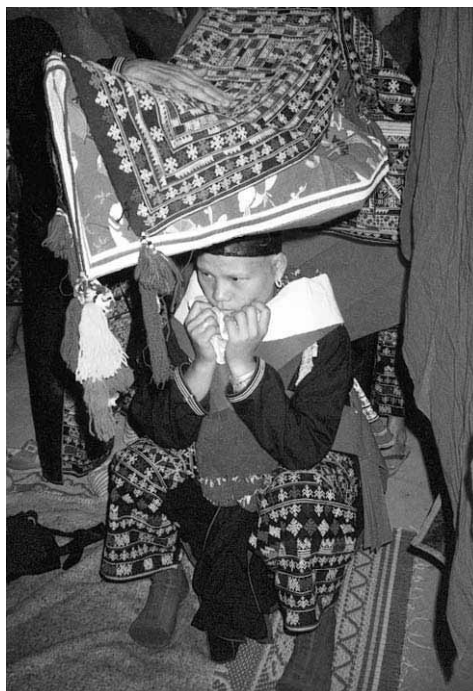# Anderson and the Boundaries in Thailand

Shigeharu Tanabe
Otani University

As early as the late 1960s, Fredrik Barth (1969: 14–16) conceptualized what has become a conventional notion of 'ethnic boundaries' in social anthropology: ethnic groups achieve their own identity by defining themselves as different from other such groups and by constructing boundaries between them. The boundaries here mean social, not necessarily physical, territorial ones. Boundaries are drawn not from any objective differences in cultural features, but from only those the actors themselves regard as significant; while some features are used as signals of difference, others are ignored or played down. If a group maintains its difference, or identity, from others, this entails criteria for determining membership and exclusion, or in other words, 'boundary maintenance'. In many ethnic groups boundary maintenance implies a sharing of schemata that enable similar evaluation and judgement among the members to define 'us' and 'them'. According to Barth, boundary maintenance also involves the way in which any member of a group can continuously cope with different situations of inter-ethnic encounters and contacts.

A Mien bride, Nan province.

Drawing on Erving Goffman's (1959) theory of interaction, Barth (1969: 15–16) contends that stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose a set of 'prescriptions' that enable actors to act in a way suited to any particular social situation. For instance, a group of the Miang (highland cultivators, also known as Yao) in northern Thailand must know how to contact and interact with the Mrabri (gatherers, also known as Phi Tong Lüang) and differently with the Khon Müang (northern Thai lowlanders) and other groups. The Miang have different prescriptions to maintain inter-ethnic relations with different groups and this, in turn, contributes to the boundary maintenance of their own identity. We should also note that construction of boundaries and boundary maintenance is concerned not only with the ethnic groups Barth actually analyses, but also with other types of community in terms of gender, sexuality, locality, nationality and so forth.

Contents

Shigeharu Tanabe is Professor of Anthropology at Otani University, Kyoto and Professor Emeritus at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka. He has carried out fieldwork in Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, and retired from Minpaku in 2004. He recently edited with Charles F. Keyes Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos (Routledge Curzon 2002).

American political scientist Benedict Anderson has also developed, in a different way, the view that communities are not naturally organized around centres but constructed with boundaries in modernity. In his seminal book *Imagined Communities* (1991/1983), Anderson deals with nationalism and nation itself as an imagined category like kinship and religion rather than as an ideology like liberalism or fascism. A nation is not an intellectual or ideological property, but a product of what people imagine and construct in their everyday life. This enables him to define a nation as an *imagined community* with an inherently limited and sovereign nature. The notion of imagined community can thus be applied to a wide range of social groups, in which the people are prepared to assert their ownership and membership against other opposing or contesting ideas and groups. Anderson maintains:

> It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion… In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (Anderson 1991: 6, emphasis original)

While Barth emphasizes the making

A Mrabri family at home, Nan province.

of the boundaries of communities, Anderson's concept of imagined community widens the scope to depict the ways in which communities are imagined by the people and how they construct the image of their communion. In this regard, Anderson's account is, in some sense, resonant with Jean-Luc Nancy's notion of 'lost community', because the latter is a prototype of imagined community recurrently and nostalgically sustained in the modern West. Contrary to the lost community, however, the concept of imagined community enables us to account for wider and more diverse processes of community construction ranging from historically situated villages to modernized nation-states, and to more globalized, virtual communities activated through electronic media.

Anderson argues that the rise of print capitalism, such as the production of books and newspapers, has made particular vernacular languages standardized, leading to the creation of national consciousness. Thus the development of print capitalism has created national common languages in South East Asia, such as Bahasa Indonesia, Standard Thai and so forth, which enable the mass of people in different areas to understand each other in a new imagined community, a nation-state. According to Anderson (1991: 22–36), the mass media, particularly newspapers, have served not only to create national languages, but also to instil in people the idea of 'homogeneous, empty time' (to use Walter Benjamin's term) measured by clock and calendar so that they can have complete confidence in the steady and simultaneous activities of other persons within the imagined community. Thus the concept of imagined community delineates the imagining processes in which print capitalism has made it possible for diverse groups of people across wide tracts of space and time to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, as if they were in a real community.

While the imagined community thesis lays a greater stress on the rise of print capitalism as a necessary condition for nationalism and nation-states, it tends to presuppose homogeneity,

or more precisely homogenizing processes, of the nation. When one attempts to describe the making of a nation in historical terms, one is surely justified in addressing the question of how the nation has become a unitary entity based on its nation-space, the totalizing boundaries of modernity (cf. Thongchai 2000). Yet, if we look at the proliferation and diversification of contexts and sites of interaction among the people under the narrative of national cohesion, a different picture arises where the imagined community and its 'sociological solidity' have continually been disturbed and destabilized. Identification of particular subjects with a fixed, homogeneous identity in an imagined community is thus questioned, as Homi Bhabha puts it:

> Once the liminality of the nation-space is established, and its signifying difference is turned from the boundary 'outside' to its finitude 'within', the threat of cultural difference is no longer a problem of 'other' people. It becomes a question of otherness of the people-as-one. (Bhabha 1994: 150)

The imagined community is not a *model of* what happens to otherness, or the differentiated spatial boundary, in the processes of the construction of a bounded homogeneous, empty time and space. It still remains rather an ideal, or a *model for* a modern nation itself with an autonomous, sovereign form of political rationality, without addressing the other moment of *imagining* where perpetual movements of the marginal integration of individuals and groups emerge. Thus, Partha Chatterjee (1999) plausibly remarks that Anderson's formulation is rather utopian.

It would therefore be pertinent to say that Anderson's thesis is half of the story that needs to be complemented by the fact that the construction of homogeneous, empty time of the nation-space necessarily accompanies the disjunctive, ambivalent boundaries and identities of the internalized otherness. In this regard, we should pay particular attention to the response and resistance at the marginalized places where people experience a loss of identity, or a difficulty in identifying themselves with the totalizing national discourse. From this point of view we shall be able to perceive and problematize the marginalized minority positions such as 'hill tribe' minorities, local populations concerned with resource management, or the struggle over gender and sexual identity in the current conjuncture of Thailand.

