

What is cultural heritage? At the National Museum of Ethnology, and in Japan as elsewhere, the recognition, utilization, preservation and transmission of cultural heritage are urgent issues in a world where economic and social changes are rapid and often global in scale. What values and kinds of knowledge are embedded in cultural heritage and how can museums help source communities reconnect with collections that represent their own cultural heritage? After a general introduction by Anthony Shelton, short essays by our staff illustrate various ways in which Minpaku has been addressing the cultural heritage of living cultures.

## Anthropology, Reconciliation, and Collaborative Methodologies

## **Anthony Alan Shelton**

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Anthropology is by nature a highly collaborative discipline, but the relationship between fieldworkers, communities and individuals, mediated by social, political and economic conditions and circumstances, unavoidably takes different forms. Collaborative methodologies generally, refer to specific types of relationships which aspire towards parity or the subordination of disciplinary to community-based knowledge systems. Methodologically, they form a continuum

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that ranges from consultative, dialogical to participant action research, though all accept mutually consensual, fair and open ethical engagement. Consultative relationships imply formal agreement over the subject and nature of research, the methodologies employed (interviewing, surveys, participant observation, archival, library or museum based research), ethical protocols, duration, and the way results will or will not be mobilized: dialogical methods understand culture not as something external awaiting discovery and interpretation, but as the product of a dialogue that takes place between researchers and artists, traditional knowledge holders, other authorities, or specific sectors within a community. The product of research is a result of the procedure itself and includes the juxtaposition of different views akin in style and performance to conversation. One of the best and most detailed documented examples of this method is Johannes Fabian's Power and Performance.



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# nthropology Newslett

Anthony Shelton is Director of the Museum of Anthropology and Professor of Art History, Visual Art and Theory at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. He has curated eleven permanent galleries and temporary exhibitions in Canada, Portugal and the United Kingdom, and is the author of more than 160 publications on Mexico and Latin America. critical museology and cultural criticism. He is currently writing Theatrum Mundi: Masks and Matrices in Mexico; the second of a three volume work. Writing From Sight, and an edition of the collected works of the great Spanish museologist, Fernando Estévez González.

Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theatre (1990), on extemporization and audience participation in Shaba community theatre. Participant action research as described by Michael Ames in his influential article, How to Decorate A *House* (1999), involves the deferral of the anthropologist's own agency to facilitate a community or individual's research objectives. Frequently, the collaborative relationship involves more than one of these modalities depending on the objectives and requirements of the different stages of the research process – never forgetting the primary interdiction that these are known and agreed between the different parties prior to implementation. Communities on the North West Coast of Canada emphasise the importance of striking formal, prior memoranda of understanding, as part of the process of reaching agreement on appropriate ethical protocols and the subject, nature, review, control, disclosure and dissemination of information. Such agreements provide a path for establishing relationships based on shared expectations, mutual respect, agreement and sharing of common ethical standards and procedures.

Collaborative methodologies are as Ames and Guillermo Bonfil Batalla have insisted, essential to the operation and viability of ethnographic museums. In Mexico Profundo. Una civilización negada (1987), Bonfil argued that despite five hundred years of suppression, exploitation and attempted ethnocide, a distinctive Indigenous civilizational model continues to exist and challenge the dominant Euro-American model with which it uneasily coexists. The acknowledgement of the tense coexistence of alternative models of civilization within the same geographical space, demands clear individual and institutional political commitment and alignment. With this in mind, after being director of the Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, Mexico's powerful, federally funded heritage institution, in 1982 Bonfil founded the Museo de Culturas Populares. The museum was a non-collecting institution, dedicated to working with other museums and agencies using collaborative methodologies aimed at reversing the power relations that favour metropolitan institutions like museums, over local community organizations. It's opening exhibition, Nuestra Maize, involved researchers working directly with knowledge holders, subsistence farmers, and their wives in thirty Indigenous communities across the country to jointly compile information on the diverse beliefs and rituals, farming techniques, and cooking recipes related to the history, cultivation and preparation of this staple food. The exhibition, collectively curated, was mounted at the museum in Coyoacán, while a poster board version, along with a two volume publication was circulated to the participating communities. This first exhibition provided a model for further exhibitions in which the notion of collaborative research was deepened by both museum and the communities it served.

The cases of Canada and Mexico, whose institutions could undergo much further reform, nevertheless, testify to the need for a new contract between museums and communities that will promote and enable the wider circulation and sharing of cultural materials and expertise between them. In settler countries like the USA, Canada, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico and South America, this probably requires the redistribution of roles and power relations within and between museums and communities. For those museum in countries whose governments are signatories to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, it will require that the responsibilities for the care, use and interpretation of collections are devolved to Indigenous curators and knowledge holders – the most radical renovation of the museums' missions since their foundation. Such reforms could trigger a massive reorganization of relationships between different kinds of museums, enabling them to better share their resources to end the cultural isolation that afflicts many communities and transform and democratize the management, care and deployment of cultural resources on a national scale. Some settler societies including Canada, South Africa and New Zealand have or are going through a process of reconciliation over former policies and practices that have denigrated and attempted to extinguish cultural diversity within their borders. In these countries policies should change in concert with those aimed towards national reconciliation. Directors and curators in museums outside settler societies are frequently concerned about losing collections sequestered a long time ago, and research on collection provenance, as Germany has recognized, is urgently required. In MOA's experience, the museum received far more objects

and collections given by Indigenous peoples, in recognition of the positive relations established with families and communities, than those lost to repatriation.

