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## Love and Science: An Anthropological Couple on the Frontiers of Imperial Japan

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### Citation

Hopman, T. (2023). *Love and Science: An Anthropological Couple on the Frontiers of Imperial Japan*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3633658>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# Love and Science: An Anthropological Couple on the Frontiers of Imperial Japan

Thesis MA Colonial and Global History

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Word count: 17906

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鳥居龍藏

Figure 1. Torii Ryūzō, undated, source: Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō: The Anthropologist Who Travelled Throughout Asia* (torii Ryūzō den: ajia wo sōha shita jinruigakusha) (Tokyo 1995)



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# Introduction

In recent years the study of scientific collaboration has come to play a prominent role in the history of science. In their introduction to *For Better or For Worse*, an edited volume on collaboration within couples in the sciences, the editors discuss the development of the history of science: ‘After World War II, concerns to humanize the natural sciences and situate them within systems of moral accountability led to new categories of analysis emphasizing the social embeddedness of knowledge while destabilizing individual genius, identifying it as a cultural construct at best and, perhaps, horror story at worst. Science could then be examined in terms of its “paradigms,” “social constructions,” “research schools,” “networks,” “discourses,” and so forth, all units of analysis that foreground science’s collaborative as opposed to individualistic character.’<sup>1</sup> They thus highlight a move away from science being seen as the product of great individual scientists and towards science being identified as a collaborative effort in which the individual was but one of greater whole. Collaboration featured strongly in the development of the sciences as researchers made avid use of commentary and new points of view which were provided by colleagues and family. This could entail both direct assistance in each other's research through critical reflection on findings and publication as well as indirect assistance through for example editing texts and creating a domestic or academic setting which was conducive to the practice of science.<sup>2</sup>

A subject which has become more prominent within the history of scientific collaboration from the late 1990s is the study of collaborative couples. Throughout history there were many scientists who were either in a relationship with another scientist or actively involved their non-scientist significant other to a greater or lesser extent in their work. Close collaboration could lead both partners to improve their individual research and could also lead them to produce mutual research that could outshine their own individual contributions. Doing science as a couple is one of the closest forms of collaboration because it leads to both the domestic as well as the professional sphere becoming involved in the scientific process. While one or both partners may have an office at home or do their research in a professional space with colleagues, by involving one’s significant other one can further improve one’s research by, for example, setting a comfortable mood, giving mutual commentary from different points of view or editing and illustrating each other’s texts. While doing fieldwork,

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<sup>1</sup> Donald L Opitz, Annette Lykknes and Brigitte Van Tiggelen, ‘Introduction’ in Donald L Opitz, Annette Lykknes and Brigitte Van Tiggelen(ed.) *For Better or For Worse: Collaborative Couples in the Science* (Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht and London 2012) 2

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem 2-4

help from one's significant other could be crucial, as there was a lot of work for a small number of people while being far away from the comforts of home. These intense collaborations between partners did not always work perfectly, as it could lead to a lot of stress and tension between them both. However this mutual help generally had a great effect on the scientific production of both parties.<sup>3</sup>

The subject of couples within the sciences is also being researched as part of an attempt to bring women back into the history of science, which is often centered around the male scientist. By highlighting the collaborative work of scientific couples, women can be brought back into this history, as they were, in many cases, either directly or indirectly involved in research of their partner. Research on scientific couples can thus give a greater ability to track the development of involvement of women in science.<sup>4</sup>

An especially famous example of scientific collaboration between couples are Marie (1867-1934) and Pierre Curie (1859-1906), who are well known for their mutual work on radioactivity but also for their individual research. They supported each other by specializing in different fields of study, Marie focusing on chemistry and Pierre on physics, and could thus add to each other's work by providing different perspectives. Marie was also more ambitious than her husband and pushed him to keep up his research and to defend their mutual findings within contemporary academic debates.<sup>5</sup> Another, less successful, example of scientific collaboration between couples is Albert Einstein and Mileva Maric. Einstein and Maric met at university in Switzerland. While much still remains unclear how exactly they worked together, there are several signs that she played a role in his early work. She reflected on many of his ideas and would support him by doing most of the household activities, which Einstein couldn't do as he was both working and constantly publishing. However their collaboration would almost entirely disappear as her husband's career took off. Thus she is often only mentioned as a footnote within the larger life of Einstein.<sup>6</sup>

One of the first works on scientific collaboration within couples is the bundle *Creative Couples in the Sciences* which was published in 1996 and edited by Helena Pycior, Nancy Slack and Pnina Abir-Am. This volume considered different forms of collaboration between heterosexual married couples. Through a series of case studies the authors sought to define categories of collaboration, to ascertain how successful these relationships were from a point

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<sup>3</sup> Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am, 'Introduction' in Pycior, Helena M., Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am (ed.) *Creative Couples in the Sciences* (New Brunswick, NJ 1996) 4-5

<sup>4</sup> Ibidem 5-7

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem 11

<sup>6</sup> John Stachel, 'Albert Einstein and Mileva Maric: A Collaboration That Failed to Develop' in *Creative Couples* 212-217



of view of scientific production as well as from the point of view of gender equality. Some themes they paid special attention to are the relative social and academic position that both partners held at the start of their relationship, the overlap between their fields of study, how their careers changed throughout their relationship, how the partners helped one another (e.g. directly through critical commentary or indirectly through for example drawing or editing), the combination of their personalities and the presence of children and division of domestic duties. From this they presented three main categories: firstly, (successful) scientific couples with equal collaboration between both partners (e.g. the Curies), secondly, (semi-successful) teacher-student relationships in which the wife assists in her husband's work and, thirdly, collaborations that had potential but failed due to stress or disagreements (like Einstein and Maric). Success and failure are measured through comparing mutual involvement in one another's work, the degree to which mutual work is given shared authorship, how much both partners published individually and the amount of academic and public acclaim that both partners managed to acquire. In most cases special attention is given to the lives of the women as they have tended to disappear in the shadows of their husbands, excluding a few exceptions like Marie Curie.<sup>7</sup>

Vera John-Steiner's *Creative Collaboration* (2000) is oriented on collaboration as a whole. John-Steiner discusses the social and psychological effects of collaboration within scientific and artistic couples in her first chapter. In this chapter she presents a case study of several couples and siblings who were active around and after WWII and worked together on differing projects in different capacities. She interviewed several of them and highlighted some aspects of how the couples worked together in the sciences. One of the main points that she argues for is a certain sense of mental connectedness between partners who work together on science or philosophy. She argues that both partners from couples which she had studied could easily understand each other's thoughts due to constant mutual critique. At the same time, like in *Creative Couples*, she highlights the changeability of collaboration over the length of a relationship.<sup>8</sup>

In *For Better or For Worse* (2012), a volume of essays edited by Donald Opitz, Annette Lykknes and Brigitte Van Tiggelen, the editors argue that *Creative Couples in the Sciences* did not go far enough. Rather than bringing women back in the picture, the editors of this volume seek to study scientific couples from the perspective of gender while at the same time historicizing their relationships. They argue that the criteria for success or failure

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<sup>7</sup> Helena M. Pycior, Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am, 'Introduction' in *Creative Couples* 1-39

<sup>8</sup> Vera John-Steiner, *Creative Collaboration* (Oxford et al. 2000) 10-37

that the editors and authors of *Creative Couples* use to define different relationships are anachronistic. They argue that the equality of scientific collaboration, which the authors of *Creative Couples* used as their guiding principle, is a modern projection upon an older world in which different social and religious contexts, and the desires of both partners led to different unique outcomes. Thus the editors argue that we should rather study the scientific collaboration between partners through placing them within their contemporary social, historical and cultural context. They also seek to widen their field of study by giving more attention to less well known couples from a wider number of scientific fields, while also including non-heterosexual and non-married couples. However they still limit themselves to Western countries only.<sup>9</sup>

In this thesis I will add to this discussion about collaboration within scientific couples by presenting a case study of a non-Western anthropological couple from Japan. Most earlier works on scientific couples are limited to Western couples and fail to consider the contexts of non-Western countries. Thus I will expand the geographical and cultural scope of the study of collaboration to Asia. In combination with this I will also shine a light on the role of women in scientific fieldwork in colonial and imperial contexts, which has up until now received relatively little attention. Previous authors mainly limited themselves to couples who worked together in offices, at home or in the field in their home countries.

Sara Albuquerque and Luciana Martins in their article ‘Place, Gender and the Making of Natural History: Hannah im Turn in British Guiana’ (2018) give an example of a British wife who participated in her husband’s research in natural history and anthropology by doing illustrations, making sculptures and taking care of him. They argue that the colonial setting provided an excellent space for women to do research or to assist in that of their partners, due to social pressure on women being less strict in the colonies than in the metropole. They also argue that we should closely study the persons who directly and indirectly contributed to the work of the ‘great men of science’ in order to get a proper understanding of the process of scientific research.<sup>10</sup>

Gender in Meiji Japan was strongly centered around the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* (good wife, wise mother). According to Shizuko Koyama, this entailed that women, after having finished their education, were expected to marry, to have children and to educate them into proper citizens of the nation state. They were expected to take care of the household

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<sup>9</sup> Donald L Opitz, Annette Lykknes and Brigitte Van Tiggelen, ‘Introduction’ in *For Better or For Worse* 1-18

<sup>10</sup> Sara Albuquerque and Luciana Martins, ‘Place, gender and the making of natural history: Hannah im Thurn in British Guiana, 1895-1897’ in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4 (2018) 1-14

while refraining from participating in the labor market as much as possible. At the same time the idea of wise mothers allowed women a significant amount of freedom to receive education. Already in the Edo-period (1602-1867) primary and secondary education institutions for women were founded in order to instruct daughters from not just the upper class but also Japan's burgeoning middle class of merchants and bureaucrats. At the same time the extent of the education was limited by what the parents assumed to be sufficient for their daughter to be a good wife and a wise mother. Only a small percentage of all the women would go on to participate in the labor market as for example educators. She also argues that the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* bears similarities to many Western ideals of womanhood which started to appear from the seventeenth century onwards. In these Western ideals the wife was expected to stay home and raise the children. She also states that there was still a strong amount of difference in the degree to how strongly these ideals were followed through with. In Imperial Japan the concept of *ryōsai kenbo* was very influential in Japanese society and it would leave its traces even up to the current day.<sup>11</sup>

Japanese anthropology is an especially interesting case study for understanding how collaboration worked in non-Western academic contexts as the discipline developed with a very different set of goals from Western anthropology. Western anthropology, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, mostly studied the colonial 'other' in order to understand the difference between the 'self' and the 'other' and between the 'others'. However, according to Oguma Eiji, an author who has written about Japanese identity, anthropologists in Imperial Japan (1867-1945) more often studied the 'other' in order to understand the 'self'. This different orientation derived from a theory of the origin of the Japanese people, which stated that the Japanese people descended from groups of migrants from all throughout Asia who populated the Japanese archipelago and mixed with one another in order to become a new ethnic group.<sup>12</sup>

According to David Askew, a researcher on the intellectual history of Japanese national identity, the theory was first raised to prominence by Western researchers in Japan, who based themselves on ancient Japanese source material and on archaeological findings. The first Japanese anthropologists, who studied under these Western researchers, sought to appropriate this theory in order to bring the study of the Japanese people back into the hands of native scholars. The anthropologists saw this theory as a way for them to actively play a

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<sup>11</sup> Koyama Shizuko, *Ryōsai Kenbo: The Educational Ideal of 'Good Wife, Wise Mother' in Modern Japan*, Stephen Filler (trans.), (Leiden and Boston 2013) 1-9

<sup>12</sup> Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*, David Askew (trans.), (Melbourne 2002) 81-86

role in popular political and cultural debates which had been raging in late nineteenth century Japan about the definition of the Japanese national identity. Thus a focus was placed on researching the origin of the Japanese people by studying ancient texts and archaeological material. However, with the start of imperial expansion from the 1870s onwards, anthropologists widened their geographical area of research to the near abroad. Here they studied the language, culture, 'racial' characteristics and archaeological sites of indigenous peoples. Examples of indigenous peoples studied by anthropologists include the Ainu, the Okinawans, the Austronesians of Taiwan and the Koreans. How the Japanese people were exactly related to the different peoples of Asia would remain a hotly debated issue within anthropology and inclusion and exclusion of certain peoples was often a very political choice.<sup>13</sup>

The subject of this case study will be an anthropological couple made up of the wife Torii Kimiko (1881-1959) and the husband Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953) who were active throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> Torii Ryūzō was a Japanese anthropologist who researched indigenous groups in the colonies of the Japanese empire as well as in neighboring countries. He was relatively well known by his contemporaries as he often published in Japanese newspapers and magazines about his findings while also introducing the Japanese general audience to the field of anthropology. Ryūzō himself was not trained as an anthropologist as there was no official anthropological program at Japanese universities during his studies. However, he was able to study at university due to the support of his mentor Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913). Tsuboi was one of the founders of the discipline of anthropology in Japan and worked at the faculty of biology, running a course on anthropology there.<sup>15</sup>

Torii Ryūzō and Kimiko married in 1902 while he was on a break from his fieldwork. According to an autobiographical article by Kimiko from the 1950s she was asked by a mutual friend to consider an engagement to Ryūzō and in the end accepted it as she saw a lot of talent in him. This marriage was facilitated by Tsuboi as he wanted to help his student to continue his career. Torii Kimiko had been studying music at a conservatory before and during her engagement with Ryūzō, but was forced to abandon her education due to her

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<sup>13</sup> David Askew, 'Debating the "Japanese" Race in Meiji Japan: Towards a History of Early Japanese Anthropology' in Yamashita Shinji, J.S. Eades and Joseph Bosco (ed.) *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia* (New York 2004) 67-70

<sup>14</sup> In Japanese surnames are placed before first names. The first names are Kimiko and Ryūzō whereas their surname is Torii.

