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Minpaku and the Anthropological Study of Japan

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How has Minpaku contributed to the development of the anthropological study of Japan? What future contributions can Minpaku make? What kinds of characteristics will be found by reviewing the last 30 years of Japan Anthropology with a focus on Minpaku? In this essay, I would like to offer insights to these questions through the eyes of an insider.

In the exhibition hall of Minpaku, the section devoted to Ainu culture is followed by that exhibiting Japanese culture. The latter includes the cultures of Southwestern islands such as Okinawa. In most cases, European ethnological museums have no exhibition space dedicated to their own national cultures. Minpaku places its section of Japanese culture at the end of a museum tour around the world, thus incorporating Japanese culture into a truly global view of cultural diversity. In storage, Minpaku has nearly 30,000 items, known as the Attic Museum Collection, collected by Shibusawa Keizo. This collection mainly consists of Japanese folklore materials but also includes Ainu-related materials, and items collected in Taiwan and the Korean Peninsula during Japan's colonial control of those areas. The Attic collection was a fundamental asset for the establishment of Minpaku.

In the early days of Minpaku, Director-General Tadao Umesao, Takao Sofue, Komei Sasaki, Mikiharu Ito and others were typically engaged in both domestic and overseas research. For example, Mongolia was the field for Umesao, Eskimo culture for Sofue, Southeast Asia for Sasaki, and so on. They also played a revolutionary and leading role through long-term special research projects, namely 'Tradition and Change in Modern Japanese Culture' led by Sofue, 'The Origin of Japanese Culture' led by Sasaki, and 'The Study of Gift Exchange in Japan' led by Ito. Many Minpaku research staff were involved with these projects, and numerous guest researchers were invited to present papers at annual symposia. Director-General Umesao participated fully in the 'Tradition and Change' research but received generous financial support from the Taniguchi Foundation for his own 'Civilizational Studies Symposium' from 1983. This kind of long-term commitment to hosting symposia was one of the major characteristics of anthropological studies of Japan at Minpaku.

In relation to exhibition and research, special exhibitions deserve

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Professor Nakamaki is a specialist in religious studies. His publications include Feudal Lord in the Past, Company in the Present *(Tankosha, 1992) and* The Impact of Religion on Contemporary Society *(Kokusai Shoin, 2000, co-edited with National Institute for Research Advancement)*

particular mention as they contributed to advancing Japanese Anthropological research to a remarkable extent. Takeshi Moriya served as a project leader for the Edward Morse Collection Exhibition, which was co-hosted by the Salem Peabody Museum. Isao Kumakura played a leading role in planning the Von Siebold Collection Exhibition, working with European museums like the Leiden National Museum of Ethnology. Masaki Kondo worked on an exhibition of the Attic Museum Collection. These special exhibitions were unique to Minpaku in the way that they combined research with collections of folklore items.

There is another characteristic peculiar to the study of Japan at Minpaku. That is the international setting in which Minpaku has developed its projects. In particular, for the 'Civilization Studies Symposium', which was held under the grand theme of 'Japanese Civilization in the Modern World', almost half of the participants were foreigners. All the presentations and discussions were handled in Japanese. There has been a marked increase in the number of foreign researchers who have a working knowledge of the Japanese language. This symposium was based on Umesao's idea of situating Japanese civilization not within the limited arena of Japanese Studies but within the global context of civilization history. Even though the annual theme changed, the fundamental stance and core membership remained the same. In addition to the staff of Minpaku, Josef Kreiner from Europe and Harumi Befu from the USA supported Umesao. They put in a lot of effort in the selection of foreign participants, attending all seventeen symposia. Among the foreign participants were a variety of specialists including linguists, historians, political scientists, and literary critics. From the field of anthropology, the contributers included Sepp Linhart, Robert J. Smith, Ronald Dore, Rodney Clark, Jan van Bremen, Joy Hendry, David Plath, Jacob Raz, Ann Aelison, Silvie Guichard-Anguis, William Kelly, and Eyal Ben-Ari.

A wide range of topics were tackled by the Civilization Studies Symposium. After discussions among Minpaku staff and outside researchers, we tried to publish the outcomes in Japanese and English. The English series was published by the museum in its entirety through our journal, *Senri Ethnological Studies*, but for the Japanese version, only half the series came into publication due to difficulties arising from the use of outside commercial publishing routes. Although little is certain about how this project was received internationally, I have complex feelings about the results. There is a sense of achievement, but also a sense of frustration stemming from the fact that our English-language publication effort did not have any obvious or easily measured external impact.

Meanwhile, I came to know the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS) through my involvement in the special research project on 'Tradition and Change' and the Civilization Studies Symposium. The 1990 meeting in Leiden led me to greater involvement. JAWS was established in 1984 in Oxford. When it started, this research groups had about twenty members, but the membership has expanded to nearly 300. An essay on the sociology of JAWS has been written by Roger Goodman (A Short Sociology of the Japan Anthropology Workshop, *MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter* No.7, 1998). Goodman and I hosted a very successful JAWS meeting at Minpaku in

Back: Naomichi Ishige, Toshio Yokoyama, Hirochika Nakamaki, Takeshi Moriya, Front: Sepp Linhart, Josef Kreiner, Tadao Umesao, Robert J. Smith, Harumi Befu (at Lake Biwa, 1983)

March 1999, with more than 140 participants and with four publications resulting.

In 2001, an Anthropology of Japan in Japan (AJJ) meeting was held at Minpaku. This workshop was planned mainly by Harumi Befu, who was then at Minpaku as a visiting scholar. Local and foreign participation was about equal. At this meeting, AJJ was officially established, and since then it has continued hosting a workshop and a meeting annually with the cooperation of the Japanese Society of Ethnology (now the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology). While most of the members are anthropologists, there are also specialists from other related fields. AJJ has tried various experiments such as having a student session in the meeting. It is also characteristic of AJJ to utilize an Internet-connected network for administration, without collecting membership fees.

There is some overlap membership between JAWS and AJJ members, and it seems that effective cooperation has been developed. AJJ holds its meetings only in Japan, but an AJJ panel participated in the 2005 meeting of JAWS in Hong Kong.

