



National  
Museum of  
Ethnology  
Osaka

Number 42  
June 2016

**Special theme: Research Project 'Anthropology of Heritage: Communities and Materiality in Global Systems'**

# Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage

**Taku Iida**

*National Museum of Ethnology*

Culture can never be reduced to its artifacts while it is being lived. Quoting these words by Raymond Williams, Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett wrote that the same is true with cultural heritage, which is not mere artifacts but something that is being lived (Theorizing Heritage, *Ethnomusicology* 39, 1995). This statement must have sounded strange in the mid-1990s because it was commonly believed then that cultural heritage constituted of the artifacts of architecture and archaeology.

Since the 1950s, Japan has had policies regarding Intangible Cultural Properties (ICP) and Intangible Folk Cultural Properties (IFCP), which are not only produced, but also lived by people. However, their living characteristics

were poorly recognized, even in Japan, at the time Kirschenblatt-Gimblett wrote. It is still much the same. In brief, administrative designation of something as being a 'cultural property' has contributed more to the branding of a poorly-known cultural practice rather than to the encouragement of its transmission.

This situation has been changing since the 1990s, when United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) expanded the definition of World Heritage in order to redress the geographical bias of inscription. As a result of this policy shift, the government of Japan was obliged to adapt its own system to UNESCO's, and more people who possess 'living culture' have been affected by cultural administration. Examining this 'heritage moment' from an ethnographic viewpoint seems opportune and significant for studies of culture in general. This is why we launched the research project 'Anthropology of Heritage: Communities and Materiality in Global Systems' as a core project of Minpaku. This project lasted from 2013 to 2015 fiscal year, and was concluded with the symposium 'Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage' on March 11-13, 2016.

The present special theme reviews the project and symposium. This essay introduces the relationship between UNESCO and Japanese

MINPAKU  
Anthropology Newsletter

## Contents

### Special theme:

#### Research Project 'Anthropology of Heritage: Communities and Materiality in Global Systems'

Taku Iida Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage.....	1
Masami Iwasaki-Goodman Cultural Diversity and the 2003 ICH Convention.....	3
Christina Kreps Authenticity and Change in the Revitalization and Preservation of Cultural Heritage.....	5
Michelle L. Stefano Safeguarding and Promoting Intangible Cultural Heritage in the USA: A Brief Overview of Public Folklore .....	7
Hironao Kawai Cultural Heritage Practices of Hakka District, China.....	9
Exhibition.....	11
Conferences.....	12
Information.....	14
New Staff.....	14
Overseas Visiting Fellows.....	15
Publications.....	16

*Iida is an associate professor at Minpaku. His recent research concerns include the transmission, appropriation, and adaptation of local skills, and the significance of local processes for global phenomena. This latter topic led him to the discipline 'Anthropology of Heritage' which is still in the making. He was the leader of Minpaku's core research project 'Anthropology of Heritage: Communities and Materiality in Global Systems' from 2013 to 2015 fiscal year. He is the author of Know-how to Survive on the Coast: An Eco-Anthropological Study in a Madagascar Fishing Village (in Japanese, Sekai-shiso-sha, 2008).*

systems of cultural administration, thus showing how the notion of cultural heritage is beginning to change. The essay is followed by Iwasaki-Goodman's discussion of how intangible cultural heritage is significant for anthropology. The last three articles, Kreps, Stefano and Kawai illustrate anthropologists' involvement with heritage matters.

In 1992, when the government ratified the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (adopted in 1972 and put into effect in 1975), Japanese citizens welcomed a World Heritage concept that was neither intangible nor folk. The government of Japan had remained distant from this UNESCO activity because it considered that the Japanese system of cultural administration had been effective enough and that UNESCO's assistance was not required. However, as World Heritage sites gained in touristic reputation in Japan and other countries, the World Heritage label became an economic resource as well as a cultural one. This was the main reason that the Government of Japan ratified the 1972 convention in a period of rapid globalization and growth in global tourism.

However, the government had not anticipated the UNESCO policy shift in the 1990s. In 1994, the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a 'Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List'. This new vision expanded significantly the definition of 'heritage' to cover the full spectrum of World Heritage. The specialists involved in preparing the report recommended paying attention to 'living cultures', which include both intangible compositions and tangible monuments. Launching the Global Strategy initiated a comprehensive shift of administrative

focus from tangible to intangible heritage, from the universal to the local, from the historical to the living, from monuments to practices, from the eternal to the ephemeral, and from products to processes.

This trend lasted more than a decade. In 1997, for the first time, the nomination process for inscription in the World Heritage List required collaboration with and the full approval of local communities. In 2007, enhancement of local communities became included in the Strategic Objectives (the 5 Cs) of the World Heritage Committee, in addition to Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, and Communication.

For Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), UNESCO adopted the new Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003 and put it into effect in 2006. The ICH convention is radical in its notion of cultural heritage. First, ICH is transmitted not by physical media but through repeated performance. Although this characteristic was already assumed regarding Japanese ICPs and IFCPs, it is yet to be examined thoroughly in an academic arena—especially in relation to the consistency of transmission. What do the 'heirs' of heritage want or need in order to maintain an identity and vitality and to guard against deterioration and unacceptable change? This is the question we tackled in the symposium 'Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage'.

Second, the conditions that UNESCO now requires to recognize ICH include significance for the people, not 'outstanding universal value' as they do for World Heritage. In other words, local value is more highly estimated than universal value in ICH. This condition is not stated explicitly in Japanese law. It was added to the UNESCO convention after international negotiations that reflected values after the Cold War: respect for human rights and people's participation in the management of local matters. UNESCO itself does not determine the value of ICH in each case. This would have made the task of building the ICH list enormous.

Third, the representative list of various ICHs itself is regarded as an achievement of humanity, as well as each element of the list. This is a logical result of the premise that one ICH element cannot be ranked above another, based on universal criteria (see Iwasaki-Goodman, this issue).

In summary, the UNESCO ICH had an antecedent model in Japanese ICP or IFCP, but reflects more radical ideas.



