Another Voyage

Interview with the New Director-General

In April 2009, Professor Ken’ichi Sudo was appointed as the new Director-General of the National Museum of Ethnology. Prof. Sudo worked at Minpaku from 1975 through 1993, and then taught at Kobe University. Our newsletter editors, Akiko Mori and Minoru Mio, conducted the following interview on March 4, 2009, on the eve of his new appointment.

The early years of Minpaku and anthropology in Japan

Mori: First, we would like to introduce you as a scholar of anthropology. Having taken up your first post at Minpaku in 1975, during Minpaku’s early days, you were engaged in fieldwork as a specialist in Oceania. Could you tell us about those times?

Sudo: I took up my first post at Minpaku in October 1975. For the first two years, I worked on preparations for the first public opening and exhibition in 1977, and collected materials of various ethnic groups for this purpose. I was able to focus on my own research only after the exhibition started. Together with Shuzo Ishimori (currently Director, Hokkaido University Center for Advanced Tourism Studies), both assistant professors, about 31 or 32 at the time, we applied for a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research.

We chose Micronesian society for our research because of its surviving seafaring techniques. Even as late as the 1970s some people on several Micronesian islands were still making journeys of hundreds of kilometers — up to 800 kilometers.

Micronesia is the home of the Checheneni, an ocean-going canoe displayed in Minpaku’s permanent exhibition. Back then, our anthropological research tended to focus on societies that were as far away, isolated, and traditional as possible. We figured that since the Oceania region had preserved traditional seafaring techniques, it must have in place the corresponding social systems to support the preservation of traditional knowledge — not limited to seafaring — and it must be using its resources based on that knowledge. With these presumptions, we began a project on the ‘Traditional Art of Navigation in the Central Carolines’, 1978–80, led by Ishimori. We conducted preliminary research...
for four months, followed by our main research, which lasted ten months in 1979–80.

**Mori**: Looking back on the state of Japanese cultural anthropology at the time, this kind of long-term research project was still rare, wasn’t it?

**Sudo**: Yes, that was really the beginning, except for Africa. By the latter half of the 1970s, we were relatively better positioned to conduct research abroad using Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research.

**Mori**: In 2007, Minpaku held a special exhibition, ‘Great Ocean Voyage: Vaka Moana and Island Life Today’, a joint project with Auckland Museum, New Zealand. The exhibition was largely themed on seafaring technologies, and it seemed to be related to your research back in the 1970s and 80s.

**Sudo**: To revive lost seafaring technologies in Oceania and particularly Polynesia was a popular subject of research for prehistorians, archeologists, and anthropologists in Hawai’i, Australia, and New Zealand. The islands of Micronesia were a target, and since researchers from the U.S.A., New Zealand, and Australia had not yet surveyed the seafaring technologies of Satawal Island, we decided to do it. There were three of us including Tomoya Akimichi (currently Deputy Director-General, Research Institute for Humanity and Nature).

**Mori**: You were known as the ‘Satawal Three’.

**Sudo**: Yes, that’s right. Satawal Island is one square kilometer in area with a population of 500 people. Then the three of us ended up on the island to do our anthropological research. Our work yielded some excellent results, and the fact that we were able to give something back to the people is testament to our success. It was the initial installment of our first long-term fieldwork project, and it was really an unusual project because all three of us were still assistant professors... We did compete with each other even as we collaborated on research. Sometimes we fought amongst ourselves, which made the research really intense. We were all about the same age.

**Mio**: Did you know each other before coming to Minpaku?

**Sudo**: Yes, we met in 1974, the year before, in Okinawa project. And in 1975 there was the Okinawa Expo¹.

The Oceanic Culture Museum, part of a government exhibition at the Okinawa Expo, was designed to showcase materials illustrating the lifestyle of the region stretching from Southeast Asia to the Pacific Islands. In 1974, we were on a mission to collect appropriate materials and conduct research over a nine-month period. The person in charge was Tadao Umesao². He directed a group of us — about fifteen students selected from graduate schools in Japan. Ishimori and I were both doing research in Micronesia. It was then that I first met Ishimori. At that time, the establishment of Minpaku was already in the planning, and Umesao said to the fifteen of us, “I bet we’ll be seeing some professional anthropologists emerging from amongst you here. I’ll be looking forward to that.” Back then, there were very few opportunities for graduate students, so even the chance to do research for the Okinawa Expo was important. It was just after the period of radical student movements, and some people were wondering why someone like me would be in charge of the Okinawa Expo project, which was a government-academic collaboration and initiative.

Ishimori was the first to work for Minpaku (April 1975), followed by me, and Akimichi joined (April 1977).

**Mori**: The Okinawa Expo helped to establish Minpaku’s position in the museum’s early days, didn’t it? I mean,

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1) The Okinawa Expo (Expo’75) was held by then Prime Minister Takeo Miki over the period of July 1975 through January 1976. Okinawa had been repatriated three years earlier, on May 15, 1972, under President Nixon and Prime Minister Eisaku Sato.

2) The first Director-General, from 1974–1993, and current Special Advisor to Minpaku.
since the Expo was government-sponsored, your team was already doing government-related work headed by Umesao, right?

**Sudo:** Yes, that’s right. Umesao started talking about possibly using the big Okinawa Expo building as a pavilion and institution for Minpaku.

**Mio:** Going back a little to what we were talking about earlier, when did you first become interested in Oceania?

**Sudo:** It was after I joined a doctoral program. When I was a Master’s degree student, I traveled to the Izu Islands, the Amami-Oshima Islands, and Kikaijima Island for research. It was comparative research on families, kinship and social structure, and diversity in Japan’s patriarchal family systems. There I became interested in matrilineal kinship systems — I thought I would focus on matrilineal kinship systems on the islands, comparing men’s positions and authority structures in matrilineal and patriarchal societies.

**Mio:** When you were researching seafaring technology, including traditional methods, did you ever get to steer a vessel yourself?

**Sudo:** I was the only one who actually rode in a canoe. In fact I was scared the first time. We were buffeted around by a storm for three hours. There was an island called Lamotrek near Satawal Island — I think it was about eighty kilometers away. There was a funeral on this island, and an old woman wanted to attend it. Then a group of family members suddenly got together and left, and I joined. They left even though the weather wasn’t so good.

I felt better about it by telling myself that of course the canoe was made of wood, and I could swim, so even if the canoe capsized I could just grab onto it — all I’d have to do was to be careful not to be eaten by sharks!

After that I got hooked, and began traveling to uninhabited islands. But the things I’d learned ‘on land’ before going to the islands just wasn’t enough...it wasn’t enough at all. In contrast, the people of the islands already have a great deal of knowledge ingrained in them by the time they are seven or eight years old. Satawal Island is formed of coral reef and the palm trees are only about thirty meters tall. If you go about eight kilometers out, you can’t see the island anymore — we are just floating on the ocean. They would know if we started to drift and we could go back if this happened. We were always able to go back to our position before drifting and start again. And when they said we would see the island in the morning, we did indeed!

**Mori:** That’s incredible.

**Sudo:** Back in the 1980s, I created an extensive matrilineal genealogy on Satawal. The people there kept information on their ancestors secret, and they believed that if any outsider got access to this information then someone would die or fall ill, and so at first they refused to tell me anything. But the situation finally changed after I went for preliminary research once and then for my main research three times. By that time, I was able to recognize people when I saw their faces or heard their names. I also knew who the parents of each child were. The people soon realized that I really wanted to learn about them. They began to say to themselves, “Our son isn’t interested in knowing about us and our ancestors, but at least we can pass on this knowledge to Sudo.” So I asked them if I could learn about their genealogy, and they gave me a copy to them and also take one home for myself.

However, now the people of the
Getting information from a Yap village elder (Yap Island, 2006)

3) JCAS closed in 2006 to become part of the Center for Integrated Area Studies (CIAS) at Kyoto University. *JCAS Joint Research Project on Population Movement in the Modern World (1996–2003).* Volume 1, was a research project with Minpaku.

island tell me that the genealogy actually had the opposite of the intended effect: since you can always refer to the genealogy, nobody has to remember anything anymore.

Another thing I did was to make a map of the island. There was no real map — there was only a kind of marine chart made by Japanese. The three of us and an assistant from the island made a map using a chronometer and a fifty-meter measuring tape. On that map we wrote the place-names and landholdings. We also surveyed which families and groups owned each parcel of land.

Even today, when there’s a dispute on the island, they say to me, “Sudo, show us the map, show us the map!”. Each piece of land has various different groups associated with it. For example, if somebody plants trees there they can claim ownership. The situation is so complicated, and none of the information I have is perfect, so I don’t show them the map. In any case, we did a very thorough job with the map. We were able to do this because Satawal is a small island of just one square kilometer.