<sup>15</sup> David Askew, 'Empire and the Anthropologist: Torii Ryūzō and Early Japanese Anthropology' in *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology*, 4 (2003) 141-147

marriage.<sup>16</sup> After her marriage she quickly got interested in her husband's field of research and would join him for a multiple year stay in Mongolia between 1906 and 1908. Here she carried out ethnological research (with a major focus on music) while also helping in her husband's work on archaeology and physical anthropology. The work of this couple is very special considering that she traveled with her husband on expeditions to remote areas in order to do research in the field. In addition to this they also published two works about Mongolia together, while also publishing individually about different subjects.

In this thesis the main question will be: 'How can we define Torii Kimiko and Torii Ryūzō as an anthropological couple?' I will be researching this question by discussing the lives of both authors throughout the chapters of this thesis. The first chapter will center around the period leading up to their stay in Mongolia between 1906-1908. I will also give a general overview of the contemporary position of women in Japanese society and education. After this I will focus on their research journey through Mongolia. The final chapter will be creating a wide overview of their lives after their first expedition in Mongolia. In this period both Kimiko and Ryūzō would travel several more times to Mongolia and Manchuria and would even involve many of their children in the research project, thus altering their collaboration. Especially from the late 1920s onwards the couple would mainly limit their collaborative research to this area. This order was chosen as it divides the life of Ryūzō and Kimiko in several phases: A first phase with little or no collaboration, a second phase of three years with a significant amount of collaboration in Mongolia and a third phase in which the couple would still work together on a semi regular basis, however now in further collaboration with their children. A general timeline of all the research expeditions of the family from 1906 onwards is provided at the final pages of the thesis.

I will analyze how the two partners worked together by discussing several themes. I will discuss the research interests of both partners, their individual skills, the role that gender played in their collaboration and how they worked together during their field research. I will also be discussing how both partners referred to one another in their works in order to get an understanding of how they both viewed their collaboration and how they presented this collaboration to the outside world.

I will be using two main sources discussing their first journey through Mongolia. These are *A Journey Through Mongolia* (mōko ryokō (1912)), a diary written by Ryūzō from his notes. Another is the published diary of Kimiko about the journey called *Mongolia Seen*

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<sup>16</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through History With my Husband' (otto to rekishi wo ayumu) in *bungeishunjū* (7 1952) 192-194

*From an Ethnological Perspective* (dozokugakujō yori mitaru mōko (1927)). The main advantage of these sources is that they are written from the field notes of authors. This allows the source to reproduce an image of the events of the expedition. However the distance between publication and the actual journey could lead the author to fill in the blanks within their notes with more unreliable information. The published nature of the works allows the author to edit parts of the story to better suit their narrative, rather than respecting what actually happened. There is also the problem that the book is written for an audience with certain expectations. Ryūzō, for example, stated in the introduction of his work that this book is intended for enjoyers of travel writing. This can lead to the writer changing elements to fit with the expectations. Kimiko also stated in her introduction that she has written this book for a general adventure audience, but the subject matter of her book, ethnology, limits the size of the audience. It seems to be mainly targeted towards an audience of researchers or lay readers who are interested in ethnology.<sup>17</sup>

They also published an article and two books together. In 1914 they published an article in French about the results of their expedition in Mongolia called ‘Archaeological and Ethnological Studies: Early Populations of Eastern Mongolia’ (‘Études Archéologiques et Ethnologiques: Populations Primitives de la Mongolie Orientale’). This mainly goes into their archaeological work during the trip. The books that they wrote together are *From Siberia to Manchuria and Mongolia* (shiberia kara manmō e (1930)), which they wrote together with their daughter, and *Exploring Manchuria and Mongolia Again* (futatabi manmō o saguru (1932)). The problem of these works is that it is harder to find out which part of the book was written by one or the other partner.<sup>18</sup>

I will also be using multiple autobiographical works by both Torii Kimiko and Torii Ryūzō from the early 1950s. In this period both partners started to reflect on their life and career. Ryūzō published a book titled *Notes of an Old Student* (aru rogakuto no shuki (1953)) while Kimiko published three articles titled ‘Walking Through History With my Husband’ (otto to tomo ni rekishi wo ayumu 1952), ‘Our First Field Investigation in Mongolia’ (hajimete no mōko tōsa (1952)) and ‘Reminiscences of Yenching University’ (enkyō daigaku no omoide (1952)). These articles were published in the women’s magazine *The Woman’s*

<sup>17</sup> Torii Ryūzō, *A Journey Through Mongolia* (mokō ryokō) in *The Complete Works of Torii Ryūzō* (torii Ryūzō zenshū), vol. 9 (Tokyo 1975 [1911]) 1-284; Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia from an Ethnological Perspective* (dozokugakujō yori mitaru mōko) (Tokyo 1927)

<sup>18</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, ‘Archaeological and Ethnological Studies: Early Populations of Eastern Mongolia’ (Études Archéologiques et Ethnologiques: Populations Primitives de la Mongolie Orientale) in *Journal of the College of Science Tokyo Imperial University*, 24 (1914) 1-141; Torii Ryūzō, Torii Kimiko and Torii Sachiko, *From Siberia to Mongolia* (shiberia kara manmō e) (Osaka 1930); Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, *Exploring Manchuria and Mongolia Again* (manmō o futatabi saguru) (Tokyo 1932)

*Companion* (fujin no tomo) and the literary magazine *bungeishunjū*.<sup>19</sup> The fact that they cover a wide period within the lives of the couple is an advantage. This allows me to follow large parts of the lives of the pair and all the change and development that go along with it. At the same time the problem of these sources is that they are written in the last years of the lives of both partners. This could lead authors to remember things wrongly or to only remember certain parts of their lives. It also could also lead them to write from a teleological view, as the works are a reflection.

The audience for which the works were written may also expect a romantic narrative of travel and adventuring due to their many journeys throughout Asia. There is also the problem that the authors are writing these biographic works in a very different Japan than the one in which they lived and worked. With the end of World War II Japan lost all of its colonial empire and was forced to disarm itself almost entirely. The Torii's had carried out large parts of their anthropological research within or on the edges of the Japanese colonial empire. They also sometimes worked with Japanese colonial forces or native groups that shared interests with the Japanese empire. This involvement in Japan's imperial project could possibly lead the authors to try to hide some of the more problematic parts of their work.

I will be using a critical reading of the sources mentioned here. Due to the amount of source material that is available being overwhelming, the source material, I have mainly focussed on reading the source from a distance. I actively searched for paragraphs or chapters that seemed relative to this thesis, while quickly skimming through other parts. None of these works have ever been translated to English. All English quotes from these works used in this thesis will be translations provided by myself.

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<sup>19</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Our First Exploration of Mongolia' (saisho no mōko tōsa) in *fujin no tomo* vol.46 (1952) 40-46; Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through History With My Husband' (otto to tomo ni rekishi wo ayumu) in *bungeishunjū*, 30 (1952) 192-204; Torii Kimiko, 'Reminiscences of Yenching University' (enkyō daigaku no omoide) in *fujin no tomo*, 46 (1952) 33-38



# 1. A Scientific Marriage

This chapter sketches the early lives of Ryūzō and Kimiko leading up to their first journey to Mongolia in 1906. I will provide a very brief history of women's education in Japan in order to contextualize the educational background of Kimiko, as the possibilities of women's education within different countries were and are often determined by cultural and societal norms. In combination with this I will look at how both partners got acquainted with one another and how they decided to get married. I will also look at what career trajectories the Torii's followed during these early years.

Both Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko were born in the rural prefecture of Tokushima. Ryūzō was the son of a tobacco merchant and was thus born as a commoner rather than a samurai. During the Edo-period (1602-1867) the samurai class had been given a monopoly on positions within the bureaucracy of the Japanese state as well as in military affairs. This made them an important part of the Japanese middle class in this period. By the 1870s the privileged position of the samurai class had gradually come to be abolished as part of a series of reforms by the new imperial government under emperor Meiji (r.1868-1912) which had the goal of creating a Japanese nation state. However, the samurai still remained very influential due to them making up a large part of the bureaucracy. They were also relatively well educated overall. Career prospects were often better when one was part of the samurai class, even though the samurai class had officially been abolished.<sup>20</sup>

Ryūzō was sent to primary school by his parents to follow four years of compulsory education, however he dropped out. He would continue his studies at home and he was taught by several local scholars. Under their guidance he learned to read classical Japanese texts. Ryūzō also studied more modern Western oriented courses, namely mathematics, German and English with another teacher. He was able to read many newspapers due to being befriended to a family of newspaper sellers. Ryūzō became interested in archaeology and geography, which he used in order to study the local area.<sup>21</sup>

By age sixteen (1886) he joined the Tokyo Anthropological Society (TAS) which had been founded two years earlier by a group of students and teachers of Tokyo Imperial University (TIU). They had become interested in researching archaeology and human anatomy and culture and one of the main goals of the TAS was to discover the origins of the

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<sup>20</sup> Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York and Oxford 2003) 61-68

<sup>21</sup> Torii Ryūjirō, 'A Short Biography of Torii Ryūzō' in *The Complete Works of Torii Ryūzō*, vol.1 (Tokyo 1975)

Japanese people by researching archaeological sites, ancient objects, old texts and human remains. Members of the society traveled around mainland Japan and nearby areas like Hokkaido and Okinawa.

Ryūzō himself remained in Tokushima but started to actively exchange letters with members of the TAS and became a good acquaintance of Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913), one of the most prominent members of the society. Tsuboi Shōgorō was one of the most prominent researchers in the field of anthropology in Japan and actively worked to popularize the subject. He did this by presenting his research in newspapers and magazines, giving lectures and involving himself with national discussions about the identity of the Japanese people. In these discussions he gave an especially important role to his research into the origin of the Japanese people. In 1893 Torii got the opportunity to move to Tokyo and to study under the mentorship of Tsuboi.<sup>22</sup>

Tsuboi hired Ryūzō as an assistant in organizing the collections of the anthropological society at TIU. This would allow Ryūzō to take classes at the university and also to make some money to support his education. During this period he started to take classes about a great number of different subjects including history, archaeology, biology and linguistics. There was no specific program for anthropology at the university at this time and thus he had to choose his own courses. Ryūzō's position was very informal as he was not an official student of a program at the university and he could only study there due to his relationship with Tsuboi. He did not get a bachelor or master degree. By the time of his marriage in 1902 Ryūzō had been working for a couple of years as an assistant to Tsuboi. He had been on several research expeditions alone to both the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria as well as Taiwan.<sup>23</sup>

During this period the Japanese empire rapidly expanded into large parts of Eastern Asia. From the 1850s the Japanese state had expanded its control to both Hokkaido and the Ryukyu islands, which respectively served as Northern and Southern buffer zones against any foreign aggression. In 1895, after winning the Sino-Japanese war, the Japanese took the Liaodong Peninsula in Southern Manchuria and Taiwan as spoils of war from the Chinese. Japan was forced to cede the Liaodong peninsula to the Russians after a few days, due to pressure from France, Germany and Russia, who sought to expand their own influence in the area. After defeating the Russians in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) Japan expanded their control in North Eastern Asia by retaking the Liaodong Peninsula, incorporating

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem 2

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem 4-9

Russian rail and industrial concessions in Manchuria and making a protectorate of Korea. In 1910 Korea would be formally annexed, while Japan's presence in Manchuria expanded with the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917.<sup>24</sup>

Ryūzō was often one of the first Japanese scientists in an area after it was conquered by the Japanese army. Most of these research trips were funded by the TIU according to Torii Ryūjirō, who wrote a short biography about his father, Ryūzō. He further states that there was also some cooperation between Ryūzō and the Japanese military. In 1899, for example, Torii was sent out by the university in order to do anthropological research in the Kuriles (a group of islands to the north of Hokkaidō) on the invitation of a Japanese admiral who was active in the occupation of the area.<sup>25</sup> Much of this funding was sourced through his contacts in the university like for example Tsuboi or other members of the TAS.<sup>26</sup>

Paul Barclay describes Torii as a scientist in the Western vein who put great emphasis on field work in his studies. Torii liked the empirical and hands on style of the fields of anthropology and archaeology. He contrasted himself with most other anthropological researchers in Japan at the time, who favored analyzing textual sources or studying material brought to Japan from abroad. Even his mentor Tsuboi only traveled once outside of the Japanese home islands to Hokkaido in order to do research on the culture of the local Ainu people. Ryūzō's research interests in this early part of his career included archaeology, physical anthropology and ethnology.<sup>27</sup> The authors K.F. Wong and Hyung Il Pai described the great focus that Ryūzō put on the usage of photography within his anthropological work, especially in regards to physical anthropology. He carried his camera everywhere and used different photographic methods to categorize his research subjects along 'racial' lines. He was one of the first Japanese anthropologists to make wide use of photo cameras in his work.<sup>28</sup>