*Zafimaniry window shutter with relief carving, a skill is inscribed in the UNESCO ICH list from Madagascar (Iida, 2015)*

Returning to Williams' words cited above, the ICH convention reminded us that what matters is culture lived by people, not mere monuments. Even in Japan, however, the characteristics of intangible heritage, including ICP and ICH, are not well recognized. Japanese citizens thus felt perplexed to learn that their dietary culture, *washoku*, was added to the representative list of ICH, in 2013. Is their food worthy of appreciation and eternal inheritance? Are they not able to change their own dietary customs according to an authentic process of cultural learning and adaptation? Such questions are raised seriously, regardless of the local or universal values. The people maintaining *washoku* food traditions should not fear that they will lose control over what they choose to eat or present as *washoku*.

Academically and practically, we believe it is timely to reconsider the roles of both UNESCO and Japan in the management of intangible heritage. Designation of a cultural property not only means branding a poorly-known cultural practice, but is also a step toward redefining local practice in this age of globalization. As a result of such

redefinition, a local practice might prove to be either useless or burdensome for the people concerned. However, as humans essentially live their lives in webs of local relations, one cannot discard all local cultural practices. Heritage movements are processes. They did not exist before the end of the 19th century, when nationalist movements were in vogue. Keeping this history of the concept in mind, we invite our readers to reconsider the potential constructive use of heritage movements.

International Symposium  
Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage

無形文化遺産の継承における  
オーセンティックな変更・変容

2016.3.11 [Fri] ▶ 3.13 [Sun] 国立民族学博物館 2階 第4セミナー室  
Fourth Conference Room, Main Exhibition Building, National Museum of Ethnology

要事前申込 / 言語: 英語 (日本語同時通訳あり) / 参加無料 / 定員60名 [先着順]  
Language: English with Japanese interpretation. Subscription required

申し込み先: heritage@ide.minpaku.ac.jp (申し込みフォームの本名は、氏名・所属・所属を明記してください)  
e-mail to heritage@ide.minpaku.ac.jp with your name, affiliation, and the expected date(s) of your attendance

Flyer of the symposium held on March 11–13, 2016

## Cultural Diversity and the 2003 ICH Convention

**Masami Iwasaki-Goodman**  
*Hokkai-Gakuen University, Japan*

At the 32nd Session of UNESCO's General Conference in 2003, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (known as the 2003 ICH Convention) was adopted. This reconfirmed the commitment of State Parties to ensuring awareness of the significance of ICH, to safeguarding ICH, and to promoting mutual respect, thus celebrating cultural diversity on a global scale. By 2015, 163 countries had signed the convention. So far, a total of 391 ICHs are listed in three categories: 43 on the Urgent Safeguarding List, 336 on the Representative List, and 12 on a list for Best Safeguarding Practices. There are also projects aimed at safeguarding ICH and funded by UNESCO. Enormous effort has



UNESCO Headquarter in Paris (Iwasaki-Goodman, 2012)

*Iwasaki-Goodman is a professor at Hokkai-Gakuen University. Her recent research themes include fishery resource management, aboriginal peoples in Japan and Canada, and re-introduction of traditional food culture. Her recent publications include 'Tasty tonoto and not-so-tasty tonoto: Fostering traditional food culture among Ainu people in Saru River region' in H.V. Kuhnlein et al. (eds.) Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems and Well-being: Interventions and Policies for Healthy Communities (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2013), and 'Resource management for the next generation: Co-management of fishery resources in the western Canadian Arctic Region' in N. Kishigami and J.M. Savelle (eds.) Indigenous Use and Management of Marine Resources (Senri Ethnological Studies 67) (National Museum of Ethnology, 2005).*

been made for capacity building in countries where basic understanding of ICH, and procedures for making inventories of ICH, require assistance.

The 2003 ICH Convention aims to safeguard traditions and living expressions such as oral tradition, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe as well as the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. Preparation of nomination files and the listing of ICH are core activities for implementing the Convention. Once the State Parties nominate their element of ICH to the UNESCO ICH secretariat, the nomination files become the sole source of information used for the decision of inscription. It is not the ICH elements themselves that are examined and evaluated. The decision is made based on whether the nomination files sufficiently reflect the principles of the Convention, which are to safeguard ICH and promote cultural diversity. In the case of the Representative List, for which the majority of nominations are made, there are five criteria:

- (1) The element constitutes intangible cultural heritage as defined in Article 2 of the Convention;
- (2) Inscription of the element will contribute to ensuring visibility and awareness of the significance of the intangible cultural heritage and to encouraging dialogue, thus reflecting cultural diversity worldwide and testifying to human creativity;
- (3) Safeguarding measures are elaborated that may protect and promote the element;
- (4) The element has been nominated following the widest possible participation of the community,

- group or, if applicable, individuals concerned and with their free, prior and informed consent; and
- (5) The element is included in an inventory of the intangible cultural heritage present in the territory(ies) of the submitting State(s) Party(ies), as defined in Articles 11 and 12 of the Convention.

The Convention's Operational Directives establish an Evaluation Body that is responsible for making recommendations to the Intergovernmental Committee that makes the final decision.

Despite its popularity around the world, understanding of the 2003 ICH Convention's basic principle of cultural diversity is still required. This is crucial for comprehending the significant contribution that the 2003 ICH Convention can make to humanity in the future. The Convention aims to demonstrate the dynamic nature of ICH that it is diverse, flexible and creative in responding to changing socio-economic contexts in the lives of local people whose social identity has depended on the transmission of ICH over generations. It is not universal value or authenticity, but diversity that the 2003 ICH Convention celebrates. Certain festivals are important for people in a given local community in the same way that other festivals are for those in other communities. Maintaining such diversity among various ICH elements throughout the world will bring mutual understanding and respect among people of the world.

It is not just the bearers of ICH elements and State Parties who have been keen to promote the 2003 ICH Convention, but also anthropologists, who have long been strong advocates of cultural diversity. Many anthropologists have been involved in discussions concerning effective operation and implementation of the Convention. Some work as experts within Government Agencies in charge of ICH, others serve on the Evaluation Body responsible for evaluating nominations and applications for funds. As part of UNESCO's capacity-building effort, many anthropologists work with local communities to promote understanding of the 2003 ICH Convention and to assist them in developing measures to safeguard ICH. There are also independent anthropologists who observe effects of the 2003 ICH Convention at the local level, in communities.

