

Inō Kanori (伊能嘉矩)

11 June 1867 - 30 September 1925

By Elai Kobayashi-Solomon

Inō Kanori was born in Northeastern Japan, in what is now the city of Tōno, Iwate, on 11 June 1867 into a line of scholars who had for generations served the powerful Nanbu daimyo before the collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate.¹ Inō's mother Chiyoko passed away of disease when Inō was three years old, and his father Morio left for Tokyo to study medicine the following year, leaving Inō to be raised by his paternal grandparents.²

A precocious student who developed an interest in writing from a young age, Inō received an early grounding in Confucian classics from his grandfather.³ Inō graduated from Yokota elementary school in 1880 with excellent grades, after which he studied Han studies and history at his grandfather's private school.⁴

During this period, Inō came under the influence of the Jiyū Minken Undō (Freedom and People's Rights Movement), a political and social campaign calling for civil rights and democracy in Japan, and Inō joined a local organization in support of the movement.⁵ Under the encouragement of his compatriots, Inō left for Tokyo to pursue further study

¹ Paul D. Barclay, "An historian among the anthropologists: The Inō Kanori revival and the legacy of Japanese colonial ethnography in Taiwan," *Japanese Studies* 21, ii (2001): 122; Chen Weizhi, *Yineng Jiaju: Taiwan lishi minzuzhi de zhankai* 伊能嘉矩：臺灣歷史民族誌的展開 [Inō Kanori: The emergence of historical ethnography in Taiwan] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daxue Chuban Zhongxin, 2014), p. 17, 272; Hu Jiayu and Cui Yilian, *Taida renleixuexi Yineng cangpin yanjiu* 臺大人類學系伊能藏品研究 [Studies on Inō's collection at the Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan Daxue Chuban Zhongxin, 1998), p. 21.

² "Inō Kanori: Taiwan to Tōno no kakehashi" 伊能嘉矩：台灣と遠野のかけ橋 [Inō Kanori: The bridge between Taiwan and Tōno], Tōno Culture Resource Center, 25 June 2014, <https://tonoculture.com/tono-museum/news/108/>, accessed 7 August 2020.

³ Barclay, 2001, p. 122; Chen, 2014, p. 18.

⁴ Chen, 2014, p. 272.

⁵ Chen, 2014, p. 18.

in 1895 and entered Nishogakusha private school. Rather than settling down in Tokyo, however, Inō returned to Iwate prefecture the following year to enroll as a state-financed student at Iwate Normal School.⁶ But Inō's time in Iwate was similarly short-lived, for in 1889, Inō was expelled from Iwate Normal School for instigating student unrest. Inō returned to Tokyo that same year and enrolled in Seitatsu Shoin, a private school founded by prominent Sinologist and historian Shigeno Yasutsugu.⁷ Inō also began working as a free-lance reporter and editor for several Tokyo news outlets,⁸ and he garnered a degree of recognition as a commentator on educational policy.⁹

While pursuing his education in Han studies and modern history at Seitatsu Shoin, Inō began to develop an interest in anthropology, and he joined the Tokyo Anthropological Society, founded by prominent Japanese anthropologist Tsuboi Shōgorō in 1893.¹⁰ The following year, Inō co-founded the Jinruigaku Kōshūkai (Anthropological Study Society) with Torii Ryūzō to serve as a complement to Tsuboi's organization, with the goal of promoting knowledge of foreign developments in anthropology.¹¹ Under the tutelage of Tsuboi and Shigeno, Inō gained a foothold in methods of fieldwork, comparative ethnography, and historical analysis, and Inō's diverse engagement with Tokyo's news, education, and anthropological circles led him to establish important networks that would come to play important roles in Inō's later anthropological work.¹²

A crucial turning point in Inō's life came in 1895, when the Qing government ceded Taiwan to Japan following its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War. Inō set out for Taiwan in November 1895 as an employee of the Japanese military¹³ after submitting a petition to Japanese officials that outlined the needs and opportunities posed by studying Taiwan's Aborigines.¹⁴ Upon arriving in Taiwan, Inō was employed by the

⁶ Chen, 2014, p. 18; Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 25.