Torii Kimiko (born Shibara Kimi) was born in Tokushima prefecture in 1881 as the daughter of an archery instructor from the samurai class. During the early Meiji period

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<sup>24</sup> Askew, David, 'Empire and the Anthropologist: Torii Ryūzō and Early Japanese Anthropology' in *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology*, 4 (2003) 141-142

<sup>25</sup> Torii Ryūjirō, 'A Short Biography of Torii Ryūzō' 4-6

<sup>26</sup> Hyung Il Pai, 'Capturing Visions of Japan's Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryūzō's Field Photographs of the "Primitive" Races and Lost Civilizations (1896-1915)' in Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (ed.) *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago 2009) 268-274

<sup>27</sup> Paul Barclay, 'An Historian among the Anthropologists: The Inō Kanori Revival and the Legacy of Japanese Colonial Ethnography in Taiwan' in *Japanese Studies*, 21 (2001) 127-129

<sup>28</sup> Hyung Il Pai, 'Capturing Visions' in Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (ed.) *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago 2009) 276-277; Ka F. Wong, 'Entanglement of Ethnographic Images: Torii Ryūzō's Photographic Record of Taiwan Aborigines (1896-1900)' in *Japanese Studies*, Vol.24 (2004) 283-299

(1868-1912) four years of education was made compulsory and the government had started to set up a system of primary schools across the country to accommodate the population. Martha Tocco, in her article on women's education in the Meiji period, states that the possibilities for formal education beyond primary school were rather limited, especially for girls, as there was only a small number of Western style higher education institutions in the country. These were mainly concentrated in large urban areas and were often prohibitively expensive to study at. Thus higher education was mainly limited to a small group of individuals from wealthy families. There was also a large informal system of education which dated from the Edo-period.<sup>29</sup>

Education for girls beyond primary schools was nearly always separated by gender. Tocco further argues that secondary education for middle-class girls had become normalized during the Edo-period and parents and society saw education in reading and writing as well as Neo-Confucian morality as a good way to prepare girls for marriage and the duties of a housewife and mother. Thus a large informal system of boarding schools and private tutors had come into being, which allowed women to continue their education and facilitated the demand of girls and parents. This also made it possible for a small group of women to be able to work independently as educators within this system.<sup>30</sup> With the advent of the Meiji period a new system was introduced, which ran parallel to the old system. This was centered around a group of public and private secondary schools, which provided a Western oriented education. Tertiary education was not possible for girls until 1901, when the first women's university was founded in Japan. This university was mainly specialized in literature, art and home economics. Only in 1913 would the first men's university open up to girls.<sup>31</sup>

After completing her lower primary education Kimiko would continue to secondary education. She wrote as follows in an article from the 1950s: 'When I finished my senior primary school [5th to 8th year of education], the women's school of Tokushima had closed, so I had no choice but to enter a women's teachers' college. Boarding at a women's teachers' college was totally not to my liking. Firstly I wasn't able to get along with the dormitory dean, and I despised lectures in which the teachers would read from the textbooks. And I would be entirely obsessed with continuously reading novels, without studying.'<sup>32</sup> This

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<sup>29</sup> Martha Tocco 'Made in Japan: Meiji Women's Education' in Barbara Molony and Kathleen Uno (ed.) *Gendering Modern Japanese History* (Cambridge, MA and London 2005) 49-53

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem 46-48

<sup>31</sup> Mara Patesio, 'Women getting a "university" education in Meiji Japan: discourse, realities and individual lives' in *Japan Forum*, 25 (2013) 569-575

<sup>32</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through "History"' 192

statement may be an exaggeration as the article is written from more than 50 years after her high school education as she did, in the end, finish her education.

Mara Patesio, in an article about women's education in Meiji Japan states that it was rather common for girls to be withdrawn from secondary education by their parents before finishing their education in order to start training to become a housewife. Education was meant to train well educated housewives rather than to create opportunities for girls to support themselves.<sup>33</sup> Only a small group of girls who started high school would enter the job market. Thus Kimiko seems to have been rather exceptional as she finished her secondary education. Kimiko decided to continue her education in Tokyo where she applied to enter the Tokyo School of Music (*tōkyō ongaku gakkō*) which was founded in 1887 as one of the first schools to teach Western music. She states in her autobiographical article that she entered this school without permission from her parents, however they did agree to pay her tuition fee.<sup>34</sup>

She goes on to state that in the second year of her studies she got a letter from the husband of her cousin, Katayama Tadakichi. In the letter he asked her whether she was interested in getting engaged to Ryūzō, who was a friend of his. He described him as a poor but hardworking student who spent most of his spare time either studying or working to survive and to pay for his studies. Kimiko discussed how she thought of Ryūzō after reading the letter: 'Firstly I felt a great attraction (*miriyoku*) to him not even having finished primary school. I decided firmly that it would be a useful thing to help (*tasukete*) this kind of self-supporting student and to make him succeed (*seikō saseru*), even if it would take my whole life.'<sup>35</sup> Thus she presented Ryūzō as an eccentric with a lot of potential but who lacks the support needed to get to where he wants to be. It is unclear whether these were her actual feelings at the time as she seems to strongly romanticize Ryūzō and to present him as an underdog that needed help in order to be able to do great things. This image which Kimiko created here can seem a bit teleological as she wrote this near the end of her life, multiple decades after their engagement. Ryūzō had already become a professor in 1923 and by the 1950s he was a well known anthropologist and archaeologist.

Kimiko decided to get engaged with Ryūzō. The engagement was made possible with the help of Ryūzō's mentor Tsuboi Shōgorō. What Tsuboi's actual role was in facilitating the engagement is left unclear by Kimiko, however she stated the following: 'With no other option my older sister came to Tokyo from Otsu city in Shiga-prefecture as the representative

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<sup>33</sup> Mara Patesio, 'Women getting a "university" education in Meiji Japan' 557-558

<sup>34</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through "History"' 193

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem* 193

of my father and with the help (sewa) of dr. Tsuboi we became engaged. But the doctor said that we should get married after we finished our education'<sup>36</sup> Thus Tsuboi seems to have played an unclear, but important role in the engagement, as she mentioned him so promptly when discussing their engagement. During this period of engagement she already seems to have begun to get actively interested in anthropology and archaeology, as she went on a trip with the wife of Tsuboi Shōgorō to one of his archaeological dig sites. After consulting with Tsuboi she published an article in a women's magazine titled 'Women's Virtue' (jokan) about her stay at the archaeological site.<sup>37</sup>

Due to the sudden death of her father in 1902 Kimiko and Ryūzō decided to get married that same year while Ryūzō was still an assistant. Here Tsuboi is mentioned again: 'In June of the year that we got engaged [1902] my father suddenly passed away. After this my funds for school stopped coming and out of necessity, after having consulted with dr. Tsuboi, we decided to get married while still studying. At this moment Torii was 32 years old, I was 21 years old.'<sup>38</sup> The marriage would however force Kimiko to give up her education as the headmaster of the Tokyo School of Music did not want her to participate in classes now that she was married. Thus Kimiko had to give up her own studies for the sake of working with her husband. She would however remain interested in music and would use her knowledge of music for her anthropological research in Mongolia.<sup>39</sup>

Her lack of an academic position and inability to attain tertiary education caused her to be dependent on her husband's reputation when publishing scientific work. Ryūzō was not a major anthropological researcher at the time of their marriage as he did not have an academic position outside of his work as assistant to Tsuboi. However by 1903 he would secure his doctorate for a dissertation on the non-Han peoples of Southwestern China and he would officially be appointed as a lecturer at the TIU in 1905. He also had many contacts within the university through his long involvement with the TAS and his fieldwork on Japan's imperial frontiers. This fieldwork had also resulted in Ryūzō having produced a great repertoire of academic papers.<sup>40</sup>

Thus at this time of their marriage the collaboration seems to have been one similar to that of teacher and student. Kimiko, while seemingly interested in anthropology, does not seem to have been directly involved in doing anthropological or archaeological research yet.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibidem 193

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem 194

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem 194

<sup>39</sup> Ibidem 194

<sup>40</sup> Torii Ryūjirō, 'A Short Biography of Torii Ryūzō' 6

She does however seem to have found a figure to encourage her to continue her studies in the form of Ryūzō's mentor Tsuboi Shōgorō. He played a major role in setting up the engagement and the marriage and also encouraged Kimiko to publish her first article in the women's magazine. She did not, however, have any training in the field of anthropology yet and she had to leave her own musical education due to her marriage with Torii. At the same time she still had possibilities to develop herself as the first child of the pair, a boy called Ryūo, would not be born until 1905. The birth of children was often a limiting factor to the participation of the female partner in research and studies as part of a scientific collaboration.<sup>41</sup> However Kimiko stated in her diary of their journey to Mongolia (1906-1908) that she did receive help from Ryūzō's parents in taking care of Ryūo. Kimiko stated that Ryūzō's parents did that as they wanted to support Ryūzō and Kimiko's research. This direct support from the family was thus an important pillar which allowed the pair to travel to Mongolia and develop their scientific collaboration. If not for this support from the family Kimiko would have had to stay in Japan to take care of their newborn child.<sup>42</sup>

In the period leading up their first and second Mongolia expedition Kimiko seems to have stayed at home and to have taken care of the household together with the father and mother of Ryūzō, who had also moved to Tokyo. In her autobiographical article Kimiko stated that Ryūzō could hardly do anything by himself and that he constantly was spoiled by his mother, who prepared everything for him and even tied his tie. This seems like a hyperbole, as Ryūzō had been actively doing fieldwork outside of Japan for multiple years at the time of their marriage, but it does indicate that Ryūzō himself did not do much in the household, which was left to Kimiko and her mother-in-law. In the same period Ryūzō and Kimiko went on trips to archaeological sites every week. This indicates that Ryūzō wanted to actively involve Kimiko in his interests or that Kimiko herself became interested enough in the subject to join him. She was not yet directly involved in his work.<sup>43</sup>

In the winter of 1905, after he had returned from Manchuria, Ryūzō and Kimiko would go to Chiba prefecture, which lies next to Tokyo, to spend a week there together. Kimiko wrote several articles in the Japanese national newspaper *yomiuri shimbun* about this period. These articles were published daily and were written like a diary entry. This is her

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<sup>41</sup> Helena M., Nancy G. Slack and Pnina G. Abir-Am, 'Introduction' in *Creative Couples in the Sciences* 28

<sup>42</sup> Kimiko, *Mongolia From an Ethnological Perspective* 1-4

<sup>43</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through "History"' 194-195



first publication in a national newspaper that I have been able to find. With this Kimiko would start to build her own reputation as a writer, separate from her husband.<sup>44</sup>

In conclusion we can say that Torii Ryūzō was very lucky in acquiring an academic career. He had no formal schooling and was only allowed to study at the university due to his connections in the TAS. This shows the informal character of Japanese anthropology at this time. By the time of their trip to Mongolia in 1906 Ryūzō had become a well known researcher due to his large number of publications as well as his fieldwork overseas. Kimiko on the other hand, while being able to finish formal secondary education, was unable to finish her further education in music and thus would have a lot more difficulty to build up a name for herself as a scientist. She was also limited in becoming a scientist on her own name due to women not being allowed to follow tertiary education at general universities until 1913. It seems that she became interested in anthropology after her marriage to Ryūzō and would be involved indirectly in his research interest, while remaining absent from his fieldwork. The scientific collaboration between the couple had not yet formed during this period, however a strong foundation was laid down.

