain the relationship between those who live in this world and those existing in what in East Asia is called the ‘Great Beyond’, similar to heaven in the West. Again I ask: what relationship do I have with a Vietnamese woman whose presence lost its physicality but who is still visible via her funerary photo-portrait?

---


6 Ibid., 83.

7 Ibid., 84.
In East Asia, it is commonly believed that those who die a natural death and leave behind family will achieve an afterlife in the Great Beyond, while those who die in shame or violence—murder victims, suicides, the young, the unmarried—are doomed to wander the earth, haunting the living in their resting places. The living are surrounded by wandering spirits, nameless and faceless. Heonik Kwon’s two books on the wandering souls of the Vietnam War deal with those who died in massacres, and thus were deprived of the opportunity to prepare their funerary portrait photographs. Kwon traces the process by which memorializing these victims provoked a crisis within Vietnamese society divided between Communist and anti-Communist forces. The ideological identity of massacre victims, whether they were Communist or not, jeopardized public commemoration during the Cold War Era. This is because the dead had to be identified as either Communist or anti-Communist so that the living could either commemorate them as national heroes or make a record of their unfortunate accidental deaths as having occurred during the process of national unification. However, a number of civilians were sympathetic to both ideologies, as most families had both Communist and anti-Communist members. Some of the dead were forgotten or remained secret, while others were continuously memorialized as national heroes.

---

Through his two books, Kwon tried to “rescue the massive history of ‘bad death’ from the state of coerced oblivion.”\(^9\) The silenced and forgotten deaths came to be recalled through familial and communal endeavors to “restore the past for the living and to secure the future for the dead.”\(^10\) Memorial rituals and funerary photo-portraiture play a role in sustaining the tie that the dead and the past share with the living and the present. Kwon’s exploration of massacres inflicted by Korean troops shows how the national identity of Korea was similarly established by violently suppressing the Other, named ‘enemy’ or ‘Communists’ in Vietnam. Present-day Korea enfolds the past of Vietnam, as living Koreans, like myself, cannot evade responsibility for dead Vietnamese.

Returning to my example of the funerary portrait photograph of the Vietnamese migrant bride, in what way can studies on funerary photo-portraiture make an ethical intervention in her story? The question touches on difficulties that one encounters more broadly in studying vernacular photography. Postcolonial feminist scholars and writers have been endeavoring to grapple with the question of how to engage themselves with other women, particularly those living in the Third World. Their discursive investigations merit our attention because they shed a light on the ways in which we may, perhaps, ‘speak to’ the funerary portrait photograph of the Other.

---

9 Kwon, After the Massacre, 27.
10 Ibid., 81.
Maxine Hong Kingston tells the story of “No Name Woman” in *The Woman Warrior*.11 The woman, Kingston’s paternal aunt, dies aggrieved, but no one mourns her. She is completely forgotten, silenced, and effaced by her family. She gave birth to a daughter conceived outside her marriage. Her family was humiliated when a group of villagers invaded her home to deride her. She killed herself and her baby afterwards. Her death could not be mourned publicly, but had to remain a family secret. Kingston’s mother makes her visible to the niece of No Name Woman, and Kingston relates the story despite her mother’s request not to tell anyone. If I recount the story of No Name Woman, am I trivializing the events, and merely gossiping?

Trinh T. Minh-ha elucidated how the study of Third World women might result in silencing them further:

A conversation of “us” with “us” about "them" is a conversation in which "them" is silenced. "Them" always stands on the other side of the hill, naked and speechless, barely present in its absence…Anthropology is finally better defined as “gossip” … Gossip’s pretensions to truth… The kind of truth it claims to disclose is a confidential truth that requires commitment from both the speaker and the listener. He who lends an ear to gossip already accepts either sympathizing with or being an accomplice of the gossiper.12

Thus, if I am only talking *about* the Vietnamese woman and her death, there would be no

---

way to mourn her. On the other hand, several scholars discuss specific ways of speaking that could be considered a postcolonialist practice of producing knowledge. Irit Rogoff suggested “speaking to” the Other instead of “speaking about” the Other, in view of Trinh’s observation of how “speaking about” structures itself by “a system of binary opposition (subject/object, I/it, we/they) on which territorialized knowledge depends.”