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A Radical Conservative Buddhist Utopia: The Asoke People[*]

Kanoksak Kaewthep
Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

"The Buddha's Dhamma aims to develop mankind to be 'ariya' (the enlightened) the highest of which is 'arahat'. If one can follow his path to its completeness in this world, then one can reach the goal in this world. If he cannot, he has to continue in the next lives… This world is the day we see now, the next worlds are what come tomorrow. The next worlds do

The author is a development economist who has done field work in rural Thailand for more than twenty years. Most recently, he has completed an evaluation of community development impacts in Myanmar. E-mail: anoksak.k@chula.ac.th

not exist independently, they are the result of this world, like the fact that today is the result of yesterday."
Bodhiraksa,1983.

Introduction

It can be said without exaggeration that the crisis of modernity has affected not only the way of life of Thai people in general, leading to an alternative development paradigm, but has also created conditions for the emergence of movements for reform of Theravada Buddhism.

In Thailand, Theravada Buddhism is dominant as a state ideology. At present, three sects are attempting to promote reform: Buddhadasa at Suan-mok Temple (Surat Thani), Thammakaya (Pratumthani,near Bangkok), and Asoke (widely scattered).

During the 1980s, when many Thai NGOs started to work openly for rural development, Buddhist monks also joined work in the countryside, and the Thammakaya and Asoke sects started to gain a large following. These two new sects were established in the 1970s, and have been attempting to reform Buddhism.

Only the Thammakaya and Asoke offer the interpretation that laypeople can attain salvation and Nirvana in this life. The Asoke group is thus a counter-ideology of the state religion and is expressed in everyday resistance. It is a new invention of the Asoke group to link Merit and Salvation. Traditional Buddhism views salvation as the release from *Samsara*, the cycle of births and rebirths in a life of impermanence and suffering. By learning to transcend all desire we may uproot the very source of all suffering. Only through appropriate ascetic discipline and the practice of meditation can one hope to ascend the stages leading to perfection and reach *Nirvana* — a state of ultimate enlightenment, utter bliss, and total detachment from mundane fetters (*Lokiya*).

Reproduction of the Asoke group as a social organization entails the subjection and qualification of members. Asoke members who have accepted a particular patterning of their capacities, and a particular discipline, qualify for the given roles and are able to carry them out.

Who are the Asoke people?

The so-called *Chao Asoke* (Asoke people) are practitioners of the orthodox path of Buddha's teaching laid out for them by a Buddhist monk called Bodhiraksa. Before being ordained as monk in 1970 and receiving his Buddhist name, Rak Rakpongse had gone through a series of personal experiments in various schools of superstition and black magic as well as different schools of Buddhist meditation. Later he initiated his own inner-worldly ascetic practice by gradually reducing desire in basic material consumption. Importantly, he claims that, one day, he became suddenly "enlightened", still as a layman, without any meditation teacher.

The name "Asoke" or in Sanskrit "Ashoka", means "being free from all sufferings". It goes well with the term "Buddha" which means "being enlightened, awakened, and happy". The term "Asoke" is used appropriately by this group of people.

Establishing communities

Before the first communities were established, Asoke people had Buddhasthana (Buddhist Centres) where the monks lived and where activities for spiritual development were carried out. Lay members built their living quarters next to each centre. In recent years, the number of monks has been less than the number of community members. The situation has thus reversed, and new communities have arisen first, followed by the Buddhasthanas. There are now altogether nine communities. Each centre (monastery) is led by an abbot, sometimes assisted by a deputy abbot and assistant abbot, depending on the workload each year. There is also a training centre for Asoke's monks, named Phu-pha Fa-Nam.

Asoke community members comprise four categories: the ordained (monks, sikkhamats and novices), aspirants, temple residents, and community residents. Except for the community residents who still earn their living from outside jobs, all members devote time to working for the community without pay. Bodhiraksa has adopted communal living as a foundation for basic needs. This rare phenomenon is explained by their social values: working hard, being economical, being trustworthy, and being devoted to mankind. Each member abides by Buddhist precepts according to his or her status. Rules and regulations for each community have also been developed. Those who break religious precepts or the community rules must face trial in either a meeting of Samanas or community committee members as the case may be.

In Thailand, the largest association with contacts to Asoke group is the Vegetarian Society of Thailand, which

runs vegetarian restaurants in various big cities. This society claims to have some 100,000 members all over the country.

The Asoke group has established communities known as *Chumchon thuan krasae* (abbrev. Chumchon; the anti-mainstream communities) all over the country. 'Anti-mainstream' here means to reject the materialistic consumerism of Thai society generally, and is thus a critique of modernity. 'Be diligent, take initiative, dare to be poor, and endure sarcasm' is a motto which reveals the Puritan pride and reformist objectives of the Asoke and its communities.

It should be noted that much of Asoke temple terrain in upcountry areas is used for agricultural production and other activities related to the subsistence and self-reliance of member communities. Asoke communities start their practical work from a religious perspective that aims to restore an authentic role for Buddhism, by linking it to society or *Lokiya* (the realm of the worldliness). — To achieve this sacred goal through *Sila* — Buddhist precepts for proper conduct — strict asceticism (or *tuk-kara-kiriya*) is practiced as a way for personal salvation and Nirvana in the layman's life. The core of the practice is present in Asoke's motto: *lod* (to reduce)- *la* (to refrain from)- *lerk* (to give up). Giving or *dana*, which means donation, sacrifice, charity, and so on, comes to play an important role as a mediator between *Sila* and "Salvation/Nirvana".

For individual salvation, the practice of *Sila* is quite possible within the constructed community, which satisfies all basic needs. The communal living provides suitable conditions for a modest everyday life, helping members to consume less, sleep less, and work harder. This can be compared with a monastic life of asceticism — devoting oneself toward personal salvation. Each individual also supports the community by every means: by contributing to collective labor, and providing social pressure for other lays to practice and polish (*rabop khatklao*) their *Sila* in a group socialization process known as *Muu Klum* (　″ £).

The ideology of social withdrawal is instrinsic for the Asoke group and is based on the early scriptures of Buddhism. These provided both the notion of *Lokiya* and a specific model of interaction between monk and layman, and now guide a basic and efficient mechanism for reproducing a modern counter-ideology.