Ten years have passed since the 2003 ICH Convention came into effect. Efforts have been made at various levels to evaluate implementation and operation of the Convention over this time. It is clear that implementation



*The Kyrgyz epic trilogy of Manas, Semetey and Seyteck, inscribed on Representative List in 2013 (Iwasaki-Goodman, 2013)*

requires further modification for more efficient operation. In this context, matters that could be examined include the role and function of the ICH Secretariat, expansion of membership of the Evaluation Body, and a review of

listing criteria and the nomination form. Such work is needed to ensure visibility and awareness of ICH, and its significance for mutual respect and sustainable peace in our world.

## Authenticity and Change in the Revitalization and Preservation of Cultural Heritage

**Christina Kreps**

*University of Oregon, USA*

When I was invited to participate in the symposium 'Authentic Change in the Transmission of Intangible Cultural Heritage' I was asked to speak on the role of 'outsiders' in community-based cultural heritage preservation efforts, and specifically my work with the Dayak Ikat Weaving Project based in Sintang, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The invitation gave me the opportunity to survey the scholarly literature on change and authenticity in traditional arts and to examine the degree to which the Project's strategies represent current thinking on these topics.

Much of the literature on traditional arts over the past several decades has concerned the impact of culture change and social transformation on these arts. Scholars have been interested in which elements of traditional art forms have endured over time, which have been modified, and under what conditions. Prior to the 1970s, scholars ignored change altogether or cast it in a negative light as a spoiler of seemingly pure and 'authentic' culture. Moreover, in the past, outside influences were identified as the primary source of change and innovation. Today, change in the arts is largely viewed as the product of both internal and external forces, and emphasis is placed on the creative capacity and agency of artisans and their ability to exert power and control over the production and distribution of their work. Authenticity is no longer seen as a static, tangible essence based on materials, techniques, or form. Rather, authenticity is now viewed as the articulation of relative processes that assign value and

meaning, and that are bound up in the politics of identity and ethnicity.

The Project exemplifies current thinking by approaching change as a source of renewal and development rather than decay and loss of authenticity. It takes a fluid approach to understanding culture, tradition, and heritage. The Project is also in keeping with heritage work that places community participation at the center. Outsiders are expected to collaborate with community partners in the development of strategies that will be sustainable in the long run because they meet stakeholder needs and interests.

The Project was initiated in 1999 by the People Resources and Conservation Foundation (PRCF), an international community development NGO, in



*Weaving an ikat on a backstrap, tension loom in a village near Sintang, West Kalimantan (Randy Brown, 2008)*

*Kreps is a cultural anthropologist who has conducted research on museums and participated in museum development and heritage training programs in Indonesia, Viet Nam, and Thailand in addition to the USA and Europe. Currently, she is Director of Museum Studies in the Arts and Administration Program in the School of Architecture and Allied Arts at the University of Oregon. Her publications include: Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation (Routledge, 2003); 'Intangible threads: Curating the living heritage of Dayak Ikat weaving' in P. Davis, G. Corsane and M. Stefano (eds.) Touching the Intangible: Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (Boydell & Brewer, 2012).*

collaboration with the Kobus Centre for Cultural Communication and Art housed in the residence of Father Jacques Maessen, a Dutch Catholic priest who has been working in the region since 1969. I first visited the Kobus Centre in 2002 for the Ford Foundation, which was one of the Project's early sponsors. My brief was to evaluate its progress and make recommendations regarding further funding. I made subsequent visits to Sintang in 2003 and 2008. My role was limited to 'outside' consultant on early phases of the Project. However, I also facilitated the professional training in museology and anthropology of one PRCF staff member.

The label 'Dayak' is a generic term for the non-Malay, non-Chinese Indigenous peoples of Borneo, although a number of Dayak groups exist with their own names, languages, and distinct cultural traditions. The Project works primarily with 'Ibanic' Dayak groups that are well known for their *ikat*, or warp resist dye, textiles. In addition to strengthening the Iban textile tradition, the Project's goals have been to enhance the artistic and managerial skills of the weavers; contribute to their empowerment through greater financial security and independence; and foster global appreciation of weaving through research and education. The development of a cooperative has been the centerpiece of the Project. The cooperative has a gallery and workshop at the Kobus Centre that serves as a collection, display, and marketing outlet for the weavers' products. When

the cooperative was established in 2000 it had less than 50 members. It now has approximately 1500 from 32 different villages in the Sintang district.

The Project has highlighted certain elements of the weaving tradition that simultaneously operate as signatures of authenticity while contributing to heritage preservation and marketing strategies. These interventions, in many cases, fit into long-standing indigenous understandings of what constitutes value, meaning, and in turn, authentic Iban Dayak textiles. For example, the Project has been encouraging the use of naturally dyed threads because knowledge of dyeing is a highly specialized and respected skill at the heart of the Iban textile tradition. Furthermore, the textiles made with natural colors are considered more authentic by consumers and thus command higher prices. To this end, the Project sponsors training workshops on traditional dyes in which older weavers share their dyeing recipes and techniques. It also promotes the use of traditional designs since these too are tied to many aspects of Iban traditional culture, and contribute to what stands for style and a marker of identity. The use of traditional designs has become a signifier of authenticity, which too increases their market value. However, this does not mean the Project stifles creativity and innovation. Rather, it also purchases pieces that depict aspects of contemporary life such as mobile phones and airplanes. In this respect, the Project is not averse to 'stylistic hybridity'.

Field research on the meanings of traditional motifs and on the customs and beliefs related to weaving has been another important component of the Project. It is considered 'urgent research' since knowledge of these intangible aspects of the tradition is disappearing with the passing of older generations. Besides being ethnographically important, this kind of background information is a marketing asset that contributes to a cloth's value and authenticity. Since 2009, the cooperative has been issuing a 'Certificate of Authenticity' with each piece that includes a photograph of the weaver, her name and that of her village, explanation of the meanings of the designs, and the cloth's particular story.