Mori: You compiled a detailed monograph on the society of Satawal Island from the 1970s to the 1980s. Is it safe to say that you were engaged in social anthropology work on Satawal — similar to orthodox community studies?

Sudo: Yes, that’s right. We collected data using the approach of structural functionalism, and we wrote our monograph based on this data. I believe that we were actually able to observe social changes, and develop a historical perspective covering a period of about 100 years. But when we actually wrote up the information, things tended to become simplified, and our descriptions focused on circumstances of the moment.

Mori: One thing I find interesting here is that, on the one hand, when you were working to create exhibitions at the request of Minpaku, you were able to observe how knowledge is accrued by witnessing the peoples’ material culture. At the same time, you conducted intensive fieldwork as a social anthropologist. This meant that you could achieve something very detailed.

Sudo: Yes, that’s true. I really think it’s because we did the exhibition. The way I am now able to look at things, the importance of the material culture — these were all things I learned from doing the exhibitions. When I was a university student, I focused mainly on social structures, and I didn’t pay attention to material culture at all. On Satawal Island, I got the chance to observe the entire process of building an ocean going canoe, from cutting down the tree to the finishing touches. In this way I was fortunate to get a sense of the importance of the material aspect.

Mori: So your connection to Minpaku was a very beneficial one — in an academic sense as well, right?

Sudo: Yes. You really need to do both. We have to work on both the material and the people who used the material.

Research from the 1990s onward

Mori: It seems to me that the period when you could do that kind of intensive fieldwork was somewhat limited. What about your research after that?

Sudo: After finishing up on Satawal, I worked for about half a year on the Chuuk Islands, followed by Palau. I was doing comparative research on variations in Micronesian matrilineal kinship systems.

The Federated States of Micronesia was formed over the period of the late 1980s through the 1990s. Since the country had previously been under U.S. administration, it adopted a U.S.-style Congress, administration, judiciary, and other systems. The question of the role of traditional political systems then became an issue. I studied this issue in the 1990s.

Mori: Your work coincided with a time when the involvement of traditional systems in modern state systems became a main focus of academic interest, is that right?

Sudo: Yes. That theme was prevalent then. I attempted to understand Micronesia’s stance on global society — at a time when they were also trying to maintain their traditional social structures. Once I’d got a pretty good idea of these issues, I focused on Polynesia, a society that was a bit more actively involved in global trends, and that was trying to adapt. I became interested in the emigration of Polynesians overseas. I began this research when I was still at Minpaku, consulting with Shuji Yoshida of the Japan Center for Area Studies (JCAS)30. In March 1996, we held an international symposium called ‘Contemporary Migration in Oceania: Diaspora and Network’, with participants from Japan, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, and
other countries. The results were compiled into a book of the same name4).

As an example of recent research, I’d like to talk about a project conducted in the Solomon Islands of Melanesia. The Solomons are rich in resources. The country is supported by exports of marine and forest products, and has one of the most stable governments of the Pacific Island states. In fact, there is no other Pacific Island state with an almost even balance of imports and exports. Most of these countries’ exports amount to just 10% of their imports in terms of value.

In the late 1980s, tree felling was prohibited in Borneo’s forests. Up until that time, logging in Borneo was largely financed by Japanese capital, and the wood was sent to Japan. This caused a movement of people dealing in timber into New Guinea and the Solomons. They came to the small islands and cut down all the trees at once.

Many problems followed. The people were promised money but never received it. In fact, the government was receiving money from these deals, but the revenues were never passed on from the government to the people. Another problem arose: agricultural land was damaged by mudslides, and the rivers that people used for drinking water and bathing became polluted. The people were thus subjected to environmental degradation. Amidst this quagmire, churches and NGOs came to the islands, telling the people “To get the money you need, you have to manage your forests. We’ll lend you portable sawmill machinery so that you can cut the trees down little by little instead of all at once.” These developments launched a movement amongst the people to protect their own resources from the latter half of the 1990s through 2000. Around that time, I traveled to the Solomons to research this movement.

Mori: Your Solomon project appears closely related to research currently conducted by Minpaku, on social-environmental issues and the work of NGOs.

Sudo: Our research project5) was conducted as part of the JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) Research for the Future Program, led by Ryutaro Otsuka6). Due to ongoing civil conflict, the two research trips consisted mostly of collecting data at courthouses and at the Forestry Bureau.

Minpaku from a university professor’s point of view

Mio: Do you have any comments on Minpaku, looking back from the perspective of your position at Kobe University? I imagine that your work at the university, where you have regular classes, has been totally different from your work at Minpaku. With seventeen years at Minpaku and sixteen years at Kobe University, half of the research you’ve accomplished in your life has been at Minpaku and half at Kobe University. Can you tell us about some of the differences between the two institutions?

Sudo: I think it’s really a big question to consider how important education and training is to oneself. At Minpaku, I was free to go and do research when I wanted to, and could focus on it completely. But then I was faced with the question of whether it was truly enough for me just to be able to develop my own research. I began to ask myself if I should incorporate my research findings into educational efforts. I think that if I had stayed at Minpaku, I would have had the opportunity to become an international specialist on the region, but I had doubts about whether that was truly what I wanted to do. I came to believe that education was one way for me to do my part for society. To make it useful for educational purposes, research needs to be both broad-based and deep. Education isn’t something that impedes this process. I realize how important it is to achieve two-way communication and arrive at a synergistic effect (between myself and my students), so really I didn’t miss the setup at Minpaku. I feel that my time at Minpaku and my time at Kobe University complemented each other perfectly. I’m happy that half of my life as a researcher was spent at Minpaku and half at Kobe University.

Looking at Minpaku from an outside perspective, it seems to me that it’s sort of gone domestic — that publications of Minpaku are mostly oriented to the domestic researchers’ community. It bothers me, for instance, that Senri Ethnological Studies (SES) is now published less frequently. And in light of all the work we’ve done on the exhibitions, the number of annual visitors is small — less than 200,000.

I think that Minpaku has had two distinct missions since it was established. One is to
serve as a Japanese joint research center and the other is to contribute to society through exhibitions.

I think that Minpaku’s exhibitions are extremely well done. On the other hand, things are kind of left up to whoever can do the job, and the other people don’t contribute. Someone looking from the outside in might not get a sense that the museum is working hard as a whole to make the exhibitions more exciting.

From the beginning, Umesao did fundraising to collect funds from outside sources, holding international symposia biannually. The presentations at those symposia were always published in SES. There were also people who published the results of joint research projects. I think the fact that these two symposium series are no longer held has had a big impact on the publication of SES.

Mori: You’re talking about the Taniguchi Symposium? Two international symposia were held annually under the Taniguchi Symposium series: the ‘International Ethnological Symposium Series’ and the ‘Japanese Civilization in the Modern World’ conference. The results of both were published in English as the SES, and selected presentations were published as books in Japanese. The last of the Taniguchi Symposium series was held in 1998, because the sponsoring foundation was disbanded.

Sudo: (Another) fact is that Minpaku’s permanent exhibitions have hardly changed over time. We knew that would mean fewer visitors, and I also knew that special exhibitions would not be enough to make up for it. I think Minpaku needs to plan and rearrange things somewhat to get more people to come.

Mori: Perhaps one of the reasons for the declining numbers is that the world has changed so much over the last few decades. When Minpaku was first established, it was quite an unusual place but since then museums have been built everywhere around Japan. Many of them have adopted exhibit styles first developed by Minpaku. Cash-rich, industrial museums have adopted Minpaku techniques, and even tiny local museums have borrowed themes and methodology from Minpaku. Minpaku’s innovation (may have made) made all of this possible, but the end result is that we now have many museum facilities around the country that look virtually the same, and none of them really stands out. Of course this isn’t the only reason behind Minpaku’s declining numbers. There are many aspects to the issue.

Mio: Another thing is that there is a great deal more information coming in from overseas nowadays compared to the time when Minpaku was first established, and it’s available in a variety of forms. Japanese are going abroad now more than ever, and the ways that people travel are also more diverse. People go abroad not only for fun but as an integral part of their lives, including for business. This all means that the information available now about what’s going on overseas is entirely different than in the early days of Minpaku and the Okinawa Expo.

Mori: What’s interesting here, conversely, is that Minpaku was established as trends were moving in the direction of globalization, and in fact it was a leader of that trend. The existence of Minpaku served to spark public interest, and lots of people from various backgrounds became interested in what was happening overseas. So Minpaku has had a lot to do with these trends over the years.

Sudo: That’s really true. People used to come to Minpaku before going abroad. Nowadays it’s the opposite: we’d like to see people come here after they return from abroad to deepen their interest in whatever they may have seen.