Fig. 1　Asoke Community: Temple, Village and School

Asoke Practices: From *Sila* to Self-Reliant Community

Asoke ideology places a high value on proper individual behavior, so cultivating one's own thoughts, speech, and actions is considered the most important commitment of individual members. Informal education in the community has been established. Bodhiraksa directed members to apply the Buddha's teaching to everyday life in modern society as well as observing the doctrine strictly. He established that the real aim of education is personal development by eradicating all defilements, until the state of Nirvana or Lokuttara is reached. Nirvana literally means being "above all worldly desires". This aim runs alongside the aim of *Lokanukampa* (being efficient in working for the world), and *Lokavidhu* (being knowledgeable enough to catch up and give services to mankind). To the Asoke the essence of education is the Buddhist principle of the Noble Eightfold Path (Magga Eight: the Path leading to the Cessation of Suffering) together with other Dhamma teachings suitable for each learner in each circumstance. Concerning the aims of *Lokanukampa* and *Lokavidhu*, many forms of learning are introduced including 'exchange of knowledge' among members, special lectures from outside experts, and participating in vocational and academic training in many educational areas.

After some years of subsistence struggling, Asoke communities have been able to satisfy basic needs, and have begun to apply *Bun-Niyom*

(Meritism), the concept of an economics of giving, as a means for doing business with society outside. For example during the New Year Celebration and "Ariya Fair" at Rajthani Asoke (30 December-5 January), all goods sold are cheaper than the cost of production. This fair typifies the *Bun-Niyom* ideology of social service. As a collective practice the fair can be interpreted as a redistribution of economic surplus from Asoke communities back to society, a practice that prevents an accumulation of wealth.

Steady growth over the past decade — in terms of self-reliance — has made the Asoke community a model for rural development. When Thailand faced a financial crisis in the middle of 1997, every part of the country was affected, and other Asian economies, especially those of ASEAN and South Korea, became embroiled in the currency crisis that began in Thailand. During this period, Asoke communities were relatively unaffected.

In fact, Thai NGOs view self-reliance, cooperation, simplicity of lifestyle, harmony between culture and nature, and a spiritual orientation as central to traditional rural Thai life, as well as valuable models for present practices and social change. NGOs like the Asoke group seek an alternative paradigm for development by focusing on self-reliance, in contradiction to the capitalist or industrialized path. However, unlike other self-reliance movements, the Asoke group's entry point is religion rather than economics. Table 1 summarizes different aspects of the Self- Reliance Movement (*Kra buan karn pattana pheu peung ton eng*) in Thailand.

Table 1. The Self-Reliance Movement in Thailand

Political aspect	Passive resistance by return to the village vs. urban politics
Economic aspect	Self-sufficiency vs. industrialization
Cultural aspect	Buddhism (spiritual) vs. greed (material)

Conclusion

The Asoke alternative paradigm of development is not a theory imposed from above, nor an academic hypothesis to be tested in the field. It is an empirical realization acquired by involving people in hard work. Bodhiraksa based his approach to development on his experience of working with people. He saw that development could and should be achieved as a totally unified process involving economic, religious, spiritual, social, cultural, environmental and psychological elements. His approach was based on human beings, treating them as the centre of the total development process. Development of the individual and the development of the community were both inherent goals. First of all, basic needs in the community had to be satisfied, and exploitation of people at every level of society had to be eradicated if possible. The strategies for such individual and community (group) development were found only in Buddhist theory and practice. Sharing (*dana*) is traditionally and still the foremost virtue among practicing Buddhists. Again and again, Asoke emphasized the necessity of *dana* for its members.

The Asoke strategy for self-reliance has succeeded by organizing the community around various small groups. Participants in these groups listened, discussed many issues and informed themselves. They came to know of their rights, responsibilities, duties and privileges. Within each group, they learned tolerance and the need to respect the viewpoints of others. They practiced real democracy as a way of life.

The participatory manner in which Asoke members are motivated to become their own masters- or *Ariya-chon-* is at the basis of their economic and social development. By requiring that individuals and communities awaken themselves, all strategies eventually utilized should be sustainable. They expect that their development will be a long term and independent process.

A new religious movement like the Asoke communities described above offers an alternative truth in the context of mainstream power. Of course, this counter- ideology threatens civic religion. The new religious movement offers other religious practices and doctrinal interpretations and lacks legitimacy in the eyes of the state. The Asoke community has been seen as an opposition ideology and distinct threat to Thai Buddhism, as well as ordered symbols of civic power and authority. Despite their doctrinal conservatism, the Asoke communities have displayed an intriguing capacity to coexist with, and absorb, heterogeneous cultural influences.

In summary, the Asoke group challenges not only the mainstream Buddhism, but also offers a Buddhist

perspective on self-reliance as an alternative development paradigm. In other words, the Asoke group is a

"Radical Conservative Buddhist Utopia".

The Thousand and One Nights: Dreams and Discoveries of the East

Margaret Sironval

Researcher, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, France

The history of the *Thousand and One Night*s really began in the West with Antoine Galland's French translation in 1704. The Arabic manuscript which Galland used for his translation is dated to around the 14th century and is the oldest known Arabic manuscript of the *Nights*. It is now located in Paris, at the Bibliotheque Nationale. Stories such as *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* and *Aladdin,* that is, stories that are most commonly associated with the *Nights,* were not part of the manuscript. Antoine Galland collected them orally from the Maronite monk Hanna — a visitor from Alep in Syria who had already supplied him with several other stories. The most recent and complete manuscripts contain circa two hundred stories told during one thousand and one nights. Scheherazade is the principal character in the inaugural account: it is through her voice that the story-teller weaves the thread of stories aimed at convincing a king, cheated by his first wife, to give up killing each morning the wife of the previous night.

The *Thousand and One Nights* are a strongly metaphoric. They stimulate imagery that varies according to period. Each period features a specific collective imagery. In this way, the *Thousand and One Nights* form a social and historical collective phenomenon.

The *Thousand and One Nights* are not a mirror of the real Orient — they create an imaginary Orient through descriptions, metaphors and similes. We cannot separate the image of the *Nights* from the image of the Orient. This link is very clear now. The first aspect concerns studies of the Orient by scholars. In 1697, La *Bibliotheque Orientale* by Barthélémi d'Herbelot was published and was prefaced by Antoine Galland. This is considered to be the first encyclopedia of the Islamic world. This first movement of Orientalism was focused more on ideas in the *Nights* than on representations.

The second aspect is an invitation to discover the Orient through the fiction of *The Thousand and One Nights.* Galland himself initiated this double vision when translating the Arab tales. In his foreword he wrote:

"*The Thousand and One Nights* relate customs and manners of the Eastern world. No author or traveler has better described religious ceremonies whether pagan or Moslem".

But which Orient does Galland refer to? «All Eastern nations, the Persians, the Tartars, the Indians, are here differentiated and are featured in their specific environment… so that without the fatigue of going to visit those people in their respective country».