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<sup>44</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō: The Anthropologist Who Travelled Throughout Asia* (torii Ryūzō den: ajia wo sōha shita jinruigakusha) (Tokyo 1995) 87-92

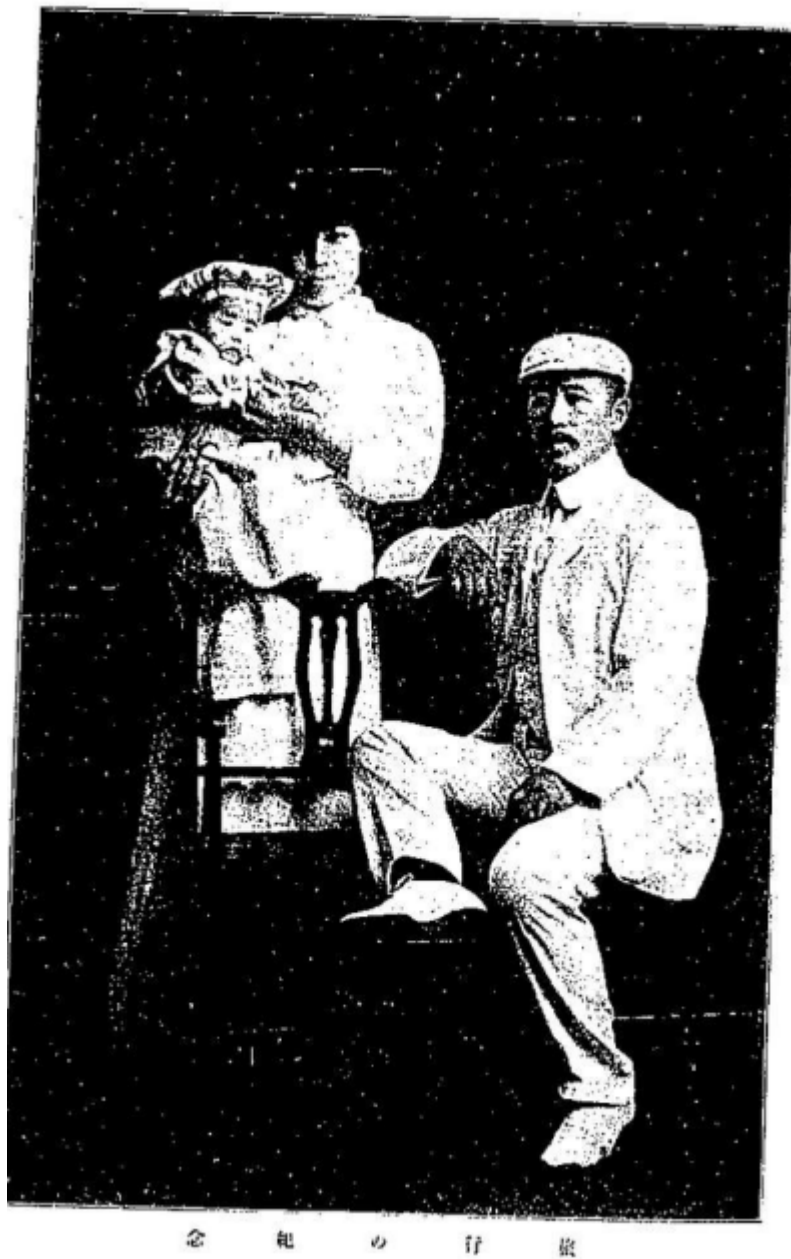


Figure 4. Torii Ryūzō, Torii Kimiko and their daughter Sachiko during their first stay in Mongolia (1906-1908) in Torii Ryūzō, *A Journey Through Mongolia* (Tokyo 1911)

## 2. A Journey Through Mongolia

In this chapter I will analyze the first and second expedition of Ryūzō and Kimiko through Mongolia. I will be discussing what the research interests of both partners were, what skills they possessed, how gender played a role in their research and how they worked together while in the field. These subjects will be addressed in separate subchapters. The expedition to Mongolia was the first occasion that Kimiko traveled with her husband outside of Japan. In the years before she had gone on shorter trips with him throughout Japan but this foreign expedition would be of a far grander scale in time, research subjects and distance traveled. I will be analyzing some of their publications which they made in the wake of the journey in order to get a better understanding of these expeditions.

In 1906 Kimiko and Ryūzō were invited to work at two schools of a Mongolian nobleman called Gungsangnorbu (1871-1930), the ruler of the Kharachin banner in Inner Mongolia.<sup>45</sup> Gungsangnorbu had been inspired by Japan's rapid economic and military development during the late nineteenth century and sought to modernize Mongolia along similar lines by providing Japanese education to the children of notables of his banner. The schools had been founded only a few years earlier and were separated by gender.<sup>46</sup>

Kimiko and Ryūzō, through their network, were approached to replace the two headteachers. The invitation was extended to Ryūzō and Kimiko by an acquaintance of theirs who had been asked for help in finding a replacement. They were asked to come and work in Mongolia as a couple, due to the leader of Kharachin banner wanting teachers for both girls and boys. Kimiko would teach the girls while her husband would teach the boys. Their one year period of stay at Kharachin Banner would be funded by Gungsangnorbu and was separate from Ryūzō's work for TIU. This would be the first time that the couple would travel abroad together. Both partners were very interested in doing anthropological research here, because both saw it as a geographical area which up until then had received very little attention in anthropological and archaeological scholarship.<sup>47</sup>

While they had been hired as teachers, the pair used their spare time to carry out anthropological research in the territory of the Kharachin banner. This spanned activities like anthropometry, studying the Mongolian language and an ethnological study of the culture of the people of the area. This was Kimiko's first exposure to anthropology and archaeology

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<sup>45</sup> A banner was an administrative unit in Mongolia during the Qing dynasty (1636-1912) Mongolia. It roughly corresponds to a county.

<sup>46</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō* 176-177

<sup>47</sup> Torii Ryūzō, 'Introduction' in *A Journey Through Mongolia* 3

outside of Japan. She did not yet have any experience in doing anthropological research and had only a little bit of experience in archaeology. Thus this journey would be an important first chance for her to develop her research skills while also further honing her knowledge of archaeology.<sup>48</sup>

Mongolia, at the time of their first journey between 1906-1908, had been part of Qing China (1636-1912) since the 17th century. It had been given an autonomous status and local Mongolian nobles, called princes, were granted a great amount of independence in regards to local affairs, while the emperors of the Qing dynasty decided on state affairs. Mongolia at this time was larger than the modern day state. It was divided into two areas. The first was Outer Mongolia, which, with a few exceptions, was concurrent with the modern state of Mongolia. The second area, Inner Mongolia, covered most of the area between Outer Mongolia and China proper, and is roughly concurrent with the Modern Chinese autonomous region of Inner Mongolia.

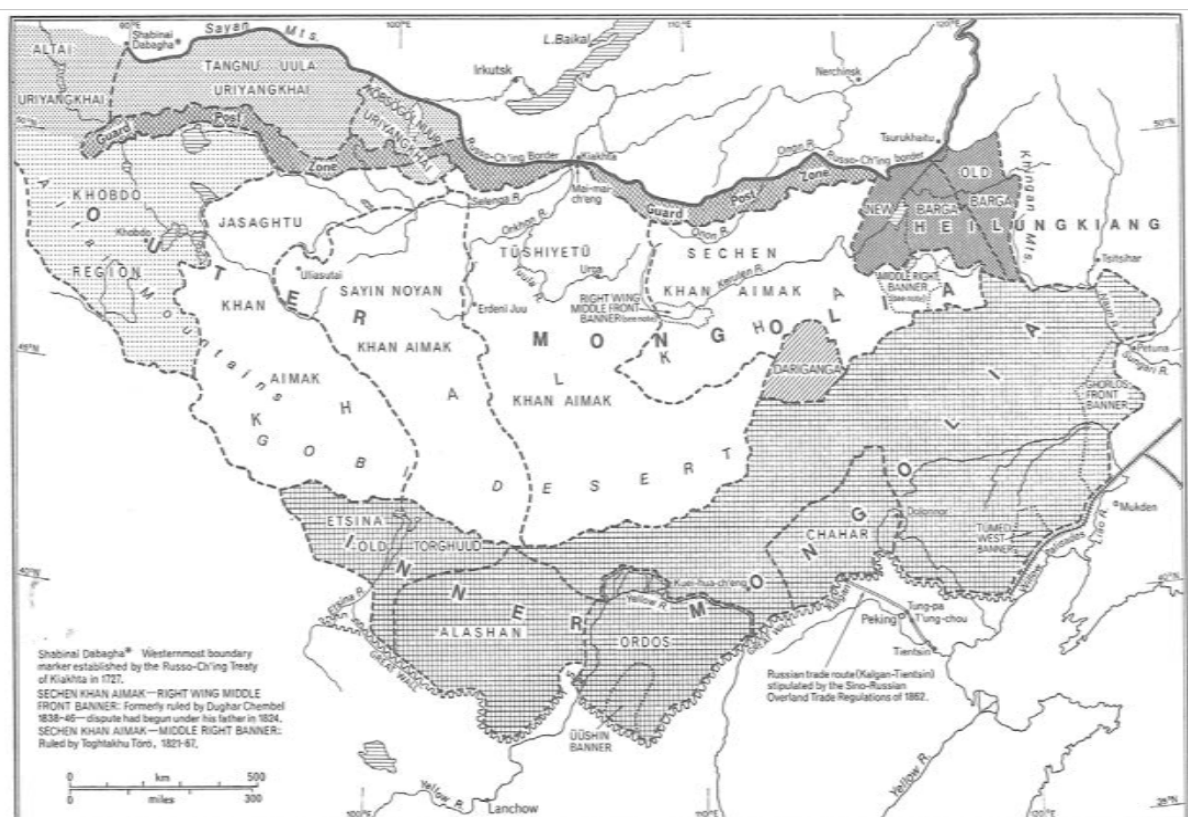


Figure 5. Mongolia in the 1860s in Boyd, *Japanese-Mongolian Relations* 3

<sup>48</sup> Torii Kimiko, 'Walking Through "History"' 195; Torii Ryūzō, 'Introduction' in *A Journey Through Mongolia* 3

The two parts of Mongolia were separated from one another by the Gobi desert and a series of mountain ranges. The close proximity of Inner Mongolia to China proper led to Mongolian inhabitants forging close trade links with Han-Chinese during the Qing dynasty and the sinicization of the local population. In contrast to this, Outer Mongolia, because of its geographic isolation, received less economic and cultural influence from China and would maintain its identity to a greater extent.<sup>49</sup>

The journey of the couple to Mongolia was rather controversial according to Kimiko. She stated in her autobiographical article that many newspapers from Tokyo wrote pieces about her departure and that even the ministry of Education, Science and Culture made a comment on her departure to Mongolia, stating: ‘Things like this are vanity, you should not learn from this (manabu beki denai)’, while a girl’s high school teacher commented (presumably in a newspaper) that she was an ‘ambitious person’ (yashinka), which likely indicated that she was acting above her station as a wife.<sup>50</sup>

Thus there already seems to have been a bit of pressure on her before she departed for Mongolia. It was thus not seen as a normal thing for a woman to do, especially a married woman with a child. There also seems to have been some disapproval from her direct environment. Ryūzō’s mentor, Tsuboi Shōgorō, according to Kimiko, had said: ‘Exploration (tanken) is the work of men, it’s not something a woman should do.’<sup>51</sup> Exploration here does not seem to refer to doing research in itself, however it does seem to refer to her traveling around Mongolian countryside with her husband. This would thus put a severe limitation on her abilities to do research together with her husband. Kimiko and Ryūzō in the end did not heed this warning from Tsuboi, as the couple would travel into some of the most desolate and dangerous parts of Mongolia, whilst doing anthropological and archaeological research along the way. They would even bring their newborn daughter with them. The couple thus did not seem to have cared about Japanese gender norms which would have limited Kimiko’s ability to participate in research.

After their stay in Kharachin banner, which was located in Inner Mongolia, close to the border with China proper, Ryūzō and Kimiko would travel throughout Eastern parts of Mongolia between 1907 and 1908 in two expeditions. A first one in 1907 and a second one 1908. These expeditions included parts of both Inner and Outer Mongolia. They would travel

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<sup>49</sup> Boyd, James, *Japanese-Mongolian Relations 1873-1945: Faith, Race and Strategy* (Folkestone 2011) 1-2

<sup>50</sup> Torii Kimiko, ‘Walking Through “History”’ 196

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem 196

with a group of multiple carts to carry their research materials and their gear. The group was escorted by Mongolian cavalrymen, who were provided by the different rulers to see them safely through their domains. They were provided with these horsemen due to the possession of a special passport which guaranteed them safe passage. They likely acquired this passport through the support of Gungsangsornobu.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 54





## Interests

The goals of the expedition were diverse. In an afterword to his wife's book *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* (1927) Ryūzō wrote the following:

The truths (jijitsu) we acquired during this trip are firstly, the discovery of the existence of relics and ruins (ibutsu iseki) of the (prehistoric) Stone Age of Mongolia. In regards to this academic subject (shigaku jō) [archaeology and/or anthropology] we believe this is one of the results that we ourselves are most proud of (hokori subeki). Secondly, there was a great deal of investigating discoveries (hakken chōsa), in regards to the ruins and relics etc. of the Xianbei, Wuhuan, Khitan (Liao Dynasty) [916-1125] and the Yuan etc [nomad groups in the area between 2nd century b.c. to the 14th century a.d.]. Thirdly, in regards to the currently living (genkon seikatsu) Mongolians, there were considerable gains made from measuring (sokutei) and observing (kansatsu) their bodies from an anthropological perspective. Fourthly, investigating manners and customs, folk songs and children's songs. Furthermore, fifthly, [we] carried out an anthropological investigation of the Mongolian language.<sup>53</sup>

The goals of the expedition thus varied widely, ranging from archaeology to anthropometry and from ethnology to linguistics. This can be seen as part of Ryūzō's vision of anthropology as being a multifaceted field of research. Most of his earlier expeditions had centered around creating a general overview of the aspects of different ethnic groups, which included their history, physical features, culture, archaeological remains and language. Ryūzō took this approach as he considered all of these separate avenues of investigation to be essential parts in understanding the origin of the Japanese people and the relationships of the different ethnic groups of East and Southeast Asia to Japan. He also seems to have liked to portray himself as being on the cutting edge of anthropology, by doing research among ethnic groups which had been rarely researched by other anthropologists.<sup>54</sup>

In regards to archaeology Ryūzō had two main research subjects. Firstly the prehistoric inhabitants of Mongolia and secondly the remains of the Liao dynasty. Ryūzō was especially interested in prehistoric Mongolia because he saw Mongolia and Manchuria as one of the main areas of origin of the Japanese people. In an article from the 1910s Ryūzō argued that the Japanese descended from three different ethnic groups, namely the 'proper' Japanese, the 'Indonesians' and the 'Indochinese' who migrated to Japan in different waves. The

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<sup>53</sup> Torii Ryūzō, 'Afterword' in Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 1-2

<sup>54</sup> Askew, 'Empire and the Anthropologist' 141-147

‘proper’ Japanese in this framework were a people that originated in the Steppes of Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia and came to Japan by way of Korea.

