

**Capturing Visions of Japan's Prehistoric Past:
Torii Ryūzō's Field Photographs of "Primitive" Races
and Lost Civilizations (1896–1915)**

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Anthropological Photography and Empire Building in Meiji Japan

Ethnography, archaeology, and art history came of age in the late nineteenth century paralleling the expansion of colonial empires and the subjugation of indigenous peoples around the world. These disciplines' field explorations resulted in the accumulation of an entirely different body of knowledge distinguished from earlier sources of travel information recorded by "untrained" observers represented by soldiers and missionaries.¹ The researchers were now required to document their finds in a systematic manner which then gave rise to the trained specialist, usually a graduate of a university department or museum staff whose job it was to map sites, record precise measurements, and draft and sketch the state of decay or destruction of monuments.² The most important technological innovation was the introduction of *daguerreotype* photography in the 1840s by French historians and antiquarians for their architectural preservation and restoration projects.³ By the 1860s, the availability of photographic equipment for the amateur transformed photography into the most popular medium for representing "visual truth" of primeval geography surviving in the newly discovered colonial terrains.⁴ Around the same time, illustrations and photographs of "vanishing races" and ruins of "lost civilizations" from the Americas, India, the Pacific, the Far East, and Africa became incorporated into dioramas designed to capture the imagination of international fair participants in the capitals of Europe. Exotic landscapes and ethnographic tableaux were deployed by commissioners and vendors to enhance the visual and commercial value of unique local products for sale in the international marketplace.⁵

Anthropologists and museum curators who were responsible for staging aboriginal displays at fairs and museums adopted a “cultural comparative perspective” in their efforts to describe and visualize the unilinear stages of man’s past development from savagery to barbarism to civilization.⁶ The dominant premise was that the psychic unity of man explained the worldwide similarities and far-flung parallel developments that included mythology, religions, rituals, morals, subsistence, technology, and social organizations as reflected in the kinship system.⁷ Soon, speculations on the prehistoric origins, language groupings, archaeological identifications, and descriptions of “primitive customs, myths, and religions” of heretofore “undocumented” ethnographic peoples became the chief pursuit of many ambitious adventurers, colonial administrators, and armchair scholars alike. Thus, for more than a century, men of science believed that the descriptions and photographic depictions of “modern savages” and their “primitive” conditions and habits constituted the most important evidence for inferring about their own ancestors. Well into the first part of the twentieth century, photography served as the anthropologists’ most powerful scientific tool for permanent and systematic classification of races to be measured, photographed, and exhibited as biological specimens.⁸ By the turn of the century, the assumption that a photograph could stand in as a prototype for the visual representation of races added extra “scientific credence” to curatorial efforts to preserve them for eternity as “scientific truths.” Hence, anthropological photography along with material objects came to be regarded as objective “raw data” to be analyzed at the metropolitan center.⁹

From the perspective of the individual field anthropologist, visually striking photographs not only affirmed his authentic status as the “ethnographic authority”¹⁰ but could also be a means to attract more funding for one’s expensive expeditions to remote places. Glass-plate photographs could be turned into lantern slides as promotional materials to show off one’s field discoveries to government agencies, learned societies, and museum donors. With the advent of printing machines, the medium of photography had also practical and commercial applications. Attractive photographs could be cheaply and quickly duplicated in magazines, newspapers, postcards, and posters advertising the latest cosmopolitan fashions for sale at department stores or scenic views of famous tourist sites.¹¹ Consequently, scenes of natives wearing colorful costumes and framed by their original habitats and picturesque landscapes continue to this day to exert a powerful aesthetic and colonial legacy on one’s perception of the “Other.” Thus, we have to acknowledge that images of “backward natives” manufactured by scholars, commercial artists, colonial administrators, and cultural institutions were critical in the maintenance of European imperial powers and subjugation of the “Other.”¹² Therefore, historians of anthropological photography have asserted that such ethnographic images cannot be taken at face value, but instead we should unearth its “cultural biography” similar to any other material commodity.¹³ In the past two decades, pioneering works on anthropological photography have thus analyzed the personal values, research agenda, aesthetic concerns, profit motives, and cultural contexts inherent in how these ethnic stereotypes were first produced, disseminated, and then preserved in photographic archives

of museums and popular magazines such as *National Geographic*.¹⁴

The photographic resources discussed in this paper represents the earliest body of anthropological knowledge of so-called Mongoloid peoples collected by Japan's pioneering field researcher, Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953). They resulted from his numerous field trips sponsored by Tokyo University to Manchuria, Taiwan and Korea following Japan's military victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). Although Japan's former imperial universities and museums house some of the world's oldest and most extensive anthropological and photographic archives, no study has yet attempted to understand how the configurations of power and politics have racially ordered the structure and classification scheme of their ethnographic collections and photo-exhibition albums published in the past decades. The purpose of this paper is to unravel the Japanese colonial forms of anthropological knowledge that have influenced the selections of the kinds of subjects and objects that have made up the common stock images of “aboriginal peoples” (*genjūmin*) from the former colonies of the Japanese Empire.

In this paper, I will address three main themes. The first theme is Meiji empire building, the civilizing mission, and the establishment of the Tokyo Anthropological Society. In the late nineteenth century, this Tokyo Imperial University–based learned society was notably the only non-European/American private organization to send a young graduate student, Torii to conduct fieldwork into vast uncharted territories as far north as the Amur River in Siberia, south to the islands of Taiwan, and as far east as Outer Mongolia. Second, Torii's personal vision and research agenda was driven by the Tokyo Anthropological Society's emphasis on the “comparative” ethnological perspective approach in his assigned mission to gather archaeological proof tracing “Japanese” prehistoric racial origins to the Northeast Asian continent. The third theme is the colonial institutional legacy reflected in the organization and preservation of Torii's ethnographic collections and photographic data.

The Tokyo Anthropological Society and “Ethno-genesis” of the Japanese People

In the late nineteenth century, the anthropological question occupying the minds of historians, biological scientists, and intellectuals concerned the “ethno-genesis” of the Japanese people or *Jinshūron*. Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), Edward Morse (1838–1925), Ernest Satow (1843–1929), Edwin Baelz (1849–1913), and John Milne (1850–1913) represented the first generation of European racial theorists. They are credited for introducing Darwinian evolutionary theory and the concept of “prehistory” that had divided the three ages of man into the Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age to Japanese intellectuals.¹⁵ They were also the first to speculate that the Ainu were the descendents of the earliest “indigenous people” (*senjūmin*) who left behind prehistoric remains and shell mounds.¹⁶ The birth of Japanese modern archaeology is traced to the 1877 excavations of

Ōmori shell mounds carried out by a young American zoologist named Edward Morse, who had been invited by Tokyo University to set up its first specimens' laboratory, the predecessor to the Tokyo University Museum.¹⁷

Inspired by Morse's example, in the early 1880s, a group of student scientists became imbued with the exciting possibilities of excavating their own prehistoric sites.¹⁸ As classmates and friends living in proximity to each other near campus, they began to hold weekly salon-style meetings in their own homes where they met regularly to discuss their latest acquisitions of curios as well as to plan field trips to nearby archaeological sites. Out of this lively student groups enamored by imported Western scientific knowledge of the times emerged a young Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), a medical student and the son of a prominent doctor. In 1884, at the tender age of twenty-two, Tsuboi founded the Tokyo Anthropological Society with four classmates in the biological sciences and history. Much akin in the spirit of camaraderie and scientific curiosity to earlier European gentry antiquarian societies, they began their first field research surveying prehistoric sites near the Hongo campus.¹⁹ Two years later in 1886, the society launched its first journal, the *Tokyo Anthropological Society Journal* (*Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai zasshi*), one of the world's longest-running anthropological publication series.