This Orient is vast and seems boundless. The *Thousand and One Nights* do not cover all countries although Sheherazade's narrations mention the Chinese frontier. Some tales take place in China which is described as a wonderful land. This vision may be related to the very profitable trade performed by the merchant Sulayman in China. Indeed, in around the year 1,000, the trading routes of Islamic merchants lead all the way to China where corals or ivory were exchanged for porcelain, silk, or paper. Such expeditions required a round trip of about one year. The prospect of fabulous profits outweighed the fear of risks associated with sailing. This atmosphere can be found in the tale *Sindbad the Sailor.* Some tales in the *Thousand and One Nights* mention trading relations with China, as related in the story of d'*Abu Muhammad the Lazybones* or in the story *of Kamar ez-Žamân* where the hero dreams about a beautiful princess in a Chinese town. Alladin was born in a Chinese city that is described differently from oriental cities such as Baghdad or Cairo. References to China in the *Thousand and One Nights* indicate the Iraqi origin of the tale in Galland's manuscript. They are mainly found in tales associated with the Iraqi Abbassid

Sironval studied Arabic literature and civilization at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. She also studied semiology of popular traditions at the EHESS (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) where she obtained her MA. She obtained her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature at University of Paris-Sorbonne (1998). Her main interest lies on the network of relationships between Oriental and Western culture. She is studying this network through the Book of the Thousand and one Nights by looking at how the topics in Oriental versions were transformed into texts and illustrations in the Western versions. She has published many articles in scientific journals and has organized several exhibitions in France and abroad (Tunisia and Turkey).

Scene from Galland (transl., 1865–66) Les Mille et Une Nuits: Contes Arabes, Paris.

period (10th century).

Fifty years later, at a time when a literary image of the Orient was being built, Voltaire gathered under the subject of Orient "Arabs, Ottomans, Persia, India, Mongol, China and Japan". This 18th century Orient has stretched to the very far East and European illustrators of the *Thousand and One Nights* had their own interpretation of this Orient. The illustrator's role is comparable to the role of narrator: the illustrator must stimulate our imagination while creating an illustration. The illustrator provides us with new visual perceptions and other ways to appreciate the tale by creating several illustrative variations of one subject. Each image in the editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* reflects these various approaches. The setting, costumes and objects chosen by the illustrator carry an exotic touch that indicates a foreign country. When studying illustrations of the same sequence in different editions of different countries, one can see the evolution of the perception of the Eastern characters by the Western illustrators.

In the 19th century, the spirit of travel and perceptions of the Orient change and take on individual characteristics. More than the journey itself, it is the traveler who becomes interesting: what he has seen, how he has seen it, his impressions. The traveler is hero of the journey, and sometimes a mythical hero. His autobiography, or travel notes, bear witness to a reality that is nothing other than his own understanding.

The new spirit of travel had an influence on the reading and illustration of the *Thousand and One Nights* during the romantic period. Two famous nineteenth century English translators of the *Nights*, Edward Lane and Richard Burton, both traveled and stayed in the East. Their translations were argued by an extremely abundant display of notes. Their notes are in keeping with the dawning movement of anthropology and ethnology. They provided information about Eastern peoples, their morals and customs.

The illustrations of these two translations are quite different. For Lane's translation, William Harvey illustrates the Orient as Lane saw it. The *Thousand and one Nights* are just like a "Pictorial Journal of the East". Illustrations of Burton's translation by his friend, A. Letchford, include crude and erotic scenes. The *Thousand and One Nights* became for many illustrators an excuse to escape constraints imposed by a puritan society and an industrial world at the end of the 19th century. The stories of the *Thousand and One Nights* became the supporting pillars of this "real" but outrageously "exoticised" East. The *Thousand and One Nights,* as a written fiction and as an account of reality, was used to reveal not the East but a personal East.

Other "Orients" were proposed by talented painters and illustrators who studied the art of the East and Far East at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, Léon Carré (illustrator for Mardrus's *Arabian Nights*) and Edmond Dulac.

Studying the illustrated editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* highlights the development of relations between Occidental and Oriental cultures. The Minpaku exhibition on *The World of the Arabian Nights* will let visitors discover Middle Eastern culture as well as differences and similarities with Japanese culture.

Pathways To Complexity: The Central Andean Archaic and the Japanese Jomon Periods

Peter Kaulicke
Pontificia Universidad, Catolica del Peru, Lima

Until his death in 1948, Julio C. Tello, Peru's first and still much respected national archaeologist, sustained that the Chavin culture with its spectacular art style was at the roots of ancient Peruvian civilization. Such a mature and complex culture or society, however, demands a long preparation for coming into being. For this Tello could only offer rather vague and unconvincing explanations. Now we know that Chavin was preceded by a long history, beginning at the time of the first peopling of the Central Andes, probably from before 10,000 to about 2,000 BC. This large time span is partly contemporaneous with the even longer Jomon period that begins at ca 13,000 and ends at ca 400 BC (recently a date of ca 900 BC is preferred by some Japanese archaeologists). The following Yayoi period is usually seen as the starting point of civilization via migration processes. In the following I would like to concentrate briefly on the emergence of complexity in both Central Andean and the Jomon cases.

During the Central Andean Archaic or Preceramic period, a hunter and gatherer lifeway merged into the beginnings of a more complex Andean society through technical and engineering feats that allowed humans to survive and flourish in diverse environments. Peru is unique in presenting 84 of 103 world-life zones, often compressed into short geographical distances. Many of the economic innovations and symbolic accomplishments of the Preceramic still have meaning. The early part of this period (ca 9,500 – 6,000 BC) was a time of intense creativity and change that set the stage for the initial impulses of civilization in the 4th and 3rd millennia BC. Sedentism, social differentiation, agriculture, pastoralism and urbanism were achieved independently in the Central Andes nearly as early as in other regions of the world. Between 6,000 and 2,500 BC regional populations employed different combinations of hunter-gatherer,

maritime, pastoral, and/or agricultural economies that allowed a larger and more secure food supply. Increased territorialism and sense of local community, more social interaction between communities, and more regional diversification were accompanied by general population growth, increasing numbers of permanent communities, formalized burial rituals, more complex symbolism, and intergroup conflict. People began to have more impact on the animals, plants and general environment, and also began introducing alien species of plants.