Given the changes that are occurring between museums and Indigenous peoples, I would suggest it is time to stop treating the repatriation of cultural materials independently of all the relations museums and peoples share, and if they share no such relations, to ask why such institutions continue to hold such collections. Cultural materials can separate peoples, communities and nations or they can bring them closer together. The repatriation of the G'psgolox Pole from the National Museum of Ethnology in Stockholm to the Haisla community of Kitamaat, resulted in the carving and

gifting of a copy of the pole back to the Museum and the instigation of school programs between the two nations. The long-term project instigated by the Haida Repatriation Committee to return and lay to rest all their ancestor's remains held by museums, has created strong friendships and networks between Haida Gwaii and museums across Europe, Canada and the United States and established tremendous, recognized expertize in these matters in the community. Instead of looking at repatriation as a one-way, isolated and often divisive process, we need to view it as part of a fuller set of relationships that can bind museums closer together to Indigenous peoples and contribute to the wider goal of reconciliation that the UN Declaration anticipates.

# Reconnecting Source Communities with Museum Collections: A Minpaku Info-Forum Museum Project

## **Atsunori Ito**

National Museum of Ethnology

In April 2014, the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan (hereinafter Minpaku) started research aimed at creating an 'Info-Forum Museum for Cultural Resources of the World'. As previously reported by Kishigami (2017, Minpaku Anthropology Newsletter 45:4-5), eighteen projects for database establishment and improvement have already been started, and some of them have already been completed. Although the objectives were separate for each project, the general aim of each project was similar. Each was aimed at improving the documentation and digitization of collections and access for using collected materials through interactive database systems. These efforts required academic and practical collaboration between researchers, museums, and members of the source communities (makers and users of materials and their descendants). Here, I describe a project carried out from June 2014 to March 2018, look back on implementation of the project, and discusses the effectiveness of using video to document artifacts and source community responses. The project 'Documenting and Sharing Information

on Ethnological Materials: Working with Native American Tribes' involved about 2,200 collected items belonging to the collections of fourteen museums and a private collection in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The source community in this case was the Hopi people (population: about 12,000) in the southwestern part of the United States. Twenty-two individuals have participated in collections review to date.

'Collections review' is an important approach for research on museum materials, it is not merely viewing an exhibition. Participants were asked to explain each item along with the local cultural context, to group related items, to describe them for the collection catalogue, and to relate personal experiences and memories. Main topics for each item included the memory of use, precautions for making, how to obtain source materials, design interpretation, local name, the maker and the descendants, and the related past and present community. Description errors in the collection catalog were also corrected (but not deleted) and relationships to items

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collected by other museums were also noted.

Direct and indirect approaches were used for collection review. For direct review, people from the source community were invited or sent to museums to handle actual materials. Sometimes this was difficult because of budget limitations, temporal restrictions imposed by local ceremonies or busy seasons in agriculture, and the health conditions of participants. In such cases, I, visited the holding institutions and photographed the collections. Later I visited the participants to set up monitors in their community centers or studios for indirect review using digital images. For two museums, the National Museum of Scotland and Portland Art Museum, indirect review was conducted using images shown on their websites. Although participants were unable to touch the materials during indirect review, there was a benefit with operations such as magnification on the screen, which can be performed easily using the digital technology. However, most people from the source community welcomed direct review except for materials such as burial accessories with which contact is culturally avoided. Truly, the meaning of nature materials can be understood more intuitively when checking texture and weight by touch, and using the senses of smell and hearing. Direct review also saved them the trouble of giving directions to an operator for fast forwarding and magnification of image

Indirect review for the silver jewelry collections of the National Museum of the American Indians at the silversmith's studio in the Hopi Reservation, AZ, USA (Ito, 2017)

Discussion mediated by materials is not particularly new as a method for exchange with the source community in ethnology museums. Discussion and information sharing have been conducted frequently to select materials and confirm drawings in the process of planning exhibitions. In the United States, consultations to negotiate the repatriation of human remains, funerary accessories, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony have become common in the last quarter of a century, and are based on the federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, which was enacted in 1989 and 1990.

There are also systems to combine the reconnection of a source community with collected materials through the production of art works. Artist-in-residence Programs are often seen in museums in Europe and the United States. Indigenous artists, may be invited for a short or long-term visits to provide opportunities for collection review and an environment for creative activities. Such programs have been operated for a long time by the Indian Arts Research Center of the School of Advanced Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, United States, and the National Museum of Ethnology of the Netherlands. A visit might be positioned in the process of material collection or donation or integrated with the drafting of an exhibition plan. Another example of an Artist-in-residence Program is the Ainu Association Craftsmanship Training program for training outside Hokkaido. This has been accepted by

> Minpaku at request from the Ainu Association of Hokkaido.

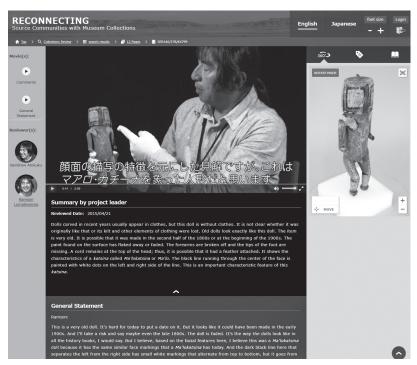
Some institutions add records of such exchanges to their collection database. For example, the Burke Museum and the associated Bill Holm Center in Seattle, Washington, United States, enter the review date, name of participants, and opinion of participants as textual data. Unfortunately, many institutions keep no record of a reconnection at all. The author has always thought that room remains for improvement in the responses of museums which tend to be no more than notes and snapshots to the rare opportunities for reconnection of the people

from a source community and museum collections. In light of this shortcoming, the process of collections review in the present project was recorded using video to film the reconnection.