Ryūzō argued that most of the modern Japanese population descended from the ‘proper’ Japanese of Northeastern Asia. He wrote as follows: ‘The main part of the Japanese people (nihon minzoku) are modeled on the proper Japanese and because of this they make up the greatest number of people and their territory of diffusion also spreads relatively widely.’<sup>55</sup> Ryūzō placed a great amount of focus on these people by calling them Japanese and by stating that most modern Japanese people are modeled on these ‘proper’ Japanese. Ryūzō argued that these people came to Japan by stating that he observed similarities in archaeological objects from the Stone Age which he found in Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia and those which he found in Japan.

This article was published in 1915, after their journey to Mongolia, however it would not be strange if Ryūzō already had these ideas during their journey. At this time Ryūzō already published several articles about the Mongolian language and its relationship to Japanese. Here he argued for a strong connection between Japanese and Mongolian on the basis of a presumed similarity in grammar and a large amount of shared vocabulary. Ryūzō would go on to publish a weekly column which ran for three years in which he would compare Mongolian and Japanese vocabulary. Archaeological research on prehistoric tombs during his first expedition to Manchuria in 1895 also led him to believe that there was some connection to tombs which had been discovered in the Japanese home islands.<sup>56</sup>

Ryūzō’s diverse approach to research would make it easier for Kimiko to join her husband in doing fieldwork, as she could help him in studying any of the main themes. Further on in his afterword Ryūzō explained how the couple divided the workload during their journey: ‘I divided the investigative research (chōsa kenkyū), which extends to all the items mentioned above, with my wife and we went about our investigative research. Namely, in regards to the first, second and third item [prehistoric and non-prehistoric archaeology, anthropometry], I mainly (shu toshite) touched on these and, in regards to number four [ethnology and songs], my wife mainly (moppara) and for the most part (shu toshite) touched on this one.’<sup>57</sup> Thus we can see a division of labor, in which Ryūzō focussed on the ‘hard’ sciences of archaeology and anthropometry while Kimiko worked on the ‘soft’ sciences like ethnology and the history of Mongolian music.

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<sup>55</sup> Torii Ryūzō, ‘The Course of Development’ 505

<sup>56</sup> Askew, ‘Empire and the Anthropologist’ 140-141

<sup>57</sup> Torii Ryūzō, ‘Afterword’ in Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 2-4

## Skills

This division of labor seems to partially have been chosen due to the relative strengths of both partners. This is for example the case when one discusses music. Ryūzō, while having done ethnological research, did not have as much experience with music as Kimiko, due to her education at the Tokyo School of Music. Here she learned about Western musical theory as well as ways of analyzing different components of music. Therefore she was well suited to make analyses of different types of music and comparing them between one another. The fields of archaeology and anthropometry were more aligned with Ryūzō's previous experience as he followed several courses about these subjects at TIU and had also gained substantial experience whilst doing fieldwork in Manchuria (1895/1905) and Taiwan (1896-1900 every year).

## Gender

Ryūzō further argued that Kimiko was better suited to doing ethnological research in Mongolia due to her being a woman: 'This book of my wife, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective*, while pertaining to all the banners of Mongolia in general, due to my wife being a woman and due her having been accompanied by our young child Sachiko, she had many chances to get in contact and to talk with Mongolian women and children on a daily basis, who are normally difficult to approach (*sekkin nashi nikui*). Fortunately, because of this, she has been able to correctly and precisely investigate the local customs.'<sup>58</sup> In contrast to nearly all other Japanese anthropologists Kimiko was a woman, which made it easier for her to approach groups that are normally underrepresented in ethnological research. Her advantage was further reinforced by her traveling around with a child. An example of this can be seen when Kimiko and Ryūzō stay at the house of an official in Bairin banner. During the day Ryūzō left with the official to do research on nearby ruins. Kimiko herself stayed in the house for the day, and, when Ryūzō had left, she was quickly approached by the wife and daughter of the official. The wife inquired about whether she should prepare any food for Sachiko, while the girl started to talk with Kimiko, after having received a gift from her. Through this she learned about the village and the family.<sup>59</sup>

The ability to approach women and children gave her a different perspective on local customs. Kimiko also seems to have been interested in this field as she wrote an entire book

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<sup>58</sup> Torii Ryūzō, 'Afterword' in Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 4

<sup>59</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 191-192

about the ethnology of Mongolia, and she also had already gained quite a bit of experience in writing due to publishing a travel diary about their time as a couple in Chiba prefecture, Japan, in which she described many of the people and events that happened in the region.<sup>60</sup>

While the couple often split research tasks between them, there was one activity that was seemingly only done by Ryūzō: photography. That only Ryūzō wielded the camera can be gathered from Kimiko's diaries as she often stated that it was her husband making the photographs, whereas in regards to many other activities she left up in the air which of the two partners did what exactly. Kimiko for example stated in her diary 'After having crossed the river, my husband looked at Chagansabaraga [an archaeological site] from afar and took a photograph of what he saw.'<sup>61</sup>, 'My husband took photographs of the entire inscription as well as the stone persons and stone tigers [statues] etc.'<sup>62</sup> and 'My husband made photographs or sketches of almost all of these.'<sup>63</sup> She thus mentioned every time that it was her husband that was wielding the camera.

This seems to indicate that Kimiko was not considered to be capable of wielding the expensive camera or that this was part of their division of their labor. The camera was seen as an important tool in the arsenal of a scientist due to its presumed ability to reflect the truth. The camera was thus often presented as a tool of exact science, which made its usage tied to a certain prestige. Ryūzō himself was also one of the first anthropologists in Japan to actively use the camera in his research. This in part helped him to establish his image as an explorer and scientist who did accurate and exact research during his fieldwork.<sup>64</sup> This reputation of the camera as being a tool of 'exact' or 'hard' science could lead Ryūzō to decide to keep the camera for himself, especially because it played an important role in forming his image as a modern man of science in the Western vein.

## Practice

While Ryūzō mentions that there was a division of labor in which both partners worked mainly on their own project, there does seem to have been a lot of collaboration, especially in the field of archaeology. In her travel diaries Kimiko mentions that both her and Ryūzō worked together on archaeological investigations of the ruins of one of the old capital cities

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<sup>60</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Shelter in Kazusa* (kazusa no yadori) (Tokyo 1906)

<sup>61</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 247

<sup>62</sup> Ibidem 71

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem 280

<sup>64</sup> Ka F. Wong, 'Entanglement of Ethnographic Images: Torii Ryūzō's Photographic Record of Taiwan Aborigines (1896-1900)' in *Japanese Studies*, Vol.24 (2004) 289-294

of the Liao dynasty (916-1125) during their journey.<sup>65</sup> They also published an article together about the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia. Thus Kimiko was actively involved in the first and second items mentioned by Ryūzō, namely, prehistoric and non-prehistoric archaeology.<sup>66</sup> When they arrived at an archeological site the pair mainly made photographs, measured the outline of buildings, drew sketches, gathered archeological objects like pottery shards, tools or weapons and transliterated classical Chinese texts if these were present.

One of the main ways in which Kimiko helped was by gathering objects together with her husband. When arriving at archeological sites and having done a basic survey of the area, Ryūzō and Kimiko would search the ground for any pieces of pottery or tools. At first glance, this does not seem to have been a very important task, as the couple often solicited local populations with money in order to find archaeological objects. Thus the job could seemingly be done by most people. However Kimiko knew what type of pottery shards and other archaeological objects the pair was interested in and could thus more effectively gather objects. Both partners seem to have been enthusiastic about gathering objects. For example, after having arrived at a small palace from the Liao-dynasty, Kimiko recalled in her diary that the couple did the following: ‘Because [we] jumped from the wagon, picked up pieces and loaded them in the wagon, and again we picked up pieces and loaded them in the wagon, the Mongols were suspicious. They were staring with astonishment, as [we] loaded a huge amount more.’<sup>67</sup>

Kimiko further helped her husband by transcribing classical Chinese texts, which could be found in archaeological sites related to the Liao and the Yuan (1271 - 1368) dynasty. When the pair visited a tomb of a nobleman from the Yuan dynasty they happened upon one such inscription. The text was written in classical Chinese and was broken into two pieces. Both partners transcribed one half of the text. This indicates that Kimiko had some knowledge of classical Chinese. Reading and writing classical Chinese was mainly limited to men during the Edo period as it was seen as a language of prestige and bureaucracy. Martha Tocco stated the following in regards to women’s literacy in Classical Chinese in Meiji Japan: ‘Although women trained in Chinese (kanbun) and in the classics of Chinese literature might

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<sup>65</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 277-281

<sup>66</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, ‘Archaeological and Ethnological Studies’ in *Journal of the College of Science Tokyo Imperial University*, 1-141

<sup>67</sup> Torii Kimiko *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 248



Figure 7. Kimiko and Sacchiko at the small palace, 1907, source: Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia From an Ethnological Perspective*

describe this aspect of their education as drawn from male traditions, facility with "men's learning" did not contravene gender boundaries to such a degree that women so educated were rendered social or educational pariahs. In fact, well-educated women, even ones that never bore children (...) were lauded as models of exemplary wifely conduct.<sup>68</sup> Women were thus allowed to study classical Chinese and Kimiko also mentioned that she had studied reading classical Chinese while being educated at home by her father. It also indicated Kimiko's status as an educated woman.<sup>69</sup>

Kimiko also seems to have helped in making sketches of objects and places and in measuring the size of archaeological sites. Throughout the book sketches of objects and the environment as well as maps and measurement of ruins visited by the pair. It is unclear by whom these sketches were produced and Kimiko, throughout her book, did not identify the illustrator. When discussing their work at an old castle Kimiko wrote: 'Unfortunately, today the Northern wind once again turned violent and because of that we couldn't take photographs. [We] merely drew a plan of the entire castle and [we] searched around here and there within the castle and picked up things which had the pattern of roof tiles with colors

<sup>68</sup> Tocco, 'Made in Japan' 47

<sup>69</sup> Torii Kimiko 'Walking Through "History"' 192

like blue, yellow and red.’<sup>70</sup> Kimiko was thus very vague about who did what here, but it seems like both worked on this activity. It is often clearly stated when only one of the couple worked on an activity. This can be seen in the earlier examples about photography.

Kimiko does not always seem to have accompanied Ryūzō to archaeological sites. Every so often her husband left her at their lodgings with Sachiko so he could go on to explore different ruins by himself, or in the company of local guides and officials. At the start of their journey Kimiko and her recently born child remained in their place of stay in Chifeng, a large town close to Kharachin, while Ryūzō and two Mongolian helpers visited several ruins from the Liao-period over a period of multiple days. In regards to this Ryūzō only stated the following in his diary: ‘I left my wife and child at our accommodation, and finally I set off on the road to do research.’<sup>71</sup> Kimiko did not mention in her diary that she was left at Chifeng. She instead wrote a description of her stay in Chifeng and the people that lived there.<sup>72</sup>

Another example of her being left out of certain archaeological expeditions happened when they were in a village on the edge of the Gobi Desert. The couple is told by a young boy that there were ruins located not that far from the village. Ryūzō traveled to the ruins twice with a guide and left Kimiko in the village. Kimiko stated that this was done because she had to stay at home to prepare the luggage for the continuation of their journey.<sup>73</sup> This indicates that Ryūzō did not always deem it necessary to bring Kimiko with him.

A possible explanation for this could be that the couple traveled with a caravan of carts. This meant that it was often more practical to drive the carts into a town or village and then travel onwards on horseback to the site. Ryūzō went on horseback in the previously mentioned examples. It could be that in these cases it would be more useful to have Kimiko stay at their lodgings in order to take care of the luggage and to keep watch over their carts. Kimiko would be more likely to play this role as her husband was the main archaeologist during the journey. She also had to take care of Sachiko and thus would be less mobile. This also seems to fit with Ryūzō’s characterization.

Kimiko described him like this in her autobiographical article: ‘We would move house every so often after that [their marriage], but, in these moments he could not help at all, and would just about stack his own books, and I needed to deal with everything. Even after

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<sup>70</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia From an Ethnological Perspective* 81

<sup>71</sup> Torii Ryūzō *A Journey Through Mongolia* 17

<sup>72</sup> Torii Kimiko *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 57-62

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem* 139



we had a child, he never held it in his arms.’<sup>74</sup> Ryūzō is thus characterized as someone that is very bad at taking care of the house while also not being able to take care of his own children. It seems likely that most of the daily as well as familial responsibilities outside of the research activities would have fallen with Kimiko. She may thus not have had the time to join some of his trips. However at most of the main archaeological investigations, like their research at the different capitals of the Liao, Kimiko was present.