Already by 9,000 to 8,500 BC a wide variety of regional technologies and economies prevailed instead of uniformly specialized hunting. Regional connections are evident in different material and spatial cultural forms, different scales and types of economies, the use of base camps and special task localities, intergroup networks, preferred habitats, and bifacial and unifacial tools. With the exceptions of the highland puna (tundra) and littoral areas, the first regional economies in the Andes were broad-spectrum from the beginnings. The rather well known Paijan culture (8700 – 5900 BC) on the Peruvian North Coast is a good example. First interpreted as the culture of specialized elephant hunters, later as a littoral adaptation, the sites range widely in location. A diverse range of habitats and plant, animal, and marine resources were exploited with a well defined stone industry. From an initial controlled mobility people joined together and established more permanent camps with lithics made from local raw material. They used large and numerous grinding stones, used diverse plants and animals and occupied circular domestic huts built in clusters. Thus the early period saw the development of techniques for food procurement through hunting, collecting plants, and the gathering or fishing of marine resources. The practice of coordinating the

After studies in Bonn and Vienna, and fieldwork in Peru, Kaulicke obtained his Ph.D. at Bonn University in 1980. Since 1988 he has been Professor for Archaeology at the Catholic University in Lima, Peru. He is currently working on a new edition of his book: Origins of Civilization in the Andes.
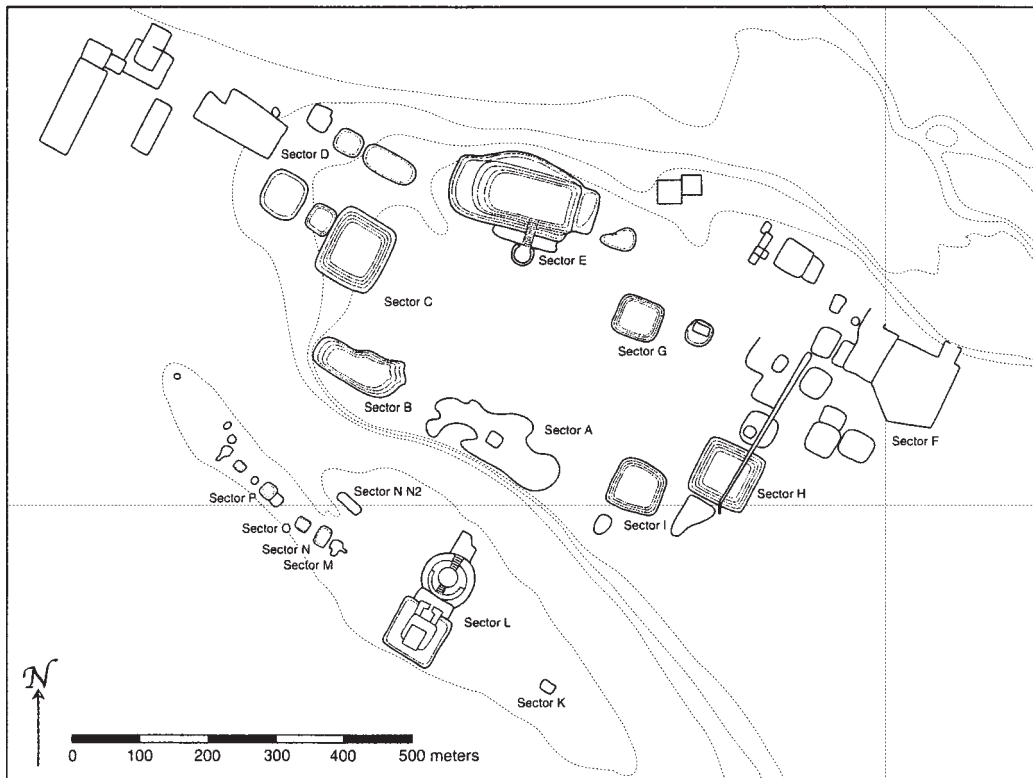
Fig. 1 Site map of
Caral, Supe Valley,
North Central Coast,
Peru (ca 4,100 to
3,600 BP)
    From R. Shady, J.
    Haas and W.
    Craemer, Science
    292 (27), 2001,
    fig. 3.

procurement and sharing of food took place within a tightly organized group. Some societies were highly territorial while others were not.

The following period (ca.6,000 to 1,500 BC) is characterized by significant and widespread socio-cultural changes in technology, settlement patterns, symbolism and exchange systems, burial practices, and the adoption and spread of different regional combinations of hunting and gathering, incipient agriculture, domesticated animals, and, along the Pacific coast, marine resources. Fancy and utilitarian textiles and pottery appeared, especially in burials, and assumed a social prominence beyond their technological value. This indicates that greater distinctions were being made between individuals. Settlements grew in size, permanence, and degree of residential aggregation. Substantially new building techniques were developed, and different types of public spaces were created (plazas, mounds, cemeteries). This led to the appearance of large-scale monuments indicative of increased social complexity and economic synchronization between 2,500 and 1,500 BC. Rich resources were not the sole requirement for hunter-gatherer complexity, since it did not appear simultaneously on the coast and in the highlands. The paths to complexity were probably different in different coastal and highland regions from Ecuador to Chile. To sum up, the

period discussed has some of the familiar attributes of emergent complexity like nucleation, monumentalism, population growth, community planning, social differentiation and subsistence intensification, but other attributes are absent (visible social ranking or stratification, ruling elites, and the accumulation of prestige items). This pattern suggests that populations were focused more on horizontal peer-relations between similar and different types of societies rather than on vertical or hierarchical relations. They also appear focused on small-scale corporate unity, expressed in terms of separate but complementary public and private spaces and ceremonial landscapes, new corporate and household economies, and the development and refinement of new technologies. Defining ceremonial and sacred spaces on the landscape must have been as important as the development of local technologies and new resources. A critical threshold was crossed by these societies in the 4th and 3rd millennia BC when public and private space were separated and formal public structures were built. Although these types of sites do not appear to represent full-fledged chiefdoms, they may have been small-scale polities whereby power and authority were diffused, rotated, and situationally applied among small groups of individuals operating at large public sites.

This short summary provides a basis for comparing emerging complexity in other societies like those of the Jomon Period. There are a number of obvious differences in the nature and distribution of available resources, and in the presence of technologies like pottery and polished stone from a very early stage (now known contemporaneously also from Siberia and China). There are also similarities in various forms of sedentism, monumentalism, development of procurement systems with improved techniques used within a complex hunter-gatherer system, the presence

of apparently minor complements of cultivated species, and symbolism.

In Japan, a huge amount of data are available as a result of thousands of excavations and the production of detailed site reports — a level of activity that probably is unique in the world. It has been a tremendous challenge to organize these data, usually done by creating detailed chronologies based on typological crossdating of several hundreds of pottery types, and with relatively little control by correlated series of C14 dates. Generally six periods are recognized in five major regions in which resource strategies, settlement patterns and symbolic expressions differ considerably, with each period and region further subdivided into subperiods or subregions. Sedentism emerged during the Earliest Jomon, and aggregation into major compounds of pit houses arose in the Early Jomon when hunting and gathering strategies were improving. The Middle Jomon presents greater variation in the sizes of patterned settlements, with occasional monumental wooden buildings, indicating population growth. The often highly-decorated pottery and other artifacts appear symbolic and probably indicate a stronger sense of identity, increasing territorialism, the presence of public and sacred areas (sometimes in a dual organization also present in the Andean area), and diversification in burial practices. Finally monumental stone architecture, much diversified pottery and stone artifacts characterize the Late and Final periods, while, also like the Andes, evidence for elites is weak to nonexistent.