⁷ Chen, 2014, p. 18.

⁸ Barclay, 2001, p. 123; Chen, 2014, pp. 18-19; Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 25.

⁹ Barclay, 2001, p. 123.

¹⁰ Chen, 2014, p. 19; Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 26.

¹¹ Barclay, 2001, p. 123.

¹² Chen, 2014, pp. 18-21.

¹³ Chen, 2014, p. 21; Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 26.

¹⁴ Barclay, 2001, p. 124.

Records Office of the Taiwan Government General, and in January 1896 he began working for the Bureau of Educational Affairs, subsequently serving as a language instructor at the Taiwan Government General's Chinese language school.¹⁵

Despite his official position in the Japanese colonial government, Inō did not abandon his interest in anthropological research cultivated during his time in Tokyo. Rather, he worked to forge institutional links between the Taiwan Government General and Tsuboi's Tokyo Anthropological Society during his first several months in Taiwan. Alongside Tashiro Antei, who had written several ethnological descriptions of Okinawans in the 1880s, Inō founded the Taiwan Anthropological Society in December 1895.¹⁶ The goals of the new organization included research of Taiwan's historical documents and the customs of Han Chinese settlers,¹⁷ along with the establishment of a scholarly taxonomy of names for the different non-Chinese tribes of Taiwan.¹⁸ In July 1896, Inō conducted his first ethnographic study in Taiwan which investigated the Pingpu peoples of northeastern Taiwan, after which Inō began sending his research findings and notes in the form of letters to the Tokyo Anthropological Society for publication.¹⁹

Inō's official position in the Japanese colonial government provided both unique opportunities and hindrances to his anthropological research. One on one hand, Inō was provided access to historical documentation managed by the Taiwan Government General, and he conducted several officially commissioned ethnographic and historical studies in 1896, 1897, 1900, and 1904.²⁰ Indeed, Inō's reputation in large part came to be built upon a report he co-authored with fellow Bureau of Education commissioner Awano Dennojō during a 192-day expedition, encompassing the entire island, conducted between May and December of 1897, which reported on the various indigenous tribes of Taiwan.²¹

¹⁵ Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 26.

¹⁶ Barclay, 2001, p. 124.

¹⁷ Chen, 2014, pp. 21-22.

¹⁸ Barclay, 2001, p. 124.

¹⁹ Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 26.

²⁰ Chen, 2014, p. 23.

²¹ Barclay, 2001, p. 130.

That being said, Inō's professional duties and responsibilities also limited his opportunities to conduct long-term ethnographic research, and Inō was forced to utilize vacation time to complete most of his anthropological studies and fieldwork. Not one to be discouraged, however, Inō engaged in extensive fieldwork during his yearly New Year's vacation, traveling to cities such as Beihai, Xinzhu, and Miaoli, and he also conducted several studies on Han and local customs in Taipei and its surrounding areas.²²

Furthermore, although Inō would reside in Taiwan until 1906, he also made two, relatively brief trips back to Japan between 1895 and 1906. In late 1899, Inō left Taiwan after being laid off by the Taiwan Government General; Inō was rehired and returned to Taiwan in late 1899. In 1903, Inō traveled to Osaka to help organize an exposition hosted by the Taiwan Government General's Bureau of Productive Industries.²³

During his time serving in the Taiwan Government General, Inō also participated in several semi-official intellectual groups and organizations, all of which helped Inō establish important connections and networks on the island. In 1898, Inō became a committee member of the Banjyō Kenkyūkai (Aborigine Research Association), established by a handful of Government General officials, local officials, and civilians, and in 1900 Inō joined the Taiwan Kanshū Kenkyūkai (Taiwan Customs Research Association), a similar association aimed at investigating the culture and customs of Han Chinese settlers in Taiwan. Inō participated in several similar associations and organizations over the following years.²⁴