The Dayak Ikat Weaving Project has been successful because it involved weavers in all phases of its development, allows



*Preparing a warp on the veranda of the longhouse in a village near Sintang, West Kalimantan (Randy Brown, 2008)*

women to earn much needed cash while continuing to integrate weaving into their daily village life, and is based on principles of social and environmental sustainability. But perhaps most importantly, the Project

has survived because it has not attempted to 'freeze' Iban culture in time, and has employed strategies that are culturally appropriate and relevant to contemporary reality.

## Safeguarding and Promoting Intangible Cultural Heritage in the USA: A Brief Overview of Public Folklore

**Michelle L. Stefano**

*University of Maryland, Baltimore County, USA*

In the USA, it is not uncommon for state arts agencies and other cultural organizations, including relevant university departments, to have public folk and traditional arts programs. Indeed, the discipline of public folklore has a longstanding history within the USA, overlapping greatly with the relatively recent 'intangible cultural heritage' (ICH) discourse and developments, but with distinctions in theory and practice that can potentially benefit those working in the ever-expanding ICH paradigm of UNESCO.

After World War II, an increased professionalization of the academic discipline of folklore studies led to the development of more community-based and publically-oriented efforts that became known as 'applied folklore', or 'public sector folklore', in the following decades. However, it was during the late 1960s and into the 1970s when the discipline, as it is considered today, found its true footing in the public sector. In 1967, the first Festival of American Folklife, organized by the Smithsonian Institution, took place on the National Mall in Washington, DC, exciting some senators and federal government representatives to think about 'folk culture'. At the time, Archie Green, who made his name as a folklorist most passionate about traditions of the working class, occupational heritage ('laborlore') and folk music, lobbied Congress to pass folklife preservation legislature. His efforts paid off with the passage of the American Folklife Preservation Act in 1976, which established the American Folklife Center at the Library of

Congress in the same year. Among many aims, the Center would function for the 'initiation, encouragement, support, organization, and promotion of research, scholarship, and training in American folklife', as well as support 'live performances, festivals, exhibits, and workshops', as outlined in the text of the 1976 Act.

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), which was established in 1965 to be—as now stated on its website—the 'independent federal agency whose funding and support gives Americans the opportunity to participate in the arts, exercise their imaginations, and develop their creative capacities', officially instituted its own Folk Arts Program in 1975. In the following years, the new program began



2014 Apprenticeship in steel pan drums between master, Richard Semper (left), and his apprentice, Jordan Banidele (Edwin Remsberg, 2014)



Maryland-based Mexican dance group, *La Danza Guadalupana*, at the 2015 Maryland Traditions Folklife Festival (Edwin Remsberg, 2015)

*Stefano is Co-Director of the folklife program of the state of Maryland, Maryland Traditions, and a visiting assistant professor of American Studies at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Her research focuses on intangible cultural heritage and community-based approaches to its safeguarding and promotion, including ecomuseology. She is currently co-editing a forthcoming volume, The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage, with Peter Davis (Newcastle University, in press).*

to fund positions for folklorists, as well as folk-oriented apprenticeship programs, in state arts agencies throughout the USA. For example, in 1974, the NEA and the Maryland State Arts Council formally agreed to create a folklife program for the state of Maryland that would serve as a national model for state arts agencies to expand their reach into identifying, documenting and helping to sustain vernacular cultural practices and expressions. Maryland is the home of the longest running state folklife program in the USA. The program is now called *Maryland Traditions*.

Interestingly, in 1980, the NEA Folk Arts Program, under the leadership of folklorist Bess Lomax Hawes, established the National Heritage Fellowships, which took its inspiration from Japan's Living Human Treasures Program, or as it is known in Japan: the Important Holders of Intangible Cultural Properties. The first awards were announced in 1982, and served to honor several musicians, such as the New York blues harmonica player, Sanders "Sonny" Terry, and an array of traditional artists, including George López, a Latino woodcarver in New Mexico.

According to the folklorists, Robert Baron and Nicholas Spitzer, in the introduction to the most recent edition of their edited volume, *Public Folklore* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), public folklore can be understood as 'the representation and application of folk traditions in new contours and contexts within and beyond the communities in which they originated,

often through the collaborative efforts of tradition bearers and folklorists or other cultural specialists'. This is certainly reflected in the NEA National Heritage Fellowship program, where traditional artists are recognized, and their living traditions promoted, at the federal level, to wider audiences. At the state level, with the establishment of public folklore programs in state arts agencies, an infrastructure for the research, safeguarding and promotion of living cultural traditions, practices and expressions developed over the course of almost four decades. Indeed, this public folklore framework was already in place when UNESCO and the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage jointly organized the 1999 conference, 'A Global Assessment of the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation', in Washington, DC.

As Baron and Spitzer rightly highlight, 'collaboration' between folklorists and cultural community members at the local level is the backbone of public folklore work. Grounded in ongoing ethnographic fieldwork, when the needs of cultural communities are identified, the tools used for promoting and safeguarding living traditions can be customized to fit their nuanced characteristics, and *appropriateness* is assessed and discussed with those who embody the traditions. The main tools that were—and are still regularly used—to help safeguard and promote living traditions, or what is increasingly understood as 'ICH' outside of the USA, include the development and management of folklife archives, public presentations of living traditions through festivals, demonstrations, museum exhibitions, multimedia projects, such as on film and radio, award programs, and the administration of project and apprenticeship grants. Significantly, the relationships that are built with cultural communities can lead to the thoughtful, collaborative approaches that seek to raise awareness about living heritage and to, hopefully, keep it vital. Ideally, the sharing of authority and expertise with cultural communities, groups, and individuals is embedded within the early stages of fieldwork, when identification and documentation begin. It can be argued

that such a community-based exertion of power over which—(and how)—ICH

becomes recognized, is lacking in the current UNESCO-ICH paradigm.

# Cultural Heritage Practices of Hakka District, China

**Hironao Kawai**

*National Museum of Ethnology*

In recent times, China has given much importance to preserving its cultural heritage. China had 33 World Cultural Heritage sites as of 2015, of which 28 were registered since 1992. The 21st century, especially, has seen political leaders and the local elite of China pay attention to the country's intangible heritage. China has the highest number of intangible heritages registered by the UNESCO.