Thus it is possible to perceive emerging complexity in the Jomon societies too, although many more intra and intersite analyses (as in the Andean case) are needed to grasp the full
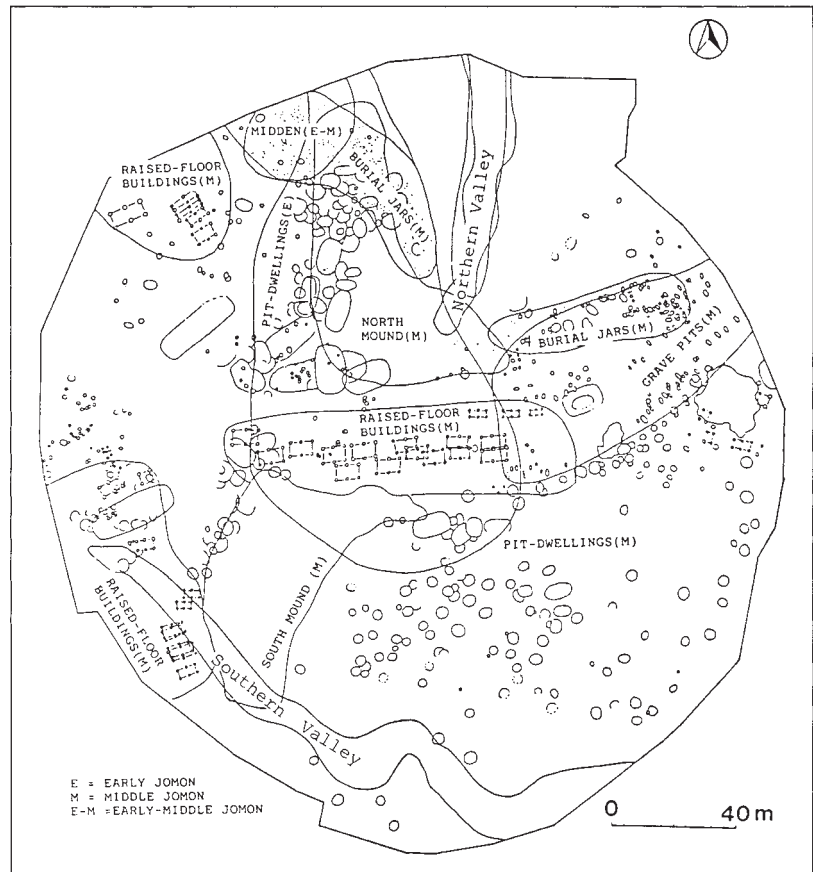

significance of these phenomena. Finally, it should be stressed that the insular character of Jomon should not lead to the conclusion of a unique and nostalgic primitive man-nature harmony as is common in popular Japanese perception. There is some degree of colonization of minor islands, extensive trade routes existed, and there was contact with the continent. The latter may seem minor largely because of the relative lack of comparative studies. Jomon seems to be something more than a mere prologue of civilization.

Fig. 2   Site map of Sannai Maruyama, Aomori (ca 5,900 to 4,300 BP)
From Y. Okada, Senri Ethnological Studies 63, 2003, fig. 9.2.

Exhibitions

Message from the Ainu — Craft and Spirit

Special Exhibition January 8 – February 15, 2004

In recent years, there has been a vigorous movement among aboriginal peoples in countries all over the world to build museums and hold exhibitions in order to represent their own cultures. In the mid-19th century, many countries began competing to establish ethnographic museums one after another. Since then the general rule for ethnographic exhibitions has been that curators and researchers affiliated with large-scale museums have planned exhibitions based on their knowledge as field investigators and experts in various disciplines. In these large museums, the museum staff took the initiative in selecting exhibits. Peoples' attempts to build local museums and to design exhibitions of their own cultures is nothing other than a movement to assume the rights of cultural representation.

The movement has

challenged ethnographic museums to incorporate the voices of aboriginal peoples in their exhibitions. There is now a growing trend among major ethnographic museums around the world to hold exhibitions in collaboration with representatives of each subject culture and to provide them with opportunities to exhibit their own culture and history.

The traveling exhibition "Message from the Ainu — Craft and Spirit" was held at Tokushima Prefectural Museum (July 19 – August 31, 2003), Asahikawa City Museum (October 12 – November 30, 2003) and the National Museum of Ethnology (January 8 – February 15, 2004), and was realized by connecting our goals as public museums with the concerns of the Ainu.

The Ainu are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, northern

The 'Heritage'gallery. Here, five independent rooms, each dedicated to a particular artist, highlights the personality and work of each artist.

Section 2 "Contemporary Forms"

Japan. Many exhibitions on Ainu culture have been held over the years, but these have been created primarily by non-Ainu curators.

The exhibition "Message from the Ainu; Craft and Spirit" was held with the primary aims of enabling Ainu people to represent their own culture. Planning began nearly two years before the opening of the exhibition. Everything from creating the concept for the exhibition to selecting exhibits was carried out by Ainu members of the planning commitee. Many ordinary Ainu people made recommendations regarding objects to be exhibited. Four non-Ainu curators, including ourselves, joined the planning committee as representatives of the host museums. Our roles went no further than planning spatial arrangements for the exhibits, with regard to how visitors are known to behave at each venue.

After lengthy discussion, the concept of the exhibition became firm, and it was decided to focus on Ainu history directly leading up to the present and to bring people rather than objects to the fore. It was the Ainu committee members' intention to create an exhibition that, instead of concentrating on timeless traditions, showed Ainu as people living in the present while continuing to learn from their ancestors' cultural traditions. The title "Message from the Ainu — Craft and Spirit", and the creation of galleries entitled "Heritage", "Contemporary forms" and

"Explorations" were directly based on this intention. The result was the nation's first traveling exhibition in which Ainu people represent Ainu culture on their own.

Kazuyoshi Ohtsuka
Kenji Yoshida
National Museum of Ethnology

Multiethnic Japan — Life and History of Immigrants

*Special Exhibition
March 25 – June 15, 2004*

Who would have imagined the present multiethnic state of Japan twenty years ago, when Japan was considered a solid mono-ethnic country? Almost 1.8 million foreigners are registered in Japan now, and two thirds of them have arrived during the last fifteen years. Although they represent only 1.5% of the total population, their presence in everyday life is much more apparent than the figures might suggest. We can expect to encounter foreigners almost anywhere, on the streets and in shops, and it is not rare to suddenly have a foreigner as your neighbor or even as a member of your family.

Minpaku's special exhibition "Multiethnic Japan – Life and History of Immigrants" aims at raising awareness of the ongoing transition of Japan into a multiethnic society, and to bring people closer to individual immigrants residing in local communities.

The multiethnic composition of Japan is not a recent phenomenon: since the dawn of the Meiji era until now there has been a continuous flow of foreigners, including Chinese and Koreans. During the period of Japanese colonization in Korea, many Koreans arrived in Japan and their member exceeded two million by the end of World War II. They were forced to assimilate with the majority, the Japanese, by all possible means including an attempt to Japanize their family names.