Researchers I became acquainted with through JAWS and AJJ have since been associated with Minpaku as visiting scholars and research associates. Among them are three (Brian Moeran, Scott Schnell, Ron Carle) who have each contributed an essay in this newsletter issue. The following people have also stayed at Minpaku at verious times over the last ten years: Christoph Brumann, Wendy Smith, John Nelson, Cristina Rocha, Arne Roekkum, Dixon Wong, Roger Goodman, Guven Witteveen, Lee In Ja, and Phil Swift. These researchers have had vital roles in JAWS and AJJ.

In recent years, Sokendai (Graduate University for Advanced Studies) students based at Minpaku have also presented papers at AJJ meetings. In 2005, Sachiko Kotani, Tran Manh Duc, and Keiko Yamaki made presentations regarding their respective themes: overseas Japanese anime fans, Soka Gakkai's 'friendship funeral', and business manners in Japanese companies.

The anthropological study of Japan has been steadily making progress. Many foreign researchers have enlivened the effort. On the other hand, most young anthropologists residing in Japan show little interest in Japan. Anthropology, in their thinking, is only connected to foreign countries. Fortunately, a significant number of overseas-educated Japanese engage in so-called native anthropology and have presented papers at JAWS and AJJ. This present situation contrasts greatly with the time when domestic research was an inevitable option for Japanese anthropologists who could not afford overseas fieldwork. Even though anthropology is usually considered a study of foreign cultures, comparative perspectives are less valued now. The majority of young students pay attention to urban and popular culture, while there are virtually none who pursue traditional rural village studies. Sociology and mass media studies have become the main interest of students. The anthropological study of Japan is not, and should not be, monopolized by Japanese researchers. As far as their research is intellectually stimulating, foreign researchers are more than welcome. More attention from Japanese researchers is desirable. I hope that Minpaku will continue to be a place for intellectual exchange, and it will be my pleasure to contribute — even in some small way — to this end.

The Anthropological Study of Japan

Brian Moeran
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Once upon a time, during the first four decades after the end of the Pacific War, the anthropological study of Japan was comparatively simple to describe. Its main thrust was led by such eminent scholars as Richard Beardsley (Michigan) and Robert Smith (Cornell) in the United States, and consisted predominantly of village studies of one sort or another, with their emphases on household, kinship, neighbourhood, and other aspects of community organization. There were tangential forays away from such mainstream topics into issues of urbanization (Ronald Dore, London and Sussex), corporate life (Dore, and Ezra Vogel, Harvard), and minorities in Japan

After living in Japan for five years (1967–72), Brian Moeran studied Japanese at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London, before completing his PhD on folk art (mingei) potters of Onta, Japan (1980). In addition to his current position, he has held university appointments as Lecturer in Asian Anthropology (SOAS, 1981–86), Chair Professor of Japanese Studies (London University, 1986-1990), Professor of Japanese Anthropology (London, 1991–1995), and Swire Professor of Japanese (University of Hong Kong, 1992–1998). He has published widely on different aspects of Japanese society and culture, including advertising, art, fashion, film, media, tourism, and women's magazine publishing. His latest book is The Business of Ethnography *(Berg, 2005). While at Minpaku, he has completed a second fieldwork volume titled* Ethnography at Work *(Berg, 2006) and embarked on an anthropological study of fragrance and smell.*

(notably by George de Vos, U.C. Berkeley), but the path to be taken by a would-be anthropologist of Japan was fairly straightforward. Find a 'community' of people of some sort, conduct fieldwork, and write up a monograph that emphasised the cultural 'peculiarities' seen to characterise Japanese people's everyday behaviour. Ideally, too, find a Japanese scholar who could be revered as a '*sensei*' and whose work (invariably culturally peculiar) could be cited with impunity to legitimate one's own conclusions about one aspect or another of Japanese society and culture.

In the 1980s, this older generation of anthropologists, based primarily in the United States, began to give way to younger scholars — many of them working out of British and other European universities — whose interests were not necessarily the same as those of their masters. True, a few of them still did the 'anthropological thing' and conducted fieldwork in remote rural communities that, by then, constituted a mere ten per cent or so of Japan's population, but one or two of them actually tried to contextualise their work within the discipline as a whole and make their studies comparative. They did not escape entirely the Japanese cultural navel-gazing that often characterised earlier anthropological studies (especially those coming out of the United States; Dore's work was almost invariably more enlightened), but at least they tried.

At the same time, they had no 'masters' as such, since there was for the most part and in most places a vacuum in the field constituting the anthropology of Japan. This vacuum enabled, I think, a fairly radical shift in what constituted that field. It also came to be populated by native Japanese anthropologists who, having completed their studies abroad, returned to Japan and began to add their own reflections on the contemporary workings of their society and culture. The 1990s, therefore, saw a sudden rise in anthropological interest in various aspects of Japanese popular culture. It would be nice to think that this move away from the 'traditional' to the 'modern',and from 'high' to 'low' cultural forms (everything from folk crafts and film to *manga* cartoons and women's magazines became grist for the anthropological mill), resulted from an eagerness to engage comparatively with the work that had been going on in British cultural studies for some decades under the guidance of Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams, but — alas — this was not so. Rather, a series of unpremeditated coincidences led to this shift in anthropological attention. Only later did some anthropologists then apply their findings in different aspects of Japanese popular culture to the theoretical issues developed in cultural studies.

For this anthropologists of Japan should not necessarily be blamed. After all, anthropologists in general were comparatively slow to pick up on the study of media and popular culture elsewhere in the world, in spite of the pioneering efforts of the Chicago sociologists in the 1940s and 50s. In some respects, therefore, anthropologists of Japan were *ahead* of their colleagues working in other parts of the world — even though the latter never realised, and often still do not realise, this development in their discipline. Precisely because Japan was the first non-Western nation to successfully industrialise its economy, because Japan is now being imitated by developing countries all over the world, and because anthropologists also work in those developing countries — particularly in the Asian region where a new generation of non-Western ethnographers is conducting research on Japan in new ways — the issues that have concerned anthropologists of Japan during the past half century should now be of concern to anthropologists more generally. Here, I think in particular of the ways in which people are brought together or dispersed in new forms through urbanization, production processes, commodity chains, media, and consumption practices. It is in these fields that, ideally, the anthropology of Japan should be able to inspire others.