Within China, there is a unique system for registering cultural heritage. Each level of government (central, province, city, etc.) can register different kinds of cultural heritage according to its own rules. To create regional particularity and promote regional economies, local governments compete in registering their region's characteristic artifacts and folklore as cultural heritage, with an emphasis on older forms. However, after registration by the local government, problems may arise within local communities.

Registration of cultural heritage in China follows a top-down approach. However, if we focus on the cultural heritage of China only from the perspective of the registration system, we may miss more important issues. We must understand that it is the local people in a community who protect the cultural heritage of a place. When conducting fieldwork in China, one sometimes comes across a bottom-up type of registration. That is, the local government sometimes registers certain characteristic artifacts or folklore as cultural heritage when they are claimed as such by the inhabitants of a place. The registration of *weilongwu*, a traditional collective house, is a typical example of this. This kind of house is widely seen in Meizhou, a city in southeast China.

Meizhou is famous as the hometown of the Hakka diaspora.

The Hakka is an ethnic group of the Han Chinese. After China adopted the Open Door Policy in 1978, many Hakka people from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia started visiting Meizhou. During their stay, they invested or donated large sums of foreign currency, thereby helping to develop the local economy. The main motive for their visits to Meizhou was to see the city known as the Hometown of Hakka Ethnicity.

Ironically, the local Hakka in Meizhou had little awareness of their Hakka identity until the Open Door Policy; and the city government had little use for the concept of the Hakka in cultural policies before the end of the 1980s. As the city's political leaders fostered a closer relationship with the Hakka diaspora, they began to understand the cultural imaginary of the diaspora who viewed their city as the center of Hakka ethnicity. From the late 1980s onward, the government therefore began promoting a Hakka cultural policy, a part of which included

*Kawai is an assistant professor at Minpaku. His recent research themes include landscape anthropology, urban anthropology, and the ethnological study of the Hakka. His recent publications include Problems in Landscape Anthropology: The Representation and Revitalization of the Urban Environment in Guangzhou, China (in Japanese, Fukyosha Publishing, 2013), and The Creation of Cultural Landscape on the Hakka under Globalization: Case Studies in South Sea Rim Regions (in Chinese, Jinan University Press, 2015).*



*Weilongwu, Guangdong Province, China (Kawai, 2004)*



Tulou-type restraint (Kawai, 2014)

constructing a landscape that was meant to characterize the Hakka culture.

With a view to impress the diaspora, or conscious of 'others' opinion, the city government and project developers more often created a landscape design that they felt was what overseas Chinese imagined as Hakka rather than drawing inspiration from the local designs that related to everyday life. For the city government and developers, a typical example of Hakka landscape was the *tulou* building. Fujian *tulou* is a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Site registered in 2008 and considered by overseas Chinese as symbolic of Hakka heritage. However, *tulou* is a traditional collective house mainly found in the southeast region of Fujian province. This type of building never existed in Meizhou city, and, thus, most inhabitants of the city are not familiar with *tulou*. However, the city government adopted the *tulou* design and began landscape construction in the urban district of Meizhou.

From the perspective of the inhabitants of Meizhou, the landscape typified by *tulou* was not authentic, while other local landscapes represented the 'real' Hakka heritage. Some members, especially from illustrious lineages, viewed their *weilongwu* as part of authentic Hakka heritage and restored them, raising their own funds. After adoption of the Open Door Policy, the members of these

lineages left *weilongwu* and started to live in modern houses. However, they insisted that it was important to protect *weilongwu*, because they considered some parts of the building, such as the ancestral hall and the *huatai* (roots of the inhabitants' life energy), as holy.

Fujian *tulou* was judged by the city's political leaders and foreign experts to be valuable architecture. However, the Hakka inhabitants often considered *tulou* to be an old-fashioned building, while *weilongwu* still formed an essential part of their life. Although the *weilongwu* design is less widely known than *tulou*, the former is more important for locals. Some families belonging to the lineage protested against the destruction of *weilongwu* and insisted on the government recognizing its worth as a 'real' cultural heritage. Recently the city government could no longer ignore the conflicts around *weilongwu*, and began to use characteristics of this house when constructing the city landscape. Some parts of *weilongwu*, which are still well preserved, have been formally recognized as city-wide cultural heritage in recent years. The city government is also preparing to apply to UNESCO to include *weilongwu* among its World Heritage Sites.

The *weilongwu* collective house is more important than *tulou* for the local inhabitants, because it is closer to their historical memory and worldview. *Weilongwu* is a 'living heritage' in Hakka districts. The bottom-up registration process for cultural heritage in China has been largely overlooked.

It is, of course, not easy to know which materials carry more importance for the locals of a region, because there is a vast amount of internal diversity of cultural values among the inhabitants, and these values can change when there is change in social circumstances. Adopting the anthropological method will be useful, as it involves observing local inhabitants' practices and long-term fieldwork. Until recently, anthropologists have not usually discussed cultural heritage for practical purposes. However, investigating 'cultural heritage practices' through long-term fieldwork will help anthropologists understand 'cultural heritage systems'. In the work of finding and protecting 'living heritage', the anthropological method will play a very important role in years to come.

## Exhibition

### Ishuretsuzo, the Image of Ezo: Tracing Persons, Things and the World

*Special Exhibition*  
February 25 – May 10, 2016

The Ishuretsuzo series of portraits depicting 12 Ainu (Aynu) chieftains was painted in 1790 by Hakyo Kakizaki (1764–1826)—a retainer and later chief retainer of the Matsumae domain. The chieftains are thought to have collaborated with the Matsumae domain to end the Kunashiri-Menashi Battle of 1789 (an Ainu revolt against *Wajin* (non-Ainu ethnic Japanese people)). To mark their support, Hakyo painted the 12 portraits under the orders of the lord of the Matsumae domain. In the following year, the paintings were taken to Kyoto, where they were well received and came to the attention of Emperor Kokaku. Reproductions were subsequently created by the lords of various feudal domains (*daimyo*). This exhibition highlighted the Ishuretsuzo collection's true appeal with paintings brought together from around the world



*Special Exhibition gallery*

for the first time. Works included original paintings held by the Besançon Museum of Fine Arts and Archaeology (Besançon, France), reproductions created before the Meiji period, and sketches and faithful copies believed to have been created by Hakyo himself.