Visitors at the special exhibition

After the war, loss of all the colonies and occupied territories created favorable circumstances for inventing and strengthening a nationalistic illusion about the ethnic uniformity of Japan, through mass-media, educational and other institutions. Under the mono-ethnic illusion of Japan the presence of old foreign peoples such as the Koreans and the Chinese was simply ignored, while the term foreigner *gaikokujin* has begun to denote mainly tourists, businessmen and students from abroad and with few contacts with local people. In most cases *gaikokujin* were from Europe and North America, had a poor knowledge of Japanese, and had Caucasoid appearance. This fortified the Japanese conceptual border against foreigners, which sometimes seemed irremovable despite government efforts to promote internationalism through education.

The sudden explosion in foreigner numbers at the end of the nineties, and the rise of various associated conflicts or problems awoke the Japanese from the illusion of mono-ethnicity. People felt disturbed by foreign neighbors who apparently did not care for such minimum roles as handling wastes properly, or not making noise in the neighborhood. Foreigners, on the other hand, suffered from a lack of general information about living in Japan, in

languages intelligible to them, and faced hurdles in Japanese social systems and institutions that have been developed for Japanese citizens, and not for foreign residents.

Starting with hand-made translations of local living guides at foreigner registration offices, and the trial-and-error devotion of individual volunteers, there have been many make-shift responses to problems never experienced before. Nevertheless, there has been clear progress in coping with these problems in the past two decades. Despite legislative restrictions such as the lack of voting rights in local elections, and deep-rooted prejudice and discrimination against foreigners among some Japanese, Japan is now gradually shifting its social systems and regulations to conform with international charters and covenants. These require foreign settlers to be treated equally with the existing inhabitants. Japan has made its first steps towards creating a multiethnic society in a real sense.

The present exhibition has two parts. On the first floor, documentary displays trace Japan's movement towards multiethnicity in terms of in- and out-migration, and the introduction of important measures and policies concerning foreigners in Japan. As well as showing the historical process of ethnic diversification, the present supporting activities of NGOs and municipalities for foreigners are represented in separate booths. The activities of foreigners are shown through displays of ethnic shops, cultural and religious festivals, and ethnic media.

The second floor focuses on specific ethnic group: the Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, Brazilian and Filipinos. Each group forms a distinctive immigrant community in Japan. For each ethnic group, an individual section introduces the history of migration to Japan, the initial stage of settlement, later efforts to succeed, social networks, and cultural activities. On display are historical photographs, documents and objects, including some that accompanied immigrants during their travel to Japan. For more about the exhibition, see: *www.minpaku.ac.jp/exhibitions/special/200404/*.

Hiroshi Shoji
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

FIEALC XIth Congress

*International Symposium
September 24 – 27, 2003*

The XIth Congress of FIEALC (Federación Internacional de Estudios sobre América Latina y el Caribe) marked a new stage in the history of Latin American studies in Japan and Asia. The international meeting of Latin Americanists was the first such event in Japan, and brought together 360 persons from 30 countries and most continents, including a large contingent (half) from Japan. The Latin Americanists' circle in Japan,

The opening ceremony at Minpaku auditorium

with over 500 people, is one of the largest in the world after the United States, but the international exposure of Japanese specialists has been less than might be expected. It is hoped that the success of this event will encourage their further efforts abroad.

Keynote speeches were delivered by 21 distinguished scholars from various parts of the world. They talked about various aspects of the main congress theme 'Experiences and Prospects of Globalization in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and Oceania.' The event had as many as 50 panels over the entire three days beginning from September 25th.

The Congress proceedings are being processed and will be published soon this year in the form of a CD. Orders may be sent to the Secretariat of the Organizing Committee at *fiealc03@idc.minpaku.ac.jp.*

Professor YAMADA Mutsuo of the JCAS (Japan Center for Area Studies), Minpaku, after serving as chair of the Congress organizing committee, was elected new President of FIEALC for a term of two years until the next Congress to be organized by the Institute of Italo-Latin American Relations, Rome, in September 2005. He was also elected President of the newly created regional organization of Latin Americanists for Asia and Oceania, CELAO-Consejo de Estudios Latinoamericanos de Asia y Oceanía. In this role he will also serve another two years until the next meeting in June 2005, to be organized by the Institute of Latin American Studies, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia. Further information will be available at the JCAS web site (*www.minpa ku.ac.jp/jcas/*).

Mutsuo Yamada
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Transborder Anthropology

International Symposium March 18 – 20, 2004

This symposium was organized as a part of the Transborder Conflicts Research Project. The aim and results of this project, up to 2001, were presented by Hiroshi Shoji in *MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter* (see No.10: 17-18, 2000, and No.12: 1-2, 2001). The last international symposium, in 2002 (Globalization and Internal Border-crossing) dealt with the transformation of Japanese society into a multiethnic society, as a result of the influx of global migrants (H. Shoji 2002, *Newsletter* No.14: 10-11).

The focus of the most recent symposium was the importance of various cultural aspects in the transborder phenomena that emerge from global migration and the displacement of people. Anthropologists in Japan have paid relatively little attention to current global migration. One aim of the symposium therefore was to develop an anthropological approach to de-territorialized communities in the age of globalization. To provide a broad interdisciplinary overview as a starting point we invited not only anthropologists but also scholars of sociology, ethnomusicology, folklore, history and law. Twelve papers including a keynote speech were presented (see the English website of the National Museum of Ethnology: *www.minpaku.ac.jp/english*).

In the first session, the music of diasporic immigrants and communities was discussed. In these contexts especially, music is linked to ideology, identity and politics, and serves as a means of expression internally and externally. Papers were given on authenticity and creativity in the Kulintang music among the Filipino Americans (Yoshitaka Terada, Minpaku), raced and

gendered practices in Japanese American drumming (taiko) in North America (Deborah Wong, University of California, Riverside), and the history of the rock music in Okinawa and its relation to Japan (Ryoji Sasahara, Minpaku). The second session examined issues of border and citizenship. Atsushi Kondo (Kyusyu Sangyo University) discussed the relationship between state legal institutions and migrants, and the possibility of dual citizenship and denizenship, while Tien-shi Chen (Minpaku) raised issues about stateless people, who are generally neglected by legal institutions but still exist in "non-places."

In the third session, examples of cultural phenomena at various kinds of borders were discussed. Papers presented in this session covered the leading role of immigrants in the modernization of Bali (Haruya Kagami, Kanazawa University), immigrant incorporation and women's community activities in Japan (Keiko Yamanaka, University of California, Berkeley), returnee migrants in Bangladesh who have been captured by the consumption culture they experienced while working in Japan (Naoto Higuchi, Tokushima University and Nanako Inaba, Ibaraki University), and the rise of ethnic consciousness among expatriate Nepalese through migration and appropriation of their own culture (Makito Minami, Minpaku). The fourth session focused on economic history and borders in Africa.