Likewise, Gayatri Spivak proposed “speaking to” after ruminating on the problems associated with “speaking for.”

But how can one speak to silent or invisible people? Spivak pointed to the necessity of distinguishing between two different connotations of representation: ‘representation’ as ‘speaking for’ (vertreten in German) and as ‘re-presentation’ in art (darstellen). One can represent (darstellen) oneself, but should not represent (vertreten) the people one confronts.

As a way of ‘speaking to,’ Spivak suggested that exploring the mechanics of the constitution of the Other might be useful when making critical engagements with postcolonial discourse.

In addition, she pointed out that a Freudian way of victimizing women runs through the construct of the Third World woman. Instead of attempting to give a voice to the subaltern, one should explore how she has been formed ideologically into the object of investigation.

---


15 Ibid., 90–92. In the context of South Asian colonial history, the subaltern refers to those who remained outside cultural hegemony, often without social or politician agency, as distinct from the oppressed and the
Rather than a way to overcome the loss, mourning through funerary photo-portraiture carries the potential of ‘speaking to’, even though it has been manipulated by nation-states as a tool to ‘speak about’ the dead.

Kingston’s autobiographical novel is not gossiping about the Other, but reveals how the Other is imagined and sustained through myths, secrets, and silences. Studies of vernacular photography may be involved in various myths and stories of the Other, while scholars often find anthropological or ethnographic approaches suitable for its exploration of how photography evolves. The methodologies of fieldwork and participant observation have been considered useful tools that lend authenticity to the voices of the subjects and objects of investigation. However, whether researchers share bits of the Other’s lives by participating in the cultural environment, their gestures cannot be sustained without presuming transparency; they are defenseless against what Trinidadian-British novelist Shiva Naipaul voiced as an anxiety about the ways in which the so-called Third World is studied in the West: “You write about it—that’s your job. I live in it—that’s my fate. Don’t you see the

---

16 Participant observation and fieldwork are methodologies used in anthropology and ethnology by which researchers collect data through engaging themselves in the lives of their subjects, often religious or cultural groups, over a limited period of time. For the ways in which these methodologies are adopted to study photography, see Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011); Karen Strassler, *Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).
Concerning the anxieties around anthropological approaches to the study of photography, Christopher Pinney suggests that an acknowledgement of the researcher’s own subjectivity may provide a solution. As an example, in his book on the photographic practices of central India, *Camera Indica* (1997), he discusses how he decided to include his own photographs taken by a local photographer:

That was an attractive possibility to me because it helped sustain the fantasy of intersubjectively moving through a number of different positions (analyst, participant, local consumer and so on). There were also a set of practical and ethical factors: paying photographers to make images of myself facilitated a whole set of encounters under the aegis of client and the money I paid for the images seemed an equitable way of recompensing them for their time. But there was also a cruder set of imperatives at work: including images of myself, photographed in the local manner, permitted the visibility of the indexical body of the fieldworking anthropologist. The images help establish the reliability of my testimony and also helped complete the loop of ethical intersubjectivity since I am made visible in the same, broadly analogous way as other people from central India who also appear in the book.

Can this gesture of recognizing the part the researcher plays in his fieldwork be a mode of dialogue with the local people rather than an attempt to produce objective knowledge about those people? I argue that reflexivity and the insertion of the author’s voice do not lend authority to his or her observations of the Other. Rather, they disrupt the position of the

---


18 Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology.*

19 Ibid., 148.
author and challenge the presumably transparent gaze at the Other, which could be achieved better through a parallax or trans-regional comparative approach.

Nevertheless, my own research trips to several countries of East Asia pose a difficult question related to fieldtrips on which a researcher chooses where and when to participate and when to leave the field, particularly when I chose to encounter historical victims. Rey Chow points out the problem of making informants an object of knowledge:

As we challenge a dominant discourse by “resurrecting” the victimized voice/self of the native with our readings—and such is the impulse behind many “new historical” accounts—we step, far too quickly, into the otherwise silent and invisible place of the native and turn ourselves into living agents/witnesses for her. This process, in which we become visible, also neutralizes the untranslatability of the native’s experience and the history of that untranslatability. The hasty supply of original “contexts” and “specificities” easily becomes complicitous with the dominant discourse, which achieves hegemony precisely by its capacity to convert, recode, make transparent, and thus represent even those experiences that resist it with a stubborn opacity.20