The 12 Ainu chieftains depicted in the Ishuretsuzo collection fascinated noblemen, literati and statesmen with their extraordinary yet dignified appearance. Hakyo created the images using a variety of elements particular to contemporary pictorial art, such as: the style of Chinese painter

Shen Nanpin (founder of the Nanpin school)—a popular technique that Hakyo learned in Edo; the expressive style of Western paintings, which had just been introduced to Japan; the postures of hermits depicted in illustrated catalogs, which were much talked about; and the formats used in portraits of meritorious Chinese retainers. The exhibition highlighted these elements through the works of notable painters of the time, including the monk Gessen and Shiseki So, under whom Hakyo studied. Behind the Ishuretsuzo collection was a network of people with surprising connections. These included the aforementioned painters, Emperor Kokaku (who actually saw the Ishuretsuzo collection) and other nobles, literati such as Kien Minagawa and Zenji Daiten, powerful feudal lords such as Seizan Matsura and Sadanobu Matsudaira (who ordered reproduction of the Ishuretsuzo collection), and the *daimyo* painters who actually reproduced the works. The exhibition traced such connections to the Ishuretsuzo collection through paintings.

Tools featured in the Ishuretsuzo images, play an important role in giving the 12 Ainu chieftains their extraordinary yet dignified appearance. Ezo Nishiki garments were expensive imports from China, and the depiction of the 12 Ainu leaders wearing them gives them the air of foreigners of high standing. Korean wool tapestry, Batik



*Items and the Ishuretsuzo Collection*

fabric from Java and other high-grade imported fabrics are also depicted in the works. The *daimyo* and members of the literati highly valued the tools held by the Ainu leaders for their rarity. The coats worn by Tsukinoe and Ikotoi and the shoes worn by several Ainu chieftains are evocative of the West (particularly Russia, with which Ezo had connections). The clothes and tools depicted in the collection indicate that cultural products were exchanged with other parts of Northeast Asia, and suggest demand for cultural products from overseas among *Wajin*.

In the early 18th century, Ezo was featured in *Wakan Sansai Zue* (an illustrated encyclopedia compiled by Ryoan Terajima in the Edo period). Subsequent illustrations stimulated the curiosity of people in Honshu and areas farther south by giving them a glimpse of the conditions of Ezo and Ainu people. At the end of the 18th century when the Ishuretsuzo collection was painted, this curiosity extended from Ezo to parts of the outside world such as Russia, whose territory was approaching that of Ezo. The exhibition highlighted how *Wajin* viewed the world from the 18th century to the 19th century through pictures and maps. These views shaped the

Ishuretsuzo collection, and interpretations of the collection have in turn shaped new views on the world. These intersecting views were highlighted in this exhibition, and helped to shape people's views of the world today.

Singo Hidaka  
Chief Organizer  
*National Museum of Ethnology*

## Conferences

### Rethinking Forced Resettlement in the Colonial Andes

*International Symposium  
November 6 – 8, 2015,  
Nashville, USA*

The policy of forced resettlement (*reducción*) is regarded as one of the most drastic colonization measures implemented by Spain in its American colonies. It required widely scattered and small indigenous settlements to consolidate into larger, planned towns (*reducciones*). The ideological motive underlying this policy was the idea, rooted in classical tradition, that men were 'social animals' who could

become fully human only by living in an urban setting and forming an orderly republic. In Spanish America, this policy was implemented over a vast territory by civil and ecclesiastical agents to further political control, economic exploitation and evangelization. Among all the resettlement projects, that of the fifth viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, is distinguished by its large scale, drastic measures, wide repercussions, and deep and lasting impacts. Between 1570 and 1575, Toledo made an inspection tour of the vast Andean region. Using appointed inspectors, he made a detailed census of the native population, assessed taxes, and built new towns. The census, produced at the end of his inspection tour, lists a population of 1.4 million distributed in more than 850 towns.

This international symposium was the first event of a five-year research project entitled 'Colonial Modernity in the Andes: A Comprehensive Study of Viceroy Toledo's General Resettlement' (JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 15H01911). This project aimed to produce a comprehensive picture of Toledo's resettlement scheme. Despite its recognition as a watershed event in Andean history, Toledo's reform has not received the scholarly attention it merits. Basic information about its political and legal background is still lacking, as also are its relation to European imperial politics and its development as a colonial policy. The process of its implementation is also poorly understood. Previous studies on this topic are highly localized, and, as a result, there is no consensus regarding effects on native society. Our research project attempts to compare different regional cases and clarify the general characteristics of Toledo's resettlement scheme. His reform will also be compared with similar reforms conducted elsewhere in Spanish America, and its significance in the history of Spanish colonization will be determined. Finally, the research project will compare Toledo's policy with other



View of a town, founded by Toledo's resettlement scheme (Saito, 2015)

measures of state intervention in Europe, and thus clarify its place in the early modern political landscape.

The symposium was organized jointly by Minpaku and Vanderbilt University, USA. The latter institution kindly hosted the event and provided funds for conference space, meals, and receptions. The two institutions made an agreement to promote scientific cooperation. The presenters included three Japanese, six Americans, one Peruvian and one Argentine. The first of four sessions was entitled 'Current Research Landscape', and evaluated the achievements of previous studies in history, archaeology and anthropology. In the next session, 'Impacts of the Resettlement on Native Society', we examined the transplanting of the Spanish community model, the propagation of Catholicism, and their effects on indigenous people. In the third session, 'Digital Humanities Approaches to the Resettlement', new research methodologies using geographic information systems (GIS) were introduced, and interim reports of their application were made. Finally, in the fourth session 'Built Environments of the *Reducciones*', general characteristics of the urban planning, architecture and art of the new towns were elucidated.

Akira Saito  
Convenor  
*National Museum of Ethnology*

## System Development for the Info-Forum Museum: Philosophy and Technique

*International Workshop  
February 11 – 12, 2016*

This workshop had two aims: to examine technical aspects of system development and discuss basic issues for creating collaborative environments. Both were related to the Info-Forum Museum project being implemented at Minpaku (2015–2021).