Mori: Right, that’s the key.

Sudo: Yes, it may be something of a challenge, but I think that’s the kind of thing we should be focusing on. The idea is to understand other cultures through material objects. I’ve heard about the renovations going on at Minpaku now, and it seems they are incorporating this concept into their new exhibitions. I’m really looking forward to seeing how things will turn out.

Mio: On the subject of research, the field of anthropological research itself is changing. From your position at Kobe University, what is your view on the changes in research methodology and the way research was presented at Minpaku?

Sudo: Basically my position is that true anthropological research should be rooted in fieldwork. This means that in the process of fieldwork, at the location where you are conducting your research, you find a topic that’s important to you. You may deal with local people from the perspective of applied anthropology or anthropology-in-practice, or observe how they deal with outside forces. It’s my opinion that the science of anthropology really starts with fieldwork — that is exploring the question of how to understand the circumstances of the local people and their travails. Though the individual researcher should develop an awareness of issues and try to resolve
that these special benefits were perpetuated, I felt that we need to form an agreement, and Makio Matsuzono (Director-General, 2003–2009) agreed with me. In fact an agreement was signed between the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology and Minpaku in February 2008, consisting of the following five tenets:

1. Hold anthropology-in-practice workshops to facilitate international cooperation
2. Create a database for anthropology-in-practice
3. Develop a database of documents on cultural anthropology
4. Digitalize, store, and show visual records of distinguished Japanese anthropologists and ethnologists
5. Set up other projects deemed advantageous to the research projects of both organizations

The prospects for Minpaku

Mori: In closing, could you give us your views on the future for Minpaku?

Sudo: As I said earlier, one thing is that we should show everybody what we’re all about. Minpaku needs to start doing research that really shows an ability to lead the field of Japan’s cultural anthropology. So I think definitely one thing to focus on is enhancing joint research: Minpaku first needs to bolster its role as a center for joint research projects.

Second, Minpaku should publish the results of any such research projects in foreign languages so that they can reach people working in related fields of anthropology overseas. Third, Minpaku should set up agreements with research institutions or universities in other countries. This would open the door to international joint research projects and symposia, and to achieving great results together. I want to further consider what kind of systems would be required to do this, including specifying the roles of visiting fellows. I think we can work together with a variety of people in this way. It would be really good for Minpaku if we could do international joint research — the kind of work that would be acknowledged by people on the outside.

There is no other institution that has researchers doing work in every corner of the world — so there is really nothing else like Minpaku in today’s global community of anthropology. I would like to utilize this clear advantage to the utmost. In my opinion, it all comes down to people and their abilities, and expanding our collaborative initiatives.

Mori: Thank you very much.
Human Ecology

In this issue, our contributors examine interactions between humans, plants, animals, and landscapes, in diverse physical and social environments. These examples illustrate some of the complexities of the subject. Human ecology is not just the study of our relationships with the physical world and with each other; it is also fundamentally concerned with the creation, transmission, and uses of knowledge — topics that represent a major domain within anthropology.

Ethnobotany and Ecology of Wild Aroids

Peter J. Matthews
National Museum of Ethnology

The author is an ethnobotanist at Minpaku, where he shares responsibilities for the Field Sciences Laboratory (see previous issue of this newsletter). He is the author of numerous papers on the history of taro and other crops in Asia and the Pacific, co-editor of Vegiculture in Eastern Asia and Oceania (JCAS Symposium Series 16, 2002), and a member of the research project ‘Interactions between Agriculture and Environment in Eurasia: A Ten-thousand Year History’, supported by Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN), Kyoto. Support for the work described here was provided by Minpaku, RIHN, the National Museum of the Philippines, De La Salle University, and the people of Ifugao.

For most of human history — before the general spread of agriculture and domesticated crops — bitter, sour, acrid, fibrous, or hard foods were probably consumed from early childhood, on a daily basis. Children learned about plants by direct contact, observing others reactions to plants, and through verbal instruction. Human powers of habituation or tolerance for what we now regard as ‘bad’ food or famine food are largely untested in the modern world, though we can see some of these powers in the use of dirt to add bulk and minerals to flour in Haiti (news reports, 2008), or the consumption of mineral-rich mosses off brick walls by poor children in Vietnam (Nyugen Viet, pers. comm 2008).

Generally speaking, the inhabitants of modern industrial societies can buy, cook, and eat food with little risk of being poisoned. For most of us, the greatest danger lurking in food is over-consumption. The food itself is now mostly made from plants that have been selected and processed to remove bitterness, acridity, hardness, and other qualities that can make food difficult, unpleasant, or poisonous. Our food is generally mass-produced, bland, smooth, soft, sweet, salty, and rich in fat. It is also often engineered to stimulate over-consumption. We have little contact with plants of any kind, and most of us can recognise very few of them. We no longer need to make life or death decisions about which plants can be used.

So, despite our attempts to make the world safe, we still live with many kinds of danger, and not all food is completely safe. For the last two decades, I have been looking into the history of a poisonous food plant called taro (Colocasia esculenta). In premodern times, taro was the world’s mostly widely distributed starchy food plant, ranging from western Africa to eastern Asia and eastern Polynesia.

Both the leaf and starchy corm (underground storage organ) can be eaten, but only after special preparation to remove poisons that are still present, even in selected and favoured varieties. Taro is a large herb in a family of herbs and vines called the Araceae. This enormous plant family includes more than two thousand species distributed in tropical to warm-temperate environments, on all continents excluding Antarctica. The fruits are brightly coloured and attractive to birds and other animals. The seeds from such fruit are easily dispersed, so aroids (members of the Araceae) are also well represented in island regions near continents, especially in island Southeast Asia, the western Pacific, and the Caribbean.

In mainland and island Southeast Asia, the diversity of wild aroids is astonishing and a source of constant delight to ornamental plant enthusiasts. The wild plants — including wild forms of taro — are almost invariably poisonous. They produce many kinds of biochemical defense to protect themselves from herbivores (insects and grazing animals). From all of the hundreds of aroid species present in Southeast Asia, only a few are widely cultivated today. The selected, favoured varieties of the cultivated aroids are still poisonous, but the poisons can be easily avoided, reduced, or deactivated during their preparation.

Making fire was doubtless an important early technique used by humans to occupy and move through the forests of Southeast Asia, long before the emergence and spread of agriculture. With fire, humans could modify habitats to promote useful plant and animal resources, and they could
also make many kinds of wild plant edible. To prepare plants for eating, fire is best used together with peeling, cutting, pounding, and leaching in water. Drying and fermentation can also reduce poisons, and other ingredients can be added, or eaten together with a plant food, to deactivate poisons or mask their bad effects.

The knowledge needed to use wild aroids has not disappeared, despite modernisation of diets for millions of people throughout Southeast Asia. In India, Myanmar, Indonesia, Vietnam, southern China, the Philippines, and elsewhere, poor people who have access to disturbed weedy areas or less-disturbed forest are still able to find and use edible wild aroids. Although they are poor in modern economic terms, such people preserve a wealth of knowledge about wild food plants. This can give them more security than is possible in poor urban areas, on the fringes of a national or global economy. Unfortunately, the yields provided by wild food plants cannot match those produced by traditional and modern forms of agriculture, and remnant areas of forest are still being cleared for farming, even if the ground beneath is too steep or poor to support long-term production.

In 2008 I visited a World Heritage area in the Philippines called the Banaue Rice Terraces, in Ifugao Province, Luzon (see photo). This area has sustained intensive rice production for hundreds and possibly thousands of years, on the lower slopes of mountains in the steep and rugged Central Cordillera of northern Luzon. Above the terraces, areas of managed and natural forest protect the steepest hills from erosion, and provide clear running water in abundance for the rice terraces below. Despite international recognition of their homelands as a natural and cultural treasure, the people of Ifugao still face everyday realities like those faced by modern farmers everywhere.

The year 2008 was especially difficult for farmers in the Philippines because of sudden increases in the costs for fertiliser, fuel, and agricultural chemicals. The combination of rising costs in production and rising prices for rice meant that villages in Ifugao could not produce enough rice for their own consumption. This was not obvious to me until one village headman explained why a sweetpotato field could be seen on an impossibly steep slope high above the village, inside the otherwise protected forest. “Surely the soil will wash away!” I exclaimed, naively. “Of course”, he replied, “but we have no choice: there is not enough food here, despite all the rice in the rice terraces, and the rice from outside is too expensive” (paraphrase from translated comments).