Chow details her memory of Chinese communism in 1960s and ‘70s Hong Kong for the purpose of presenting “not a history of personal or collective victimization but the sense of immediacy of a particular diasporic reality.”21 At the same time, she argues that it is necessary to analyze how historical events of the Other construct our present, in the way that Foucault poses the question of the Gulag by searching for what made it possible and still

21 Ibid., 20–21.
makes it acceptable. Chow points out that presuming one’s ethnicity to be the “ultimate signified” remains a gesture of speaking for/about. Writing about the experience of diaspora challenges any attempt to promote solidarities based on ethnicity as well as any quest designed to authenticate cultural specificity. It tries to show cultural contradictions in order to make a space for rethinking and reassessing the dominant modes of cultural studies and the imagination of solidarities. Kwon’s works are examples of “writing diaspora,” showing the ways in which Korean and Vietnamese identities comprise and disrupt each other. These scholars’ claim for the necessity of ‘speaking to’ is an attempt at an ethical intervention into the culture of the Other.

As an effort to speak to the Other, as well as to my own culture, this dissertation examines various practices and uses of funerary photo-portraiture in East Asia. The funerary photographic portrait of the Vietnamese migrant bride cries out for a practice of mourning as an ethical intervention. However, mourning before a funerary photo-portrait is subject to another precarious rhetoric: that of forgiveness and reconciliation. If funerary portrait photographs of those who died violently pertain to the trauma of the dead rather than to that of the living, then can the living, whether in the form of nation-states or of family and friends, claim status as representatives of the dead, negotiating for forgiveness and reconciliation with those who caused violent deaths?

22 Ibid., 25.
Martin Jay explores how Benjamin steadfastly refuses to mourn, as the act of collective mourning easily leads to an abandoning of the opportunity to confront what caused the violence in the first place.\textsuperscript{23} Benjamin defies all attempts to make sense of violence in the names of reconciliation, atonement, and sacrifice, which perpetuate conditions that allow violence to occur and may allow it to re-occur. Likewise, Derrida ruminates on the vexed concept of forgiveness.\textsuperscript{24} The Japanese government has asked for forgiveness and reconciliation from its neighboring countries, including China and Korea. Derrida reveals a paradoxical aspect of forgiveness by raising several questions about the concept, such as who forgives whom or what; whether one asks forgiveness of victims or of a universal God; whether one can forgive someone who does not solicit forgiveness; whether the concept of forgiveness can be activated without the idea of unforgivable-ness. In addition, he also raises a concern about the issue of ‘representativeness’:

Who would have the right to forgive in the name of the disappeared victims? They are always absent, in a certain way. The disappeared, in essence, are themselves never absolutely present, at the moment when forgiveness is asked for, the same as they were at the moment of the crime, and they are sometimes absent in body, often dead.\textsuperscript{25}

Forgiveness is easily reduced “to amnesty or to amnesia, to acquittal or prescription, to the


\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 44.
work of mourning or some political therapy of reconciliation, in short to some historical ecology.”26 Thus, I argue that mourning before funerary photo-portraiture cannot and should not be considered tantamount to a gesture of forgiveness and reconciliation. Rather, funerary portrait photography requires endless mourning as a reminder of the distinction between responsibility and forgiveness. As Derrida argues:

> All sorts of strategic ruses can hide themselves abusively behind a ‘rhetoric’ or a ‘comedy’ of forgiveness, in order to avoid the step of the law. When politics has to do with analyzing, judging, that is, counteracting these abuses practically, conceptual exigence is necessary, even where it takes into account the paradoxes and aporias, by accepting the burden and declaring them. It is, once again, the condition of responsibility.27

If funerary photo-portraiture makes claims for endless mourning—an interminable task and a perennial state of responsibility—it is crucial to realize that the living exist as heirs, following the Derridean conceptualization of inheritance:

> Inheritance is never a given, it is always a task … like all inheritors, we are in mourning … To be, this word in which we earlier saw the word of the spirit, means, for the same reason, to inherit … That we are heirs does not mean that we have or that we receive this or that, some inheritance that enriches us one day with this or that, but that the being of what we are is first of all inheritance, whether we like it or know it or not … we can only bear witness to it. To bear witness would be to bear witness to what we are insofar as we inherit, and that—here is the circle, here is the chance, or the finitude— we inherit the very thing that allows us to bear witness to it.28

26 Ibid., 45.
27 Ibid., 51.
Thus, when we stand before the funerary portrait photograph of the Vietnamese migrant bride, rather than gazing upon her face as a portrait of the Other, we must recognize ourselves as her heirs. We are, and will endlessly be, in mourning.
Selected Bibliography


Cai Jintang (蔡錦堂). “Taiwan No Chūretsushi to Nihon No Gokoku Jinja Yasukuni Jinja to No Hikaku (台湾の忠烈祠と日本の護国神社・靖国神社との比較; Comparison between Taiwan National Revolutionary Martyr’s Shrine and Yasukuni and Gokoku Shrinest of Japan).” In *Taiwan No Kindai to Nihon (台灣の近代と日本; Modern Taiwan and Japan)*, ed. Taiwanshi kenkyū bukai (台湾史研究部会), 337–57. Nagoya: Chūkyōdaigaku shakai kagaku kenkyūjo, 2003.


Chen Shen (陳申), Hu Zhichuan (胡志川), Ma Yunzeng (馬運增), Qian zhangbiao (錢章表), and Peng Yongxiang (彭永祥), eds. Zhongguo Sheyingshi = History of Photography in China, 1840-1937 (中國攝影史 = History of Photography in China, 1840-1937). Taipei: Sheyingjia chuban, 1990.


Chen Shouxiang (陳绶祥), Fang Lin (方霖), and Bei Ning (北宁), eds. Jiumeng chongjing: Fang Lin, Bei Ning cang Qingdai mingxinpian xuanji (舊夢重驚: 方霖, 北寧藏清代明信片選集; Old Dream Heavy Sadness: Fang Lin and Bei Ning’s Collection of Qing Dynasty’s Postcards). Nanning: Guangxi meishu chubanshe, 1998.
Chen Zhao (陳釗). *Huitu jiaozheng Xiangli hengzhen* (繪圖校正相理衡真; Weighing the Truth on the Basis of the Principles of Physiognomy). Shanghai: Jinwentang, 1915.


Cho Sun-Mie (조선미). Chosanghwawa Yeongu: Chosanghwawa Chosangnon (조상화 연구:}

——. “Myeong, Cheongdae Chosanghwai Bigyoreul Tonghae Bon Joseonsidae Chosanghwai Seonggyeok (명,정대 초상화의 비교를 통해 본 조선시대 초상화의 성격; Characteristics of Joseon Portrait Paintings through Comparison with Ming and Qing Portraiture).” In Misulsai Jeongnipgwa Hwaksan (미술사의 정립과 확산; Correction and Spread of Art History), Vol. 1. Seoul: Sahoeyeongnon, 2006.


http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0002.104.


http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.act2080.0043.414.


DiGregorio, Michael, and Oscar Salemink. “Living with the Dead: The Politics of Ritual and


**Ding Gao (丁皋),** ed. *Jieziyuan Huazhuan* (*芥子園畫傳; Mustard Seed Garden Painting Manuals*). S.l.: Jieziyuan, 1818.


**Fabian, Johannes.** *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object.* New York:


http://www.viewingjapaneseprints.net/texts/topictexts/artist_varia_topics/shini_e3.html.


Fraser, Karen M. “The Tomishige Studio and the Development of Domestic Commercial


Fukuoka, Maki. “Between Knowing and Seeing: Shifting Standards of Accuracy and the

———. “Selling Portrait Photographs: Early Photographic Business in Asakusa, Japan.”


Fukuoka Maki (福岡真紀). “Iei Toshite Shōzō: Fukuzawa Yukichi to Nakae Chōmin No Bāi (遺影としての肖像 : 福沢諭吉と中江兆民の場合; Portraits as Iei: The Cases of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakae Chōmin).” _Shiseigaku Kenkyū (死生学研究; Study of Life and Death)_ , no. 3 (March 20, 2004).

Gale, James Scarth. _Hannyeong Jadyeon (韓英字典; A Korean-English Dictionary)._

Yokohama; Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1897.