But to do so, it really needs to get to grips with two things in particular. The first is general theory. It is really quite extraordinary how many anthropologists of Japan, employed in prestigious universities around the world, consistently fail to treat their subject matter as a comparative endeavour. As a result, they also fail to engage in depth with the kinds of theoretical issues that have attracted the attention of anthropologists and sociologists all over the world. It is true that many younger scholars these days now pay lip service to the use of general theory in their writings, but anyone can reproduce field notes and tailor a book chapter to a particular theme: be it the anthropology of nursing, ethnicity, or post-modernism (I know, I've done it myself often enough). But how many are prepared to move beyond such

superficial dabbling? What the anthropology of Japan needs is committed engagement to theory.

The second problem with the anthropology of Japan is that nowadays nobody, but nobody it seems, is prepared to analyse *social* relations. In other words, this sub-discipline is almost entirely cultural in content. This stems partly, I think, from the shift in interest to popular cultural forms, itself sustained, I suspect, by changes in the tertiary education system that not only make greater demands in terms of publication rates, but simultaneously make it more difficult for scholars to take time off from their normal duties to carry out fieldwork. As a result, younger anthropologists have moved into reception studies as they 'analyse' media and other texts in what they consider to be an 'anthropological' way. They have rarely examined — at least not until the arrival of the new millennium — the social processes underpinning the *production* of such texts, preferring instead to offer us subjective interpretations of various aspects of Japanese 'culture'. Since they don't know what people are doing, they are unable to offer succinct analyses of social organization.

Of course, this is partly because the anthropology of Japan has been dominated by American anthropologists, and American anthropology, as we were all taught at university, is different from British social anthropology because it focuses on culture, not society. The worrying thing about this point of view is that nowadays the anthropology of Japan is nowhere near as exclusively American in content as it once was, and yet American scholars seem blithely ignorant of the work currently going on in Asia, as well as in Britain and different parts of Europe. Or, at least, if they are conversant with it, they rarely refer to it in their own work. To those of us who come from elsewhere, and who think that we're doing at least competent work, the American anthropology of Japan sometimes seems to be a fine example of ideological imperialism that we can all do without.

But there's another issue lying at the heart of this over-emphasis on the cultural at the expense of the social. Back in the 1960s, Nakane Chie wrote a suggestive book comparing Japanese with Indian social structure and arguing that Japanese society could be characterised by what she referred to as its 'vertical' structure.[1)] In the 1980s, a number of scholars led by Harumi Befu, then at Stanford, began to criticise this work on the grounds that it propagated a 'group' model of Japanese society that ignored the role of the individual therein (a criticism that unwittingly reflected an old Durkheimian conundrum that has bugged sociologists for many decades). They then consigned it to the intellectual dustbin as an example of *nihonjinron*, or theories of what it means to be 'Japanese'.

Unfortunately, nobody bothered really to analyse Nakane's analysis of social relations.[2)] Was she totally wrong? Or were there kernels of truth in what she had to say about attribute and frame, factions, networks, and corporate forms? Such questions have been taken up by other social scientists, but rarely by anthropologists of Japan who have consistently failed to analyse contemporary social relations in recent years. In their lemming-like rush towards denial of Japanese scholars' emphasis on the cultural, the latter have merely reproduced their own understandings of Japanese culture. What we now need are a few thorough social anthropological analyses of different aspects of Japanese society and culture to get our discipline back on its anthropological track.

1) *Chie Nakane,* Japanese Society, *University of California Press, 1970.*

2) *But see Brian Moeran,* The Business of Ethnography, *Berg Publishers, 2005.*

Rediscovering Banryū: Mountain Ascetic as Environmentalist Exemplar

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Anthropologists and historians alike have come to view history not as an impartial account of events and conditions, but as a selective appropriation of the past for present purposes. 'Heritage' and 'tradition' thus become hotly contested issues in the fashioning of collective identities, and

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the past a source of symbolic resources for inspiring action or asserting the legitimacy of a favored agenda. The past, in other words, is an adaptable presence in our daily lives. How it is used, and for what purposes, are among the most salient issues in anthropology today.

Of particular interest to me are the various ways people conceptualize the natural environment and their place within it, and how these concepts are expressed or enacted through the idiom of religion. Here again, the past may serve as a source of useful images to inspire favored attitudes and conduct. An apt example is the Buddhist priest Banryū (1786–1840), who has become something of a local folk hero among mountaineers and environmentalists in central Japan but has so far received little attention from religious scholars. His most celebrated accomplishment was the 'opening' of a lofty peak called Yarigatake, which, with its distinctive spearhead-shaped summit reaching an elevation of 3180 meters, is easily the most recognizable landmark in the range of towering mountains popularly known as the 'Japanese Alps'.

In a religious context, 'opening' a mountain meant not being the first to scale its heights but rather placing at the summit a Buddhist icon as an act of devotion. This could also be seen as an assertion of Buddhist ascendancy over more localized folk beliefs, which held that the lofty mountains were the sacred realm of the genius loci (commonly referred to as *yama no kami*, or the 'mountain god'). Banryū, however, was sympathetic to the attitudes of the local people, and his efforts appear to have been aimed not at dispelling but rather accommodating their beliefs within a wider Buddhist framework. His approach, in other words, was to syncretize the 'great' religious tradition (Buddhism) with the 'little' religious tradition (folk belief), thereby rendering Buddhism more compatible with local perspectives (see Scott 1977).

Statue of Banryū near Matsumoto station.

Mountain-oriented religion in Japan has been extensively researched already, most notably Shugendō, which is practiced by the famous *yamabushi* of the Kumano and Dewa Sanzan regions. Banryū, however, represents a different kind of approach. While the *yamabushi* were an exclusive and secretive group, deriving from the Tendai and Shingon sects of esoteric Buddhism, Banryū was a proponent of Jōdō-shū (the 'Pure Land Sect'), which enjoyed widespread appeal among the common peasantry. Thus his primary concern lay with the ordinary people who had neither the means nor the opportunity to devote themselves to esoteric study.

Banryū eschewed the confines of temple worship, preferring instead to engage nature directly on its own terms as the ultimate expression of the Buddha's wisdom. Migrating from the plains of Gifu to the forested mountains of the Hida region, he began living alone in a cave while practicing austerities and chanting the *nembutsu*. Eventually he was drawn to the higher peaks visible in the distance, revered by the local people as sources of water and the realm of the spirits. Upon successfully ascending one of these peaks, he proceeded to establish a pilgrimage route there that practically anyone could follow, complete with Buddhist statues placed at regular intervals along the way.