Audiovisual (video) documentation is also significant for people such as the descendants of participants, and residents in distant places who cannot sit at the reviewing table because of temporal and spatial distance. Their experience of the review is made possible. At the same time, such record keeping can also be used for security or risk aversion of a kind- e.g., as evidence of what was said (or not said) about which material, so that participants shall not be suspected later of leaking religious knowledge of high secrecy (an important point of cultural sensitivity among the Hopi) to outsiders, by other members of the source community. In other words, significance and effectiveness for both the source community and the museum were sought. This was not merely as a project record for the accepting institution, but also as an unprecedented effort for the collection and presentation of information on collected materials.

Unique and colorful 'comments' by participants from the source community have been filmed for about 2,200 items over a total of almost eighty days, since the first collection review in October 2014. People in the source community are of course not homogeneous: diversity is observed in their knowledge and experience in the materials depending on their gender, birthplace, clan, age, childhood environment (e.g. city or reservation), proficiency in indigenous languages, and frequency of participation in ceremonies. Their comments included humor, poetic expression, gesture, and the rise and fall of voice. The films have reached some 640 hours in duration; they are not merely valuable as supplementary materials (secondary materials) related to existing museum materials- they can be regarded as precious ethnological records (primary materials) in their own right, since they record diverse interpretations by the source community in the 2010s.

In this project, the film data are to be shared with collaborative institutions that provided opportunities to handle or photograph materials in their collections. Moreover, all comments recorded in movie data have been transcribed, and the contents were confirmed with participants from the source community through collaborative editing. Parts that required consideration for cultural



Minpaku is developing an 'Online Collaborative Environment' (database system) for future use by the source communities, holding institutions, academic professionals, and the general public. Screenshot of the tentative database, 'RECONNECTING Source Communities with Museum Collections' (ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi)

sensitivity were edited or deleted. Versions appropriate for exhibition will also be provided to collaborating institutions. Reconnection movies from this project were displayed at the Minpaku's Special Exhibition A 'Tower of the Sun' Collection: Expo '70 Ethnological Mission (March 3 - May 29, 2018) and the Tenri University Sankokan Museum's 81<sup>ST</sup> Feature Exhibition Respect for the Great Nature: Traditional Cultures of Indigenous Peoples in North America (April 4 - June 4, 2018)

Previously, all the collaborating institutions had hoped for active utilization and reanimation of materials by the source community, but there was little chance of putting the hope into practice because of difficulties in budgeting and human resources. For this reason, they were very interested in the plan for direct and indirect review. Ethnology museums lack an interactive database such as the *'Catalogue raisonné* produced in art museums, which combines a list of all works with the exhibition records, interpretations by critics, and more, for each artist. The present 'reconnection' and film data are expected to help fill this gap, or to have greater impact.

# Preservation of Cultural Heritage in a Changing World

International Symposium, October 7-8, 2017

## Naoko Sonoda

National Museum of Ethnology

The international symposium 'Preservation of Cultural Heritage in a Changing World' was held at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka (Minpaku) on October 7 and 8, 2017. It was supported by Minpaku and the Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Innovative Areas - Platform for Integration and Sophistication of Image Information on Area Studies, and was the first symposium organized for the museum's academic forum series 'Research Trends Round-table', and was organized by members of the Department of Advanced Human Sciences. English-Japanese and Japanese-Japanese sign language simultaneous interpretation was provided in collaboration with the Sign Language Linguistics Research Section (SiLLR), National Museum of Ethnology.

The preservation of cultural heritage is guided and constrained not only by social and cultural factors, but also by environmental and technological factors. In the last thirty years, our society has begun

to face new challenges. One is the overwhelming environmental issue of worldwide climate change. Another is a technological challenge: the dramatic shift from analog to digital media – which continues to be a primary concern.

## New environmental challenges

At first glance, environmental issues may seem to be irrelevant to the preservation world, but they affect various aspects of the preservation and management of cultural heritage. For example, global warming demands efforts to reduce carbon footprints and necessitates rethinking of the museum environment. In addition, protection of the ozone layer has a great influence especially in Japanese museums, where a fundamental review of insecticidal measures led to adoption of Integrated Pest Management (IPM).

The Symposium introduction was given by Jim Reilly, founder and former director of the Image Permanence



First day of the International Symposium



Opening remarks given by Kenji Yoshida, Director-General of Minpaku

Institute, Rochester, USA: 'Theory and practice of sustainable preservation'. He discussed the research and experience of this Institute in formulating sustainable preservation using science-based environmental management techniques, appropriate building design, and testing the influence of enclosures on the equilibrium of temperature and humidity.

In the following session 'Museums in a new era', keywords were sustainable preservation and environment improvement for that. Examples of large-size museums in Japan were introduced. One was a museum designed and built while considering environmental needs of the 21st century the Kyushu National Museum (presented by Mitsuko Honda, researcher emeritus of the Kyusyu National Museum). The other was environment-friendly collection management in the 1970s building at Minpaku, and was presented by the author.