Gao Dingyu (高鼎玉). _Shenxiang huibian (神相彙編; Collection of Spirit Physiognomy)._

Shangyang: Jiangzuo shulin, 1843.


George, Timothy S. _Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan_.


Guo Dong (郭冬), and Wang Tailai (王泰来), eds. *Jianzheng 1900-1911: Jiedu wanqing mingxinpian; 见证 1900-1911: 解读晚清明信片; Witness 1900-1911: Reading the Postcards of the Late Qing*. Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikequanshu chubanshe, 2012.


Gu Renyi (顧任伊). “Xiezhen Ranfa (寫真染法; How to Dye Photograph).” *Dongfang Zazhi (東方雜誌; The Eastern Miscellany)* 9, no. 10 (1913): 1.


*Haishang Jing Hong Ying (海上驚鴻影; Photographs of Five Hundred Shanghai Beauties).* Shanghai: Youzheng Shuju, 1913.


Hayakawa Kiyo (早川紀代), Egami Sachiko (江上幸子), Katō Chikako (加藤千香子), and Yi Hyeongrang (李熒娘), eds. Higashi Ajia no kokumin kokka keisei to jendā: joseizō o megutte (東アジアの国民国家形成とジェンダー: 女性像をめぐって; Gender and the Formation of the Nation-State in East Asia: Discourses on the Ideal Woman). Tokyo, Japan: Aoki Shoten, 2007.


Hong Sunpyo (홍선표). “Joseonhugiui Seoyanghwagwan (조선후기의 서양화관; Perspectives on Western Paintings during Late Joseon Period).” In Hanguk Hyeondaemisurui Heureum (한국 현대미술의 흐름; The Current Trend of Korean Art).

———. “Myeongcheongdaeseohakseouihakjisikwa Joseonhugi Hoehwaronui Byeondong (명청대西學書의視學지식과 조선후기회화론의변동; The Optical Knowledge in Books from the West in the Ming-Qing Periods and the Changes in Painting Theory of the Late Joseon Period).” Misulsahak Yeongu (美術史學研究: Journal of Art History), no. 248 (December 2005): 131–70.


Hu Zhichuan (胡志川), and Ma Yunzeng (马运增), eds. Zhongguo sheyingshi, 1840-1937 (中
国摄影史, 1840-1937; History of Chinese Photography, 1840-1937). Beijing:


Jeong Eun-joo (鄭恩主). “Yeonhaengsajeorui Seoyanghwawinsikgwa Sajinsurui Yuip: Bukgyeong Cheonjudangeul Jungsimeuro (燕行使節의 西洋畵 인식과 寫真術 유입: 北京天主堂을 중심으로; Recognition of Western Painting and Introduction of


Joseon bangmunsan (朝鮮博文社), ed. Sunjonggukjangnok (純宗國葬錄; Records of
Sunjong’s State Funeral). Seoul: Joseon bangmunsan, 1926.

Jun, Ui. “Minamata Disease.” In Shōwa Japan: Political, Economic and Social History,

Kaigunshō jinjikyoku (海軍省人事局), ed. Meiji Sanjū Shichi Hachinen Seneki Kaigun
Senshisha Shashinchō (明治三拾七八年戰役 海軍戰死者寫眞帖; Photography Album

University of New York, 2012.

Kang Gwan-shik (姜琯). “Teolgwa Nun: Joseonsidae Chosanghwai Jeuijeok
Myeongjewa Johyeongjeok Gwaje(털과 눈:조선시대 초상화의 祭儀的 命題와 造形的
課題; The Hair and Eye: Ritual Assumption and Modelistic Theme for Portraits of the
Joseon Dynasty).” Misulsahak Yeongu (美術史學硏究; Journal of Art History), no. 248
(December 2005): 95–129.


Kang, Inhye. “World Display, Imperial Time: The Temporal and Visual Articulation of

Kaplan, Louis. The Strange Case of William Mumler, Spirit Photographer. Minneapolis:
University of Minnesota Press, 2008.


———. Senshisha no yukue: katari to hyōshō kara (戦死者のゆくえ: 語りと表象から; Trace of the War Dead: From Story and Representation). Tokyo, Japan: Seikyusha, 2003.