Banryū's aim was to afford others the kind of numinous experience that he himself had had, most notably a personal encounter with Amida Buddha in the upper mountain realms. This encounter undoubtedly derived from a natural phenomenon called the Brocken specter, which occurs along the high mountain ridges under certain atmospheric conditions. With the sun at one's back and gazing into the mist rising up from below, one is able to see his or her own shadow projected onto the mist as a kind of ghostly apparition, the head encircled by a multi-colored halo. Banryū apparently interpreted this phenomenon as Amida Buddha coming to greet him from the Pure Land in the west (Hokari and Hokari 1982: 45).

Since Amida had appeared to be beckoning him toward Yarigatake, visible in the distance, Banryū began to focus his efforts on that one particular mountain, searching for a route to its summit from the vicinity of Matsumoto. After months of effort and nearly perishing in the attempt, he eventually succeeded in placing a Buddhist icon at the top of Yarigatake, even attaching a rope along the precipitous final ascent to assure that others could reach the top in safety.

Banryū's example stands in stark contrast to that of Walter Weston, a

British missionary and mountaineer who undertook a systematic exploration of the Japanese Alps during the early 1890s. Despite his status as an Anglican minister, Weston's desire to ascend the lofty peaks seems to have been driven more by ego than religious inspiration. It was important for him to be *first* to climb a mountain, to *conquer* or *claim* it in the language of European mountaineering at the time (see, for example, Weston 1896: 93, 249). Ironically, it is Weston who is revered as the 'father' of Japanese mountaineering — the man who 'opened' the Alps to an emerging class of recreational climbers — even though Banryū had preceded him by roughly 60 years.

Indeed, Banryū's memory might well have been lost if not for the more recent efforts of dedicated followers in Gifu, Nagano, and Toyama Prefectures. These include: the priests at various temples where Banryū had been based; the members of several *kō*, or lay Buddhist associations, inspired by Banryū's teachings; a three-generational family of mountaineering enthusiasts who owned and operated the climbing lodge on Yarigatake; and the amateur historian, environmentalist, and inveterate Banryū promoter who eventually drew them all together into an advocacy network. To many mountaineers, evidence that Banryū had preceded Weston in ascending the lofty summits was welcome news indeed, and he has since become a kind of patron saint for the Japanese climbing community. In 1986, a statue commemorating Banryū and his achievements was erected in the plaza outside the main railway station in Matsumoto, one of the major 'gateways' for visitors to the Japanese Alps. And every year in early September, the aforementioned priests have been leading a pilgrimage to the summit of Yarigatake to commemorate Banryū's efforts and raise awareness of his nature-oriented spiritualism. The number of participants has been rapidly increasing, and this year totaled fifty two.

I am by no means suggesting that Weston is unworthy of the special esteem he has been given. Rather, I am suggesting that more inspirational examples are to be found among the local hunters, who revered the mountains as the source of their livelihood, and Banryū, who strove to make the mountains with their numinous potency more accessible to the public at large. My research focuses on how the image of Banryū has been resurrected and redeployed as a more culturally compatible icon for the Japanese mountaineering public, and how his *nembutsu shugyō*, or ascetic practice centered on chanting the *nembutsu*, serves as a blueprint for an emerging mountain-oriented environmentalism. As an object of reverence, Amida Buddha is now being equated with *dai-shizen* (all-encompassing nature), a useful bit of imagery for a world sorely in need of restraints on environmental abuses. As Roy Rappaport (1979: 100) once suggested, "To drape nature in supernatural veils may be to provide her with some protection against human folly and extravagance."

Participants in commemorative Banryū pilgrimage to the summit of Yarigatake, September, 2005.

I am well aware, of course, that the majority of the Japanese people do not consider themselves 'religious' in the sense of maintaining strict and exclusive adherence to a codified set of metaphysical principles. To clarify my meaning, I would like to invoke the recent work of Reader and Tanabe (1998: 129–131), who draw an important distinction between literal or 'cognitive' belief, which appeals to the intellect, and 'affective' belief, which appeals to feelings or emotions. It is in an 'affective' sense that Banryū, as an image or exemplar, may appeal not just to Pure Land Buddhists, but to the adherents of other religious traditions as well. Furthermore, Banryū's accommodating attitude demonstrates how 'universal' religious traditions like Buddhism may be successfully combined with local folk beliefs, producing a synthesis that is more immediately relevant to a particular landscape.

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Heritage Tourism and Local Socioeconomic Revitalisation

Ron Carle
National Museum of Ethnology (2003–2005)

The author was at the National Museum of Ethnology as a special visiting foreign researcher on a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Postdoctoral Research Fellowship, working under the guidance of Hirochika Nakamaki. His current research interests are: Japanese rural society; development strategies in peripheral regions of developed states; heritage preservation and tourism development; traditional labour practices; exchange and reciprocity; and organizational behaviour. He holds a PhD in social anthropology from Edinburgh University, and is a native of Vancouver, Canada.

For some ten years now I have been researching the Japanese village revival movement (*mura-okoshi*). In broad terms, this is a development strategy promoting socioeconomic vitality in rural areas, especially in those that became structurally depopulated following the national economic expansion in the postwar era. In particular, heritage tourism that centres on the commodification of local cultural resources has been promoted as one specific strategy. My own research has been a series of ethnographic studies into the relationships between heritage preservation and the development of a heritage tourism industry in three fieldsites: Shirakawa village, Gifu; Taketomi-jima, Okinawa; and Iwami Ginzan (Omori-cho), Oda city, Shimane.

I have tried to frame my own research by building on the older village studies that were a strong component of the postwar anthropology and sociology in Japan. Using this body of data and analysis as a base, I have examined the ways in which rural society has become a socially or demographically more marginal but symbolically more cogent element within the broader national society. From a theoretical standpoint, the rural and the region are better seen as active discourses, not static categories, and ethnography needs to account for their interconnections with wider national and international social trends. Furthermore, it is argued that the use of *the rural* is as often an act of strategic local agency as it is one of national and central dominance and exploitation. This use is best understood as a complex and dynamic field of social processes and symbolic forms.