Not long after this conversation I was exploring the source of a stream at the edge of forest several kilometers away. My aim was to find more of the wild taro that I and colleagues (from the Philippine National Museum, and De La Salle University, Manila) were seeking in the region. The taro we had discovered was everywhere regarded as completely inedible. The only people we could find with experience of trying to eat this taro were local men who occasionally walk through the forest to a higher mountain, to obtain wood for carving. On such journeys they carry little food. I had the impression that they take pride in being able to live off the land, but even for them, the wild taro was far from palatable. The current food shortage was clearly not severe enough to induce people to eat this...
particular wild taro. I spent some minutes photographing wild taro and other herbs at the base of a delightful waterfall hidden around a bend in the stream. As I turned back, I was surprised to discover a man harvesting the leaf stems of another wild aroid that grew in abundance on the stream bank (see photo). I later learned that the plant, unfamiliar to me, was a species of *Schismatoglottis*, a genus that is widespread in Southeast Asia. This plant has not been reported as a cultivated food crop, though some species are grown for ornamental purposes. The man I encountered, and others in his village, explained that the stems, although not acrid like the stems of wild taro, have a ‘bad smell’. The stems can be peeled and cut and boiled as a green vegetable, but few people use them. Some people have a greater tolerance for the unpleasant qualities of wild foods, so in this case, I cannot assume that the plant was being used because of a shortage of food.

The question of tolerance is part of a larger mystery concerning how early humans managed to eat wild aroids and other poisonous plants, and how new and more edible varieties were discovered and then maintained to the present day. My hope, over the next few years, is to spend more time learning about the ethnobotany and ecology of wild aroids and their significance for human subsistence. To do this, I will also need to pay attention to human ecology, the broader study of how people interact with their environment (see A.T. Rambo and P.E. Sajise, eds., 1984, *An Introduction to Human Ecology Research on Agricultural Systems in Southeast Asia*. East-West Center and Program on Environmental Science and Management, University of the Philippines at Los Banos). The work is not easy, but it is a privilege to meet people living with plants in many different environments. New discoveries can be made at any time, around the next bend of a road, or around the next bend of a stream.

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**Nomadic Pigs and Humans in the Bangladesh Floodplain**

Kazunobu Ikeya  
National Museum of Ethnology

In the lower area of the Ganges (Padma) and Brahmaputra (Jamuna) rivers, we can find a high density of human population and a tropical monsoonal climate. In this area, people conduct different types of cultivation during the dry and rainy seasons, depending on river flood conditions. After harvesting crops, they keep cows and goats in the fields.

Here I describe seasonal differences in grazing land use and fodder sources in relation to nomadic pig husbandry. Bangladesh is located in the middle and south of the Eurasian continent. In the study area, pigs are seasonally nomadic while their owners seek grazing land and fodder for them. To investigate the ecology of this nomadic pig husbandry, I conducted field research in the dry season (September 2007, and February 2008) and the rainy season (July and August, 2008). First, I looked for nomadic pig herds in the Dhaka area, Tangail District and Gazipur District. Then, I followed the herds and observed their feeding and routes of movement.

The daily routine of nomadic pig husbandry was as follows. In the morning, pig keepers depart from their camp, which they will return to in the evening. While moving with their pigs, they pay attention to prevent the pigs from entering cultivated fields. Each herd included 100 to 200 pigs approximately. The herd occupied a wide area while seeking food in the field. By calling the pigs, the keepers could reduce the area occupied.

The route of movement and seasonal change of land use were as follows. Pig groups were moved in each season, depending on the availability of feeding resources. In the rainy season (June to September), pigs could live near flooded rivers. In a year with large scale flooding, pigs are kept in the forest, where they can eat roots of trees. During the dry season, pigs are kept in cultivated fields after harvesting. Pigs could eat some plants, that were weeds for farmers, by digging the soil. Pigs could also eat rice grains remaining in
the paddy field after harvesting. When farmers began using a field for wheat and maize, the pigs had to be moved to other places.

The seasonal change in feeding resources was as follows. During the dry season, taro is the most important feeding resource for nomadic pig husbandry. Crops called batali, gechu, shalik were also used. During the rainy season, earthworms were used as fodder. I observed cases of pigs kept in rubbish disposal areas for a few months, near the main road of the city. In this case, two keepers made a camp and cared for their pigs. The rubbish site was always supplied with kitchen refuse from the city, and pigs were keen to eat this.

In February 2008, the two keepers were keeping their pigs in the same refuse area. In August 2008, they lost their resource as a local government office prohibited use of the land as a rubbish dump. I could not obtain any information on how they cared for their pigs after that.

Nomadic pig husbandry depends on the seasonal use of natural resources and on less-seasonal kitchen refuse when available. The significance of this case study, for relationships between pigs and humans in Eurasia, will be explored further in the near future.

Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherer Influences on Plant Communities in the Canadian Arctic

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The Canadian Arctic Archipelago (CAP) is a large region of ninety-four major islands and approximately 36,450 minor islands lying north of the Canadian mainland, and covers an area of approximately 1,424,500 sq. km. It is sparsely inhabited, with its population of approximately 15,000 distributed between fifteen coastal villages.

Plant growth in the Arctic is generally limited due to the low levels of nutrients, low moisture levels, and a short, cool growing season. The primary limiting nutrients are nitrogen and phosphorus. These nutrients are restricted in their availability for plant growth because the low temperatures negatively impact organic decomposition and microbial nitrification, and the cold ground itself limits the uptake of phosphorus (Derry et al. 1999).

As a result, vegetation cover is typically 1–5 % in the High Arctic (polar desert) region (Figure 1) and 30–50 % in the Mid Arctic (semi-desert) region (Edland 1986). However, the cover is strongly suppressed on highly alkaline substrates, so in many areas Mid Arctic vegetation cover is also only 1–5 %. Willow is the only large shrub, and common plants include sedges, grasses, forbes, and ericaceous shrubs.

The earliest occupation of the CAP dates to approximately 4,500 years before present, when initial colonizers entered the region from the Bering Strait region. Referred to collectively as Paleoeskimos, their descendents occupied various parts of the archipelago for the next 3,500 years. While in many areas highly nomadic, in other areas they established long-term seasonal winter camps, with a subsistence base typically centered on walrus. Approximately 1,000 years ago,
a second colonizing group, directly descended from Inuit in the Bering Strait region, and referred to as Thule Inuit, arrived in the region, at which time the then remnant Paleoeskimo populations died out as the Thule expanded throughout much of the CAP. In most areas occupied by Thule, the bowhead whale (Balaena mysticetus) and seals, and locally walrus, were the primary food resources. With few exceptions, most of the areas were later abandoned during the late Holocene ‘Little Ice Age’ beginning approximately 500-600 years ago and were never reoccupied.

The vast size and general inaccessibility of the CAP makes any attempt at comprehensive archaeological ground survey logistically and economically unfeasible in most areas. Much archaeological research is still at the level of ‘reconnaissance’, often in the form of aerial surveys. This reconnaissance, however, is much more profitable in terms of data collected per effort expended relative to most southern areas. Because of the lack of soil development and general low vegetation cover, the vast majority of remains of individual dwellings and other features remain visible on the surface. Anthropogenic or other activity that increased the soil nutrient content has, given adequate moisture, typically left a long-lasting (centuries old in many cases) ‘footprint’ in the form of an altered ecosystem (Figure 1). Where moisture is adequate, the increase in nitrogen and phosphorus above background levels has increased plant growth rates. Through nutrient recycling, these in turn have produced greater soil depth, vegetation cover, and plant species diversity relative to neighbouring unaltered areas. As noted by Derry et al. “[e]ven a small amount of organic production and decomposition [in such environments] results in a large increase in nutrient availability” (1999: 205).

Given that all CAP inhabitants were primarily hunter-gatherers, the extent of anthropogenic nutrient input, primarily in the form of organic refuse from various fish and sea mammals, was substantial, especially at the larger and/or longer occupation sites. Two archaeological examples will be briefly discussed.

Alarnerk. This archaeological site is located on the northern Arctic mainland coast adjacent to the Foxe Basin region of the CAP. The site consists of at least 200 very shallow (less than 50 cm) Dorset culture rectangular pit dwellings and was occupied from approximately 3,000 to 1,000 years ago. The pit dwellings typically occur in rows of up to 5–20 dwellings, and were probably occupied during the winter and spring. These rows are located on a series of relic beach terraces from approximately 8 m to 20 m above sea level. Faunal remains recovered from the site indicate that, during various occupation periods, walrus figured prominently in the diet. The site lies within the Mid Arctic vegetation zone, and off-site...
vegetation cover varies from between 0–5 % (beaches) to 70–80 % (low-lying inter-pond areas). Anthropogenic effects on vegetation at the site of Alarnerk itself are striking. The site is heavily vegetated, primarily in two contexts. In the first, a series of vegetation patches lie directly over the rectangular house pits, and many patches mimic the original house shape (Figure 2). These patches are, in fact, so regular in outline and so obvious that essentially the entire site can be mapped on the basis of this vegetation cover. In the second context, a series of thick vegetation patches (low mats) cover bone refuse middens. The patches and underlying middens extend up to 100 metres in length some instances, and are typically parallel to the beach and located immediately in front of a series of house pits. Underneath these patches we usually find a virtual carpet of walrus bones (Figure 3). Examining changes in the extent of these midden vegetation patches across beach levels allows an assessment of changes in the relative importance of walrus in the Dorset culture through time.