In the next session 'Sustainable preservation measures', two examples demonstrated that sustainable preservation is possible even when equipment, personnel and budget are limited. Martin Juergens from Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands, presented a case study on the preservation of photographic materials in Luang Prabang, Laos. An insecticidal treatment that can be used in small-size facilities or museums was shown by Shingo Hidaka, Minpaku.

After a break, visitors were taken behind-the-scenes to see a storage room with visitors' viewing window and insecticidal treatment facilities. Our main exhibition area and the special exhibition *Revisiting Siebold's Japan Museum* were also visited.

## New media challenges

We also focused on image collections and the way analog and digital



Behind-the-scenes visit to the storage room viewing area

technologies contribute to accessibility and the preservation of images, while also presenting new conservation concerns. The images considered here include still and motion pictures. An introduction was given by Nora Kennedy, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA. Recently, the role of photograph conservator has changed. New challenges arose with the need to preserve huge print-based photographs, conceptual art, digital photographs and time-based media artworks (TBMA). In addition to having the corresponding technical expertise, conservators are now expected to have the ability to communicate with people in other fields.

In the session 'Preservation of images', influences brought by the digital era to the preservation of photographs were examined by Bertrand Lavédrine, from Centre de recherche sur la conservation/Museum national d'histoire naturelle, France, and visiting professor at Minpaku at the time of our symposium. As a result of shifting from a photographic prints culture to a digital imaging culture, what is to be preserved and how to preserve it have been questioned. Katsuhisa Ozeki (National Film Center, the National Museum of Modern Art, Japan) dealt with the preservation of films from a technical aspect and explained the use of photographic films for preserving digitized movies.

In the session 'Access and use of images', Yuzo Marukawa described 'Creation of the Japanese Animated Film Classics Database', Itsushi Kawase spoke on 'The creative use of archival films: Cases from the Encyclopedia Cinematographica' and Taku Iida introduced 'An academic platform of images from the 20th century'. Examples of the use of images in Minpaku exhibitions completed the session: 'Info-Forum Museum for Regional Cultures of China Gallery' by Hiroko Yokoyama, 'The Videotheque:

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Past, Present and Future' by Yasunori Yamamoto, 'The Use of Images in the Music Gallery' by Shota Fukuoka, and 'Utilizing video data for introducing the languages of the world and the world of language' by Ritsuko Kikusawa. All these examples represented attempts to create new ways communicating with images. The symposium with seventy-five participants on the first day and eighty-one on the second, reaffirmed that changes in environment have made sustainability, a key issue for all aspects of the preservation of cultural heritage, and that changes in media

beyond the photography or film making have created new concepts of 'image'.

Regarding the conservation and utilization of cultural heritage in the 21st century, we will pursue Minpaku's Inter-University Research Project 'Conservation science research on the establishment of sustainable collection management and museum environment', which began in October 2017. The present symposium can be considered as a starting point for rethinking the role of preservation in our changing world.

## **Negotiating Intangible Cultural Heritage**

International Symposium, November 29-December 1, 2017

## Terada Yoshitaka

National Museum of Ethnology

Terada Yoshitaka (PhD in ethnomusicology, University of Washington, 1992) is Professor in the Center for Cultural Resource Studies at the National Museum of Ethnology. He specializes in music cultures of Asia and Asian America. and has conducted fieldwork in the India, Philippines, Cambodia, Japan, and North America. Since 1999, he has produced ethnographic films on music from diverse locations, many of which deal with the music culture of marginalized communities. He is currently the editor of Film/Video Review section of the Yearbook for Traditional Music.

The safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) has been one of the most urgent issues in studies of culture, an issue to which scholars of anthropology, ethnomusicology and related disciplines have paid increasing attention in recent years. However, what is known today as ICH, or heritage in general, is not at all self-evident to local communities, and can only be identified as such through complex processes. The international symposium Negotiating Intangible Cultural Heritage was held at Minpaku, to address such questions as how some aspects of culture are selected over others to be defined and re-contextualized as heritage, and how the UNESCO definition of ICH has been negotiated in communitybased efforts to preserve and invigorate culture. Organized jointly by Minpaku and the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI), the symposium featured thirteen presenters from nine countries (Australia, China, India, Japan, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Slovenia and USA).

In his keynote speech, Svanibor Pettan (University of Ljubljana) first presented surveys of narratives on heritage in ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, and described major trends and projects in applied ethnomusicology that have dealt specifically with heritage safeguarding. Pettan then drew examples from his own research on central and southeastern Europe, providing a comparative reference set for subsequent discussion during the symposium. He also cautioned against limitations of the UNESCO definition of ICH, which, based on the national principle, excludes transnational and other minorities as well as those who inhabit the areas with no UN status.

In Session 1 (Re-contexualization of Heritage and Community), three anthropologists problematized intangible cultural heritage as a priori concept. William Nitzky (California State University, Chico) demonstrated how national and regional policies on heritage could re-contextualize local perceptions and practices, comparing official state, academic, and local discourses on heritage in relation to both cases from bronze drums and a community museum project, southwestern China. Vicente Diaz (University of Minnesota, Twin Cities) mulled over the inclusion of Carolinian seafaring in current narratives on intangible cultural heritage and proposed a concept of 'extreme tangibility' in order to show due and full appreciation of the highly multi-sensorial and visceral nature of seafaring culture. Analyn Salvador-Amores (University of the Philippines, Baguio) analyzed the process in which the touristic hype of a 90year old Kalinga tattoo practitioner



Symposium participants

in northern Philippines created what she terms a 'tattoo pilgrim.' This unexpected external interest led to the re-contexualization of a previously stigmatized tattoo practice, thereby creating renewed awareness among Kalinga people of their ethnic identity and pride.