Tsuboi Shōgorō and the Ethnological Comparative Perspective

Tsuboi Shōgorō was by all contemporary accounts a polymath, world traveler, and charismatic leader.²⁰ For more than two decades, he led the society's monthly discussions introducing the major scientific revolutions and latest European discoveries. The journal's articles also reflected his broad interests covering all the major field sciences, including medicine, geology, biology, and ethnographic reports derived from contemporary ethnological societies' and museums' publications from Europe and America.²¹ A typical issue then consisted of four or five feature articles relating discoveries of Stone Age tools, pottery, and relics from shell mounds from Hokkaido to the Ryūkyūs and anthropometric studies/racial classification of the Ainu, including opinions by foreign experts. In addition, there were also short research reports from outside Japan related to discoveries of prehistoric remains, pottery analyses, and subterranean dwellings from Korea, Manchuria, and China, as well as customs documented from as far away as New Hebrides, Samoa, and the Solomon Islands.²² The back section of this monthly was devoted to featuring the latest cultural events such as openings of new museums in Europe, international expositions, and publications of ethnographic reports.²³ The journal's interdisciplinary scope reflected Tsuboi's lifelong conviction that "ethnology" was the only discipline that could link all three areas of archaeological inquiry: historical archaeology, protohistory, and prehistory. For him, "ethnology" would provide the records of man's prehistoric past that had been lost, were incomplete, had been in the dark, or were

now merely legends today. Consequently, for Tsuboi, the mission of Japanese archaeology was to distinguish “what kind of lifestyles, physical characteristics, knowledge, and arts and crafts can be correlated to the remains that our ancestors have left behind.”²⁴ Therefore, for Tsuboi, the ultimate goal of the study of past relics was to define “who the ancient peoples (*jinmin*) were.”²⁵ Because of Tsuboi, the journal’s editorial committee emphasized that only articles resulting from “direct” field observations (*tsūshin*) would be accepted for publication and citation.²⁶ With a pioneering approach for a Japanese learned society at that time, the earliest issues reported vivid firsthand accounts and timely news from expeditions as far north as Siberia and as far south as the islands of the South Pacific.²⁷ From the late 1890s onward, the latest correspondence from the man-in-the-field Torii Ryūzō dispatched to the far corners of Asia became a regular feature along with his photographs of “exotic natives” posing among decaying ruins. The exotic nature of these photographic images from far-off lands opening up for the first time to Japanese exploration and commercial and economic ventures no doubt contributed to the exponential increase in the number of subscribers, assuring the journal’s continuous success as the informal Japanese empire expanded further south in the 1930s.²⁸

To Tsuboi’s credit, unlike most academics, he took his anthropological message out to the general public, publishing in popular journals and delivering lectures at schools and learned societies throughout Tokyo. He urged others to adopt the central mission of Japanese anthropological inquiry, which was the “the comparison of contemporary “barbaric (*yaban*), uncivilized (*mikai*), half-civilized (*han-kai*) and civilized (*kaika*) in order to investigate the broad patterns of change in man.”²⁹ Under Tsuboi’s visionary leadership, subsequent generations of archaeologists and ethnologists have applied Tsuboi’s “comparative method” (*ishi, hikaku*) as the main analytical tool for the classifications of prehistorical remains and relics so as to reconstruct the racial lineage of ancient populations.³⁰

The *Tokyo Anthropological Society Journal*’s discussions and inquiries into the Japanese race and its prehistorical origins occurred at a critical juncture amid the rise of nationalistic fervor and newly found pride following Japanese military victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars. By the early twentieth century, intellectuals, academics, and politicians began to turn to young “scientists” to explain the progress of Japanese race and civilization vis-à-vis their lesser neighbors in Asia.³¹ At the same time, administrators and the military police stationed in the new colonies were seeking accurate and reliable ethnographic information which they hoped could serve as practical administrative guides in the governance of hostile indigenous peoples from the Kuriles, Korea, and Taiwan.³² Thus, empire-building politicians and colonial administrators looked to anthropologists for answers to larger questions pertaining to the nature and origins of primitive man, to distinguish the evolving universal stages of human progress and to document the spread of prehistoric peoples and cultures. Beginning in 1895 with Torii’s dispatch to Manchuria, the Meiji government began actively supporting anthropological surveys outside the Japanese archipelago. From then on, customs surveys, archaeological excavations, and museum



Figure 1. Fabricated Karafuto Ainu Family house exhibit at Tokyo Ueno Park Exposition in 1912. Exhibition Organizer Tsuboi Shogōrō. (Akazawa Takeru, Ochiai Kazuyasu, and Seki Yūji, eds., *Iminzoku e no manazashi: Koshashin ni kizamareta mongoroïdo / The "Other" Visualized: Depictions of the Mongoloid Peoples* [hereinafter *The "Other" Visualized*] [Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992] 112, pl. 4-3-19.)

building became integral components of Japan's modernizing project (*bunmei kaika*) imitating the precedent set by scholars and explorers from the reigning imperial powers such as England and France.³³ By the late Meiji period, colonial collections of ethnographic information, artifacts, and documentation of customs from the Kuriles, Ryūkyūs, Korea, and Taiwan were used for aboriginal exhibitions (fig. 1) to be shown at international fairs inside and outside Japan.³⁴ In summary, the visionary leadership of Tsuboi and the Tokyo Anthropological Society's comparative approach, combined with the need to gather intelligence information in order to control the peoples from Hokkaido, Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, spurred on Meiji era anthropological fieldwork abroad.

The Search for Japanese Origins in Continental Asia

The first field trip outside Japan began in 1895 (figs. 2 and 3), when the young researcher Torii Ryūzō was sent to the newly occupied Liaodong peninsula by the Tokyo Anthropological

Society executive committee. The five members of the executive committee headed by Tsuboi Shōgorō discussed sending Torii to the Liaodong peninsula on June 30, 1895, only two months following the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war. Their dispatch letter was sent the following day to Torii on July 1. Four days later on July 5, official notifications were sent to the Liaodong commander general as well as the local officers asking them to assist Torii in any way that they could, including provisions for transportation and porters and guides to haul equipment and coordinate logistics.³⁵ The contents of this dispatch letter (*shokūtaku fuinsho*) instructed Torii to take “a comprehensive approach into investigating the customs of the natives, collect ancient objects (*kobutsu*), search for prehistoric remains (*iseki*), and report back his findings to the society.”³⁶ The execution speed and bureaucratic efficiency which followed this dispatch mission required unprecedented cooperation and communications among the Meiji government, Tokyo University officials, and the military chain of command linking Tokyo and the Liaodong headquarters. Therefore, Torii’s dispatch in the summer of 1895 not only marked the debut of the Tokyo Anthropological Society as a major imperial institution but also remapped the boundaries of Japanese studies of the “Orient,” or *Tōyō gaku*.³⁷ The Meiji government and Tokyo University administration’s endorsement of an inexperienced twenty-three-year-old anthropologist trip abroad first to the Liaodong peninsula and then the following year to Taiwan (see figs. 2 and 3) elevated the academic standing of the Tokyo University Anthropology Laboratory in the eyes of fellow scientists as a premier research and training center. At that time, Torii’s appointment signified a new era for the professional who was trained in imported skills such as mapping, drafting, and photography, enabling him to record discoveries in the field. As a middle-school dropout and the son of a relatively low-class tobacco merchant family from the small island of Tokushima, in the countryside of Shikoku, Torii would never had made it to an elite institution like Tokyo University if it were not for Tsuboi, who personally invited him to come work for him in 1892.³⁸

Torii’s Liaodong survey, prehistoric remains, ethnographic items, and photographs of indigenous populations from Asia became accepted as primary data surpassing prehistoric remains found in Japan. Because they were identified, collected, and excavated by a field specialist, they were regarded as the more “authentic” and antiquated sources for the study of Japan’s prehistorical period, taking precedence over traditional textual documents such as the *Nihongi* and *Kōjiki*. In 1893, the year following Tsuboi’s return from a three-year study abroad in England, Torii was put in charge of the Tokyo Anthropological Research Laboratory (see fig. 1), where, due to Tsuboi’s influence, it had been designated by the government as the sole repository of all prehistoric finds in Japan and abroad. It soon evolved into an active hub where students were trained in the imported methods and arrangements of specimens and documentation, techniques of photography, and detailed illustrations. By the early 1900s, typological studies of prehistoric remains were being published by his laboratory assistants such as Yagi Sōzaburō (fig. 4) and Ōno Entarō.³⁹ Thus, Tokyo University’s anthropological society laboratory students were responsible for

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Figure 2. Map of Torii Ryūzō's Field Surveys. (Sasaki Takamei, ed., *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia* [Osaka: Kokuritsu Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1993], 24.)

Figure 3. Chronology of Meiji Archaeological and Anthropological Fieldwork and Torii Ryūzō's Meiji field trips, 1871-1911.