We can thus see that both partners actively participated in carrying out archaeological research. Ryūzō seems to have been the main researcher, however Kimiko also contributed to the research by gathering archaeological objects, transcribing Chinese texts, sketching and making measurements of archaeological sites. Only Ryūzō could use the camera, which was seen as an important scientific instrument and was also very expensive. Thus this created a certain divide between the ‘professional’ Torii Ryūzō and the ‘amateur’ or ‘assistant’ Kimiko.

In their journey Kimiko mostly focussed on ethnological and ethnographic research, however Ryūzō also carried out ethnological research which he would feature every so often in scientific and general magazines. Kimiko and Ryūzō seem to have disagreed over what exactly should be researched. Ryūzō was mainly interested in the ‘true’ Mongolian culture of Outer Mongolia, which according to him was much more traditional and thus much more representative of an idealized traditional form of Mongolian culture. The people of the urban parts of Inner Mongolia had however become too sinicized to help in discovering the traditional Mongolian culture according to Ryūzō.<sup>75</sup>

In his diary about the journey he stated the following about the Mongols of Kharachin banner:

The Mongols of Kharachin (...) and nearby Tümed and Ongniud (...) live a life that is almost entirely the same, their language and attire have become mostly sinicized, one can see this particularly in the case of the boys. Namely this can be seen in their garments: Of course all of them wear their hair in a queue, they wear clothes that reach all the way to the lower parts of the leg and sometimes they wear short clothes that reach up to the waist, similar to Han Chinese, however they generally wear the style of the Manchurians. Their belt is generally fastened similarly to a heko’obi [a Japanese type of belt to fasten kimonos], and on the front part they hang a bag filled with snuff. The customs of girls are also generally in Manchurian style. On their head they tie a bun called Liangbatou [a

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<sup>74</sup> Torii Kimiko ‘Walking Through “History”’ 194

<sup>75</sup> Ryūzō, *A Journey Through Mongolia* 14

Manchurian hairstyle for women], (...) in conclusion both boys and girls have a Manchurian style.<sup>76</sup>

Manchurian and Chinese styles of dress had started to mix at this time because of laws which were proclaimed by the Qing government on hair styles as well as due to cultural influence of the Manchu dominated Imperial Court. Even though he does give a small overview of the style of clothing of these people he goes on to state the following: ‘As part of research of Mongolians, I do not think that there is any value in ethnologically (dozokugaku) studying the modern day vicinity of Kharachin, due to the great amount of changes in their customs (fūzoku).’<sup>77</sup> They are thus entirely relegated to irrelevance by Ryūzō, in regards to research into the Mongolians. The interest of Ryūzō can mainly be explained by his quest to discover the origins of the Japanese people, which he saw as being located in Northeastern Asia in either Mongolia or Manchuria. This was also one of the reasons why archaeology was very important to him.

Kimiko at the start of the chapter of her diary on the customs of Kharachin also stated, similarly to her husband that: ‘The dress (fūzoku) of the Mongolians of Kharachin are almost entirely Manchurian (...)’ as well as: ‘(...) all the houses here are built in a Chinese style (...) There is not a single house here that is of a purely Mongolian style (jun mōko fū).’<sup>78</sup> In contrast to her husband she did describe many parts of the life and dress of the people of this area and did not dismiss them like how her husband had done. Thus she also seems to have been interested in the less ‘pure’ Mongolian parts of Mongolia. During their stay in Chifeng, Kimiko, for example, went on to describe the dress of local people: ‘In general Chinese clothing is well made, and women as well as men wear loose long pants under their long coat that are entirely full, the lower ends of the trousers are placed over the socks and these are firmly wrapped around by a hard and wide rope of about one sun [3.03 cm].’<sup>79</sup> She further gave a small description of a local market as well as of the local food. She thus gave a bit more attention to this area and the clothing and lifestyle of the people than her husband.

A field in which Kimiko was the main researcher was the study of Mongolian music. Kimiko was excellently suited to researching the subject due to her education in music. In contrast, Ryūzō did not touch on the subject of music other than writing some articles on

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<sup>76</sup> Ibidem 14

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem 13

<sup>78</sup> Kimiko, *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective* 30-32, Fūzoku here is translated differently from the previous quote as the word can mean both customs and dress depending on the context. I decided to translate the word as dress here because, after this statement, Kimiko describes the dress of the people of Kharachin.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem 59

musical instruments. He mainly kept to ethnology and anthropometry.<sup>80</sup> One of her main research interests in regards to the music of Mongolia was old Mongolian songs. Kimiko, in the last chapters of her diary, gave a general overview of the daily life in Mongolia as well as of some cultural and social characteristics of the people. Several chapters of this overview discussed the characteristics of ancient Mongolian music. She explained the value of this field of research as follows: ‘(...) like in the songs shown above, it is possible to investigate the customs (fūzoku), values (shūkan) and national characteristics (minzokusei) of ancient times (furui jidai) [from old songs] (...)’<sup>81</sup>. Her research interest was thus focused on uncovering Mongolian ancient society through studying old music forms.

There were however a couple of hurdles that made her research into ancient Mongolian society difficult. One of the major ones, according to Kimiko, was the influence of Chinese and Buddhist music on Mongolian music: ‘If we don’t pay attention to the lyrics which are sung between the current day Mongolians, there are many that have been converted from Chinese ones (shina no mono wo naoshita). There are also those that are mixed (majitteiru) with Buddhist music. Because of this there are relatively few traditional (koyū) Mongolian songs.’<sup>82</sup> Buddhism had played a relatively minor role in Mongolian history up to the 14th century. From the 13th century onwards Mongolian rulers occasionally invited Tibetan Buddhist monks to preach within Mongolia. This caused the people of Mongolia to slowly embrace this version of Buddhism and to start to finance the construction and maintenance of Buddhist monasteries within Mongolia. Buddhist culture slowly came to increase its grips over the area.<sup>83</sup>

The songs which were influenced by Chinese culture and Buddhism had little value according to Kimiko’s goals as they did not provide an insight into the life of ancient Mongolians. In regards to the Chinese influence on Mongolian music Kimiko stated the following: ‘In regards to the ancient Mongolian songs (furui mōko uta) that I was able to hear in the end, it is unknown how much change they have undergone. In regards to the new songs, many of these have become sinicized (shinaka shita). Because of this, these [songs] have very little research value (totemo kenkyū no kacchi wa nai mono dearimasu).’<sup>84</sup> By

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<sup>80</sup> Torii Ryūzō, ‘The Instruments of Mongolia’ (mōko no gakkī) in *The Complete Works of Torii Ryūzō* (torii Ryūzō zenshū), vol. 8 (Tokyo 1975 [1916]) 391-393

<sup>81</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia from an Ethnological Perspective* 1128

<sup>82</sup> Ibidem 1128

<sup>83</sup> G. Tucci, et al., "Buddhism" in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (consulted 21-6-2023)  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Buddhism>

<sup>84</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia From an Ethnological Perspective* 1135 Translation of Kimiko’s Japanese version of the song

stressing the importance of the traditional character of Mongolian music as a central requirement Kimiko seems to be very similar to her husband's goal of uncovering clues about the prehistoric Mongolian people.

There are further similarities between Kimiko's own research and the work of her husband. Like her husband, she also sought to research the connection between Mongolia and Japan, but in this case from the perspective of musical theory and lyrics. Here she argued that there were several elements that appeared in both Japanese as well as in Mongolian songs, like, for example, the subjects of the songs. She discussed a children's song which went as follows: 'Dark, dark darkness go away. Warm, warm, mr./ mrs. sun (ohi-san) come out. I will kneel down and put my head on the ground. I will give (sashi agemashou) you rice cooked in milk.'<sup>85</sup> Kimiko argued that the theme of the sun was very close to Japanese mythology.

In the song the sun, rather than being presented as an object, is presented as a person that can be persuaded. She stated: 'I can't help but feel (ki ga shite narimasen) that there is some connection with Japan's sun mythology (taiyō shinwa), and also with the kind goddess (megami) who is part of this [mythology].'<sup>86</sup> The kind goddess would likely refer to Amaterasu, the goddess of the sun within Shinto. She was seen as one of the foremost gods of Shinto during the nineteenth and twentieth century due to her being seen as the mythological ancestor of the emperors of Japan.<sup>87</sup> By comparing the theme of the sun in the song to the mythological ancestor of the Japanese emperor Kimiko brought the Mongolian people close to the Japanese people in a sense of culture. Another comparison is made when Kimiko discussed the usage of words without a meaning in Mongolian songs. These were often used at the end of songs as an exclamation or as yells in order to liven up songs. She also argued that this was very similar to Japanese songs, which often also used these words. She makes several more comparisons between Japanese and Mongolian music in her analysis of other songs.<sup>88</sup> In this case her interests seem to align very closely with those of her husband, as she highlighted the connection between Japan and Mongolia.

Kimiko and Ryūzō seem to have been interested in similar subjects. These were 'discovering the identity of the ancient Mongolians', 'defining the connection of the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia to the Japanese people', 'making a general anthropological and ethnological overview of the modern day Mongolian people' and 'researching the historical

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<sup>85</sup> Ibidem 1126

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem 1127

<sup>87</sup> Hirai N., "Shintō" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, (consulted: 21-06-2023) <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Shinto>.

<sup>88</sup> Torii Kimiko, *Mongolia From an Ethnological Perspective* 1129

remains of the Liao dynasty and other dynasties'. They most actively collaborated on archaeology. Nevertheless there was a hierarchy within their collaboration. Ryūzō here served as the official scientist, who, through his academic position and his previous experience doing fieldwork, could assume a position of superiority over Kimiko. She was often only presented as an assistant to Ryūzō, rather than an independent researcher. Kimiko also pursued their research interests through other avenues of enquiry. The two foremost fields of research that Kimiko worked on during her period in Mongolia were Mongolian music and ethnology. Here she was more in her element due to both her previous education in musical theory in Japan as well as her being a woman. Her own skills and gender thus played an important role in determining her research.

### 3. New Adventures

In this chapter I will be discussing the lives of Kimiko and Ryūzō from their return of their expedition in 1908 up until their deaths in 1957 and 1952 respectively. Due to the large time frame of this chapter I will mainly be focussing on several examples of them working together as well as with their children, who actively started to participate in their parents research from this period onwards. The main focus will be on four journeys to Mongolia and Manchuria in 1928, 1930, 1933 and 1935 in which the family worked together on archeological research on ruins of the Liao-dynasty (916-1125). This was a dynasty of a Mongolian ethnic group called the Khitan which had come to rule large parts of Northern China, but had their powerbase in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria.

#### Ryūzō in the 1910s and 20s

The period after their journey to Mongolia (1906-1908) Ryūzō and Kimiko seem to have split up once again, while still publishing together here and there. For a period of twenty years Ryūzō would once again travel by himself across East Asia every year. However this time his geographical area of research had narrowed to just Northeastern Asia, which included Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea and Eastern Siberia. The first of his two major projects during this period was his work in Korea for the Japanese colonial authorities. The country had been annexed into the Japanese empire in 1910.<sup>89</sup>

Korea formed an important part both in Japanese ideology as well as in the government's strategy of defending Japan and thus played a central role in national debates in newspapers and in parliament. The ideological aspect was especially important in the legitimization of the annexation of Korea within the Japanese national sphere. There was a host of theories under Japanese intellectuals, especially anthropologists, that the Japanese and Korean peoples were of the same descent. These theories are called the *nissen dōshoron* (the theories that Japanese and Korean share a common ancestor). These theories often highlighted the importance that Korea played in the founding mythology of the Japanese state which was written down in the 7th and 8th century. In combination with this, many intellectuals argued that Korea had played an important role throughout most of Japanese history by acting as a place of transfer of knowledge from the Chinese empire to Japan.

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<sup>89</sup> Askew, 'Empire and the Anthropologist' 141-147

Anthropologists, who were interested in the origin of the Japanese, were thus also very interested in Korea.<sup>90</sup>

Ryūzō played a key role in doing research on the Korean people and on Korean history. Just a couple of months after the annexation of Korea, he was asked by colonial authorities to catalog the archeological heritage of Korea and to do research on the local population. Ryūzō was thus actively involved in the colonial project here and would travel to Korea for a few months every year between 1911 and 1916. At the same time he did a great amount of research within Japan's national borders as well as writing and teaching. His second major project was in Siberia. During the chaos of the Russian Civil War (1917-1923) parts of Eastern Siberia had come to be occupied by the Japanese army due to an international intervention of the allied forces of WWI. While in Eastern Siberia, He mainly carried out research on the culture of the local population here in order to research their relationship to the Japanese people. These expeditions mainly took place between 1919 and 1921, and the last one in 1928, was carried out after the area had come under control of the Soviet Union. Most of Ryūzō's time was spent in Japan itself. He had become responsible for the anthropological collection of TIU due to the sudden death of his mentor Tsuboi Shogoro in 1913 and in 1922 he took his mentor's title and became the second professor of Anthropology at TIU.<sup>91</sup>

However he quit this position only two years later in 1924 due to disagreements with other staff members. This disagreement was mainly centered around the dissertation of a student called Matsumura Akira who had written about physical anthropology. Nakazono Eisuke, a biographer of Ryūzō, wrote that the dispute centered around Ryūzō's disagreement with the methods used by Matsumura. The two other examiners did not see this problem. After a while Matsumura handed in the same dissertation without addressing any of the problems that Ryūzō had pointed out, and this led Ryūzō to resign. In the background of this event there were three major factors which influenced his decision. Firstly Matsumura was the son of a professor of the same faculty at TIU. Secondly one of the other examiners was Koganei Yoshikyo, one of the foremost anatomists and physical anthropologists in Japan. Koganei had contributed to the start of Ryūzō's academic career. Thirdly, the last examiner was a botanist and had no experience in (physical) anthropology.