**Hazard Inlet.** Hazard Inlet is located on southeastern Somerset Island, an uninhabited island in the central CAP. There are a number of Thule whaling sites along approximately 10 km of coastline, and these contain the remains of over 400 bowhead whales. These are visible remains only: most whale bone was used for house construction and lies buried within unexcavated dwellings (Figure 4), so the total number of bowheads represented at the sites is certainly well above 1,000. One site at Hazard Inlet in particular, site PAJs-4, was occupied for several hundred years beginning approximately 700–800 years ago. The site consists of approximately 60 very shallow pit dwellings, several hundred stone and pit caches, and two ceremonial dwellings, or *kariyit* (singular *karigi*). These features are located on a series of relic beaches, approximately 2–17 m above sea level (Figure 5). The site is interpreted to have functioned as a seasonal (fall) whaling camp, where whaling crews camped to intercept migrating bowhead whales. As at Alarnerk, anthropogenic effects on the vegetation at this site are striking. Immediately inland from the modern beach (right side of the photograph) and covering the entire occupation area is a continuous and anthropogenically-fertilized carpet of plant cover, approximately 320 × 160 m. This vegetation tends to extend to the north as 'fingers' in the inter-beach swales. While less-well drained than the beaches *per se*, these vegetated swales nevertheless are consistently associated with, in this instance, shallow whale meat/blubber cache pits. Beyond the dwelling and caching areas, the vegetation changes abruptly from essentially 50–80 % cover to 0–5 % cover.

While the examples described here deal with anthropogenic effects on terrestrial plant communities in the CAP, anthropogenic effects can also be seen in aquatic environments. Until recently, CAP water bodies were believed to have been unaffected by

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**Figure 4:** A Thule whale bone dwelling at Hazard Inlet: a) before, and b) after excavation. The water quality and ecology of the pond in the background was significantly altered by the activities of the whalers 800–400 years ago (Savelle (a) and Junko Habu (b), both 1991).

**Figure 5:** Aerial photograph of a prehistoric Thule Inuit fall whaling camp at Hazard Inlet, showing extensive vegetation mat. The lighter circles are dwellings that have been excavated; arrows point to two *kariyit* on the innermost relic beaches, and mark the site edge (Savelle, 1991)

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**References**


local human influences. However, at Hazard Inlet, a pond is located immediately adjacent to the site shown in Figure 4. Paleolimnological studies have shown that the water quality and ecology changed markedly during occupation by Thule whalers approximately 800–400 years ago, with substantial changes in water chemistry and expansion of adjacent moss cover (Douglas et al. 2004). These changes resulted directly from the introduction of nutrients from the remains of whale and other sea mammals, into the pond water and adjacent catchment.

Thus, while often considered a pristine environment until recent mineral exploration and development activities, anthropogenic effects on local and sensitive CAP environments date back to arrival of the first human inhabitants.

## Canoes and Resource Management in Madagascar

**Taku Iida**
National Museum of Ethnology

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Last year I visited Majunga, the provincial capital of northwestern Madagascar, to observe canoe building techniques. I wanted to compare them with those in the southwestern region, where I have long conducted ethnographical research. I was surprised to find that Majunga canoe builders use several timber species for basic dugout hulls (roka), while Vezo people in the southwestern region use only one species, *Givotta madagascariensis* (family Euphorbiaceae; *farafatse* in the Vezo dialect). I have heard from Vezo people that *farafatse* is declining in number, and must be obtained from more distant places, which raises the transport cost. If the Vezo people can find alternative species for dugout timber, perhaps they can reduce pressure on the current resource, and avoid depletion — or perhaps not.

To put the conclusion first, it will be difficult if Vezo canoe builders keep their present set of techniques. These techniques are specialized to the use of *farafatse* as dugout timber, and are not suitable for other timber species. To understand this, we will look at differences in the materials and techniques used in the two areas.

The most obvious character of *farafatse* wood is its softness and high absorbency. A dry piece of *farafatse* is light, easy to carry, and easy to process. When it is soaked, it absorbs a significant quantity of water, becoming so soft that a finger can be pressed into the wood to make an impression. As *farafatse* wood becomes wetter, it expands and gains weight. If we put a *farafatse* canoe in the water, every part expands and fills small gaps, reducing leaks. A *farafatse* canoe is light, easily built, and durable despite its softness.

In contrast, Majunga canoe builders generally use different timber species: *bevarahy, jambarao, manga* and others. I have not identified the first two, but the third is the mango, *Mangifera indica*, a tree with hard wood. According to a Majunga builder, the dugout timber must be hard enough to tolerate strong shocks. A Majunga canoe is heavy and various techniques are used to carefully join the hard wooden parts, which are affected very little by wetness.

Different techniques are needed to join canoe parts made with these different materials. To build a *farafatse* canoe, Vezo people seldom use metal nails. Instead, they use wooden nails with sharp points at both ends. These never break, even if driven strongly, because *farafatse* is soft and easily penetrated. The harder Majunga canoe parts cannot be joined with wooden nails. Majunga canoe builders use double-pointed metal nails, but this way of nailing is just one way of joining pieces of wood. Majunga builders also use single-pointed iron nails, or bind parts together with nylon line, which seems to be a replacement for the coconut string still used by Indian dhow builders. Multiple techniques and materials are needed to join the hard-wood parts of Majunga canoes.

Majunga techniques to join hard woods allow them to build large canoes and even ships. The average size of a Vezo *farafatse* canoe is four to six metres in length, and rarely exceeds...
nine metres, while Majunga canoes reach lengths of fifteen meters or more. Large canoes are composed of many planks which are joined to the hull and each other by nails and string. The planks are often nailed to internal wooden ribs. Ribs are never found in farafatse canoes, because nails easily damage soft farafatse planks. By using multiple techniques to join planks, and especially by using nails and ribs — the most common technique — Majunga canoes can be bigger. Some are almost the same size as the Western-style schooner, which was introduced in the pre-colonial era and is still popular in Madagascar. If we could not see them with our own eyes, construction of very large farafatse canoes might seem impossible.

Farafatse canoe building techniques are not simpler than those needed for Majunga canoes. A farafatse sailing canoe must also have parts to keep the mast stable in strong winds. Horizontal cross-bars called fitoera are attached at intervals along the canoe, and one bar supports the mast. Fitoera are made from the hard wood of soño (Didierea madagascariensis), as well as gunnels or firarà which cover the canoe edges and help hold down the fitoera. Selecting materials, designing the parts, and the ways used to fix them with or without metal are all based on sophisticated knowledge and techniques, in both canoe building traditions.

Many aspects of building a farafatse canoe can be related to the softness of the dugout hull: ease of processing, nailing without metal, and the selection of wood for fitoera and firarà. The latter are found almost exclusively on Vezo farafatse canoes, and rarely on Majunga canoes. The lightness of farafatse canoes is convenient and good for controllability, but they must be kept on land while not being used, in order to avoid damage from waves and water itself. The hard Majunga canoes are often left in the water. Fortunately, farafatse canoes are so light that just a few adults can move them in and out of the water.

Two main conclusions can be made. Firstly, in the Vezo and Majunga areas, every aspect of canoe building is distinct: material selection, tool selection, design, preparing the hull, joining the planks, fixing the mast, and so on. If we select materials in the Majunga way, we cannot use Vezo building techniques, and vice versa. Every aspect of construction, and eventually how to use the canoe, is embedded in the canoe-building process. Materials and techniques from other regions cannot be easily transplanted, and partial transplanting of materials or techniques is unrealistic, unless adaptations are made. This is why I regard it as difficult, as indicated above, for Vezo canoe builders to use alternative wood sources for dugout hulls.

This leads to the second conclusion: the Majunga system cannot evolve into Vezo system, or vice versa. Both systems have evolved independently, and neither is less advanced than the other. Both systems have their merits and defects.

Still, we can compare the two systems in other ways. In the present age of deforestation and biodiversity loss, the Majunga system might be better for environment because it avoids concentrated use of one species
as a wood source. If we can find ways to diversify the sources of wood that Vezo canoe builders use, this might promote more sustainable management of resources. This may seem an obvious or unproblematic proposal, but even if it is, we must remember that resource management is deeply related to people’s behavior and knowledge. Managing natural resources is not just a problem of ensuring biological reproduction, it also requires attention to local knowledge and economic needs.