- 1871 Meiji Antiquity Laws governing ancient relics promulgated
- 1877 E.S. Morse excavates at Omori Shellmound
- 1884 The Establishment of the Tokyo Anthropological Society at Tokyo University
- 1886 Tokyo Anthropological Society Journal begins publication (Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai Zasshi)
- 1887 Beginning of Japan's racial origins debate: Ainu vs. Pre-historic Koropokur (Pre-Ainu?)
- 1888 Establishment of the Historical Society and Journal of History (Shigaku Zasshi)
- 1893 Establishment of the Tokyo Imperial University Anthropology Research Laboratory
- 1894-5 Sino-Japanese War
- 1895 Taiwan is annexed by Japan
Torii Ryūzō's First survey of Manchuria (Liaodong peninsula)
Establishment of the Society of Archaeology and the Journal of Archaeology
Nara Imperial Museum Opening
- 1896 Temples and Shrines Department established at the Ministry of Interior,
Torii Ryūzō's first survey of Taiwan
- 1897 Promulgation of Preservation Laws governing Temples and Shrines -Government takes over the management and preservation of nationally registered art, artifacts, and documents belonging to temples and shrines (Beginnings of national treasures system)
Kyoto Imperial Museum Opening
- 1898 Japan Academy of Art established (Okakura Tenshin)
- 1899 Sekino Tadashi surveys Ruins of Heijo in Nara
Torii Ryūzō begins ethnological survey of the Kuriles
- 1900 Japan participates in Paris World Expo
Yagi Sōzaburō sent to conduct first archaeological survey of the Korean peninsula
- 1901 Itō Chuta first trip to Qing capital, Beijing
- 1902 Sekino Tadashi conducts first survey of art and architecture in Korea
- 1902-3 Torii Ryūzō sent to South-west China (Sichuan, Yunnan, Hunan, Hubei)
- 1904 Russo-Japanese War, Torii Ryūzō sent to the Ryukyus
- 1905 Portsmouth Treaty, Korean peninsula becomes a Protectorate of Japan
Torii Ryūzō's 2nd trip to Manchuria. Identification of Koguryo remains in Jian
- 1906 Heijo remains at Nara is registered as a Protected Site
Torii Ryūzō's wife takes up teaching position in Mongolia, Torii researches Mongolia
Imanishi Ryū surveys Keishū (Kyōngju-Silla capital in South-west Korea)
- 1907 Excavations of Kimhae Shellmound in Korea by Imanishi Ryu
- 1908 Establishment of the Yi Royal Museum in Kyōngbok Palace in Seoul
- 1909 Torii Ryūzō's Third Survey of Manchuria
- 1910 Annexation of the Korean Peninsula, Establishment of Governor-general Office of at Keijō
(Seoul)-Chōsen Sōtokufu takes over all archaeological, ethnographic and preservation activities
- 1911 Torii Ryūzō conducts first systematic survey of archaeological remains throughout the Korean peninsula;
Establishment of the Historic Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments Protection Committee (Shiseki Meishō Tennenkinnenbutsu hozon-kai) in Japan
Discovery of Rakurō (Lelang Han Dynasty commandery remains in Pyongyang)
Temples Protection Act Promulgated in the Korean Peninsula



Figure 4. The Tokyo Anthropological Laboratory members (*Tokyo jinrui gakkai kenkyū shitsu*). In 1893, the year Torii Ryūzō was put in charge of the University prehistoric collections. He is standing in the back row most right. In the first row from the left sits Yagi Sōzaburō followed by Tsuboi Shōgorō. (Sasaki, *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 17.)

identifying representative objects, technology, and designs (*mōyō*) as key stage markers for delineating Japan's past development from "savagery" to "barbarism" to civilization.⁴⁰ The Tokyo Anthropological Society's field research initiative abroad was a natural extension of their laboratory's cataloging effort of material evidence which could serve as comparative data for illuminating the long-lost stages of Japanese civilization.

Cataloging and Exhibiting the Ethnographic Archives of Torii Ryūzō

Torii Ryūzō is celebrated as the first professional Japanese anthropologist to go to the field armed with a camera. In 1896 he asked Tokyo University for his own photographic equipment so that he could record his surveys of the indigenous peoples of Taiwan along with its geology, fauna, and flora. His surviving glass-plate photographs numbering in the

tens of thousands have been praised by museum curators for their high level of technical expertise, artistic vision, ethnographic sensitivity, and classificatory approach to primitive races.⁴¹ They are regarded as invaluable primary resources for anthropologists, archaeologists, ancient historians, and historians of photography for the following reasons. First, his field photographs are unprecedented in their geographic coverage (fig. 2) and include images from the islands of Japan, the Ryūkyūs (1904), Manchuria (1895), Mongolia (1906–8), and the Korean peninsula (1910–11). This is because his university sent him as far north as the Kuriles (1899) and the Kamchatka peninsula (1911), south to the islands of Taiwan (1896), southeast into the mountains of Yunnan (1902–3), and as far west as Lake Baikal (1919) in Siberia.⁴² Second, his anthropological images are notable for their detailed renditions of native costumes, subsistence strategies, and ecology of indigenous populations from nomadic tribal groups in Inner Asia to the hunters and gatherers living in the mountains of the islands of Taiwan. Third, his photos are also intriguing for the modern historian of the early twentieth century because they represent snapshots into the everyday lives of Japanese soldiers who were stationed at remote military outposts in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Inner Asia. Soldiers are seen in many of his photos because they were commissioned to protect and assist Torii with his travels and research. Hired as guards to protect him and his equipment, they are also seen patrolling archaeological sites and museums so as to deter would-be thieves and looters. Fourth, his photographs, especially from Inner Asia, provide fascinating firsthand accounts of the changing social conditions along the volatile frontier zones where armies of imperial Russia and Republican China, as well as warlords, were mired in battles for regional hegemony. In the 1920s and 1930s, local populations who were caught in the cross fire were forced to adapt to unpredictable geopolitical circumstances such as strategic migrations, transferring tribal allegiances, changing religious affiliations, and even swapping ethnic identities to survive.⁴³ Last but not least, archaeologists and art historians have consulted Torii's photographs and illustrations of prehistoric ruins for he was the first to pinpoint and excavate prehistoric shell mounds and Stone Age burials from Taiwan to the ancient kingdoms in Northeast Asia. His extensive knowledge of ancient Chinese texts enabled him to locate and identify the stone-piled tombs of Kogury kings (ca. first century BCE–third century CE) as well as Liao-dynasty painted tombs and pagodas (ca. twelfth century CE) in the remote areas of the present-day provinces of Jilin and Heilongjiang.⁴⁴ His photographic records of archaeological monuments in northeast China from the turn of the century are now consulted as blueprints in the preservation and reconstruction of these monuments before they were irreversibly damaged by looting, wars, and pollution caused by tourists.

Torii's six decades in the field and research career spent mostly abroad in Asia also resulted in the accumulation of tens of thousands of archaeological and ethnographic materials ranging from stone tools, baskets, weapons, clothing, headgear, and toys to illustrations, maps, and books.⁴⁵ Consequently, for more than three decades, curators from Tokyo University to research libraries and museums located in former colonial capitals, including Shenyang, Changchun, Dalian, Taipei, and Seoul, have engaged in an international collaborative

effort to identify, catalog, and preserve Torii's collections inherited from the former colonial governor generals' museum and libraries. In August 1975, more than six thousand items of Torii's specimens' collections formerly stored at the Tokyo Anthropological Society's laboratory were moved to the newly established National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka.⁴⁶ According to the museum's curators, the provenances of the major items now listed as Torii's ethnographic items catalogue (*dōzokuhin*) were painstakingly resurrected based on information garnered from inventory cards compiled by the Tokyo Anthropological Society Laboratory. The long list of objects and their classification numbers, specimen names, original native names, tribal names, and collected locations along with their pictures, were included in an exhibition catalog entitled *Torii Ryūzō's Vision of Asia*, published by the museum in 1993.⁴⁷

The Tokyo University Museum, inherited Torii's glass-plate photo archives, all predating 1924, when Torii left the university for good because he was not offered a continuing permanent position. The chief curator who initiated the monumental task of organizing and preserving his archives was Professor Akazawa Takeru (b. 1938), then Japan's reigning biological anthropologist whose publications cover Neanderthal populations in the Middle East and the peopling of the Japanese archipelago. Beginning in 1989, he coordinated the transfer of the innumerable boxes of glass-plate photographs from the former Tokyo Anthropological Society's laboratory storage facilities to the current museum building. The project's funding came from a multiyear research grant from the Ministry of Education Science Division. Akazawa's successful collaborative research project was entitled *Prehistoric Mongoloid Dispersals*—an edited volume of the same name was published by the university press in 1996.⁴⁸ An accompanying exhibition catalog volume written in Japanese was subtitled in English as *Lost Worlds on a Dry Plate—Torii Ryūzō's "Asia."*⁴⁹ The following year, a bilingual Japanese-English edition including additional photographs provided by the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology in St. Petersburg, the Société de Géographie of France, and the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, was published as *The "Other" Visualized: Depictions of the Mongoloid Peoples.*⁵⁰

In retrospect, it is understandable that Akazawa, as a biological anthropologist trained at the same institution founded by Tsuboi Shōgorō and made famous by Torii Ryūzō would feel a sense of duty to preserve their photographic archives. The series of exhibitions he organized was to showcase the results of his research project touted as “representing the ‘true’ visual ‘testimony’ for documenting the dynamic drama of the origin, evolution, dispersals and migrations of the Mongoloid peoples.”⁵¹

Second to Japan, the Seoul National Museum owns the largest number of Torii's archives, numbering around twenty thousand glass plates. On August 1945, following Japan's surrender, the last Japanese director of the Colonial Government-General Museum, Arimitsu Kyōichi (b. 1907) handed over the entire art and archaeological collections to Kim Che-wŏn (1909–90), the first Korean museum director who was appointed by the U.S military command, or USAMGIK (United States Army Military Government in Korea).⁵²