In North America, some ethnological museums have already involved source communities in reviews of ethnographical objects and related collections. Certain kinds of information have been digitized, while respecting cultural sensitivities, to build one-of-a-kind databases. These include: *Alaska Native Collections: Sharing Knowledge* developed by the Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, *Reciprocal Research Network (RRN)* by the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia (UBC), and *Amidolanne* created by the A:shiwi A:wam Museum and Heritage Center.

The idea of the Info-Forum Museum was derived from the above-mentioned projects. Unfortunately, at Minpaku, components considered to be key for its database system, such as ease of collaboration,

information generativity, security, and the online interface turned out to be relatively weak because only disparate and individual situations and applications had been considered, neglecting to some extent how different parts of the system might work together.

Looking globally, there are not many successful examples in the world to follow for processing information in multiple languages, retrieving non-language information, and expanding the collaborative environment and its subsequent integration with educational programs. These capabilities are still hidden.

Minpaku decided to invite experts from North America and Europe who have had central roles in collaborative museum activities in order to discuss the challenges and possibilities for development of the Info-Forum Museum.

On Day 1, after opening addresses by Ken'ichi Sudo (Director-General, Minpaku), the following presentations were given.

Nobuhiro Kishigami (Minpaku): Info-Forum Museum Project; Aron Crowell (Arctic Studies Center, Smithsonian): *Sharing Knowledge: Alaska Native Collections Online*; Susan Rowley, Nicholas Jakobsen and Ryan Wallace (MOA, UBC): *The Reciprocal Research Network (RRN): Attempting to Build an Online Research Community*; and Cynthia Chavez-Lamar



Workshop participants at Minpaku (February 12, 2016)

(National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian): Interpreting Collections through Collaboration with Indigenous Peoples.

On Day 2, following presentations were held. Jim Enote (A:shiwi A:wam Museum and Heritage Center): Amidolanne: Supporting Authentic Zuni Narratives from the Source; Robin Boast (University of Amsterdam): Database as Collaborative Environment; Kathy Dougherty (Burke Museum) and Atsunori Ito (Minpaku): Hopi Collection Review Project in the US and Japan; Yuzo Marukawa (Minpaku): Test Program of Info-Forum Museum; Hirofumi Teramura (Minpaku): What is 'Information' in the Field of Archaeology and the Scientific Study of Cultural Properties?; and Kelley Hays-Gilpin (Museum of Northern Arizona): Comment from Museum Anthropology.

From these case studies, we were able to discuss the overall direction of the Info-Forum Museum project, with interdisciplinary perspectives.

Hirofumi Teramura  
Participant  
*National Museum of Ethnology*

## Information

### Award

A former Director-General of Minpaku has recently been given a prestigious award for exceptional academic contributions:

**Naomichi Ishige** (Professor Emeritus) was decorated with The Order of the Sacred Treasure, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon, from the Japanese government, in recognition



of his life-long contribution to material culture and modern life and the comparative study of food habits. (April 29, 2016).

### In memoriam

With regret we note the following:

**Mikiharu Itoh**, Professor Emeritus. Anthropology of folk religion. Japan proper and the Ryukyus. Minpaku 1974–1988; d. March 29, 2016.

## New Staff

### Naoko Iizumi

*Project Associate Professor, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology*



Iizumi's mission at Minpaku is to implement curricula for training and evaluating 'Academic Sign Language Interpreters'.

Before joining Minpaku, she was responsible for training sign language interpreters as the Department Chairperson of the Japanese Sign Language and Interpreting Education Course at the Setagaya Welfare Professional Training College (2000-2016). After she acquired a master's degree in home economics at Ochanomizu University, she joined the Human Resources Department of IBM Japan where she was tasked with promoting equal opportunity and contributed to ensuring a fair working environment for employees with disabilities. She is a professional Japanese sign language interpreter with over 30 years experience and was a sign language newscaster for 20 years (1990-2010) on the NHK TV network. She also has been active in promoting equal access to Japanese movies and stage performances, regardless of disabilities.

### Keiko Sagara

*Project Assistant Professor, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology*



Sagara earned her master's degree in special education at the University of Tsukuba in 1999 and an MPhil degree

in sign linguistics at International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies (iSLanDS), at the University of Central Lancashire in 2014. She worked at iSLanDS for four years as a research officer managing a sign language typology project. With Ulrike Zeshan, she co-edited *Semantic Fields in Sign Languages: Colour, Kinship and Quantification* (Mouton de Gruyter and Nijmegen, 2016). Her current interest is the application of historical-sociolinguistic methods to sign languages, comparing Japanese Sign Language and Taiwan Sign Language.

### Hiroki Fukagawa

*Research Fellow, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology*



Fukagawa studied cultural anthropology at the University of Tsukuba. He received his PhD in 2013. Between 2007 and

2009, he has conducted fieldwork in Enga Province of Papua New Guinea, focusing on the relation between emotion and conflict resolution, including village court, mediation, and Christian-style confession. He has also studied Engan notions of kinship, gift exchange, whiteness, and how they relate to the indigenous theory of personhood. Fukagawa has published 'Constructing self and other in the New Guinea Highlands: Whiteness and inter-clan

competition in the postcolonial period', in H.W. Wong and K. Maegawa (eds.) *Revisiting Colonial and Post-Colonial: Anthropological Studies of the Cultural Interface* (Bridge21 Publications, 2014).

### Yoshiya Uchida

Research Fellow, Research Center for Cultural Resources



Uchida specialized in cultural heritage studies based on non-written cultural materials. He studied Japanese

history and received his PhD from Kansai University (2008). He was engaged in a research and digital archiving project for cultural heritage at the Kansai University Research Center for Naniwa-Osaka Cultural Heritage Studies (2005-2010) and Kansai University Research Center for Cityscape and Cultural Heritage of Osaka (2010-2015). His major works include *New Discovery Osaka-zu Byobu* (in Japanese, co-authored with T. Takahashi and Van Daalen, Seibundo, 2010). His current research interest is the use of digital technology to publish the results of research in the humanities. At Minpaku he is helping to create and present academic digital content related to cultural resources.