———. Modern Japanese Diaries: The Japanese at Home and Abroad as Revealed through


Kim Kyung-seon (金景善). “Angnasa Gwangi (鄂羅斯館記; Record on Russian Legation).” In *Yonwon Jikji (燕轅直指; Record on Journey to China)*, translated by Hanguk Gojeon Beonnyeogwon (한국고전번역원; Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics), Vol. 3. Seoul, 1832. http://db.itkc.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=KO&url=/itkcdb/text/nodeViewIframe.jsp?bizName=KO&seojiId=kc_ko_h040&gunchaId=av003&muncheId=01&finId=008&NodeId=&setid=935273&Pos=0&TotalCount=1&searchUrl=ok.


Kim, Yisoon. “Female Images in 1930s Korea: Virtuous Women and Good Mothers.” In *Vissalizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*, ed. Aida Yuen Wong,


———. “Shashin to Tōhon: Tennō No Sugata to Kotoba No Bāi (写真と箋本: 天皇の姿と言葉の場合; Photography and Copy: Case of the Emperor’s Appearance and Words).” In


Ko Daikuni Ri Ō Sōgi Shashinchō (故大勲位李王葬儀写真帖; Photography Album of the Grand Order King Yi’s Funeral). The National Archives of Japan, 1926. http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/image_A1011073280?IS_STYLE=default&IS_KEY_S1=F2010120613054863919&IS_KIND=MetaFolder&IS_TAG_S1=FolderId&.


“Kōmeitennō Oshikinensai & Eishōkōtaigō Gotaisō Kiji (孝明天皇御式年祭 & 英照皇太后御大葬記事; Thirtieth Anniversary of the Late Emperor Kōmei & The Funeral of the
Late Empress Dowager Eishō).” *Taiyō (日: The Sun)* 3, no. 4 (February 1897).


Kuang Qizhao (邝其照), ed. *Hua Ying Zidian Jicheng (華英字典集成; An English and


Kuwabara Shisei (桑原史成). Minamata jiken: Kuwabara Shisei shashinshū (水俣事件: 桑原史成写真集; The Minamata disaster: Documentary Photographer Kuwabara
Kuwabara Shisei (桑原史成), Shioda Takeshi (塩田武史), Miyamoto Shigemi (宮本成美), W. Eugene Smith, Aileen Mioko Smith, Koshiba Kazuyoshi (小柴一良), Tanaka Fumiko (田中史子), and Akutagawa Jin (芥川仁). Shashinshū “Minamata o mita 7-nin no shashinkatachi” (写真集「水俣を見た7人の写真家たち」; Photo Book "Seven Photographers who Witnessed Minamata). Tokyo: Shashinshū “Minamata o Mita 7-nin no Shashinkatachi” Henshū Iinkai, 2007.


Lai, Delin. “Searching for a Modern Chinese Monument: The Design of the Sun Yat-sen

Lan Tianyu (藍田瑉). “Wanjin Xiezhenshuzhi –lanse Yinhuafa (挽近寫真術之--藍色印畫法; How to Take a Close-up Photograph --the Way to Develop in Blue Color).” *Dongfang Zazhi (東方雜誌; The Eastern Miscellany)* 8, no. 12 (1912): 11.


———. “The Development of Photo Studios in Korea.” Translated by Jeehey Kim. *Trans-


Li, Tang. “Art for the Market: Commercialism in Ren Yi’s (1840-1895) Figure Painting.” MA thesis, University of Maryland, 2003.


Liu Yiqing (劉義慶), and Yang Yong (楊勇), eds. *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian (世說新語校箋; A New Account of the Tales of the World)*. Taipei: Hongye shuju, 1974.


———. *Yinghua Zidian (英華字典; English and Chinese Dictionary: With the Punti and Mandarin Pronunciation).* Hong Kong: Daily Press Office, 1866.


———. “Lun Zhaoxiang Zhilei (論照相之類; On Categories of Photography).” In Lu Xun Quanji (魯迅全集; Complete Works of Lu Xun), 181–90. Beijing; Shanghai: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981.