Excerpt from a field report (1997.10) — a Local's Knowledge:

Dear Professor,

The other day I ran into a local man I met in September. Ichiyama is concerned about the current state of heritage preservation and tourism, crucial to the future of Shirakawa village. His family business is not directly related to tourism, but as he says, "the general prosperity in the village is directly related to the tourism boom". He is active in the local heritage preservation society, known as the Mamoru Kai, the mandate of which is to maintain the traditional appearance of the village. Last year, he went on a fact finding mission to Greece and England to study preservation techniques and policies, and was impressed by their conservation techniques, policies, values, and philosophies, especially the commercialisation of the National Trust in England. He suggested that we go for tea, and then for a drive up a local scenic road, where he had a small job to do. On the way we talked about problems with the restrictions imposed by heritage conservation

The Gassho roofs of Ogimachi blanketed in snow

regulations, as well as the problems associated with rapid tourism development.

In local terms, the problem is framed as a tension between Preservation and Development. The former is seen to restrict the freedom of locals to develop their community, while the latter is seen to threaten the economic base that itself allows for the continued development of the community. In short, it is the problem of the paradox of tourism development. He remarked: "The tourists have Desires, Wishes, Hopes, Wants, Dreams, and Images of Shirakawa-go, and these do not include modern buildings intruding on the view." One point he made that left a strong impression on me was his discussion of the outside conservationist and advisory bodies, which enjoy considerable authority in the formulation of conservation policy. He referred to them as *bunka-shugi* (culturalists, by which he said he means that they are fetishist, often strongly so, if well-intentioned and sincere). The point is that often those who clamour most vigorously for the conservation of a National Heritage are those who enjoy its benefits without bearing its burdens. They would define the rural and rural people for their own ends. Nonetheless, as he quickly added: "If Shirakawa was not as valued as it is, I probably wouldn't have come home from the city after university." End

The thatched roofs of Myozenji temple and rectory in early autumn

Note (May 2002): Over the course of two years in Ogimachi, Ichiyama proved to be an excellent advisor on both Local Customs and Knowledge, and a good friend as well, one with whom I shared many a pleasantly bibulous discussion on a variety of topics, ranging from The Basics (women, sports and Beer), to the Philosophical (Japan in the world, and Ogimachi in everything). In January of 2000, Ichiyama became the chairman of the Mamoru Kai. This was an important watershed in the history of the society: he is the first chairman not to have been raised in a traditional *gassho-zukuri* (steep-thatched building) household, a cause for some friction with *gassho* residents of his age-grade who consider him unqualified for the position; his locally colourful personality is a contributing factor. What his succession shows is that the preservation of the heritage of any community is not a matter of residential determination, but of the necessary determination, a matter of vital interest to the entire community.

The issues raised above highlight the paradox of tourism development and also a central concern of my own work in the study of heritage preservation and tourism development, namely the use and appropriation of the rural by the national for the urban, and often for private or corporate benefit. The locals seek to maintain a viable and livable community, preserve their heritage, and at the same time develop a sound economy. As a consequence, their community becomes increasingly connected to the demands of national society for authentic heritage space, so the problem of reconstituting rural places, becomes a contest between preservation and development with very real material and social effects. They struggle with the Janus figure of heritage designation, which amounts to formal recognition as a repository of important and enduring national, social and cultural values, and their struggle over the control of local destiny is waged in terms of definitions of heritage and tradition

that are largely imposed from inside, and resistance to these impositions. The tension and dissonance between local practice and national and international definitions are a gateway through which we can critically review the motivations, philosophies, and strategies that underlie heritage preservation.

The paradox of tourism development is a problem that underlies issues of heritage preservation at all three of my fieldsites; At Shirakawa and Taketomi-jima, there is a noticeable divide between locals active in heritage preservation, and those who are critical of the policies, and their practical consequences (restrictions on the construction of new buildings and the refurbishment of heritage houses, for example). This opposition is, however, not expressed as openly in public as in private. This presents a serious problem for policy makers concerned with eliciting broad popular support for community development strategies. At Shimane, perhaps reflecting the stronger egalitarian spirit of the Iwami region, the discussion and dissent is more openly expressed. This often leads to rather heated public discussion, which is potentially fractious in the small community of Iwami Ginzan (Omori-cho, currently listed by UNESCO for consideration as a World Heritage).

The Opportunities:

Rural areas that rely on heritage preservation and tourism as their economic base face some inevitable problems, yet there is wide recognition, — positive or fatalistic — that heritage preservation and tourism are the way forward. In comparison to many rural areas throughout Japan, the fieldsites I work in have enviable economic and demographic positions. They are all nice places to live, as communities they are strong and growing, and there is work in plenty, despite the lack of variety in career paths. People are well off, and some quite affluent. Young people, most of whom leave to finish their schooling, are returning in record numbers, to build families and homes. Furthermore, the attention of the outside world and the strong sense of community and place are sources of a sense of pride and accomplishment. Valuing heritage and tradition is not amenable to vulgar economics; their values and significance extend beyond, providing a framework that allows the practitioners to keep the past in the present for the future, and to see the global in the local, at the same time as they locate their locale in the globale.

A Fresh Start for Graduate Education at Minpaku

Kenji Yoshida
National Museum of Ethnology

The author completed his PhD in art history at Osaka University in 1989. His main interests are the anthropology of expressive culture in Africa and museum anthropology. His publications include Images of Other Culture *(NHK Service Centre, 1997, co-edited with John Mack) and* Representing Cultures *(Iwanami, 1999).*

The National Museum of Ethnology accommodates the two departments (Regional Cultural Studies and Comparative Cultural Studies) of the School of Cultural and Social Studies, the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (hereafter Sokendai, its Japanese abbreviation). Sokendai, a national university specialized in doctoral education, administrates and conducts educational and research activities through a nationwide network of the eighteen Inter-University Research Institutes including Minpaku.

Following enactment of the National University Corporation Law, Sokendai was reformed in April 2004 and became National University Corporation. At the same time, Minpaku became a member of the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU). Adapting to this situation, Sokendai and Minpaku signed a new contract which allows the Minpaku staff to continue teaching and supervising Sokendai students with its facilities and resources.