Inō remained in Taiwan until 1906, serving in various departments of the Taiwan Government General while continuing to engage in anthropological and historical research. During his ten-year stay in Taiwan, Inō wrote hundreds of reports and published several books on Taiwanese anthropology and history,²⁵ and many of Inō's reports, ethnographic studies, and notes were published in academic journals, newspapers, and magazines in both Japan and Taiwan.²⁶ Perhaps Inō's greatest contribution during this period was to provide a detailed classification system of the indigenous tribes of Taiwan. Inō was the first to classify the tribes of the island into

²² Chen, 2014, pp. 23-24

²³ Chen, 2014, p. 23.

²⁴ Chen, 2014, p. 24.

²⁵ Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 26.

²⁶ Chen, 2014, p. 25.

several groups, in contrast to the traditional Qing classification which arbitrarily and imprecisely divided the indigenous peoples as either *shoufan* (cooked/submitted) or *shengfan* (raw/wild).²⁷ These accomplishments helped to establish Inō's reputation as an expert in Taiwan affairs and a serious scholar of anthropology, and several of Inō's reports were translated into European languages, such as German.²⁸

In 1906, Inō returned to Tōno following the death of his paternal grandmother, bringing his decade-long stay in Taiwan to a close. Although Inō was to live out the rest of his life in Tōno, Inō never completely severed his ties to Taiwan. He retained contact with the Taiwan Government General and on several occasions assisted in drafting plans for conducting anthropological and historical research, and Inō also made brief visits to Taiwan in 1907, 1909, and 1912 to serve as a consultant for the Taiwan Government General.²⁹ In addition, Inō founded a private museum called Taiwankan in Tōno, which exhibited the historical documents and materials about Han and indigenous culture that he had collected during his time in Taiwan.³⁰

Furthermore, upon commencing his new life in Tōno, Inō -- never one to stay idle -- began collecting historical documentation and studying the local customs and folk tales of his hometown. In 1909, he met Yanagita Kunio, who later would go on to become a famous scholar of Japanese local folklore, and Inō maintained periodic correspondence with Yanagita for the rest of his life. In 1910, Inō founded the Tōnoshi Dankai (Tōno History Association) with Suzuki Shigeo, and spent the next several years researching the local history and customs of Tōno, publishing a series of books on the subject.³¹

In 1922, Inō was hired by the Office of the Taiwan Governor General to write what would be his last major academic work: a history of Taiwan during the Qing dynasty before the Japanese occupation. Inō spent the next several years working on this project but was ultimately unable to complete the work due to his death from malaria on 30 September 1925. The study, which is now considered one of Inō's representative works, was later

²⁷ Hu and Cui, 1998, p. 30.

²⁸ Chen, 2014, pp. 25-26.

²⁹ Chen, 2014, p. 26.

³⁰ Chen, 2014, p. 27.

³¹ Chen, 2014, p. 27.

completed by Ino's pupil Itazawa Isao and Yanagita Kunio in 1928 and published in Tokyo under the title *Taiwan bunkashi*.³²

Selected Publications:

"Die wilden Stämme von Formosa, ihre Einteilung und ihr Kulturzustand" [The wild tribes of Formosa; their classification and their cultural state]. *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 34 (1899): 63-74.

Taiwan shi 台灣志. Tokyo: Bungakusha, 1902.

Taiwan nenpyō 台灣年表. Taihoku: Rinrō Shooku, 1903.

Taiwan banseishi 臺灣蕃政志. Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Minseibu Shokusankyoku, 1904.

Ryōtai jūnenshi 領臺十年史. Taipei: Shinkōdō, 1905.

Taiwan bunkashi 台灣文化志. Tokyo: Ozorasha, 1928.

³² Chen, 2014, p. 26.