Matsuzaki Shinji (松崎晋二). Shashin Hitsuyō Shakyaku No Kokoroe (写真必用写客の心


Miyachi Masato (宮地正人), Sasaki Takashi (佐々木 隆), Kinoshita Naoyuki (木下直之), and Suzuki Jun (鈴木淳), eds. *Bijuaru waido Meiji jidaikan* (ビジュアル・ワイド明治時代館; *Visual Wide Theater of Meiji Period*). Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2005.


Miyoshi, Masao. *Off Center: Power and Culture Relations between Japan and the United*


———. *Ichinen yūhan* (一年有半; *A year and a Half*). Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1901.


———. “Meijitennō No Taisō to Taiwan (明治天皇の大喪と台湾; The Grand Funeral of Emperor Meiji and Taiwan).” In Ōken to Girei (王権と儀礼; Sovereign Power and Rites), eds. Amino Yoshihiko (網野善彥), Kabayama Kōichi (樺山紘一), Miyata Noboru (宮田登), Yasumaru Yoshio (安丸良夫), and Yamamoto Kōji (山本幸司), 285–96. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2002.


Nakayama Kōyō (中山高陽), and Sakazaki Shizuka (坂崎坦). “Gadan Keiroku (画譜鶏肋; Gratuitous Chats on Painting).” In Nihonga No Seishin (日本畫の精神; Spirit of Japanese Painting), 134. Tokyo: Tokyodō, 1942.

Nanjingshi danganguan (南京市档案馆), and Zhongshan lingyuan guanliju (中山陵园管理处), eds. Zhongshanling dangan shiliao xuanbian (中山陵档案史料选编: Collected Archival Materials on Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum). Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1986.

Nanjingshi Dang’anju (南京市档案局), and Zhongshanlingyuan Guanliju (中山陵园管理局编), eds. Zhongshanling shiji tuji (中山陵史迹图集; Pictorial of the Mausoleum of Sun Yat-sen). Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1996.


———. *Nejimagereta sakura: biishiki to gunkoku shugi* (ねじ曲げられた桜: 美意識と軍国主義; Distorted Cherry Blossom: Aesthetics and Militarism). Tokyo: Iwanami


Okawa Yōichi (小川陽一). “Minshin no Shōzōga to Ninsōjutsu-Minshin shōsets kenkyū no ikkantoshite- (明清の肖像画と人相術—明清小説研究の一環として—; Portrait painting and the technique of physiognomy during Ming and Qing era -as a part of the study on novels from the periods).” *Tōhoku Daigaku Chūgoku gogaku bungaku ronshū* (東北大学中国語学文学論集; Tohoku Journal of Chinese Language and Literature), no. 4 (November 30, 1999): 49–62.


Ozawa Takeshi (小沢健志). *Bakumatsu, Meiji no shashin (幕末・明治の写真; Photography of Late Edo and Meiji Period).* Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1997.


Park Gi-Chae (박기채). *Joseon Haehyeop (조선해협; Straits of Joseon).* Joseonn yeonghwa jejak jusikoesa, 1943.


Phạm Phú Thụ (范富庶), ed. “Tây Hành Nhật Kí (西行日記; Diary on Journey to the West).” In Gia Viên Biệt Lục (蔗園別錄; Gia Vien Special Record), 1863.


Purtle, Jennifer, and Hans Bjarne Thomsen, eds. Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II. Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago; Co-published and distributed by Art Media Resources, 2009.


Satō Shōdō (佐藤正導). Nitchū Sensō: Aru Wakaki Jūgunsō no Shuki (日中戦争: ある若き従軍僧の手記; Sino-Japanese War: Memoirs of a Young Buddhist Monk who Joined the


http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.act2080.0043.415.


———. “The Work of Sacrifice in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Bride Dolls and


Shanghai Sheyingjia Xiehui (上海摄影家協會), and Shanghaidaxue Wenxueyuan (上海大学文学院), eds. *Shanghai sheyingshi (上海摄影史; History of photography in Shanghai)*. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1992.

kexue chubanshe, 2005.

*Shenjiang mingsheng tushuo* (申江名勝圖說; Famous Shanghai sites, with illustrations and explanations). [S.l.]: Guankeshouzhai, 1884.


Song Dong, and Center for the Arts at Yerba Buena Gardens. *Song Dong: Dad and Mom, Don’t Worry About Us, We Are All Well*. San Francisco: Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, 2011.