In addition to the organizational reformation, the two departments of Sokendai based in Minpaku are expanding educational activities by making agreements on credit transfer with four graduate schools in the Kansai area; 1) Asian and African Area Studies (Kyoto University), 2) Human Sciences (Osaka University), 3) Cultural Studies and Human Science (Kobe University), and 4) Cultural Anthropology (Kyoto Bunkyo University). With these agreements, students can now acquire credits of any

participating graduate schools.

Another project introduced in 2004 is annual publication of a journal, *Sokendai Review of Cultural and Social Studies.* The *Review* is Japan's first online journal in cultural and social studies (though also available in printed form), and aims to be a leading journal in these fields both in Japan and abroad. The *Review* is open to students and professors of the School and also to anyone recommended by teaching members of the School. The manuscripts will be reviewed by distinguished scholars in the field as referees.

The Sokendai departments at Minpaku have also initiated two more projects to promote educational and research coordination among member departments and institutes of Sokendai: 1) encouraging students to attend lectures and symposia presented by other departments in the School of Cultural and Social Studies, and 2) a project promoting synthesis of cultural and natural sciences through the media of museums. These projects are aimed at realizing Sokendai's important mission of integrating sharply differentiated research disciplines, and will also contribute to Minpaku's academic and public activities.

Minpaku and Sokendai have made a fresh start with their renewed missions. Close collaboration between the two institutions is expected to cultivate new research fields and to produce highly literate specialists who are able to move between and synthesise diverse disciplines.

New students introducing their dissertation topics

JICA and Minpaku Launch an 'Intensive Course on Museology'

Naoko Sonoda
National Museum of Ethnology

In 2004, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) launched a new 'Intensive Course on Museology'. This new training course is based on a successful partnership of the two organizations for over ten years, since 1994. During this period Minpaku organized a three-week 'International Cooperation Seminar on Museology,' which was linked to a half-year training course on 'Museum Management Technology (Collection, Conservation, Exhibition)' sponsored by JICA. After this experience and thorough reassessment, we decided to make some improvements.

The new 'Intensive Course on Museology' will have a duration of approximately three months. While the duration is shorter than the previous combined programme, the contents are more concentrated. The course is dedicated to the teaching of practical knowledge and skills, and designed to foster leading museum specialists by providing training in a wide range of museum activities. During the course, Minpaku will act as main host in close relationship with other cultural institutions, especially the Lake Biwa Museum. While Minpaku has a strong international network with many countries, the Lake Biwa Museum offers great experience in the field of museum management with local communities. The two museums thus complement each other well for the conception and realization of a training program.

The contents of the course will change slightly from one year to another, but will remain essentially the same. The course consists of a general program (about nine weeks) and a specialized program (about three

The author is a museum conservation scientist with special interests in insect control, paper conservation and the use of synthetic resins in conservation. Her publications include Synthetic Materials and the Museum Object *(National Museum of Ethnology, editor, 2003, in Japanese).*

Participants on a study trip to Hiroshima (Itsukusima-shrine, 2005)

weeks), and has a number of communication requirements.

The general program includes lectures and workshops on museum generalities, collection planning, acquisition and documentation, and basic notions of conservation, exhibition, security, education and public relations. For the 2005 course, study trips to Hiroshima, Hokkaido and Nara are scheduled to deepen the overall understanding of museum activities.

For the specialized program of 2005, participants will select three themes from: (a) museums and local communities, (b) managing a small-scale museum, (c) preventive conservation, (d) conservation and restoration of objects, (e) archaeological conservation, (f) databases, (g) exhibition design, (h) making model objects, (i) ethnographic film, (j) photography, and (k) museum education and workshops.

As a part of communication requirements, each participant is asked to present a Country Report at the beginning of the course, in order to facilitate exchanges between instructors and participants, and among the participants. In order to introduce museums of the world to the general public, several Country Reports will be selected for presentation at a public meeting. During the course, discussions are held between participants and instructors, and on the last day, a Final Report is submitted by each participant to consolidate knowledge acquired during the course.

In 2004, our participants came from Columbia, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Peru, Turkey and Vietnam. They included a museum consultant, curator, exhibit designer, documentation officer, conservation officer, and archaeologist, and had solid experience in their respective fields. The three months that we spent together with them are unforgettable. We have learned a lot from their experience and questions.

Minpaku Museum Partners (MMP)

Atsushi Nobayashi
National Museum of Ethnology

The author is a specialist in the ethnoarchaeology of hunting by farmers in Taiwan. His recent publications include 'Retrospect of Taiwan Archaeology: The Japanese Colonical Period' in Austronesian Taiwan *(ed. David Blundell, 2002).*

The National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) has been running a new volunteer program since September 2004. In this new program, volunteers are encouraged to plan and carry out activities in the museum by themselves, with support by Minpaku. We call the volunteers 'Minpaku Museum Partners (MMP)'. The word 'partners' is used to indicate that each volunteer can be an equal partner for Minpaku.

The need for volunteer activities in museums has been generally recognized worldwide, and the introduction of such activities is now becoming increasingly common in Japan. Some volunteer groups in museums have already realized autonomy of management, and several groups have developed partnerships with museums as Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs). Volunteer activities are thought to be essential for the museum and museum visitors.

Minpaku introduced volunteers to the museum for the first time in 1997, during a special exhibition 'Mongolia: The Rise of the Nomadic Culture'. The exhibition was a great success, with a larger number of visitors, and favorable evaluation by visitors. The activities of volunteers were an important contribution to this. They helped visitors to try wearing Mongolian clothes in the exhibition hall and assisted during workshops. Since then, Minpaku has recruited volunteers for every special exhibition and for

workshops. All have been successful thanks to the support of volunteers.

Minpaku has been discussing the volunteer system and the possible range of volunteer activities in the museum. Our working group for learning assistance has had a comprehensive discussion of broad issues concerning museum volunteers, and of specific directions for the volunteers at Minpaku. After Minpaku became Inter-University Research Institute Corporation, the Research Center for Cultural Resources has been responsible for coordinating volunteer activities as a part of collaboration and cooperation with the community.

Recently, the Center proposed that volunteers be given more positive control over the planning and execution of their own activities. Until now, volunteer activities have been legally planned and prepared by Minpaku.