Edible Landscapes

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The author is assistant professor at the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature (RIHN). His recent research examines the political, ecological and social meanings of ‘sustainable agriculture’, and small-scale farmers’ attempts to redefine agrarian life. Publications based on this work are: ‘Social movements: Slow places, fast movements, and the making of contemporary rurality’ (In Critical Food Issues: Society, Culture, and Ethics, Praeger Press, forthcoming), ‘Moving beyond the orthodoxies in ‘sustainable agriculture’’ (Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 33), and ‘Shifting agrifood systems: The contemporary geography of food and agriculture’ (with Roff, GeoJournal 73).

We fill pre-existing forms and when we fill them we change them and are changed. (Borges and I by Frank Bidart)

I first learned of ‘human ecology’ through ‘cultural geography’. The two fields of study have gone in and out of fashion, but both attempt to describe human history alongside that of plants, animals, and places. In geography, the idea that humans and environments have co-evolved was often grasped through ‘cultural landscape’, a concept that goes back to a 19th century German tradition of holistic scholarship which the seemingly random jumble of everyday life, as physical moments in which the seemingly random jumble of old and new, biotic and abiotic, endemic and exotic, could be grasped and analyzed as a whole. The concept of the cultural landscape has persevered even as formal knowledge of human history alongside that of plants, animals, and places. In geography, the human ecology of food. It describes food choices as more than simple matters of convenience or personal health. They are also acts in a cultural-ecological cycle. In this view, in eating one becomes complicit, and consumption can even become a kind of stewardship.

Several years ago, my intuitive sense of the cultural landscape concept led me to Slow Food, an unusual gastronomic organization based in early 2000) largely in Italy. ‘Slow Food’ was the rallying cry of a group of journalists, restaurateurs, cooks, and common people opposed to ‘fast food’. In its early days, Slow Food criticized the poor quality of most fast food, but its real indignation was reserved for what can be called the sociology of fast food: the impoverished social experience of individual eaters attempting to satisfy their nutritional and energy needs in the most convenient way possible. As it gradually elaborated its analysis, it became opposed to the whole set of productive practices and landscapes that lay behind a BigMac, phenomena that are largely invisible to the person eating, and yet very real in the world.

Slow Food has become a signature organization celebrating the special qualities of traditional foods and attempting to preserve their variety and flavour, the knowledge necessary for their production, and the special landscapes where plants, animals, and humans come together. Slow Food is deeply concerned with the human ecology of food. It describes food choices as more than simple matters of convenience or personal health. They are also acts in a cultural-ecological cycle. In this view, in eating one becomes complicit, and consumption can even become a kind of stewardship.

But I hadn’t figured this out just yet. Luckily I received a small grant and my wife and I packed a light bag and flew off to Italy to conduct some ‘slow’ (and it turned out, very tasty) fieldwork. I was fortunate to arrive just as the organization’s national and international congresses were getting underway, and was graciously allowed to observe both. The organization was then in a period of rapid growth and evolution. Its expansive ‘eco-gastronomic’ character had just recently emerged, a stance that propelled it to look beyond its home context, and to engage in the contentious debate of the character of globalization. Early on, it optimistically emphasized the possibility of a virtuous globalization. “Think locally, act globally”: I heard this twist on the old slogan several times in the course of fieldwork. My interviews with organizers were marked by their enthusiasm and sense of possibility.

The international congress was particularly interesting for the insight it provided into the problem of how Slow
Food would diffuse beyond the Italian context. In the United States, where food quantity has often substituted for food quality, there was concern that Slow Food would only reach a few elite consumers (in fact, this has remained an active criticism of the group). The ‘eat locally’ or ‘locavore’ movement had not yet taken hold and the U.S. was then in its deepest frenzy for ‘supersize’ portions. When the question of Slow Food’s future expansion was raised, some organizers expressed particular hope that Japan might be very receptive, and that Japan’s aesthetic traditions and high-quality diet might make it a showcase ‘slow food nation’.

While visiting Japan for personal reasons a year or so later, I searched around for Slow Food activity and luckily found myself in lunchtime conversation with a man who was familiar with the group, who had in fact recently been at a Slow Food event. While this man did seem to appreciate the group, he was unimpressed with its significance to Japan. I remember his distinct phrase: “Japan doesn’t need Slow Food.”

I believe he was referring to the fact that Japan is already rich in food culture. It is a country of delicacies, both ‘high’ and everyday. There is a greater popular interest in regional food variety and specialty, and food still plays an important role in everyday life. It is probably fair to say that my lunchtime companion didn’t sense any urgency in the sociological qualities of Japanese food — in the common patterns of consumption and their surrounding social relations. But perhaps today the same man would not be so quick to dismiss the need for close attention to the patterns of food production and consumption. A recent series of food scandals have revealed the vulnerable underbelly of industrial-scale food supply. Even for production that remains national, food safety in Japan has become a general concern, as it is in much of the developed world where, ironically, standards of food safety are most strict.

Too late for that lunchtime conversation I was struck by a peculiar quality in what could be called the human ecology of Japanese cuisine. Despite the achievements of its cuisine, Japan also manages to create a strangely disembodied food culture. The great interest in local food specialties can at times obscure Japan’s links to the global food economy. For example, Japan is the single largest importer of U.S. maize, most of which is fed to Japanese cattle—which are of course clearly distinguished from ‘foreign’ cattle. Many ‘Japanese’ foods are derived or processed from imported staple ingredients, especially rice and milk. This dependency is largely unacknowledged, except in periods of food crisis.

Meanwhile many of Japan’s own food producing landscapes are suffering from neglect or are converted to other uses. A feared extinction of satoyama as an iconic cultural landscape generates much discussion, and there seem to be no easy answers to the dilemma. In my own very limited observation, much of the satoyama discussion appears to focus on how to best preserve or recreate traditional landscapes. Yet few would argue that landscapes of the past can be successfully recreated on any significant scale — the old satoyama was of a different society and economy. Might we ask: ‘what is the satoyama of today?’ A human-ecological perspective indicates that it will inevitably correspond to the actual present social life of Japan. Difficulty in addressing the spatial dynamics underlying the real food needs of Japan — the disembodiment mentioned above — make it very difficult to bring this question into focus.

Attempting to reinvent the satoyama is not to argue that Japan ought to seek self-sufficiency in food production. We need a more engaged and thorough consideration of the human and ecological relationships in food. The iconic landscapes of fast food and cheap beef are ultimately found in the ‘breadbasket’ regions of the U.S.A., Canada, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand and more recently China—all of which provide large quantities of food for Japan. Is the over-intensive use of such landscapes abroad linked to the underutilization of mountain and rural landscapes in Japan? Perhaps population decline, rural restructuring, the present economic crisis, and concerns about food quality and safety will offer an opportunity to rethink the human ecology of food in Japan. It may seem trifling to ask (but I think it is not): where are the landscapes of the kaiseki cuisine? Can Kyoto still claim this cuisine as its own?

This is an age of great environmental transformation. It is
often claimed that culture has now eclipsed nature. The study of human ecology often centers on human activity now that humans appear to dominate environments, but still we ought to think in terms of ‘reciprocity’ and not ‘control’. Slow Food highlights food production and consumption as a field of action, one that is continually called into being and so always open to change. In this sense, we continue to live in a time full of possibility and potential. In a human ecological perspective, social change must have environmental significance and environmental change must have social significance. This is relatively easy to understand in the abstract, but it means that in asking ‘what environment do we want?’ we also ask ‘what kinds of society?’

Exhibition

When Japan’s Tea Ceremony Artisans Meet Minpaku’s Collections: Creative Art in Perspective

Special Exhibition
March 12 – June 14, 2009

The major theme of this special exhibition is a display of artwork created by the ten traditional tea ceremony artisans from Kyoto, inspired through the contact with the collections housed at Minpaku. The ten highly skilled craftspeople (Senke Jisshoku), are the recipients of traditionally transmitted skills within specific families designated to serve the major tea schools (Senke) in Kyoto. Their usual role is to create the implements used in the tea ceremony. Minpaku is the home of more than a quarter million artifacts and artworks used in a great variety of cultural activities, and collected from around the world. Of these, some 10,000 pieces are currently on permanent display.

The ten current Jisshoku are Zengoro Eiraku (brazier maker and potter), Ikkan Hiki (papier-mâché lacquerware maker), Risai Komazawa (woodworker and joiner), Shōgen Kuroda (bamboo craftsman and ladle maker), Joeki Nakagawa (metalworker), Sōetsu Nakamura (lacquerware maker), Kichibe Okumura (scroll-mounting maker), Seiemon Onishi (kettle maker), Kichizaemon Raku (tea bowl maker), and Yūko Tsuchida (pouch maker). Each of the Jisshoku families has a long history, lasting for 300 to 400 years, from eleven to seventeen generations. Collectively, their work supports the whole range of tea ceremony activities, from utensils used in the backroom, to objects placed outside the tea room, and implements used in the tea ceremony itself.