The last day of the symposium (not all participants are shown)

Shinzo Sakai (Nanzan University) reviewed the trade history of West Africa and pointed out that Muslim traders have managed the border using religion as a medium. Teiko Mishima (Minpaku), who has studied Soninke migrants, discussed aspects of the culture of population movement that may appear independently of period in time and location. In connection with these last two papers, Kumie Inose (Konan University) commented on the consequences of suzerain states being formed in the colonial period, and the strong subjectivity of Africans in their relationships with colonialists.

The best outcome of this symposium was that we were able to seriously consider ways of writing the ethnography of displaced peoples. Also, since invisible and inerasable borders always exist among humans, anthropologists need to investigate the fundamental origins and nature of transborder contact, negotiation, management and conflict. The symposium helped us to assess these possibilities and the need for anthropological approaches in future research. The symposium proceedings will be published before the end of March 2005.

Makito Minami
Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

New Staff

Shigeki Kobayashi
Professor, Research Center for Cultural Resources

Kobayashi majored in cultural anthropology at Nanzan University where he obtained his MA in 1976. He worked at the "Open-field Ethnological Museum Little World" as a research curator, from 1976 to 1992, and as a professor at Tokyo Zokei University from 1992 to 2004. He has conducted museum studies and cultural studies of arts and design for more than twenty-five years. His publications include 'They live in the sea, live with people: life of the Siassi Islanders, Papua New Guinea' (1992) and 'Tourism resources and ethnic technology in Oceania' (2003), and also he is the author of a book, *Tool Quiz Around the World* (1997).

Visiting Scholars

The following visitors have been sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbukagakusho) (up to March, 2004) and by the National Museum of Ethnology (from April, 2004):

Peter Kaulicke
Professor, Póntificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP)
(Lima, Peru)

After studying anthropology and archaeology in Bonn and Vienna, and after fieldwork and teaching in Peru for five years, Kaulicke obtained his Ph.D. at Bonn University in 1980. Between 1980 and 1982 he was research fellow at the German Archaeological Institute (KAVA, Bonn), and from 1982 to 1988 Visiting Professor at the Catholic University in Lima, where he organized the archaeology course. Since 1988 he has been Professor for Archaeology at the same university. He has conducted fieldwork in various sites and regions of Peru specializing in emergence of complexity, religion, funeral rites and practices, and comparative archaeology. He is a corresponding member of the German Archaeological Institute, and the Institute of Andean Studies (Berkeley), and is director of the *Boletin de Arqueologia PUCP*. He is currently working on a new edition of his book: *Origins of Civilization in the Andes* (expected publication in 2004).

(January 10-May 10, 2004)

Molly Lee
Curator of Ethnology, University of Alaska Museum (USA)
Professor of Anthropology, University of Alaska, Fairbanks (USA)

Molly Lee received her MA in Art History from the University of California, Santa Barbara and her MA and Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkeley. She holds joint appointments at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, as Professor of Anthropology and at the University of Alaska Museum as Curator of Ethnology. She is the author of numerous articles on the anthropology of art, Eskimo/Inuit art, the history of museums, and the urbanization of Alaska Native women. Her most recent book is *Eskimo Architecture: Dwelling and Structure in the Early Historic Period* (with Gregory A. Reinhardt), University of Alaska Press, 2003. While at Minpaku she has been completing a manuscript on the cultural dimensions of Yup'ik Eskimo women's grass basketry, tentatively titled "Mingqaaq: The Life and Times of the Yup'ik Grass Basket".

(January 14-June 6, 2004)

Wang Lianmao
Director, Quanzhou Maritime Museum (Quanzhou, China)

After studying history at Xiamen University (China), Wang served on the Quanzhou

City Materials (Tangible Property) Committee as head secretary and vice president, from 1977 to 1984. He joined the Quanzhou Maritime Museum in 1986 and became its director in 1999. His academic interests include maritime culture in Quanzhou during the Song and Yuan dynasties, cultural and social relationships between Qaunzhou and Okinawa, and Quanzhou migrant communities. Wang has collaborated internationally on various research projects, including one on Chinese immigrants in the Philippines and Hong Kong, and another on performing arts in Fujian Province. He is the author or editor of eight books on Quanzhou, including *Microcosm of Chinese Maritime Culture* (1989) and *Return to the City of Light* (2000). While at Minpaku, he will work on the formation of Minnan folk culture in four areas: maritime history, subsistence culture, rituals and migration.

(March 17, 2004-February 28, 2005)

Publications

The following were published by the museum during the period from December 2003 to March 2004:

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 28 (3), 2003. Contents: T. Udagawa, 'Can the *Piazza* substitute for the Politics?: Rethinking of the outdoor life in Italy'; M. Tamori, 'Transmission of musical property and transformation of social organization in Hindustani music: A case study of the Sarod Gharana'; and Q. Dai and J. Tian, 'Research on an endangered language: The case of Xianren Tujia'.

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 28 (4), 2004.

Contents: T. Matsuyama, 'Kamilaroi people: An Aboriginal community in Moree, northwest New South Wales'; Y. Seki and M. Yoneda, 'Reconstructions of the dietary patterns in the formative period of the north highlands of Peru: Consideration by stable carbon and nitrogen isotope analysis'; T. Morita, N. Sonoda and S. Hidaka, 'On site heat treatment for large-size ethnographic objects'; M. Fukuoka, 'Performances of the Mahabharata epic "world" in the *wayang* in West Java'; and Q. Dai and C. Wang, 'A case study on Xiandao language'.

Shimizu, A. and J. van Bremen (eds), *Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and the Pacific.* Senri Ethnological Studies, No.65, 300pp., December 2003.

Irimoto, T. and T. Yamada (eds), *Circumpolar Ethnicity and Identity.* Senri Ethnological Studies, No.66, 414pp., February 2004.

Asakura, T., F. Hayashi and H. Kim (eds) *2002 Seoul Style: Evaluation of the Study and Exhibition.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.44, 397pp., December 2003.

Eguchi, P. K. *Fulbe folktales of Adamawa and Benue, Northern Cameroon.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.45, 674pp.(Japanese), 481pp. (Fulfulde), December 2003.

Kishigami, N. (ed.) *An Anthropological Study of Indigenous Use and Management of Marine Resources.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.46, 453pp., December 2003.

Garfias, R. *Music: The Cultural Context.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.47, 256pp., February 2004.

Irimoto, T. *The Eternal Cycle: Ecology, Worldview and Ritual of Reindeer Herders of Northern Kamchatka.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.48, 308pp., February 2004.

Matthews, P. J. and J.

Akamine (eds) *Research Writing in Japan: Cultural, Personal and Practical Perspectives.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.49, 213pp., February 2004.