Of the many different countries he had lived in Asia, Torii spent the peak of his productive years excavating all over the Korean peninsula (1910–32). For more than two decades, he was the officially appointed principal investigator for all prehistoric surveys, excavating and registering monuments for the Colonial Government Committee on Korean Antiquities. This committee sent him on annual surveys of archaeological sites between 1910 and 1916 when he was commissioned by Kuroita Katsumi, the chief coordinator of the multivolume history of Korea.⁵³ According to the Seoul National Museum's prewar catalog published in 1997, Torii's archives included official government documents such as dispatch permits, a large number of original illustrations and photographs of remains, as well as two hundred photographic prints personally donated by Torii Ryūzō. Since then, the National Museum has hired a full-time staff member and professionally trained anthropologist to catalog and preserve the colonial archives as part of a long-term future project of compiling a complete history of the National Museum in Korea.⁵⁴

Last but not least, Torii personal ethnographic collections, documents, and photos are on display at the Torii Ryūzō Museum located in his hometown of Tokushima. This three-story concrete structure resembles a Japanese castle, surrounded by a sizable garden where he and his wife are interred below a very large tabletop-style dolmen (see n. 82, below). It opened in 1965 with collections donated by family members including family photos, Torii's favorite robes, and writing tools, as well copies of his representative manuscripts, ethnographic reports, and publications. The museum also features photos of his wife, Kimiko, who was a published ethnologist in her own right conducting fieldwork on women while teaching in Mongolia between 1906 and 1907. She was quite a celebrity in her time, for it was highly unusual for a spouse to accompany her husband on his fieldtrips. This county-operated museum is therefore dedicated to preserving the memories of their local hero, Torii Ryūzō, as the great explorer who became a world famous scholar.⁵⁵

Despite the diverse research and the curatorial and exhibition goals of these various institutions, in the modern marketplace, all museum curators are burdened with showcasing their collections and exhibitions to attract more visitors to maximize ticket sales and to bring in visitors to their gift shops. Hence, curators, when confronted with piles of "mixed boxes" of photo albums which have to be authenticated, organized, and preserved under impending budget and scheduling deadlines, will opt for photographs and objects with the most explanatory power and visual appeal.⁵⁶ For example, the Tokyo University Museum was able to hold three major photo exhibitions over five consecutive years using the same glass photographs from the Tokyo Anthropological Society's laboratory collections. The titles of these three exhibitions are "Tokyo University Hongo Campus—One Hundred Years" (1988), "Other Visualized—Depictions of Mongoloid Peoples" (1992), and "Lost Worlds on Dry Plate—Torii Ryūzō's Asia," held jointly with the Osaka Museum and Tokushima Museum (1993); again these titles echo themes of romance, nostalgia, and desire to recapture visions of "vanished worlds" of their former colonial indigenous subjects of Asia. Over the past century, such museum catalogs and racial classification albums have

therefore transformed their subjects into the “Other” by visualizing them, displaying them, comparing them, and determining their position in the evolutionary map of man.⁵⁷

Contextualizing the Ethnographic and Archaeological Knowledge

The last part of this paper is dedicated to introducing a small sample of Torii Ryūzō’s images from the above-mentioned photographic albums, museum exhibition displays, and ethnographic reports compiled by his archivists.⁵⁸ At Tokyo University Museum, the largest number of preserved photo collections pertain to Torii’s racial classificatory mission. According to Akazawa Takeru, their teams arranged Torii’s archives first by geographic areas/ racial/tribal classifications and then by subject matter such as gender, clothing, accessories, animals, and accompanying documents if available.⁵⁹ For example, initials used include *A* for the Ainu residing in the northern islands Hokkaido, *M* for Manchuria, *K* for the Korean peninsula, *R* for the Ryūkyū islands, *B* for Bun (a tribal group in Taiwan), and *J* for Japan.

In contrast, Torii’s photos from Northeast Asia featured in the above-mentioned albums showing Mongols, Manchus, and the Koreans were represented by his more “picturesque” landscapes marked by archaeological ruins of ancient civilizations. In these geographic regions, the curators chose to highlight shamanistic rituals, folk dances, and religious customs and arts and crafts activities reminiscent of ancient Japan. In the following analysis, I will attempt to unravel such inherent colonial racist biases seen in photographs taken by Torii and salvaged a century later by his archivists.

Staking Ethnographic Authority and the Classification of “Primitive” Racial Types

We begin with a photograph of Torii Ryūzō (fig. 5) on his first trip to Taiwan in 1896. Here he is dressed in a Western-style jacket and pants and is busy scribbling on a notepad while natives look upon him with keen interest. This image of the anthropologist and his notepad is a classic pose of the nineteenth-century field researcher, whose conceit led him to presume that the mere act of taking notes, sketches, and photos could render a newly discovered people visible through “scientific” observations.⁶⁰ Despite Torii’s posturing, his biographers remind us that on his first trip to Taiwan he did not know a word of the native language or Chinese and had no translator with him, but nevertheless he still found much to write about. This information is imparted to us by the attached photo caption penned by the curator of the National Museum of Ethnology in 1993. He introduces this photograph: “Here is Dr. Torii Ryūzō among the Ami. At that time, he only understood Japanese; what language do you suppose Torii was using?”⁶¹ The original image and the caption later added



Figure 5. The anthropologist with his notepad: Torii Ryūzō making notes, Taidong Xiuguluan River, east Taiwan, 1896. (Akazawa et al., *The “Other” Visualized*, 43, pl. II-3.)

reflect the confidence in the objectivity of the camera wielded by a trained specialist held by both the latter-day curator/anthropologist as well the twenty-six-year-old Torii.⁶² Similarly, throughout his career, there are dozens of self-portraits of Torii in many native costumes or in a Japanese soldier’s uniform.⁶³ Although his disguises may have been necessitated by having to go undercover to infiltrate some of the more unstable frontier zones, I believe that he, as a savvy young man, already understood the power of photography as a vehicle for self-mythologizing.⁶⁴ In all his portraits, the persona he projects is the heightened image of the rugged anthropologist staking his authority in the field whether riding ahead of the nomads, carried in a sedan chair, or supervising an excavation.

In figure 6 from 1900 Taiwan, Torii demonstrates his familiarity with Victorian-era photographic conventions of depicting “racial types.” Entitled “Taiyal Woman with Tattoo,” his camera lens is focused on the young woman’s face at a three-quarter angle to maximize “primitive” facial features and phenotypical indices such as skull shape, cephalic index, and prognathism. In his photographs of native women, facial and body adornments (e.g., tattoos), elaborate hairdos and headdresses, and embroidered clothing were coded as “primitive/prehistoric indices” symptomatic of indigenous peoples.⁶⁵ In one of Torii’s seminal lectures written in English, he suggested that elaborate facial tattoos on natives of Taiwan and the Ainu (see fig. 1) resembled the incised designs on *haniwa* pottery figurines dating from Neolithic and Yayoi-period Japan more than two thousand years ago. Thus, he believed



Figure 6. Taiyal woman with tattoo, 1900. Only married women were permitted to tattoo their cheeks in this way, connecting ears and mouth. The woman is wearing a Han Chinese dress. (Akazawa et al., *The "Other" Visualized*, 52, pl. II-12.)

that similar customs such as facial tattooing indicated that they had descended from a common stock of racial types related to the proto-Japanese race over three millennia ago.⁶⁶

Torii's penchant for the more "primitive" aspects of Taiwan's natives is also found in his many ethnographic survey reports on the "raw barbarians" (*shengfan*) or the mountain peoples as opposed to

the "cooked" (*shufan*) or plains tribes.⁶⁷ The traditional classification of "raw barbarians" and "cooked barbarians" was derived from a wealth of Qing ethnographic sources based on three centuries' worth of administrative records on the customs and peoples of Taiwan. Torii, who had consulted these Qing records before he left for Taiwan, was already biased against the "cooked" tribes because he believed they had been too sinicized to reveal much "authentic" ethnographic information.⁶⁸ The other factor affecting the "primitive" direction of his ethnographic research was influenced by his desire to cater to the Taiwan Colonial Government Office, which had asked Torii to uncover as much information as possible about the "savage" tribes whom the Japanese colonialists had first encountered in 1874.⁶⁹ Hence, Torii's photographic archives spanning four field years in Taiwan between 1896 and 1900 are mostly filled with the "savage" demeanor, strange customs, clothes, and houses belonging to the designated "mountain peoples," including the Ami, Bunun, Yami, Paiwan, Puma, Puyuma, and Taiyal distributed along the eastern shores and mountain ranges of the island. He also compiled extensive field records consisting of word lists, sketched pottery, textiles patterns, origin myths, and local histories. In general, he attempted to exhaustively describe the tribes he had regarded as related to the prehistoric Malay tribes, whom he postulated had migrated to Taiwan from the south.⁷⁰ Thus, in Torii's photographs, the Taiwanese indigenous peoples are pictured as "prehistoric remnants" whose customs and lifeways would shed light on the study of ancient Japanese culture and society.