This idea was approved by the museum and we put out a call for volunteers through newspapers and the Internet. Many people supported our new concept and applied to be volunteers. We interviewed all volunteer candidates and accepted 151 people as founding members of the new volunteer group. The volunteer project 'MMP' was formally inaugurated on 4 September, 2004.

In reality, many volunteers had already started activities within the new framework because we were holding a special exhibition 'The Arabian Nights' from early September. The performance of every volunteer was outstanding, given the limited time for preparations. They helped visitors enjoy wearing Arabian costumes in the exhibition everyday, and created some new programmes by themselves: coloring of the Arabian Nights tales, a picture-story workshop, a wagon display of creatures figuring in the Arabian Nights, and an original leaflet for visitors. After the exhibition closed, they wrote and edited a report on their activities, and published the report at the end of March, 2005.

MMP member introducing 'Aepyornis' Egg' to children (photo by Rie Ishikawa)

The leading representative of Minpaku Museum Partners, Mr Hiroshi Tejima stated, "We have just started our volunteer activity as MMP. Not all volunteers have participated in our activities. We will be very happy if all volunteers can find what they would like to do and enjoy volunteer activities at Minpaku."

We hope that MMP members will discover the new value of Minpaku as a community and national resource, and look forward to building a good relationship with our Partners.

Exhibition

Fashioning India

Special Exhibition
September 8 – December 6, 2005

Indian textiles and costumes have fascinated the world for centuries. Indian styles reached the Western world mostly through the English East India Company in India. An early example of fashion spread by the English is 'calico' from India in the 12th century. Some other examples are cashmere shawls, chintz, muslin, paisley, and khaki. The industrial revolution in England in the 18th and 19th centuries caused the decline of the Indian textile industry, but the end of 20th century, saw its strong revival under the ecomonic development in India.

With the progress in economic liberalization by the Indian National Congress Government from 1991 and globalization, Indian society changed rapidly over a decade. Fashion in dress is entering a new phase due to drastic transitions in life style, especially in the urban areas of mega cities such as Delhi, Mumbai (Bombay), Kolkata (Calcutta), and Chennai (Madras).

The special exhibition 'Fashioning India' introduces the changes in contemporary Indian society through contemporary fashions and their historical evolution. The Museum has a good collection of saris and designers' costumes acquired from shops and designers' boutiques during 2002 to 2004, and eighty examples of dress materials collected in the earlier years.

Main arena, special exhibition hall

Particular attention has paid to:

(1) the internationally known top designers of dresses and saris, who are conscious about how India fashion is viewed by people in outside communities, and who still try to make the best use of the traditional elaborate handicrafts skills,

(2) giving the public in Japan an opportunity to enjoy the artistic wealth of Indian fashion materials, and to recognize the expression of 'Indian-ness' in contemporary fashions, while gaining an overview of the shaping of 'India' images during the colonial past and post-Independence.

'Fashioning India', or creating Indian fashion, is a process of seeking for what is unique about being Indian. The process involves shaping abstract images of India into forms, and in this sense also, creating Indian fashion is at the same time 'Fashioning (that is, forming) India'.

'India Fashion Now' on the first floor shows current fashion in India with the following designers:

Abraham & Thakore, Abu Jani & Sandeep Khosla, Aki Narula, Anamika Khanna, Anita Mody, Anuradha Vakil, Ashima & Leena Singh (ASHIMA-LEENA), Deepika Govind, Diipnaz & Richa, JJ Valaya, Manish Arora, Manish Malhotra, Monisha Jaising, Niki Mahajan, Rajesh Pratap Singh, Ritu Beri, Ritu Kumar, Ritu Seksaria, Rohit Bal, Sabyasachi Mukherjee, Satya Paul, Shahab Durazi, Suneet Varma, Tarun Tahiliani.

'The Dynamism of Indian Textiles' on the second floor has two zones that display the dynamic history and geographical extension of Indian textiles and regional varieties of saris in materials, styles, and way of wearing. Indian textiles were introduced to the rest of the world across the Indian Ocean. Indian textile production centers prospered through their relationship with these trade networks. The large volume of Indian textiles, loaded on European ships at Indian ports, greatly influenced Asian, African and European fashion.

Yoshio Sugimoto
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology

Conference

Frontier Modernity: Inner Mongolia in the Twentieth Century

International Symposium
June 19, 2005

Since its formation as an ethnopolitical and territorial entity, in the 17th century, Inner Mongolia has risen, fallen, and now exists only in name. Area studies normally deal with places and peoples deemed geopolitically significant to regional or international relations, so it is little surprise that studies of Inner Mongolia have been eclipsed by the rapidly expanding studies of Tibet and Xinjiang, to say nothing of the independent state of Mongolia. Inner Mongolia is nevertheless historically important as a landlocked borderland where the major political powers of Inner Asia — Russia, Mongolia, Japan, and China — have repeatedly clashed during the 20th century. On June 19, 2005, an international symposium was held at the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) to examine modernity in Inner Mongolia. The organizers were Konagaya Yuki (Minpaku) and Uradyn E. Bulag (City University of New York).

Challenging the lineal Sinicization model of modernity, which is supposed to have traveled from the West to China to the frontier, the panelists explored alternative ways to account for Mongolian embrace of and resistance to particular aspects of modernity, and multifarious and unexpected manifestations of the modern in the frontier. Specifically, they examined two major dimensions of the Inner Mongolian project of modernity in the twentieth century: defining the Inner Mongolian boundary vis-à-vis both the independent state of Mongolia and minority areas in China; and successive cognitive and material transformations in the fields of agriculture, pastoralism, and

industrialization, informed by universal ideas of progress, equality, friendship, secularization, and scientific development. The two keynote speeches put issues of Inner Mongolia in wider contexts, in relation to both China and Mongolia.

Towards the end of the symposium, leading Mongolia and China specialists from Britain, Japan, and the USA discussed Japan's role in Inner Mongolia's modernity, the place of Inner Mongolia in the study of China, Mongolia, and Japan, and how to revitalize Inner Mongolia studies. Regarding the latter, there was a consensus that one vital strategy will be to think about connections to the wider world and important world issues or events. Japanese scholars argued that Inner Mongolia was once a major field where international diplomacy unfolded, and should be central to the study of relations between China and Japan. It was also urged that Japan's colonial legacy in Inner Mongolia be systematically investigated.