Due to pressure from colleagues within the faculty as well as due to his respect for Koganei, Ryūzō had to approve Matsumura's dissertation. In the wake of this he decided to

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<sup>90</sup> Oguma Eiji, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-Images*, David Askew (trans.), (Melbourne 2002) 81-86

<sup>91</sup> Askew, 'Empire and the Anthropologist' 141-147

resign, in order to make a statement about this dissertation and because he did not want to work with Matsumura. This resignation was further encouraged by an increasing focus on physical anthropology at TIU. Whereas Ryūzō had become more interested in archaeology and ethnology, most of the other members of the TAS had moved into the direction of physical anthropology. Thus there had already been longer tensions in the background. In the wake of this resignation, Matsumura was made a lecturer and replaced Ryūzō as caretaker of the anthropological collection of TIU.<sup>92</sup>

### Kimiko during this period

During this period Kimiko seems to have once again played a smaller role in Torii's fieldwork. She did not go with him on most of his expeditions after 1908, she does seem to have retained an important role as a co-author and assistant in his work on Mongolia and Manchuria. The most important result of their collaboration was an article on the ancient inhabitants of Eastern Mongolia which they published in 1914. Discovering the identity of these inhabitants had been one of the major goals of the 1906-1908 expedition to Mongolia. It was also one of the research goals on which both partners collaborated most extensively during the expedition. The article was written in French. It could have been written in this language in order to appeal to an international (Western) audience, rather than just the native Japanese one.

That Ryūzō decided to name Kimiko as his co-author is very special considering that Ryūzō was the only one with an official academic position. Deciding on whether to present an article as the work of one person or both, was an important decision as it gave public recognition to the scientific collaboration, and could be a boost for the wife's career. Shared authorship was also sometimes seen as a problem by the couples, as co-authorship could be identified as a danger to the career perspectives of young husbands.<sup>93</sup> At the same time Kimiko does seem to have acquired some authority, because, on the title page of the article, she is presented as 'member of the Tokyo Anthropological Society'.<sup>94</sup> Her name is printed in the same font and size as Ryūzō. The article is written from the perspective of both authors by using the word 'nous' (we) to refer to themselves. Thus the exact details of the collaboration were left vague by the couple. In a very small number of cases the co-authors referred to themselves as 'moi et ma femme' (me and my wife) rather than 'nous'. This does

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<sup>92</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō* 288-295

<sup>93</sup> 'Introduction' in *Creative Couples* 4

<sup>94</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, 'Archaeological and Ethnological Studies' in *Journal of the College of Science Tokyo Imperial University* 1



seem to indicate that the article was written from the perspective of Ryūzō rather than of both partners. However, this usage of language could also be the product of the translator of the text, as the text was translated by a French missionary and friend of the family called Ernest Auguste Tulpin.<sup>95</sup> He had baptized Ryūzō after his conversion to Catholicism in the wake of their return from Mongolia in 1908. Kimiko had converted at an earlier date and had encouraged her husband to also become a christian.<sup>96</sup> How much of the writing was produced by Kimiko or by Ryūzō is unclear due to their co-authorship, however a large amount of both their fieldwork was included in the research as she helped in gathering archeological objects and excavating sites.

One part of the text does seem to be more in the field of research of Kimiko. In the middle part of their text the couple discussed several patterns which they found on ancient Mongolian pottery. The couple then went on to compare the patterns of the ancient pottery to patterns on the clothing of contemporary Mongolians. They argued that while some Mongolian groups had continued to use these patterns on their clothing others had stopped using them and had rather adapted Chinese designs.<sup>97</sup> Both Ryūzō and Kimiko could thus mix and match their research according to their needs.

In her autobiographical article Kimiko was rather quiet about the period between 1908 and 1926. In the chapter on the period after their return from their first trip to Mongolia Kimiko quickly moved between two events in Ryūzō's life that are separated by almost eleven years without mentioning any events in between: 'After that, professor Tsuboi died from illness in the Russian capital [1913], and Torii became the chief of the anthropological classroom and he became the assistant professor in charge of lectures [likely on anthropology]. But due to certain reasons he resolutely resigned, and he decided to take up a position as a 'town scholar' (machi no gakusha), and he called it [their new organization] the Torii Anthropological Research Institute [1924], and the entire family became researchers and this was paid for on our own expense.'<sup>98</sup>

These changes played a significant role in the life of Ryūzō and greatly influenced his work, however Kimiko did not mention anything of the period in between these two events. The Torii Anthropological Research Institute was a research institute that was run by the Torii family. The members of the institute included Ryūzō, Kimiko and their children. At this time

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<sup>95</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, 'Archaeological and Ethnological Studies' in *Journal of the College of Science Tokyo Imperial University* 4

<sup>96</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō* 312

<sup>97</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, 'Archaeological and Ethnological Studies' in *Journal of the College of Science Tokyo Imperial University* 66-69

<sup>98</sup> Torii Kimiko 'Walking Through "History"' 198

Ryūzō was not entirely independent. After his resignation from TIU Ryūzō became a professor at Kokugakuin University, a private university in Tokyo. Ryūzō thus still had a base income to fund his research activities and publications.<sup>99</sup>

Kimiko did give a short description of her work for Ryūzō during the 1910s and early 1920s. Here she mentioned that Ryūzō was rather uncomfortable with talking with colleagues. This led him to often send Kimiko in his place, which had certain benefits for her: ‘Torii hated visiting his mentors (senpai), so when an important matter would come up, he would, without exception, make me go in his stead. (...) I would always go out and come back after completing the important matter, and, as a result of this, I naturally became familiar with several teachers (sensei). Because of this, when I finished writing *Mongolia Seen From an Ethnological Perspective*, all of these teachers gladly wrote forewords [for my book].’<sup>100</sup>

Kimiko was thus often sent to handle matters with Ryūzō’s colleagues and mentors. These matters were likely important as Kimiko was the only one who was informed enough to be able to discuss matters of Ryūzō’s academic and professional work. If there was anything less important Ryūzō could easily send a letter or send someone who did not have as much knowledge. She was thus able to get into regular contact with teachers and professors at TIU, and to have her own network of contact with academics, through her work as representative of Ryūzō. This could help her in expanding her knowledge as well in giving her more academic recognition due to being a familiar figure to many other academics. This also kept her in the loop about many academic and scientific developments. This was also an important part of their collaboration. Ryūzō, who was part of a large academic network, could not properly utilize this network due to his poor social skills. Kimiko’s social abilities thus allowed the couple to stay in touch with this network, and thus improved their opportunities.

She further seems to have been recognized at the university as she was asked by a professor of the imperial university to give a speech at a meeting of students and professors. The speech was about her speciality, Mongolian music, and was specifically titled ‘Research on Melodies and Lyrics of Mongolia’. Kimiko was thus active in academic circles and could present her own research on the very specific subject of Mongolian music. During the early 1910 and 1911 Kimiko produced the first serialized version of her travel diary which was published in the *Magazine of the Tokyo Anthropological Society* (tōkyō jinruigakkai zasshi).

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<sup>99</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō* 301-308

<sup>100</sup> Torii Kimiko ‘Walking Through “History”’ 198

This already included several of her observations and her research which she would present in her later book.<sup>101</sup>

Two more children were born in the 1910s: In 1910 a second daughter, Midoriko, was born and in 1916, a second son, Ryūjirō. The birth of these children could have affected her participation in the fieldwork of Ryūzō, as Ryūzō's parents, whose child care had allowed Kimiko to travel to Mongolia between 1906 and 1908, had died in 1909 and 1912. The oldest children, Ryūo and Sachiko, would go to France in 1923 and 1924 in order to study anthropology there. However due to complications from an illness Ryūo would die in Paris in 1927 and Sachiko, who returned to Japan, brought a lock of hair of Ryūo as a memento.<sup>102</sup> Kimiko seems to have been less involved in the work of her husband during this period especially after they finished their article on the prehistoric peoples of Mongolia in 1914. However, she was still actively involved in academic circles due to her work for Ryūzō during this period, which allowed her to be familiar with many important academics from TIU.

## Family Expeditions

From 1926 onwards Ryūzō and Kimiko once again traveled together to the Asian continent. From 1928 onwards the children of the couple also joined their parents for the first time in their expeditions. Their first new expedition, an expedition to Shandong in 1926, was centered around ancient archaeology. However, due to a flaring up of violence, the couple had to evacuate prematurely, without carrying out a lot of work. In 1927 Ryūzō would make a research trip by himself to Manchuria, which was stable enough at this time for him to do research, due to the powerful rule of a local warlord, Zhang Zuolin. After this the family would travel together every so often. They would travel to Manchuria and Mongolia in 1928, 1930, 1932, 1933 and 1935. During the Second Sino-Japanese War the family would continue their fieldwork from their new base in Beijing. The family was stationed here due to Ryūzō being given a post at the American Yenching University in Beijing in 1939. Yenching university was an institute partially funded by Harvard University. By the time that Ryūzō joined the University, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1939) had already been raging for two years and the Japanese empire had occupied large swathes of Northern and Eastern China, including Beijing.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Ibidem 195

<sup>102</sup> Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō* 308-311

<sup>103</sup> Ibidem 327-347

## Interests

The goals of these later expeditions were mainly related to doing research into the history and archaeology of the Liao dynasty (916-1127), which continued to be the main area of research until his death in 1953. His other main area of interest remained the prehistoric period of Mongolia. Other interests moved to the background. In the book published in the wake of their family trip to Mongolia and Manchuria in 1932, Ryūzō mentioned the following: ‘If asked what we did during our investigation, this mainly extended to the two items of the prehistory of Eastern Mongolia and the culture of Khitan (Liao).’<sup>104</sup> In an expedition from 1928 to Russian Siberia, Manchuria and Mongolia the main goal was also centered on doing research on archaeological sites.

It is not entirely clear why the Liao dynasty was such a central theme of research for him, as it moved far away from his previous research into the prehistoric period of Mongolia and Manchuria. His research connected these areas to Japan through the hypothesis that the Japanese originally came from Northeastern Asia. Ryūzō had already done quite some research on the Liao dynasty during his first stay in Mongolia together with Kimiko, but he did not explain in his own diaries of the expedition why this was one of their research goals. A part of it could be that ruins and archaeological objects were just widely available and very prominent within Inner Mongolia, due to the center of power of the Liao dynasty being located within this region. The Liao dynasty was an imperial dynasty of China that was led by an ethnic group related to the Mongolians. The Liao dynasty was roughly concurrent with the Northern Song dynasty (960 - 1127), and both dynasties recognized one another as equals, due to a military stalemate. It seems that Ryūzō was interested in the Liao dynasty because he thought there was a cultural connection between the Liao dynasty and Japan:

One would think that a country like our Japan, due to its soil (tochi) being distant [from the Liao dynasty], has no connections [to the Liao dynasty], however when we think from Liao culture, it is very similar to the culture of the Heian [794 -1185] and Fujiwara period [ca.894 - 1185]. This is confirmed through paintings, carvings, and religion etc. The culture of the Liao also has some parts that are chewed [?] through (soka shita tokoro), however the parts that are similar (yotte kuru tokoro) are the influence of the culture of the later Tang period (tou matsu) [9th century], the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period [907 - 979], and the Northern Song period [960 -1127]. This [influence] extended to multiple fields (iroiro na ten). The culture from the Five Dynasties and Ten

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<sup>104</sup> Torii Ryūzō and Torii Kimiko, *Exploring Manchuria and Mongolia Again* 500

Kingdoms Period up to the Northern Song period also affected Japan. This is the culture of the Heian and Fujiwara periods. In this point Japan and the Khitan [the Mongolic people group leading the Liao dynasty] are linked (renketsu shiteiru) with Northern Song in the middle.<sup>105</sup>

Ryūzō thus argues for similarity in cultures between Japan of the Heian Period and the Khitan Liao dynasty. At the same time he does not argue that this cultural connection is a direct link. He argues that both the culture of Liao dynasty as well as the culture of Japan during the ninth, tenth and eleventh century was the result of cultural influence from the Tang dynasty, the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period and Northern Song dynasty. The Liao dynasty did not directly influence Japan, rather, both the Liao dynasty and Japan were influenced by these mainly Han-Chinese dynasties. The indirect relationship between Japan and the Liao dynasty differed from the direct connection that he highlighted in his work on prehistoric Mongolia.