“Song Jiaoren Xiansheng Beiciji (宋教仁先生被刺記; The Great Murder Case of Mr. Süng Kiao Yan).” *Zhenxiang Huabao* (真相畫報; *The True Record*), no. 14 (1913): 2–3.

Song Sujong (송수정), and Yi Sangil (이상일), eds. *Geunarui Hullasong* (그날의 훌라송; *Hurroo Hurroo*). Busan: GoEun Art Foundation, 2013.


Sun Yanjing (孙燕京), ed. *Wanqing yiying (晚清遺影; Left Images of Late Qing)*. Jinan:


Taihoku kōtō shōgyō gakkō (台北高等商業學校). Taihoku kōtō shōgyō gakkō ichiran (台北高等商業學校一覧; Catalogue of Taihoku College of Commerce). Taipei: Taihoku kōtō shōgyō gakkō, 1940.


Taiwan jiaoyuhui (臺灣教育會). “Henshū Kōki (編修後記; Postscript of Compilation).” In Kitashirakawanomiya Yoshihisa Shinnō Goiseki Shashinchō (北白川宮能久親王御遺跡
寫真帖; Photography Album of Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa’s Remains), n.p. Taipei: Taiwan riri xinbaoshe, 1928.  


Takeda Akira (竹田旦). “Dongasiae Iseoseoui Saryeonggyeolhon (東亞시아에 있어서의 死霊結婚; Marriage between the spirits of dead man and woman in Eastern Asia).”  


“Tōya Ippan Shiminno Yōhai (當夜一般市民の遙拝; Citizen’s Worship from Afar on the


Wakeman, Frederic. “Revolutionary Rites: The Remains of Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao Tse-


———. *Fusang Youji* (扶桑遊記; *A Travel to Japan*). Edited by Chen Shangfan (陈尚凡) and Ren Guangliang (任光亮). Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 1985.

———. *Yingruan Zazhi* (瀛環雜誌; *Miscellany on Shanghai*). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1853.


Wilson, Donald Dean. “Colonial Viêt Nam on Film: 1896 to 1926.” PhD diss., City University of New York, 2007.


Xu Shaofang (许少峰), and Xu Weiwu (许未吾), eds. *Jindai Hanyu Cidian* (*近代汉语词典; Modern Chinese Dictionary*). Beijing: Tuanjie Chubanshe, 1997.


Xu Youchun (徐友春), and Wu Zhiming (吴志明), eds. *Sun Zhongshan Fengan Dadian* (*孙中山奉安大典; Enshrinement Ceremony of Sun Yat-sen*). Beijing: Huawen chubanshe, 1989.


Yanabu Akira (柳父章). *Kindai Nihongo no Shisō: Honyaku Buntai Seiritsu Jijō (近代日本


Yi Pil-u (이필우). *Changdeokgung Sunjonghwangje Myoui (창덕궁 순종황제 묘의; The National Funeral of King Sunjong at Changdeok Palace)*. Seoul: Danseongsa (團成社), 1928.


Yi Tae-ho (이태호). *Yethwagadeureun Uri Eolgureul Eotteoke Geuryeonna: Joseonhugi Chosanghwawa Kamera Opseukura (옛화가들은 우리 얼굴을 어떻게 그렸나: 조선후기 초상화와 카메라 웃스쿠라; How Painters of the Past Painted Our Face: Portrait Paintings of Late Joseon and Camera Obscura)*. Seoul: Saenggagui Namu,
2008.


Yun Chi-ho (尹致昊). Yun Chi-ho Ilgi (尹致昊日記; Diaries of Yun Chi-ho), Edited by Guksa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe (국사편찬위원회; National Institute of Korean History). 1884.


Zhongguo guomindang zhejiangsheng zhixingweiyuanhui xuanchuanbu, ed. *Zongli fengan jiniance* (*總理奉安紀念冊; Memorial Album of The Party President’s Enshrinement*). Hangzhou: Zhongguo guomindang zhejiangsheng zhixingweiyuanhui xuanchuanbu, 1929.

Zhongshan chubanshe bianweihui. *Guofu xunrong he mobao* (*國父勳榮和墨寶; Glorious Honor and Calligraphy of the Father of the Nation*). Taipei: Zhongshan chubanshe, 1975.