Uradyn E. Bulag
Convenor (above)
City University of New York

New Staff

Chihiro Shirakawa
Associate Professor, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology

Shirakawa is a cultural anthropologist. He received his PhD from the Graduate University for Advanced Studies, at Minpaku. His PhD thesis focused on the relationship between traditional and western medicines among the people of Tongoa Island, Vanuatu, and was published as a book under the title *Kastom Meresin: An Anthropological Study of Traditional Medicine in Oceania* (2001, in Japanese). He is currently working on issues concerning ownership and copyright of traditional cultures in Vanuatu, interrelations between scientific and magical belief among the general public of Oceania and Japan, and representations of Melanesia and Melanesians in contemporary Japanese mass-media. In addition to his academic work, he has participated in international cooperation projects for malaria and lymphatic filariasis control as a JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) expert, JOCV (Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers) volunteer, and WHO consultant in Fiji, Myanmar, Samoa, and Vanuatu.

Visiting Scholars

Djon Mundine
Senior Curator, Queensland Art Gallery

Djon Mundine of the Bandjalung people was born at Grafton, New South Wales in 1951. He is a conceptual artist and curator. During 1971 and 1972 he studied economics and accounting at Macquarie

University after completing school in Sydney where his family had moved to in the early 1960s. In the mid-70s, he became involved in the Federal Government agency of Aboriginal Arts and Crafts Pty Ltd in Sydney. From 1979 until 1993, he worked as Arts Adviser at Milingimbi and then Ramingining, in Northern Territory. Djon then toured Dü sseldorf, London, and Humlebeck (Denmark) with the famous Aratjara exhibition. During the period 1982-1992 he held the position of Curator-in-the-Field for the Art Gallery of New South Wales. From 1992 he was guest Curator of Special Projects at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Sydney and in 1997 he became Senior Curator at the National Museum of Australia. In 2002 he joined the Centre for Cross Cultural Research at Australian National University for two years. Exhibitions curated by Djon include 'Aboriginal Memorial' (1966), 'Native Born' (1996) and 'Shrine for the Koori' (2000). At Minpaku for one year, Djon will continue writing on the reception of contemporary Australian Aboriginal art. He will also investigate contemporary art and art museums in Japan.

(July 28, 2005 – July 27, 2006)

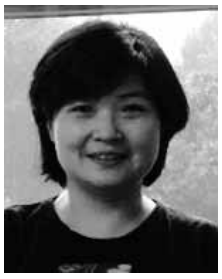
Bayaraa Sanjaasuren
Director, the Zorig Foundation (Mongolia)

Bayaraa studied in Germany (then German Democratic Republic), and graduated from the Mongolian National University as a journalist. From 1984 to 1990 he worked in the cultural section of the

Mongolian News Agency news-for-abroad department, as a reporter and sub-editor. Bayaraa was an activist in the democracy movement that began in Mongolia in 1990, and since then he has worked to foster democratic processes through media and NGO development in Mongolia. Bayaraa has extensive experience of working with pro-democracy international organizations in Mongolia. He is a co-founder of the Zorig Foundation (a Mongolian NGO promoting democracy and cultural exchange), which has good working relations with Japanese individuals and organizations, among others. His latest research was on the subject of government ethics. At Minpaku, Bayaraa has joined Yuki Konagaya's research project on 'The History of Sciences in Mongolia under Socialism.'

(October 24, 2005 – October 23, 2006)

Han Seung-Mi
Associate Professor, Yonsei University



After studying anthropology at Seoul National University (BA 1986), Han worked at the Department of Comparative Cultural Research at Tokyo University (1990–1992). She then moved to Harvard University where she received her MA (1994) and PhD (1995) in anthropology. Since 1997, she has been teaching in the Graduate School of International Studies (Japanese Studies and Anthropology) at Yonsei University in Seoul, Korea. Her research interests include globalization, multiculturalism, and gender issues in contemporary Japan as well as nationalism and community movements in Korea. Her publications include 'Consuming the modern: globalization, things Japanese, and the politics of cultural identity in Korea' (2000) and 'From the communitarian ideal to the public sphere: the marketing of [a] foreigners' assembly in Kanagawa Prefecture, Japan.' (2004).

(December 7, 2005 – March 7, 2006)

Publications

The following were published by the museum during the period from July to December 2005:

◊ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 30(1). Contents: S. Takezawa, 'Race/ Nation/ Imperialism: Development of Racial Anthropology in 19th Century France and its Criticism'; Y. Zhang, 'The Process of Identity Formation among the Chinese Overseas in Japan: Analysis of Their Life Histories'; V. A. Shnirelman, 'Politics of Ethnogenesis in the USSR and after'; and Г. А. Комарова, 'Этническая социология как междисциплинарное направление в советской этнографии 1960–1980-х гг. '.

◊ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 30(2). Contents: A. Mori, 'A Metropolis and its Immigrants: the 'Auslä nder' (Foreigners) of Berlin and their Sense of Multiculturalism'; H. Kikuta, 'An Outline of Modernization of the Ceramic Industry in Soviet Uzbekistan'; and Q. Gao, 'The Revitalization Movement of the Traditional *Tompa* Script of the Naxi in Lijiang, Yunnan Province in China'.

◊ Beltrán, C. L. and A. Saito (eds.) *Usos del Documento y Cambios Sociales en la Historia de Bolivia.* Senri Ethnological Studies, No.68, 150pp., July 2005.

◊ Ikeya, K. and E. Fratkin (eds.) *Pastoralists and Their Neighbors in Asia and Africa.* Senri Ethnological Studies, No.69, 242pp., August 2005.

◊ Morimo, T. (ed.) *Program Development for an Education in Intercultural Understanding: Making Use of the National Museum of Ethnology.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.56, 320pp., August 2005.

◊ Karmay, S. G. *Feast of the Morning Light: The Eighteenth Century Wood-engravings of Shenrab's Life-stories and the Bon Canon from Gyalrong.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.57, 284pp., December 2005.

◊ Wada, S. and P. K. Eguchi *A Baseline Survey of the Health and Food in Suhum District, Eastern Province, Ghana.* Senri Ethnological Reports, No.58, 114pp., December 2005.

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The Newsletter is published bi-annually, in June and December. `Minpaku' is a Japanese abbreviation for the National Museum of Ethnology. 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.

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

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