With this exhibition, Minpaku ventured an unprecedented experiment. Jisshoku artisans were invited to visit Minpaku’s storage rooms where artifacts collected from all over the world are kept. They were asked to select items that they found attractive or artistic. With discerning eyes cultivated in the long history of their own traditions, they selected items to study, and created new artworks. Since each person’s view of the world is mediated through culture, the choice of an artifact reflects not only the artisan’s personal view of what is beautiful or useful, but also the ethos of the culture in which the artisan developed his or her concepts of beauty.

The resulting selection of artifacts, and the newly created works of art, together pose questions about the relationship between aesthetic sense and practicality and demonstrate a new and creative way to use Minpaku’s collections.

The usual task of the Jisshoku artisans is to create pieces that are requested by the heads of the Senke tea schools. Sometimes a few artisans collaborate to come up with a single piece; sometimes pieces made by each artisan are collected and combined to yield one item. This style is different, for example, from Myanmar’s ten traditional crafts known as Pansemyo ‘the ten flowery arts’, in which artisans work individually. Jisshoku artisans create tea utensils with their hands. The artifacts in Minpaku’s collection were mostly made by hand as
well. In the second floor of the special exhibition hall, movements of the hands represented by eleven verbs, for example ‘beat’, ‘knead’, and ‘paint’, are associated with the activities used in creating artworks. The same activity may produce two completely different things, depending on the material used and the cultural context in which the object is made. Sometimes two similar artifacts are created in two different cultures. Seeing handcrafts through the activities that create them provides good insight into the way parallel developments can take place in diverse cultures.

Yoshiho Yasugi
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

Oral Histories of Socialist Modernities: Memories and Lived Experiences in Central and Inner Asia

International Workshop
December 16 – 17, 2008, Cambridge

This workshop was an outcome of one of Minpaku’s core research projects, ‘A History of Modernization under Socialism: A Narrative-based Reconstruction of Experience’ initiated by Yuki Konagaya.

The areas discussed in the presentations ranged from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Karelia, Russian Far East, Inner Mongolia, and Mongolia to Tibet, areas that can be characterized as being under either a socialist or post-socialist regime. Some are under a post-socialist dictatorship but experienced modernization in their socialist periods. This conference proved to be a unique opportunity to compare the structures of different socialist societies through analyses of oral history.

Politicalization of research results was one of the major issues raised by participants, as it could result in exposing survey respondents to danger in turbulent areas, such as Tibet. The intrinsic value of the collected oral histories was also discussed, because it was thought that some respondents might have restrained themselves in their responses, to avoid trouble with local authorities, or just for personal convenience. It is clear that oral histories need to be evaluated according to the context in which they are elicited.

These issues are common in many areas of anthropological research. Oral narratives reflect not only individual experience but also the social context of individuals. The discussion showed that this does not necessarily signify an irreconcilable defect in the use of oral history as a methodology for understanding the past.

The theoretical aspects of oral history were also considered. Presentations focused on the forms of oral history research, and on the wider concept of ‘narrative’, thus reflecting the expansive character of oral history. For instance, Shiro Sasaki (Minpaku) described hunting culture in the Russian Far East. Hunters themselves do not convey their skills and techniques by verbal information, but primarily through their actions and practices. Sasaki suggested that those practices can be regarded as narratives, even though they are not verbal.

Gregory Delaplace (Cambridge University, U.K.) considered that the frequent appearance of Chinese ghosts in Mongolian stories are also a type of narrative, one that reflects the Mongolian’s perception of China. Such studies provide a larger picture of the notion of narrative.

Similar projects on post-socialist countries are currently being implemented by the Universities of Cambridge, Tokyo, and Tsukuba. This conference provided a valuable opportunity to report the outcomes of each project. The results will be published in a special issue of Inner Asia, the journal of the Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit of the University of Cambridge, in Spring 2010.

Ai Maekawa
Conference participant
Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, Kyoto
Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being

International Workshop
February 28 – March 1, 2009, Kyoto

This research workshop was held to publicize the results of the project ‘Anthropology of Life Design and Well-being: Studies on the Creation of Multifunctional Space and its Flexible Application’, a core research project of Minpaku in the domain of ‘socio-cultural plurality’ for fiscal 2008.

Organizers were Minpaku and Ritsumeikan University (Research Center and Global COE Program for Ars Vivendi). Sponsors were Hiroshima University, Japan Society of Cultural Anthropology, Japanese Association for Canadian Studies, Kansai NPO Alliance, and Mainichi Newspapers.

In aging societies, although senior citizens can avail themselves of a growing number of activities, they are also increasingly moving into new places such as nursing homes or residences for the elderly, and often encounter new neighbors and environments. Simultaneously, in the modern world, plurality is progressing rapidly, thanks to the global migration of people and the increasing amount and flow of information. Japan is no exception to these trends. Many industries in Japan have hired foreign workers, even in the field of nursing care for the elderly. In addition, relocation is being promoted as a way to revitalize depopulated areas.

Welfare policies for citizens of Japan and other nation-states have been found lacking in the face of such multicultural trends, not just in cities but also in rural areas. It has become important for every society to discover ways of conducting care in harmony with the local setting. As individuals, we must also explore relationships with others, and with our environment, and reconsider our own ‘well-being’ as a whole.

Project members working in the fields of elderly care and education, presented reports from Japan, Canada and Denmark (the latter two countries being known as social welfare states with multicultural societies). In the following comparative discussions we considered two general subjects: (i) Applied research on how all people — not just professionals but also ordinary people — can work together towards designing a community and harnessing the power arising from diversity in lifestyles, by expressing their own ideas and preferences, rather than simply being recipients of unilateral support, and by engaging in discussions for conflict conciliation. (ii) Basic research on possible ways of living, not simply according to generation and life stage, but as an inquiry into ideas about well-being.

Particular themes addressed were as follows: (i) ‘Quality of life’ of senior citizens in a multicultural society; (ii) From senior citizens’ well-being to the design of local communities; (iii) Community design starting from techniques and disabled people; (iv) The university as an information provider and trainer of human resources; (v) Alternative education and life design.

The two-day forum, with participation by 140 people, including members of the public, allowed us to accumulate a wealth of new information, and to clarify the problems that confront us. This in turn will help us develop dialogue across many fields related to life design and well-being.

Nanami Suzuki
Convener
National Museum of Ethnology
Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change: Case Studies and Cross-linguistic Applications

International Symposium
March 5 – 6, 2009

The aim of this symposium was to bring together case studies of morphosyntactic reconstruction and change in various language families, while focusing on the methodology used in each study. We worked to draw out some cross-linguistically applicable generalizations, if possible. Thirteen speakers from various sub-disciplines were invited from inside and outside Japan, and thirty others participated. The symposium was one of Minpaku’s core research projects and was also an inter-institutional project of the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU), and also formed part of a meeting of an inter-university joint research project ‘A Typological Study of Voice in the World’s Languages’.

As a linguistics meeting, this symposium was unusual because it did not focus on just one language family or linguistic phenomenon. Instead, we brought together specialists who have a clear methodology in their approach to morphosyntactic change. By ‘morphosyntactic reconstruction’ we did not mean lexical reconstruction of function words, as is often the case. Topics covered during the symposium included ergative-accusative alternation, change from one voice system to another, word-order change, changes in pronominal systems, variations, emergence of a creole language, and clause structures and grammatical change. Theoretical backgrounds included generative syntax, construction grammar, linguistic typology, descriptive linguistics, evolution theory, and computer information processing. Languages and language families talked about included Bantu, Austronesian, Papuan, Australian, Hawai’i Creole, English, Icelandic, Japanese and others (see the presentation titles, abstracts, and handouts at: http://www.r.minpaku.ac.jp/ritsuko/english/sympo/index.html).

Listening to papers from a range of different but related subfields helped each of us to look at our own approach or analysis in a new light. Eventually it may be possible to establish more integrated approaches to morphosyntactic comparison and reconstruction. Following this symposium, an inter-institutional research project, a series of symposia, and other academic events on related topics will be held at Minpaku. These are expected to enhance the recognition of historical linguistics, and in particular, comparative morphosyntax, in Japan, and will culminate in our hosting of the 20th International Conference on Historical Linguistics (ICHLXX), which is scheduled to be held at Minpaku in 2011, the first meeting of this conference to be held in Asia.