The goals of the expedition thus narrowed down significantly. In contrast to their investigation of Mongolia between 1906 and 1908, which featured a wide anthropological investigation of the area, the investigation of 1928 was squarely focussed on two archaeological subjects. Kimiko, while helping her husband with archaeology, also worked on carrying out ethnological research and would present this in their book *From Siberia To Mongolia and Manchuria* (1930). She continued to work on her own research, but on a smaller scale than in her work in Mongolia between 1906 and 1908.

### Division of labor

Due to the participation of the children of the couple the division of labor changed. Most of the physical research activities would now be done by the children rather than the parents. Ryujirō would take over as cameraman from Ryūzō while Midoriko and Sachiko would specialize themselves in drawings. During the 1930 expedition to Manchuria and Mongolia, Ryūzō had already stopped making photographs himself and had instead gotten the assistance of a Japanese cameraman. Ryūzō would remain the leader of the expedition and Kimiko would be his general assistant in these journeys. Kimiko and Ryūzō thus seem to have been more focussed on selecting and organizing material to be used in their research.

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<sup>105</sup> Manmo wo futatabi Saguru 503; I translated soka 咀嚼 here as chewing through because I could not find a proper translation or definition of the word. In the context however, if one reads from the negation, it seems to imply that there are parts that are different rather than chewed.

Kimiko described her work during this period as follows: ‘When we went on a research journey, I automatically turned into a man (*danseika*) and I could only think of Torii as an older or younger brother. (...) I would run around an archaeological site, and I would gather or consult the survey map, and, in order not to miss anything, I would keep a watchful eye on all directions, and if necessary, I would bring Torii with me, show him, and make stone rubbings of all things, which should be made stone rubbings, and make photographs of all things (*shashin ni osameru*), which should be made photographs of.’<sup>106</sup> She thus seems to have actively been involved in all kinds of activities while doing research on archaeological sites and she also seems to have had a lot of knowledge about the subjects her husband was researching, as she would guide him or the camera person to sites which she deemed to be archaeologically relevant. She thus actively worked together with Ryūzō in doing research.

We can see that in terms of interests Ryūzō further specialized in archaeology during the later expeditions to China and Manchuria. While archaeology had already been an important field of study during the Mongolia expeditions between 1906 and 1908, this now became the sole focus of Ryūzō. Kimiko kept up her support to Ryūzō in this field, while also still doing some ethnological studies of Manchuria during the family trip there in 1929. Ryūzō change of interest. The children also seem to have been interested in anthropology and archaeology as Ryūo, the oldest son, even went to France to study anthropology, while the other children started helping their parents with fieldwork. At the same time both parents mainly worked on researching the gathered materials and giving direction to the children, who did most of the photography and sketching. Kimiko had developed to this position as she was actively involved in the work of her husband for most of their time together after the 1st and 2nd Mongolia Expeditions. While there was less collaboration in fieldwork in the period following these expeditions to Mongolia, there was a lot of collaboration in writing and doing research. This can be seen in their co-authorship of the article on Mongolian prehistory. From the late 20s onwards Kimiko and Ryūzō would once again actively go on expeditions together.

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<sup>106</sup> Torii Kimiko, ‘Walking Through “History”’ 198

## Conclusion

Now we turn back to the original main question: ‘How can we define the scientific collaboration between Torii Kimiko and Torii Ryūzō?’ The scientific collaboration between the two partners seems to have gradually developed. In the lead up to their marriage, there was a large gap in knowledge and experience between Kimiko and Ryūzō in the field of anthropology. This was partially due to Ryūzō being older and having studied at TIU, but it was also because Kimiko was not allowed to study at general universities. She did manage to start an education in music theory, but this was cut short due to her sudden marriage with Ryūzō. As there was the social norm that women should become housewives after their marriage, Kimiko was unable to finish her education. In the years after her marriage she would build up her knowledge of archaeology and history by visiting archaeological sites in Japan, as well as by assisting her husband during their fieldwork in Mongolia. Here she also developed other anthropological skills like ethnology, which according to Ryūzō, was better suited to her, due to her gender. Thus she was able to develop herself as an ethnologist and archaeologist in her own right. During the fieldwork she also actively helped Ryūzō who was often dependent on Kimiko for more precise tasks. She was also able to work on her own field of research by investigating the music of Mongolia. Their collaboration intensified during this period and Kimiko was now closer to Ryūzō in terms of skills, knowledge and prestige than before. She also further increased her presence in the academic world and the public consciousness by publishing a diary of the trip.

In the wake of their trip to Mongolia, Ryūzō’s interest moved from a wide anthropological survey of different areas of East and Southeast Asia, to a relatively narrow archaeological investigation of Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia. Kimiko in turn also moved closer to this field of research. She would continue her ethnological research, but this would become secondary in importance and she entirely stopped researching music. With the participation of their children in their field work from the late 1920s onwards Kimiko moved into a more senior position. Now the children did most of the simpler tasks, whereas Kimiko and Ryūzō worked together on studying the new archaeological sites and material they had found. In the wake of her trip with Ryūzō to Mongolia Kimiko also began publishing several works, both academic and non-academic, and officially became a member of the anthropological society of Japan. This gave her her own semi-academic position and it also allowed her to get into contact more frequently with many of Ryūzō’s colleagues. We can see that Kimiko came into a relatively strong position, especially for a woman. At the same time

she was unable to get close to Ryūzō in terms of scientific prestige, due to him having an academic position. Kimiko was limited to her position as a member of TAS due to her gender. There were thus limits on the equality of the collaboration from the start. However at the same time the productive and personal elements of the relationship seem to have been very strong. Both partners seem to have aligned their interests while having worked together on different projects during a period spanning nearly 50 years.

We can make two main conclusions about their scientific collaboration: Firstly, Kimiko played an essential role in the success of Ryūzō's career. Secondly Ryūzō and Kimiko both broke and maintained many of the gender boundaries of Japan. In regards to the first point we can see that Kimiko, both directly and indirectly, made it possible for Ryūzō to carry out his research. While working in the field together Kimiko made measurements of archaeological sites, drew sketches and ethnologically studied the local population. While on their first and second expedition to Mongolia Kimiko also cared for their child, Sachiko, and took care of the luggage. In Japan she supported him directly by co-authoring their article on the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia. At the same time she indirectly supported him by visiting academic colleagues and friends in his stead, which Ryūzō was either unable or unwilling to do. She also took care of the household, raised their children and worked on her own research on music which was different though compatible with Ryūzō's own research on the origin of the Japanese. She thus played an essential role in the success of Ryūzō's career.

Secondly the couple broke many social conventions regarding gender, while also maintaining many of them. The couple broke many gender norms by doing research together on the frontier of the Japanese empire. Firstly, Kimiko, a wife who was supposed to stay at home and take care of the children, went on an expedition to Mongolia and traveled around the area under rough conditions. This was an affront to the concept of *ryōsai boken* (good wife, wise mother). Secondly, while on expeditions to Mongolia and Manchuria, Kimiko directly contributed to the research of her husband by working side-by-side with him. Doing scientific research was an activity mainly limited to men and women doing any type of work was discouraged by social norms. This tendency of Kimiko to help in her husband's work was further reinforced by the couple co-authoring a scientific article on near equal footing. That Ryūzō gave his wife so many opportunities to work together with him was also an essential factor in their collaboration. If neither Kimiko nor Ryūzō had been interested in collaborating, it would have been hard for both of them to become as successful in their scientific endeavors as they would end up being. At the same time the couple maintained many of the gender boundaries, as Kimiko was in charge of most household activities and



also had to care for the children. This can also be seen during the first and second expedition to Mongolia, where Kimiko had to pack the luggage and take care of Sachiko. She also did not use the camera, as this was only used by Ryūzō. Several years later their young son, Ryūjirō, was allowed to wield the camera.

The nature of fieldwork in a semi-colonial context allowed Kimiko to work together with her husband on his archaeological and anthropological research, while at the same also working on her own subjects, like for example music. In the metropolitan area there were a lot less possibilities for women to train to become scientists or to do research. Due to fieldwork taking place in a rough and hard setting, all hands were necessary to assist and this allowed Kimiko to develop herself into a scientist. This would have been impossible or very hard within mainland Japan due to the limited amount of education that was available to women in the late nineteenth century. Gender boundaries thus started to fade in this context of scientific fieldwork far away from the metropolitan area.

From this single case study of one scientific couple we can make some tentative conclusions about similarities in the possibilities for scientific collaboration between couples in the West and in Japan. Firstly, just like in the West there were many barriers for women to become independent scientists due to social expectations and a lack of academic positions open to women during the late 1800s and early 1900s. While tertiary education started to open up to women in this period, similar to in many Western countries, the academic world remained dominated by men. This meant that scientific collaboration was more often centered around the work and name of the husband, who more often did have an academic position. Secondly, an approachable way for women both in Japan and in the West to take part in the sciences was to help in side activities of research like for example making illustrations, editing texts, or working on research subjects that were considered to be softer. We can see this in Kimiko's case, as she first started to work on the softer scientific fields of ethnology and music. Thirdly, collaboration seems to have been easier outside of the imperial metropole. Distance from the social standards of their respective countries allowed couples to work together to a far greater degree. This tendency to collaborate was reinforced by a scarcity of university educated scholars in these areas.

Kimiko and Ryūzō played an essential role in each other's work and their support for their counterparts made it possible for both of them to rise above their own individual capabilities. Kimiko needed Ryūzō's help in studying anthropology and archaeology due to not being able to attend university herself. His academic position and prestige were also important tools for Kimiko in order to launch her own scientific career and to become more

prominently known in the public consciousness. He further seems to have encouraged her to help him in his research while also valuing her insights. Ryūzō also needed Kimiko's help both directly and indirectly. He needed someone to keep his life organized and to take care of him and their children. Kimiko was also essential to his scientific work due to her contributions to his anthropological and archaeological research. She aided him both during fieldwork as well as by co-authoring his academic work. Both thus could not have achieved all the things that they had without the help of one another.

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# Torii Family Research Expeditions Timeline

After: Nakazono Eisuke, *A Biography of Torii Ryūzō: The Anthropologist Who Travelled Throughout Asia* (torii Ryūzō den: ajia wo sōha shita jinruigakusha) (Tokyo 1995) 430-436

Up to 1906 all expedition are carried out by Ryūzō himself

1895 Manchuria Expedition (1st time)

1896-1900 Taiwan Expeditions (4 times)

1896 Okinawa Expedition on return from Taiwan (1st time)

1899 Northern Kuriles Expedition

1902 Southwestern China Expedition (Doctorate)

1904 Okinawa Expedition (2nd time)

1905 Manchuria Expedition (2nd time); Birth of first son Ryūo

First family expeditions

1906 First year in Kharachin Banner, Ryūzō and Kimiko

1907 Return to Japan, birth of Sachiko, Mongolia Expedition (1st time), Ryūzō and Kimiko

1908 Return to Japan, Mongolia Expedition (2nd time), Ryūzō and Kimiko

1909 Manchuria Expedition (3rd time), Ryūzō

1910 Birth of second daughter Midoriko

1911-1916 Every Spring Ryūzō to Korea, work for the colonial government, Ryūzō (6 times)

1911 Visit to Sakhalin, Ryūzō

1913 Death of Tsuboi

1916 Birth of second son Ryūjirō

1919 East Siberia Expedition (1st time), Ryūzō

1921 East Siberia Expedition (2nd time), Ryūzō

1923 Departure of Ryūo to France, Ryūzō becomes lecturer at Kokugakuin University

1924 Daughter Sachiko to Paris, Ryūzō resignation TIU, founding of Torii Research Institute

1926 Research Expedition to Shandong Peninsula in China, Ryūzō and Kimiko

1927 Manchuria Expedition (4th time), Ryūzō; Death of first son Ryūo

1928 East Siberia Expedition (3rd time), Ryūzō and Sachiko; Manchuria Expedition (5th time) Ryūzō, Kimiko and Sachiko

1930 Mongolia Expedition (3rd time), Ryūzō and Kimiko

1931 Manchuria Expedition (6th time) Ryūzō, Kimiko, Ryūjirō

1932 Manchuria Expedition (7th time), Ryūzō, Midoriko and Ryūjirō ; Korea (7th time), Ryūzō, Midoriko and Ryūjirō  
1933 Mongolia Expedition (4th time), Ryūzō, Kimiko, Midoriko and Ryūjirō; Manchuria Expedition (8th time), Ryūzō, Kimiko, Midoriko and Ryūjirō  
1935 Manchuria Expedition (9th time), Ryūzō, Kimiko and Ryūjirō; Northern China Expedition (1st time), Ryūzō, Kimiko and Ryūzō  
1937-1938 South America Expedition (Brazil, Peru and Bolivia), Ryūzō  
1938 Northern China Expedition (2nd time), Ryūzō and Ryūjirō  
1939 Ryūzō, joins Yenching University (American), Beijing  
1940 Manchuria Expedition (10th time), participants not mentioned (Ryūzō); Shanxi and Shandong Expedition, China, participants not mentioned (Ryūzō)  
1945-1952 Family remains in Beijing, further research on Liao dynasty (expeditions unclear)  
1952 Return to Japan  
1953 14 january death Ryūzō  
1959 19 august death Kimiko