Session 2 (Defining Heritage Locally) focused on appropriation or imposition of the ICH concept by or to the communities, and the ideas, strategies and conflicts involved. Local communities may conform to the prevalent concept of ICH and remodel their activities because it is frequently difficult to maintain cultural heritage without external support, be it technical, financial, political, or moral. Inspired by the heritage regime' concept (Regina Bendix et al.), Fukuoka Shota (Minpaku) advanced a notion of 'cultural property regime' to analyze the community-based strategy to safeguard a local dance form (natsume-odori) in Tokunoshima Island, in southern Japan in relation to the government's initiative to revitalize local communities by supporting cultural properties. Calling attention to the two aspects of heritage based

on the place of origin (allochthonous and autochthonous), Mohd Anis Md Nor (Nusantara Performing Arts Research Center) explored the multilayered and politically-manipulated negotiations between local, state and national definitions of heritage, with two concrete examples (Mak Yong and Malay Zapin) to illustrate his point. Don Niles (Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies) recounted governmental efforts to safeguard the performing arts in Papua New Guinea since 1974, presenting a rare case in which UNESCO's ICH concept has made little impact, despite the PNG government ratifying the UNESCO convention in 2008.

Building on the issues of appropriation and imposition in the previous session, Session 3 (Collaboration and Intervention) examined the negotiation between local communities and external organizations. M. D. Muthukumarasamy (National Folklore Support Centre) reported on a community empowerment project by the National Folklore Support Centre with Narikuravar, one of the most neglected communities in South India.



Whang-ud, a renowned 90-year old tattooist in Kalinga, northern Luzon Philippines (Analyn Salvador-Amores, 2013)



The Tavur Festival (Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Kimbe, West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea, 2015)

The project revealed a new identity and pride of the community created around the notion of heritage, which has slowly empowered the community. Verne de la Pena (University of Philippines, Diliman) described two projects for community engagement and empowerment conducted by the University of the Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology: one to repatriate audiovisual records collected since the 1950s to source communities, and the other to transfer skills and resources from national cultural agencies to local community by training and

assisting a local cultural organization. Terada Yoshitaka (Minpaku) focused on the *taiko* communal drumming among a marginalized community in Japan. This is not yet conceived as a cultural heritage but is increasingly viewed by the community as having significance to its cohesion. He argued that continuous collaboration with a community to document activities allows an investigation of heritage as it evolves.

The continuation of intangible heritage can be severely threatened by various forces including political regime, warfare, and natural calamity as well as Westernization and modernization. Session 4 (Museum and Revival of Culture) focused on museums and other organizations that work toward reviving or reinvigorating local heritage and examined their efforts to collaborate, with local communities. Gream Were (University of Queensland) explored the potential of digital technologies to realize a participatory museology. Based on his collaborative project in Papua New Guinea, he observed that digital technologies facilitate access to museum collections and support the transmission of intangible heritage for those who are typically excluded from the museum. Saito Reiko (Minpaku) described how the museum has maintained the mutually beneficial relationship with the Ainu, with annual implementation of the *Kamuinomi* rite to ensure proper storage of its Ainu collection and an annual program to invite the Ainu artisans to examine artifacts stored at the museum. Xiao Mei (Shanghai Conservatory of Music) explored the relevance of 'engaged anthropology' (as described by Michael Herzfeld) by reviewing two case studies in China: one related to a provincial museum which has reinvigorated the Han Opera with documentation and public performances and the other concerning an archival project to revive a recently lost Mongolian epic tradition.

The symposium gathered a wide array of concrete case studies from the Asia-Pacific region, which served as the basis for analytical comparison on the nature of complex negotiations between various stakeholders (source community, government agencies, academic community and external public organizations such as museums, archives, and research institutes and UNESCO). Negotiations among all these groups determine the contours of how cultural practices are safeguarded. A collection of essays based on the symposium is expected to be published in 2019.

## Essay

## Fieldwork and History: Looking Back On Anthropological Research in Yunnan

## Hiroko Yokoyama

National Museum of Ethnology

Since 1984 I have carried out anthropological fieldwork in Yunnan, China. Here I describe some experiences from the beginning of this work, and look back on how the work and my approach developed.

When I left Japan for Beijing on the 30th of September, 1983, I was not yet very sure whether I could do fieldwork in Yunnan. However, I was very lucky to be able to stay in a village of the Bai people in Dali to start my research. For this opportunity in the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the first half of 1980's, I was especially indebted to Chie Nakane and Fei Xiaotong, and two supervisors: Song Shuhua at the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing, and Ma Yao at the Yunnan Institute of Nationalities.

Even after PRC opened up in the early 1980's, in-depth anthropological fieldwork by foreign researchers remained rare. While waiting in Japan for an opportunity to visit, I studied literature on ethnic minorities in the region from southwestern China to the mainland Southeast Asia, expanding my basic study and also learning about the Han Chinese. All this helped lead me to study of one of the most Sinicized ethnic minorities in China.