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Figure 7. Anthropometry of Koreans (classification of races by type). The upper caption reads: “This is a documentary photograph measuring ten *paekjǒng* men and women from Ch’ungnam Province during the colonial period, circa 1915.” The lower caption reads: “This documentary photograph records the measurements of the upper torso of nine men taken at Hamgyǒng Namdo Tokwon Province in 1911.” (Ch’oe In-jin, ed., *Han’guk sajinsa, 1631–1945* [Seoul: Nunbit, 1999], 389.)



Our second racial typology photograph dates to 1911 (fig. 7), the year when Torii was commissioned by the Colonial Government-General of Korea (*Chōsen sōtokufu*) to conduct the first comprehensive and systematic anthropological/archaeological survey of the Korean peninsula following Korea’s annexation.⁷¹ In these pictures, he arranges his subjects from three different camera angles: front, side, and three-quarters to demonstrate his “scientific” documentation of biological types he had discovered in the northern and southern provinces of the Korean peninsula. According to Torii’s own captions, the top tier represents ten females of the *paekjǒng* (butchers) class. During the Yi dynasty, the Paekjǒng occupied one of the lowest social classes and were severely stigmatized for their “polluted” occupation.⁷²

The earliest Japanese article on Korean anthropometry to my knowledge appeared in the *Tokyo Anthropological Society Journal* in 1904.⁷³ It was a translation by Torii introducing the kinds of racial measurements carried out by two French anthropologists who had traveled to small villages in the northern regions of the Korean peninsula bordering Manchuria. Torii included numerous tables of their physical measurements and cited racial characteristics ranging from skull shape and body parts to hair color and the type and amount of body hair taken from villagers in northern Korea. He agreed with the French scholars who reached the none-too-surprising conclusion that Koreans remarkably were physically similar to the Japanese indicating possible/probable common ancestral origins. Here, Torii was no doubt subscribing to the widely accepted practice of anthropometry, then constituting the most decisive and objective “scientific” criteria for proving racial affinity.⁷⁴ Thus, Torii was the first to champion the application of anthropometry and physiology for racial classification studies in Northeast Asia.⁷⁵ Such anthropometric measurements accompanying racial photography by Torii added an extra dose of “scientific” credibility to the common racial origins theory of the Koreans/Japanese (*Nissen dōsorōn*) first proposed by ancient historians beginning in the late 1880s.⁷⁶ In the following decades, this hypothetical common racial origins argument

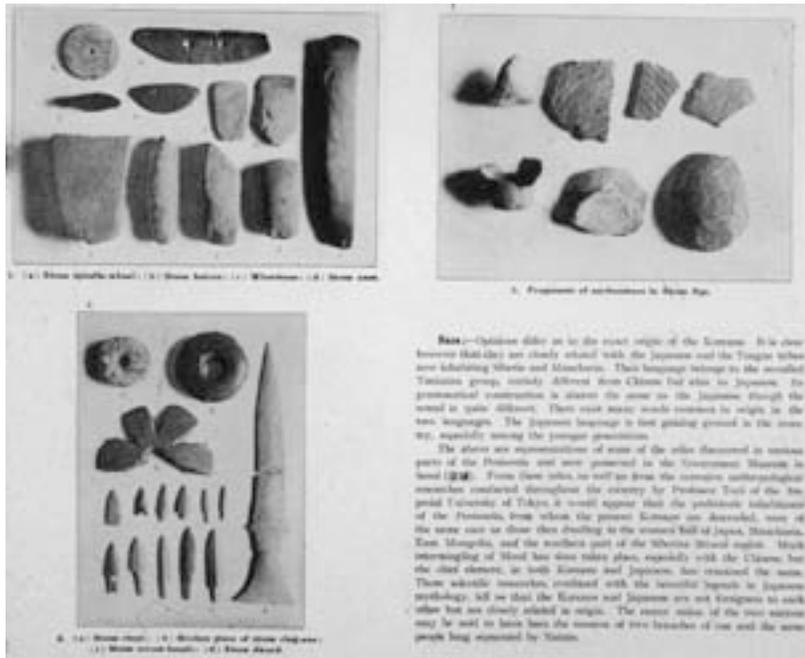


Figure 8. Stone tools on display at the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum in Seoul, circa 1919. (*Pictorial Chosen and Manchuria* [Seoul: Bank of Chōsen, 1919].) Written in English, the pages quote Torii as the premier authority whose racial theories supported the Colonial Government policies of the education and assimilation of Koreans as Japanese citizens (*doka*) (see Torii, “Manshū no sekkijidaiiseki to Chōsen no sekkijidaiiseki to kankei ni tsuite,” in *Nihon kōkōgaku senshū*, ed. Saito Tadashi [Tokyo: Tsukichi Shōkan, 1974]; and “Ishizen ni okeru Chōsen to kino shūi to no kankei,” *Chōsen* 9 [1923]: 1–28). The common ancestral origins hypothesis of the Japanese and Koreans held wide appeal not only for scholars but for the governor general, intellectuals, and journalists alike and ultimately served as the main historical justification for the annexation of the Korean peninsula (see Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins: Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth*, Harvard-Hallym Series on Korea [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000], 35–41). Thus, prehistoric remains excavated in Korea and displayed in the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum were all claimed as part of a common imperial cultural heritage since they had belonged to “proto-Japanese” (*Gen Nijonjin*) who had once resided in ancient Korea before they had migrated to Japan.

driven by “imperialists’ nostalgia” became widely embraced by Japanese administrators, the colonial media, and politicians (fig. 8), who were keen on romanticizing and justifying their 1910 annexation as a predestined “return” to the ancient homeland.⁷⁷

Reimagining Visions of Imperial Ancestral Terrains: Torii’s Staging of Evolutionary Epoch Markers

Torii Ryūzō’s photographic albums are also full of “staged” aboriginal displays reminiscent of museum dioramas resembling the ethnographic tableaux his adviser Tsuboi Shōgorō had designed for domestic and international exhibitions (see fig. 1). He took pains to set up



Figure 9. Staging the “primitive” savage. Paiwan man of Xiafan Village drawing a bow, (Akazawa, *Lost Worlds on a dry Plate*, 57.)

his native subjects conducting subsistence activities such as hunting, weaving, fishing, and pottery making, framed by village scenery, homes, and hamlets. In these staged scenes, his purpose was to rank each tribe according to his preconceived trajectory of man’s development from savagery to barbarism to, in rare cases, civilization. By positioning his aborigines in easily recognizable “local” settings, his photos attempted to accentuate not only their primitive body types but also the “primitive” nature of their adaptive strategies. Torii consciously manipulated his subjects and background scenery to make the aborigines look more like living primitive specimens who were coeval stagewise with the earliest Japanese inhabitants as the likely distant cousins of the surviving prehistoric inhabitants of Southeast Asia.⁷⁸ For example, in figure 9, Torii’s picture (d. 1900) shows a scantily clad male from the Paiwan tribe of Taiwan drawing a bow. The subject’s pose is an archetypical image of the male savage who needed to be controlled, clothed, and civilized.⁷⁹ Here Torii’s vision of the naked male savage echoes the artistry of his contemporary, the American photographer Edward Curtis (1868–1952), renown for his idealized visages of the “American Indian” of the American southwest. Curtis’s prints, publications, and short documentary films which have left a lasting impact on the perception of the American Indian as a disappearing race continue to resonate as enduring icons of the “Wild West” depicted in Hollywood in the past eighty years.⁸⁰ Like Curtis, Torii’s photographs mostly depict young men in active poses



Figure 10. Korean potter at his potter's wheel, circa 1911. This picture was taken in Kangwondo at the village of Munchon during Torii's first survey of Korea. It is titled "The Making of Chōsen Pottery" (pottery was part of household production). (Sasaki, *Tōrii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 71.)

(on the warpath, fishing, headhunting), while native women remain objects of desire and romance typically engaged in passive activities such as day dreaming, waiting, watching, or doing female chores like weaving and washing.⁸¹

In contrast to his earlier images of naked and muscular male savages of Taiwan, in figure 10, the male Korean subject is instead a smiling potter who is seated by his potter's wheel and looking directly at the camera. It is important to note here that for more than four centuries prior to Torii's arrival in Japan, tea connoisseurs in Japan had collected ceramic wares, including Koryo celadon and early Yi-dynasty bowls. As early as the late sixteenth century during the so-called Imjin Wars (1592–97), the infamous warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi had abducted many skilled pottery artisans to take to Japan during the six long years his invading armies were stationed in the Korean peninsula. Therefore, Torii was well aware of the commercial, artistic, historical, and cultural significance of the potter's craft and its aesthetic appeal for colonial-era Japanese collectors and antiquities dealers. For him, the use of the potter's wheel served as a key indicator that Korean society had reached the stage of barbarism (*yaban*), and Koreans were thus more advanced than the savages he had documented earlier in Taiwan. In this picture, he has carefully arranged a variety

of potter's tools needed to complete the manufacturing process so as to showcase to the greatest extent a complete ethnographic assemblage of the potter's workshop. By selecting a peaceful and content-looking craftsman, embodying a highly developed craft skill set, Torii assigned Koreans to a relatively higher social order, well above that of the primitive peoples of Taiwan.