## Overseas Visiting Fellows

### Gevorg Orbelyan

Vice Director, Yerevan History Museum, Armenia



Orbelyan obtained his master's degree in museum studies at the Faculty of Culture, Armenia State Pedagogical

University in Armenia. His professional role in the museum is to curate, design, and organize special exhibitions. He is also involved with updating and developing permanent exhibitions, and using museums as special platforms for 'story tellings' among other cultural and educational activities for visitors (the community). His core research themes are museology and the anthropological study of museums and community. Since 2008, Orbelyan has been a member of International Council of Museums (ICOM), the Armenian Association of Museum Workers and Friends (AMWF), and the board of the International Committee of Exhibition Exchange (ICEE). He has participated in numerous international conferences around the world, focusing on exhibitions, museums and community involvement. He is an author of two books about Yerevan history (in Armenian and Russian languages, 2009, 2010), and several scientific articles in museology and urban history. He was also a participant in JICA's Comprehensive Museology training course (2013). Besides his academic activity, Orbelyan has been involved in coordinating several projects to support and promote museums in Armenia.

(December 14, 2015 – November 24, 2016)

### Heung-wah Wong

Professor, University of Hong Kong, China



Wong is the Director of the Global Creative Industries Programme of the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the

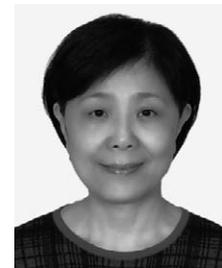
University of Hong Kong. He is the author of *Japanese Bosses, Chinese Workers: Power and Control in a Hong Kong Megastore* (Curzon Press, 1999), *Friendship and Self-*

*Interest: An Anthropological Study of a Japanese Supermarket in Hong Kong* (in Japanese, Fukuyoshi, 2004), the co-author, with Hoi-yan Yau, of *Japanese Adult Videos in Taiwan* (Routledge, 2014) and co-editor, with Keiji Maegawa, of *Revisiting Colonial and Postcolonial: Anthropological Studies of the Cultural Interface* (Bridge 21 Publications, 2014). He is currently working on several book projects about the cultural policies of Taiwan. He has also published a number of journal articles and book chapters on Japanese overseas companies and Japanese popular culture in Asia.

(January 13, 2016 – January 11, 2017)

### Jane Suhchuan Tsay

Professor, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan



Tsay majored in Chinese literature at National Taiwan University and received her PhD in linguistics from the University of

Arizona in the USA. At the National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan, she is a professor of the Graduate Institute of Linguistics and has served as the Dean of the College of Humanities for eight years. Her research interests include child language acquisition, experimental phonology and phonetics, corpus linguistics, and sign linguistics. She has constructed the Taiwanese Child Language Corpus, included as part of the world-wide Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES). She is also the co-director of the Taiwan Center for Sign Linguistics and has compiled the Taiwan Sign Language Online Dictionary. She has conducted psycholinguistic studies on the representation and processing of spoken vs. signed languages. Her recent research is in the comparison of the vocabularies

of Taiwan Sign Language and Japan Sign Language in dialectal and historical perspectives.

(April 13 – July 12, 2016)

## Publications

From January to June 2016, we published the following issues and articles:

### **Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 40**

**Issue 3:** Y. Ishii, 'The cultural and social participation strategies of Asian migrant professionals in Australia: Focusing on the autobiographical writings of one writer and her cultural and social activities'; S. Tsukada, 'Trends and problems in studies of Nong Zhigao, a Zhuang "Ethnic Hero"'; M. Sawayama, 'Folk remedies used in the Edo period to protect the lives of mothers and infants'; and M. Fujita-Sano, 'The role of meals in the well-being of American and Japanese elderly: Meal programs at senior centers and senior day-service centers'.

**Issue 4:** N. Sonoda, S. Hidaka, K. Suemori, Y. Okumura, Y. Kawamura, S. Hashimoto and T. Wadaka, 'The current state of LED museum lighting: Summer 2015'; S. Ogata, 'To live as an *artist*: The way the arts are practiced in the city of Ile-Ife, Nigeria', and A. Sugase, 'Pork consumption among Israeli Arab citizens in the Galilee region: Interactive influences among the Christians, Muslims and the Jews'.

### **Senri Ethnological Studies**

**No.92:** Konagaya, Y. and O. Shaglanova (eds.) *Northeast Asian Borders: History, Politics, and Local Societies*. 205pp.

### **Senri Ethnological Reports**

**No.133:** Terada, Y. (ed.) *An Audiovisual Exploration of Philippine Music: The Historical Contribution of Robert Garfias*. 124pp.



Forthcoming Special Exhibition

### **Amazing Show Tents in Japan**

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka

Sep. 8 – Nov. 29, 2016

**No.134:** Nakagawa, H. and S. Endo (eds.) *Motozo Nabesawa's Ainu-language Notes (1928-1959) at the National Museum of Ethnology*. 528pp.

**No.135:** Shaglanova, O.A. and S. Sasaki (eds.) *Culture of the Peoples of Siberia and the Russian Far East in Museums of Russia and Japan: Collection, Registration, Conservation, and Exhibition*. 160pp.

**No.136:** Kawai, H. and T. Iida (eds.) *Cultural Heritage of China: An Anthropological Perspective*. 328pp.

**Note:** These publications can be seen online of the Minpaku Repository (Free PDF download): <https://minpaku.repo.nii.ac.jp/>

### **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: <http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/english/research/activity/publication/periodical/newsletter>

**General Editor:** Ken'ichi Sudo  
**Editor:** Michiko Intoh  
**Editorial Panel:** Ritsuko Kikusawa, Peter Matthews, Makito Minami, Yoshitaka Terada

Address for correspondence:  
 The Editor  
 MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter  
 National Museum of Ethnology  
 Senri Expo Park, Suita, Osaka 565-8511, Japan  
 Tel: +81-6-6876-2151  
 Fax: +81-6-6878-7503  
 E-mail: [nletter@idc.minpaku.ac.jp](mailto:nletter@idc.minpaku.ac.jp)

Signed articles represent views of the authors, not necessarily official views of the National Museum of Ethnology.

© National Museum of Ethnology  
 2016. ISSN 1341-7959

Printed by Nakanishi Printing Co., Ltd