When I successfully moved from Beijing to Kunming in January of 1984, I listed nine ethnic group names in my fieldwork proposal, hoping to receive permission to study any one of those groups. The Naxi were at the top of this list, as the writings of Rock, Jackson, and others had stimulated my interest greatly. However, the Yunnan government's decision was to let me choose one of two groups, the Bai in Dali or the Sani (a subgroup of the Yi) in Shilin. I chose the Bai because I knew of two anthropological books published on the Bai, based on fieldwork in 1930's: C. P. Fitzgerald's The Tower of Five Glories (1941) and Francis Hsu's Under the Ancestors' Shadow (1948).

Soon the local government selected a Bai village in the Dali Basin for me. I had no other choice, but did not care too much about this, as I was delighted to be able to do fieldwork at all. Since the Tang dynasty, the Dali Basin has been the center of an area inhabited by people related to the present Bai ethnic minority. The former capitals of the Nanzhao and Dali kingdoms and the present government of Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture are all located in the basin. In contrast to other ethnic minorities in Yunnan, Bai people have had a long history of close relations with Chinese civilization. These circumstances are reflected in the topics and methods of my research on the Bai.

In the first step, my fieldwork was concentrated on kinship and family. Was ancestor worship and kinship organization in my survey village similar to that of the Han Chinese? Francis Hsu had insisted that the Minchia (a Chinese name formerly used for the Bai people before 1956) in his 'West Town' were 'Chinese in culture' and presented his book as 'a look at the pattern of life of a Chinese rural community'.

In Social Anthropology (1982), Edmund Leach regarded Hsu's account as 'a syncretic blend' of Hsu's personal experience since childhood and what he learned about the Minchia in his fieldwork, noting that Minchia peculiarities in local culture were 'hardly ever mentioned'. Leach preferred Fitzgerald's work, which tells more about the Minchia in relation to the historical geography of Yunnan. As a later fieldworker in the same basin, I find that these works are very different in their academic purposes and methods, and thus complementary in many ways.

Through my study in a village 7 km from Hsu's West Town, I was persuaded that Hsu's record of the situation there in his time was basically good, but lacked comparison of West Town inhabitants with Han Chinese and other Bai.

Here I would like to introduce the example of Bai uxorilocal marriage, which Hsu described in West Town, reporting more than 30% occurrence among all marriages, with a boy moving into the future bride's home usually

Hiroko Yokoyama is a professor emeritus of Minpaku. Her research interests include ethnic boundaries, representation of culture, cultural change, and preservation of culture. Recent publications include Preservation of Cultural Heritage and Participation by Community Residents: The Case of Tondabayashi Jinaimachi Preservation District for Groups of Historic Buildings in Japan' in Xing Long and Xu Qiexun (eds) Anthropology and Loess Civilization (in Chinese, Heilongjiang People's Publishing, 2015), and 'Museum and Preservation and Development of City Cultural Heritage' in Qiao Jian and Wang Huaimin (eds) A Bright Spot of Loess Civilization: Discussion of Preservation and Development of Cultural Heritage in Jiexiu (in Chinese, Airiti Press, 2014)



A bride in uxorilocal marriage dressing at the groom's natal house on her wedding day

before the age of twelve several years before the wedding ceremony, changing his surname and forename according to the generation rule of his new lineage group, and acquiring full membership in his father-in-law's family. But Hsu did not discuss how distinctive these practices were, or attempt to explain them, though he did note that they were rarely seen among the patrilineal Han Chinese.

Uxorilocal marriage in my survey village in 1980's was similar to what Hsu had described. The practice of a boy moving early had started decreasing, but it still existed, so that I sometimes mistook a future husband for the elder brother because he was often introduced as the eldest child.

An important feature of Bai uxorilocal marriage in my observation was its flexibility. A husband held full membership in the lineage of his wife's family, with his acquired surname and forename, yet could claim membership in his lineage of birth according to situation. For ancestor worship, he was exclusively his father-in-law's successor, but on other occasions such as the lifecycle ceremonies of his natal family, he might attend as patrilineal kin using his original surname and forename.

Through fieldwork I could also confirm that the status of a Bai uxorilocal husband was not so much looked down on, as among the Han Chinese. The son of a fairly wealthy family with many sons might marry out to another affluent family. The bride

and groom of uxorilocal marriage usually exchanged their parents' houses on the wedding day to retain the orthodox ceremonial style of welcoming the bride into the groom's home. To understand Bai uxorilocal marriage, I also visited a nearby Han Chinese village that had originated as an army settlement during the Ming dynasty, and found their customs were similar to those of the Bai. Their genealogies also

revealed the occurrence of uxorilocal marriage in the past.

The Bai traditionally place the tombstones of husband and wife side by side. When Fitzgerald saw such tombstones with the same surname, he took this as evidence that marriage by individuals with the same surname was not avoided among the Bai (since in China generally, married couples do not change surnames after marriage). He saw this as clearly dividing the Bai from Han Chinese. The traditional Bai custom allowed the marriage between the same surname of different lineages, but was not very common. I would rather think that many couples buried with the same surname had lived in uxorilocal marriages.

In well-documented Bai genealogies of eminent lineages in my survey village, I could see an influence of the Han Chinese norm of marriage being avoided if the same surname is shared. To avoid the appearance of such a marriage, a different character with the same sound was sometime used to write the wife's surname (e.g. 陽 or 羊 instead of the husband's name of Yang, 楊). Bai practices exist at the edge of the influence of Han Chinese culture. Looking back at my research in Dali, combining fieldwork and the study of historical records brought me deeper insights than either could provide alone. This is an approach that I am determined to continue.