Monumentalizing Ruins of Ancient Civilizations

In northern China, Manchuria, and Korea, the most frequent objects of Torii Ryūzō's camera reflected his other lifelong passion with the decaying ruins of ancient civilizations. Torii's extensive knowledge and close reading of a wide variety of Chinese textual sources from the classics to Qing-era local gazetteers enabled him to cross-date archaeological remains he had uncovered in China and Korea to remains of well-documented ancient empires such as the Han (second century BCE–second century CE), Koguryō (first century–seventh century CE), and Liao dynasties (eleventh–twelfth century CE). His photographs were taken back to his laboratory so he could compare them to prehistoric tombs and *kofun* (ancient burial mounds) (third century–fifth century CE) he had investigated earlier in Japan. Thus, his early twentieth-century records of his archaeological surveys solidified his reputation as Japan's first modern prehistoric archaeologist to excavate outside Japan in Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria.⁸² His favorite objects for photographic studies in the field were prehistoric burials, specifically large-scale dolmens and royal tombs (fig. 11).⁸³ For him, dolmens were the most visible time markers that could serve as key sites plotting the route of a Bronze Age people who had migrated from Manchuria, down the Korean coastal route, eventually settling in Japan.⁸⁴ Torii was the ultimate cultural diffusionist who was heavily influenced by European scholars' theories that primitive peoples were incapable of technological and cultural invention on their own.⁸⁵ Therefore, Torii attributed the rise of ancient civilizations of China, Korea, and Japan to successive waves of superior races who had conquered, absorbed, and assimilated "inferior" races and indigenous peoples along their migration route from Inner Asia to the Japanese islands. He believed that the proto-Japanese race brought with them the traits of civilization such as pottery making, metallurgy, and the building of monumental burials.⁸⁶ Thus, the "rediscovery" of Japan's antiquity occurred in the early twentieth century when archaeological and historical remains and their locations in the Korean peninsula became incorporated into the narrative on Japan's imperial origins.⁸⁷

Ultimately, we can interpret Torii's archaeological photos in the context of photographers of monumental architecture from Egyptian pyramids to Mayan ruins. This is because photographs have the unique ability to freeze them in time and space. As we can observe in figure 11, this 1915 photograph of a dolmen in northern Korea reproduced in the first volume of the Korean antiquities album series erases all signs of time such as villages from the



Figure 11. Photograph of the largest dolmen in Korea, circa 1915. (Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen koseki zūfu* [Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1915], vol. 1.)

landscape, evoking the romantic and mystical nature of the ancient world.⁸⁸ Megaliths and monumental tombs in particular belonging to long-lost and mysterious civilizations have remained one of the enduring legacies of colonial imaginary and commercial photography. To this day, archaeological remains in all their past glory have served as timeless symbols of decay and destruction and the rise and fall of civilizations inspiring generations of photographers, and tourists as well as Hollywood blockbuster entertainment from the *Indiana Jones* to the *Mummy* series.

Conclusion: Fieldwork and Empire—Colonial Racism and Reclaiming “Imagined” Ancestral Terrains

In summary, Torii Ryūzō’s nineteenth-century photographic archives reflect his “ethnocentric” biases as well as a disciplinary focus on “primitive indigenous” peoples. As a skilled photographer and technician, his anthropological photos were manipulated to

impart the kind of information and insights into the origins of Japanese ancient society so as to satisfy his adviser Tsuboi Shōgorō as well as to get published in the prestigious Tokyo Anthropological Society's journal. The ultimate goal of anthropological fieldwork in the early twentieth century for Torii and many others who have followed in his footsteps was the identification and classifications of ethnic and racial markers as well as the documentation of evolutionary periods/stage markers to be recorded in photographs, reports, and illustrations. His enthusiasm for anthropological field research abroad also reflected the widely prevalent attitude of "colonial racism" and anti-Ainu biases practiced among leading Meiji-era intellectuals and politicians of the day. As we can see in figure 1, recently assimilated "aboriginal" Ainu populations residing in Japan's northern islands were portrayed at Japanese expositions as backward and disheveled colonized subjects needing Japanese guidance, reform, and education.⁸⁹ By the early 1900s, exciting reports accompanied by pictures of Torii's latest discoveries from Northeast Asia led to the Japanese anthropologists' rejection of the Ainu as "too primitive" to have been directly ancestral to the Japanese imperial race and civilization.⁹⁰ Torii's images that captured more "advanced" races framed by spectacular ancient ruins of Buddhist monuments reminiscent of Japan's cultural patrimony was instrumental in the construction of a collective imaginary of an idealized and romanticized superior proto-Japanese racial type (*Gen Nihonjin*) that had arrived from Northeast Asia via the Korean peninsula.⁹¹

Furthermore, anthropological fieldwork abroad was motivated by the plight of Japanese archaeologists because of the promulgation of Meiji antiquities and preservation laws banning investigations into imperial tombs.⁹² Beginning in the 1880s, the Meiji state began to impose comprehensive heritage management laws covering temples, shrines, tombs, and historical monuments so as to deter the looting and smuggling of antiquities. Prewar Japanese cultural policies were mainly driven by the Imperial Household Agency's political goal of promoting imperial legitimacy by emphasizing the divine origins, unbroken historical continuity, and superior racial lineage of the Japanese imperial family and civilization.⁹³ These state-imposed restrictions on academic freedom, access to excavated data, and lack of field opportunities in Japan drove young, ambitious Tokyo Imperial University graduates to go to the colonies to hone their survey skills and field methods. Hence, by the turn of the century, many imperial university graduate students from archaeology, ancient history, art history, and architecture departments opted to teach and work in Korea and Manchuria, where they could be free of government intervention and censorship.⁹⁴

For these impressionable young student explorers, as it was with their European counterparts, there was the undeniable pull of the romance of discovery. The field conditions at that time in Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea by all accounts were filled with rapacious warlords, roving bandits, wild animals, and general lawlessness. The logistics needed to get into strategic areas after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars required military permits to frontier regions where one was indebted to the *kempeitai* (military police) for protection and transport vehicles. The fact that the army, colonial bureaucrats, and South

Manchuria Railroad Company funded and facilitated the transportation of guards, guides, and translators for the protection of sites and antiquities assured the success of Tokyo University's salvage mission to retrieve their long-lost prehistoric racial and cultural heritage. Hence, Japanese anthropological fieldwork in Asia was driven by a powerful mixture of nationalism, idealism, romanticism, and the desire to preserve and collect the remnants of the nation's "imagined" ancestral origins and imperial archaeological heritage.

Endnotes

1. Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1–15; Mary L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1–11.
2. Michael Roth, Claire Lyons, and Charles Merriwether, *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute for the History of Humanities, 1999), 1–40; Maria A. Pelizzari, ed., *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture and the Politics of Representation (1850–1900)* (Montreal: Canadian Center for Architecture, 2003), 20–173.
3. M. Christine Boyer. "'La Mission Héliographique': Architectural Photography, Collective Memory and the Patrimony of France, 1851," in *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*, ed. Joan Schwartz and James Ryan (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), 35–54.
4. James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 35–50.
5. Peter H. Hoffenberger, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 148–65.
6. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, *Colonialism and the Object* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 129–204.
7. Stephen K. Sanderson, *Social Evolution: A Critical History* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 3–35.
8. Even as late as the 1960s, prominent anthropologists such as Carleton S. Coon continued to use photographs of "hairy primitive types" to pursue ever more refined typologies of the "Living Races of Man." See Coon, *The Living Races of Man* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965).
9. Elizabeth Edwards, ed., *Anthropology and Photography (1860–1920)* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 4.
10. Christopher Morton, "The Anthropologist as Photographer: Reading the Monograph and Reading the Archive," *Visual Anthropology* 18 (2005): 389–90.
11. Anne Morse, Thomas Rimer, and Kendall H. Brown, *Art of the Japanese Postcard: The Leonard A. Lauder Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 47–67; Perizzalli, *Traces of India*, 196–292.
12. Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography*, 5.
13. Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–94.
14. Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading "National Geographic"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 15–118.
15. Ōguma Eichi, *Tanichi minzoku shinka no kigen* (Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 1995), 19–48.