Ritsuko Kikusawa
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Modern Times and Rural Elites in East Asian Village Societies

International Workshop
March 22, 2009

Modern times in East Asia might be distinguished from those of other areas by some particular features. Previously, East Asian societies each maintained centralized administration systems that were under the influence of China in various ways, but once the ‘Great Powers’ of Europe and North America intervened, they were similarly faced with a need for quick and drastic social responses. As well as these macroscopic aspects of modern history, microscopic changes in human lives and rural communities, have also been drawing academic attention (the histories of grassroots or subaltern people).

Exactly who or what could be the agents that connect the macro and the micro mechanisms of modernization? Now we might need to rethink dualist approaches to modernization. In our workshop, we looked at rural elites in East Asian village societies. These elites have been important actors at national and regional levels, throughout the modernization process.

The workshop consisted of five presentations, with commentaries and discussion. Yukihiro Kawaguchi (Minpaku) gave an ambitious report, attempting to cover the period of the Republic of China (1912-1949), which is sometimes regarded as a black-box in Chinese cultural history. His aim was to visualize changes in the Chinese model of ‘elites’ in the realities of power. Jian-Xin Zhou (Gannan Normal University, China) and Shinpei Ota (Minpaku) both analyzed legendary and charismatic persons and families. Zhou traced the particular history of a certain person and his family in the 20th century to explain the contribution by elites to rural development in southern China. Ota used the example of an honored yangban (pre-modern scholar-bureaucrat) family in central Korea and their concepts of ‘eliteness’, knowledge and power, to consider changes in organizational structure and the constancy of an ideology in modern times.

Seung-Taik Ahn (Chonbuk National University, Korea) considered how traditional communities based on communal work styles accepted the modern elites and their individualistic work styles. He also suggested some affinities between pre-modern ideas and morality and work styles in Korea.

Gi-Sun Jang (Tohoku University) discussed the appearance of modern medical doctors in Japan, the development of laws to regulate medical activities, and the extension of national governance through the agency...
of professional elites in local regions.

Participants at the workshop agreed that there is a need to develop a modern understanding of elite identity and to review the historical role of social elites in East Asia.

This workshop was the first step for our group. We wish to emphasize the importance of studying the history of social elites. And it was a rare and valuable opportunity to bring young researchers together from across borders and research areas.

Shimpei Ota
Convener
National Museum of Ethnology

In memoriam

With regret we note the following:


New Staff

Ken’ichi Sudo
Director-General


Mitsuhiro Iwasa
Research Fellow, Center for Research Development

Iwasa studied medical anthropology and bioethics at the Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Chiba University. His research interests were the view of life and death, health care system, and health-seeking behaviors in Laos. During fieldwork from 2003 to 2006, he focused on the practices of terminal care among the lowland villagers. This later became the main theme of his dissertation. Another interest was the deconstruction and reconstruction of bioethics from anthropological perspectives. Now, he is trying to apply cross-cultural and contextual approaches to bioethical problems by comparing Laos and the developed countries, such as Japan and U.S.A., where the importance of bioethics is well-recognized by the public.

Naoki Naito
Research Fellow, Center for Research Development

Naito specialized in African area studies and ecological anthropology at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University. His initial fieldwork in the mid-1990s explored changes in fishing activities, and community development, in the Ryukyu Islands (Japan). Since 1999, he has been visiting northern Kenya to focus on indigenous resource management and conflict resolution systems in pastoral societies. The title of his PhD thesis is ‘An ethnographic study on identity, mobility and development among Ariaal pastoralists of northern Kenya’ (in Japanese, 2009). Recently, he began an anthropological study of the reconstruction of culture, society and identities among long-term refugees in Africa. He is now investigating socio-cultural changes among the residents of Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya, where mainly Sudanese and Somali refugees are living.

Yashavantha Dongre
Professor of Commerce and Coordinator, Third Sector Research Resource Centre, University of Mysore, India

Dongre was formerly Director of the Post Graduate Centre at the University of Mysore and a board member of the International Society for Third Sector Research. He specializes in cooperative and nonprofit management. His recent publications include Leadership Role in Preserving Cooperative
Robert Garfias
Professor, University of California
Irvine, U.S.A.

Garfias is an ethnomusicologist who teaches in the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine. He holds BAs in music and anthropology and an MA and PhD in ethnomusicology from the University of California, Los Angeles. His doctoral research was a study of Gagaku, the music of the Japanese Imperial Court. He subsequently conducted fieldwork in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Burma, Romania, Okinawa and Turkey as well as in Mexico and Central America. Beginning with filming in Korea and the Philippines in 1965, Garfias has taken 64,000 feet of ethnographic film of music and dance performances. As a member of the National Council on the Arts, he has worked extensively in public policy and the arts in the United States, and has served as an advisor to three presidents of the United States. Garfias is currently an advisor to the newly established Museum of Musical Instruments in Phoenix, Arizona. He is on his third visiting appointment at Minpaku and is helping our research team redesign the music exhibit at Minpaku (for an opening in Spring, 2010).

Richard P. Werbner
Director, International Centre for Contemporary Cultural Research, University of Manchester, U.K.

Werbner is a social anthropologist who has carried out long-term research in Zimbabwe and Botswana. Among his eight books are Ritual Passage, Sacred Journey (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), Postcolonial Identities in Africa (editor, Zed Books, 1996), Memory and the Postcolony (editor, Zed Books, 1998), Postcolonial Subjectivities in Africa (editor, Zed Books, 2002) Reasonable Radicals and Citizenship in Botswana (Indiana University Press, 2004) and Tears of the Dead (the International African Institute, 1991), for which he received the Amaury Talbot Prize of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The most recent of his series of four films on the well-being quest in Botswana, distributed by the RAI, is Holy Hustlers (2009). This film and Holy Hustlers, Schism and Charisma, the book he is writing at Minpaku, will form an integrated ethnography on Apostolic reformation in Botswana. He is currently working also on a meta-film, about the making and reception of the whole film series.

Sam-Ang Sam
Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Letters, and Humanities, Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia (PUC), Cambodia

Sam is an ethnomusicologist, composer, and musician whose research is centered on ethnic cultures of Cambodia. He studied at the Royal University of Fine Arts (Cambodia), University of the Philippines, Connecticut College (U.S.A., music composition, MA) and Wesleyan University (U.S.A., ethnomusicology, PhD). Sam has taught at Cornish College of the Arts (U.S.A.), the University of Washington (U.S.A.), and the Royal University of Fine Arts (Cambodia). Presently, he is Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Letters, and Humanities at Paññāsāstra University of Cambodia in Phnom Penh, where he also teaches. He is a recording artist and has written and published several articles and books on various aspects of Khmer culture. He has received numerous grants, awards, and honors, including the National Heritage Fellowship and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship (U.S.A.). Sam was a visiting scholar at Minpaku from 2001 to 2002. During his current stay, he will edit and produce films on Cambodian performing arts and ceremonies in Khmer and English.

Publications

From January to June 2009, Minpaku published the following volumes and articles.

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 33

Goto, ‘Dialogue in ethnographies: The irreducible in the transition of Soviet ethnography in the time of cultural revolution’.


### Senri Ethnological Reports


**No.73:** Ikeya, K., H. Ogawa, and P. Mitchell (eds.) Interactions between Hunter-Gatherers and Farmers: From Prehistory to Present. 280pp.

**No.74:** Kashinaga, M. (ed.) Written Cultures in Mainland Southeast Asia. 193pp.

**No.78:** Takakura, H. and S. Sasaki (eds.) Perspectives of Postsocialist Anthropology through Japanese Eyes. 551pp.


**No.80:** Sekine, Y. (ed.) An Anthropology of the Street Volume 1. 409pp.

**No.81:** Sekine, Y. (ed.) An Anthropology of the Street Volume 2. 561pp.

**No.82:** Tanimoto, K. and K. Inoue (eds.) “Raven’s Arch” (1903–2002): The Jesup North Pacific Expedition Revisited. 321pp.

**No.83:** Shoji, H. (ed.) Immigrants, Local Communities and the States: Transitions in Asia and Europe. 333pp.

**No.84:** Yamamoto, N. (ed.) Ethnobiological Studies on the Domestication of Plants and Animals. 584pp.


### Forthcoming Special Exhibition

**Voices from the Land, Visions of Life: Beauty Created by Indigenous Peoples of Canada**

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka


Produced by Minpaku and Canadian Museum of Civilization

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**MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter**

The Newsletter is published in June and December. ‘Minpaku’ is an abbreviation of the Japanese name for the National Museum of Ethnology (Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan). The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with former visiting scholars and others who have been associated with the museum. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic audience.

The Newsletter is available online at: www.minpaku.ac.jp/publication/newsletter

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