## **Exhibition**

## A 'Tower of the Sun' Collection: Expo '70 Ethnological Mission

Special Exhibition (Minpaku 40th anniversary special event) March 8- May 29, 2018

Forty years have passed since the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) opened to the public. As a 40th anniversary special exhibition, we prepared "A Tower of the Sun' Collection: Expo '70 Ethnological Mission" in the Spring of 2018.

Part of the Minpaku collection was exhibited in the basement of the 'Tower of the Sun' (*Taiyo no Tou*) at the Japan World Exposition in 1970. Expo '70 was the first World Exposition in Asia and Japan. It had more than 64,000,000 visitors and was literally the nation's greatest event.

Taiyo no Tou was the main theme pavilion of Expo '70. The tower was designed by Okamoto Taro (1911-1996) a distinguished artist and chief producer of the theme exhibition during Expo '70. He intended to show 'Kongen' in the basement of Taiyo no Tou. The Japanese word 'kongen' is composed of two Chinese characters meaning 'root' and 'origin'.

Okamoto asked anthropologists Izumi Seiichi (1915-1970), professor at the University of Tokyo, and Umesao Tadao (1920-2010), associate professor at Kyoto university, to collect objects for the exhibition. They organized a group to collect objects all over the world. The group was named 'Expo '70 Ethnological Mission (EEM)'. The group had about twenty members including young anthropologists, archaeologists, a newspaper writer, and a civil engineer. They went to 47 countries or areas and collected about 2500 objects including masks, statues and daily necessities from 1968 to 1969. Prominent researchers at that time, such as Gerardo

Reichel-Dolmatoff (1912-1994) in Columbia and Duaohyon, Lee (1924-2013) in Korea, also supported EEM members in the field.

More than 1500 items were displayed at the exhibition of *Taiyo no Tou* without signs show to names, collecting places or ethnic association. Masks were hung from the ceiling and statues were tied to the pillar. In the other words, the displays were far removed from their ethnographic contexts. After the closing of Expo '70, the collection was donated to Manpaku.

Our special exhibition displayed 645 objects according to regional context and a cross-cultural viewpoint. We introduced the collecting activities by EEM members in each area. Relevant letters, business documents and photographs were displayed with the objects. The process of collecting material culture reflected the world at the time of collection.

We also considered current issues in museum anthropology. The EEM collection includes masks and status from North America. These belong culturally to indigenous groups, and their cultural sensitivities informed our decision not to display some of them. The collection led us to discuss the relationships between source communities and museums in practice.

The Expo '70 Ethnological Mission influenced the creation of Minpaku. Collecting in the field, using information management techniques to record and organize information about the collected materials, and using an exhibition style that allows visitors to approach exhibits as closely as possible were special and subversive approaches of Minpaku when it was established in the mid-1970s.

It is also significant that the EEM included Japan and Europe as collecting areas. Though Japan and Europe might be positioned as 'civilization', the EEM tried to see them from the same viewpoint of 'culture' as used for other countries and areas. This conception of the world by EEM was unique, and their collection activities were perhaps the most expansive for the time, among museums of the world.

The special exhibition was a good opportunity to recognize, in the 21st century the importance of this collection of the previous century.

Atsushi Nobayashi National Museum of Ethnology

## Conference

## Human Relationships with Animals and Plants: Perspectives of Historical Ecology

International Symposium March 19-21, 2018

The conservation of biological diversity and sustainable utilization of living things are key issues for discussion of relationships between modern civilization and environment. As a Special Research Project (2016-2018) of the National Museum of Ethnology, we are exploring relationships between humans and living things from prehistory to the present, from the perspective of historical ecology. In this symposium, we focused on the history of human impacts in diverse environmental contexts, namely the cold zone (Arctic), ocean (Tropical America), desert (Central Asia), forest (Amazon, Borneo, Congo Basin, and Japan), and inland waters in a peri-urban area (China).

To begin, William Balée of Tulane University, USA, compared cultural landscapes in the Amazon and Japan, suggesting a general approach to classifying human interactions with land and plants that can be applied in very different physical and cultural environments, and extending even to the traditional gardens and bonsai found in Japanese cities. Topics in the following sessions were 'Asian Perspectives in Historical Ecology', with



Excursion to a mixed rural and urban landscape nearby

examples from East Asia and Southeast Asia, and 'Comparative Perspectives in Historical Ecology', with examples from South America, Africa and other areas. Comparisons were also made between the tropical regions of Africa, Asia, and America, and between South, Central and North America. The symposium concluded with presentations that introduced an ancient oasis city in Central Asia, located on the Silk Road route, and a museum that uses exhibitions to encourage visitors to think about the basic questions of human existence and our relationships with the world: the Museé de L'Hommes in Paris. These presentations provided historical and contemporary perspectives on globalization and human relationships with environment.

In historical ecology, do we need universal conceptual categories, or is it better to attempt translation between local categories that have developed in relation to specific environments and cultures? William Balée and other writers have seldom referred to Japanese academic traditions in environmental and cultural

research in their writing. The present symposium was an opportunity to consider the concepts of satoyama and yamazato in Japan, alongside the 'cultural forests' referred to in English-speaking countries. A great range of terms exist in both languages, and perhaps it is safest to say that phrases such as 'cultural ecology', 'ecological history', 'environmental history' and 'historical ecology' and so on all have a place in Englishlanguage discourse, but are difficult to equate with Japanese terms, despite the mingling of academic traditions across linguistic boundaries. In this symposium, we also considered examples of archaeological and historical research in different regions, and the difficulties inherent in attempting to compare observations made across different time scales and geographical scales.