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16. Kudō Masayuki, *Nihon jinshūron* (Tokyo: Kichikawa Kōbunkan, 1979), 43–79; Mark Hudson, *The Ruins of Japanese Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).
17. See Teshigawara Akira, *Nihon kōkōgaku no ayumi* (Tokyo: Meishō Shuppan, 1995), 33–34; Robert Rosenstone, *Mirror in the Shrine: American Encounters with Meiji Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 54–147.
18. Suzuki Hiroyuki, *Kōkotachi no jūkyūseiki: Bakumatsu ni okeru "mono" no arukeorōji* (Tokyo: Kōbunkan, 2003), 7–44.
19. Teshigawara, *Nihon kōkōgaku no ayumi*, 61–62.
20. Nakajima Minao, "Tsuboi Shōgorō no jinruigaku to kōkōgaku," *Nihon kōkōgakushi kenkyū* 6 (1996): 3–10.
21. For comparison, the earliest ethnological societies were founded in Paris (1839), New York (1842), and London (1843). Although major museums in Europe had already acquired substantial ethnographic collections, in the Americas, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology established in 1866 at Harvard University, became the first museum devoted entirely to archaeological collections. It was founded with the funds provided by George Peabody—a New Englander, self-made man, and cotton merchant with extensive ties to England. The museum building was completed and held its first exhibition in 1877 arranged by its longest-serving director, F. W. Putnam. See Curtis Hinsley, "From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 49–74.
22. Moku-yō Club, "Jinruigaku zasshi saisai no shūi chieki kanren bunken mokuroku -1910 made," *Nihon kōkōgakushi kenkyū* 6 (1996): 3–20; "Chōsen kankei bunken mokuroku (Kōkōgaku, jinruigaku, kenchikushi mokuroku)," *Nihon kōkōgakushi kenkyū* 9 (2001): 4–20.
23. The journal also conducted an active publication exchange program with other fields' learned societies, including geology, anatomy, biology, geography history, and of course foreign anthropological institutions. See Matsumura Ryō, "Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai gojūnenshi," *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai zasshi* 49, no. 11 (1934): 419–70.
24. Tsuboi, "Nihon kōkōgaku kōgi sōron," in *Nihon kōkōgaku senshū*, ed. Saito Tadashi (Tokyo: Tsukichi Shōkan, 1972), 1:15–29.
25. Tsuboi, "Seki jidai sōron yoryō," in *Nihon kōkōgaku senshū*, 1: 44–48.
26. *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai zasshi* 2, no. 9 (1886): 1.
27. Sakazume Hideichi, *Taiheiyō sensō to kōkōgaku* (Tokyo: Kichikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 113–35.
28. A society that initially began with a handful of students ballooned to 210 members by its second year in 1886. By 1908, there were 492 subscribers. At the time of its fiftieth jubilee celebration in 1934, the annual average membership numbers hovered around 350 members. Matsumura, "Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai gojūnenshi," 422.
29. See Tsuboi, "Kōkōgaku to dozoku," in *Nihon kōkōgaku senshū*, 1:36–41.
30. Hyung Il Pai, "Collecting Japan's Antiquity in Colonial Korea: The Tokyo Anthropological Society and the Cultural Comparative Perspective," in *Moving Objects: Time, Space, and Context*, 26th International Symposium on the Preservation of Cultural Property Series (Tokyo: National Research Institute of Cultural Properties Publication, 2004), 57–72.
31. Ōguma, *Tanichi minzoku shinka no kigen*, 19–135.
32. Paul D. Barclay, "An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan," *Japanese Studies* 21, no. 2 (2001): 117–36; David Howell, "Making 'Useful Citizens' of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 1 (2004): 5–30.
33. In Taiwan, the documentation of the customs of indigenous populations in fact began much earlier with the establishment of the Bureau of Savage Affairs (*banchi jimukyoku*) in 1871, with the explicit purpose of

- advancing the annexation of aboriginal Formosa. Torii's mission, however, is considered the earliest modern anthropological survey. Robert Eskildsen, "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan," *American Historical Review* 107, no. 2 (2002): 397.
34. The necessity of arranging and displaying ethnographic peoples, crafts, and antiquities at museums and world fairs, as well as explaining products for the commissioners, viewers, and customers, gave birth to inventorying and cataloging systems for the classifications and ordering of material culture at European museums. Hoffenberger, *An Empire on Display*, 148–65.
35. Such an official letter is now usually referred to as a *shōmeisho*, a letter identifying oneself as the chief investigator. Once signed, Torii left Tokyo a week later for the frontier on July 13. *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai zasshi* 10, no. 112 (1895): 417–18.
36. The Tokyo Anthropological Society dictated that Torii's priority should be devoted to fact-gathering investigations. *Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai zasshi* 10, no. 112.
37. Pai, "Japanese Anthropology and the Discovery of 'Prehistoric Korea,'" *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 1 (1999): 365–74.
38. Torii literally caught the eye of Tsuboi, who first noticed Torii's precocious talent when at the age of sixteen in 1886 he submitted an article to the *Tokyo Anthropological Society Journal*. Sasaki Takamei, ed., *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia* (Osaka: Kokuritsu Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1993), 8.
39. Along with Torii, these two are regarded as the three most influential archaeologists whose early publications reflect their application of Tsuboi's comparative ethnological approach to prehistoric remains such as the classification of burial mounds, stone tools, bronzes weapons, and pottery design. See Ōno Entarō, *Senshi kōko zūfu* (Tokyo: Takayama, 1904), 116–21.
40. Pai, "Collecting Japan's Antiquity in Colonial Korea," 87–107.
41. Akazawa writes that these earliest photos are invaluable for they represent the only source of much detailed information about particular groups of people, their culture, and the conditions to which they adapted—information that might otherwise be lost. *Kanbanni kizamareta sekai: Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia / Lost Worlds on a Dry Plate: Torii Ryūzō's "Asia"* [hereinafter *Lost Worlds on a Dry Plate*], ed. Akazawa Takeru (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Shiryōkan, 1991), 3.
42. The years indicate his first field trips to these regions. Torii's chronology cited in this work here rely on the table compiled by the National Museum of Ethnology. See Sasaki, *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 16–17.
43. The Inner Asian frontier was also the destination for ethnographic explorations by F. W. R. Wulsin (1891–1961). As a Harvard-trained man of science and a budding explorer, his expedition to Inner Asia was sponsored by the National Geographic Society in 1923. His photographic archives preserved at the Harvard University Peabody Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology and the National Geographic Archives were cataloged and displayed at an exhibition entitled "China's Inner Asian Frontier" (1980). It was organized by the Harvard Peabody Museum and traveled to the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, and the Pacific Art Museum, Pasadena (1981). See *China's Inner Asian Frontier: Photographs of the Wulsin Expedition to Northwest China in 1923; From the Archives of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, and the National Geographic Society*, ed. M. E. Alonso (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum; distributed by Harvard University Press, 1979). Joseph Fletcher, then professor of Inner Asian history at Harvard, penned the introductory chapter to this catalog, "A Brief History of the Chinese Northwestern Frontier."
44. Torii, "Manshū no sekkijidaiiseki to Chōsen no sekkijidaiiseki to kankei ni tsuite," in *Nihon kōkōgaku senshū*, ed. Saito Tadashi (Tokyo: Tsukichi Shōkan, 1974), 7:2–9.
45. Torii, *Torii Ryūzō zenshū* (Tokyo: Asahi Shuppan, 1976), 12 vols.
46. The National Museum of Ethnology was founded in 1974 on the former site of the 1970 Senri Expo Park in Osaka. Its doors were opened to the general public in 1977. According to Yoshida Kenji, the donations from Tokyo University made up a significant portion of its core collections. The geographic distribution of the

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museums' items enumerated by Yoshida demonstrates the geographic reach of Japan's ethnographic surveys from northern Asia to the islands of the South Pacific. Here I have listed the museum's most prominent regional collections based on Yoshida's table of materials listed in descending order: Taiwan General (1223), Micronesia (826), Hokkaido Ainu (501), Ryūkyū (334), Korea (295), China (269), and so on. See Yoshida, "'Tōhaku' and 'Minpaku' within the History of Modern Japanese Civilization: Museum Collections in Modern Japan," in *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World: Collection and Representation*, ed. Tadao Umesao, Augus Lockeyer, and Kenji Yoshida, Senri Ethnological Series, no. 16 (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2001), 85–90, table 2.

47. The National Museum of Ethnology–edited volume attributed a total of 372 items as originating with Torii's original specimen collections (*Torii Ryūzō shū hyobon*) out of the 6,181 objects that were donated by the Tokyo Anthropological Society laboratory. Their numbers by geographic areas in descending order are as follows: Taiwan (94), Amur (69), Kuriles (68), Sakhalin (58), northeast China and Mongolia (57), southwest China (25), and the Korean peninsula (1). There is only one single item for Korea, since his collections were left behind at the Governor General Museum of Chōsen established in 1915. See Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, ed., *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia* (Tokushima: Matsushita, 1993), 71–111.

48. *Prehistoric Mongoloid Dispersals*, ed. Akazawa Takeru and Emöke J. E. Szathmáry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

49. See Akazawa Takeru, Ochiai Kazuyasu, and Seki Yūji, eds., *Iminzoku e no manazashi: Koshashin ni kizamareta mongoroido / The "Other" Visualized: Depictions of the Mongoloid Peoples* [hereinafter *The "Other" Visualized*] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992), xiii.

50. Akazawa et al., *The "Other" Visualized*, xiv.

51. Akazawa et al., *The "Other" Visualized*, xiii–iv. On pp. 10–11, the coeditors also emphasize that these Mongoloids were the first humans to successfully adapt to the maritime environment as well as the Arctic zone and went on to the peopling of continental Asia, the Japanese archipelago, and eventually the Americas.

52. Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth*, Harvard-Hallym Series on Korea (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 240.

53. Pai, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in the Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 28–38; "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies," *Journal of Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 77–81; and "Shinhwa-sok kot'o pokwōnūl wihan yujōk t'amsa / Re-claiming the Ruins of Imagined Imperial Ancestral Terrains: Meiji Archaeology and Art Historical Surveys in the Korean Peninsula (1900–1916)" [hereinafter "Re-claiming the Ruins of Imagined Imperial Ancestral Terrains"], in *Ilbonūi palmyōng kwa kundae*, ed. Yoon Sang-in and Park Kyu-ta'e (Seoul: Yeesan, 2006), 253–75.

54. Kungnip Chungang Pangmulkwon, *Kwangbok ijōn Pangmulkwon charyo* (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulkwon, 1997), preface.

55. Tokushima Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 118.

56. Edwards, "Mixed Box: The Cultural Biography of a Box of 'Ethnographic' Photographs," in *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 47–61.

57. Akazawa et al., *The "Other" Visualized*, 9.

58. I realize there are other critical matters such as technical aspects of reprinting glass plates, equipment available, chemicals used, and aesthetic/artistic conventions, as well as the preservation state of individual plates, which would also have affected which prints were targeted for preservation and exhibition by conservators and museum staff. However, I have not chosen to address these issues here, since they are beyond the scope of this paper.

59. Akazawa, *Lost Worlds on a Dry Plate*, 32–33.

60. Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 174.
61. Sasaki, *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 51.
62. Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 174.
63. According to his biographers, Torii had to sometimes disguise himself as a local guide, Mandarin official, or military personnel for his own safety in hostile areas (Taiwan and southwest China). Sasaki, *Torii Ryūzō no mita Ajia*, 57.
64. Morton, "The Anthropologist as Photographer," 389–405.
65. For a detailed analysis of how colonial racism and postwar racial politics in Taiwan have influenced anthropological photography depicting the costumes of Taiwan's indigenous populations, see Henrietta Harrison, "Clothing and Power on the Periphery of Empire: The Costumes of the Indigenous People of Taiwan," *Positions* 11, no. 2 (2003): 331–60.
66. Torii, *Ancient Japan in the Light of Anthropology* (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, 1937).
67. Barclay, "An Historian among the Anthropologists," 127–34.
68. A recent study by Emma Teng describes the relationship between Qing imperialism and the history of travel illustrations and artists' drawings of Taiwan's barbarians recorded in gazetteers penned by Qing officials before the 1895 annexation of Taiwan. See Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1638–1895* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).
69. Robert Eskildsen suggests that the early Meiji-era media and commercial press depicted the Taiwan savages as more fearsome and barbaric than they were in actuality. The colonial savage bureau expedition forces wished to justify their invasions as a part of the broader Meiji-era mission to bring civilization and enlightenment to the savages (*bunmei kaika*). The Japanese government rationale for intervening in Taiwan rested on the much-practiced colonialist logic that for any government—Chinese, Japanese, or Western—to claim sovereignty over eastern Taiwan, that government must bring the indigenous peoples out of the dark ages and into the twentieth century. Eskildsen, "Of Civilization and Savages," 398.
70. Barclay, "An Historian among the Anthropologists," 129.
71. Pai, "Re-claiming the Ruins of Imagined Imperial Ancestral Terrains," 257.
72. In the nineteenth century, even in European cities, signs of poverty, unkempt appearance, lack of education, and drunken behavior in public among street people, gypsies, and criminals were seen as signs of racial degeneration. In many cases, such peoples were sometimes classified as belonging to a separate inferior racial type. See Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 167–80.
73. Torii, "Chōsenjin no taishitsu," *Tokyo Jinruigaku zasshi* 20, no. 25 (1904): 142–48.
74. In the late nineteenth century, racial typologies relied on physical variations such as height and breadth of skull shapes; the length, thickness, color, and type of body hair; and measurements of facial features (eyelids, nose, and teeth) and body parts such as hands and limbs. See Stephen J. Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981).
75. Torii's "scientific" measurements pioneered the popularity of anthropometry in Korea leading to the establishment of the field of racial biology in colonial Korea headed by professors at Keijō Imperial University, the predecessor of Seoul National University founded in 1926. See Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins*, 40.
76. Kita Sadakichi, "Nissen ryōminzoku tōgenron," *Chōsen* 6 (1921): 3–69.
77. Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins*, 35–41.
78. Yokoyama Hiroko, "East Asia," in *Lost Worlds on a Dry Plate*, 31–39.
79. These so-called ethnographic photographs at first imitated the stylistic conventions of oil paintings in their idealized and romanticized renderings of the "disappearing savage." In this genre, the "savage" was usually placed amid a wild landscape or with a backdrop of decaying ruins of ancient civilizations.
80. Peter Jackson, "Constructions of Culture, Representations of Race: Edward Curtis's Way of Seeing," in *Inventing Places*, ed. Kay Anderson and Fay Gale (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1992), 89–106.

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81. Ch'oe In-jin, ed., *Han'guk sajinsa, 1631–1945* (Seoul: Nunbit, 1999).
82. Torii, “Manshū no sekkijidaiiseki to Chōsen no sekkijidaiiseki to kankei ni tsuite.”
83. Torii was a regular contributor to a popular archaeological journal named *Dolmen*, or *Dōrumen*. In fact, I was surprised to find out when I visited his museum in Tokushima in February 2004 that he and his wife's remains were interred under an impressive facsimile of a large “Korean-style” tabletop-style dolmen burial site. Though I have not found out whose idea it was to bury him in a dolmen, in my opinion his final resting place is a befitting tribute to a field scholar who spent his most productive years in the Korean peninsula where he was known for his dolmen discoveries. Torii, “Dōrumen ni tsuite,” *Dōrumen* 1 (1922): 14–19.
84. Torii, “Ishiizen ni okeru Chōsen to kino shūi to no kankei,” *Chōsen* 9 (1923): 1–28.
85. Bruce Trigger, “Alternative Archaeologists: Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist,” *Man* 19, no. 3 (1984): 355–70.
86. Torii's racial invasions theories were popularized by Egami Namio, whose “horse-riders theory” has continued to capture the collective imagination of postwar Japanese still enamored by mythical narratives of imperial conquests. See Egami, “The Formation of the People and the Origin of the State in Japan,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 23 (1964): 35–70.
87. The continuing fascination with the “archaeological record” derives from the general understanding that material objects and ruins constituted the remnants of past nations and ethnic groups to be identified and plotted across the landscape as “distinctly demarcated archaeological cultures.” See Abu El-Haj, *Nadia Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3.
88. Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Chōsen koseki zūfu* (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1915), vol. 1.
89. The Ainu' primitive physical appearance, subsistence lifestyle of hunting and fishing, and general state of destitution were all seen as indicators of their “prehistoricity.” The Ainu as remnants of a bygone “Stone Age” population also provided Meiji administrators and politicians with valid historical justifications for the subjugation of the peoples of Hokkaido with the economic goal of exploiting their marine resources and fisheries. Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens’ of Ainu Subjects”; Hudson, *The Ruins of Japanese Identity*, 37–38.
90. Ōguma, *Tanichi minzoku shinka no kigen*, 76.
91. Torii, *Jinruigaku jōyori mitaru waga jōdai no bunka* (Tokyo: Sōbunkan, 1925), 3–78.
92. Walter Edwards, “Monuments to an Unbroken Line: The Imperial Tombs and the Emergence of Modern Japanese Nationalism,” in *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context* (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2003), 11–30.
93. By 1900, a hierarchical chain of command (Imperial Household, Interior Ministry, and Imperial Museums) dictated all aspects of patrimony management, from police reports and excavation permits to access to museum collections, publications, and funding for tourists' reconstruction projects. Takagi Hirōshi, *Kindai tennosei no bunkashiteki kenkyū*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Kōko Shuppan, 2000), 264–344.
94. Pai, “Re-claiming the Ruins of Imagined Imperial Ancestral Terrains,” 257–61. As for Torii, he writes in his autobiography that he was always eager to board the next boat leaving for the frontier, beginning with his first trip to Manchuria in 1895, since he believed that the material evidence for Japan's origins was not to be found in Japan, for the “civilized” cultural assemblage had all come from abroad. Torii, *Ancient Japan in the Light of Anthropology*, 19; Torii, *Aru rōgakutō no shūki* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1953), 2–3.