Specific relationships between humans and plants (taro, banana, and bamboo) or animals (whale, cormorant, sea turtle, boar and gayal) were also discussed in the symposium. Pathways and incentives for cultivation

or domestication of wild species were considered along with the integration or loss of traditional cultivated plants in the modern world. Maintaining a balance between nature, culture and civilization - and sustaining local cultures and biodiversity in each region - is more important than ever. Discovering and explaining cultural and ecological interactions that have achieved dynamic yet sustainable balance is an indispensable goal for historical ecology and related research fields, in any language.

Kazunobu Ikeya and Peter J. Matthews National Museum of Ethnology

## Information

## **Awards**

## Saucedo Segami Daniel **Dante**

Overseas Visiting Fellow

Received a Recognition for Peruvians Living Abroad by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Peru for his contribution on the diffusion of the culture of Peru through his research on archaeological heritage studies and anthropological studies on Nikkei communities, and for his support of the Peruvian Association of Students and Graduates in Japan (APEJA). (December 27, 2017)

## **National Museum of** Ethnology: Guidebook

Published November 8, 2017

Japan Catalogue Award 2018, presented by the Japan Federation of Printing Industries.

## **New Staff**

## Yuriko Yagi

Assistant Professor, Department of Advanced Human Sciences



Yagi specializes in Andean ethnology, and has carried out several fieldwork seasons with communities in the southern

highlands of Peru. Her main interest is contemporary Andean religion, especially transformations of the cults of Catholic saints. Her book Andean Catholic Devotion to the Saints: A study of cultural dynamics generated by the interaction between rural society and urban immigrant community was published in 2015. Currently she is studying the commercialization and transmission of religious objects such as the statues of Catholic saints and votive offerings. She previously studied cultural anthropology at The Graduate University of Advanced Studies (doctoral studies program at Minpaku) and received her PhD in September 2012. She then worked as a researcher and adviser at the Embassy of Japan in Peru (2012-2014) and as a research fellow at Minpaku (2015-2017).

## Overseas Visiting Fellows

## **Anthony Alan Shelton**

Director, Museum of Anthropology (MOA) / Professor, University of British Columbia, Canada



I have lived an accidental life. By chance I was born English; by sentiment I am European, and by choice I am about to become

Canadian. My first choice of career was to become either a geologist or an interior designer but failing school

grade mathematics and having no idea how to become the second, I studied anthropology at Hull and Oxford. I approach anthropology as a discipline partially dedicated to the comparative study of ideas my M.Litt. thesis focused on the concept of time while my D.Phil. was on space, time and beauty among the Wixarica of northwest Mexico. I have more than satisfied my frustrated intention to become an interior designer by having been a curator at the British Museum and the Brighton and Horniman museums, while my intellectual imagination has been similarly satiated by having been a professor at Sussex and Coimbra universities. Currently, I am director of the Museum of Anthropology and professor of art history at the University of British Columbia.

(January 4-June 29, 2018)

## **Jennifer C. Post** Lecturer, University of Arizona



Trained as an ethnomusicologist (MA, PhD, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis) and archivist (MS Simmons College,

Boston), with professional work as educator, archivist and museum curator, Post studied Hindustani music in South Asia and was later drawn to study musical practices in Central Asia, including those of Kazakh peoples in western Mongolia. There her primary interest has been in the impact of climate change and other sources of environmental degradation on lifeways of mobile pastoralists, including their music and sound production. This interest in ecomusicology has also been applied to musical instrument study as she considers the impact of forest loss, degraded materials, and local, national, and international environmental protection strategies on musical instruments and on musical sound in local and global contexts. Her

ecological concerns have also led to collaborative work with ecologists to identify ways to address intractable environmental problems. At Minpaku, Post is contributing to an exhibition with Y. Terada that will link the stringed musical instruments of South, Central and West Asia.

(April 9-June 8, 2018)

## Rossella Ragazzi

Associate Professor in Visual & Museum Anthropology, Tromsø University Museum (The Arctic University of Norway)

Ragazzi received her PhD in



2005 at the Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland. Her main research foci are transcultural cinema,

visual and media anthropological methods, childhood, migration; indigeneity, and museums as 'contact-zones'. Her prize-winning anthropological films include *La Mémoire Dure* (France, 2000), At Home in the World (Sápmi, 2003), and Firekeepers (Sápmi, 2007), and her publications include the monograph The Transcultural Experience of Migrant Children Entering Europe in the Years 2000 (2009), and *Perceiving* Children: Media, Education and Museum in an Anthropological Perspective (forthcoming, coedited with P.I.Crawford). She currently studies the empowerment of indigenous Saami people of Scandinavia through art and activism in museums and paramuseums. At Minpaku, she will work together with Y. Terada and I. Kawase on a visual anthropological study of mobility and acculturation among Minorities.

(April 17-June 27, 2018).

## **Forthcoming**

Thematic Exhibition

The World of Amish **Quilts: Seeking** Ways of Living, **Weaving the World** 

Late 2018

Thematic Exhibition

**Traveling Music:** The String Instruments of **South Asia** 

Vichitra Vina

**Early 2019** 

Special Exhibition

**Transmitting Art and Craft— Japanese Industrial Design Originating in Tohoku** 

Sep. 13 - Nov. 27, 2018



Jewelry Box Image: Tohoku History Museum

Traveling Exhibitions (from Minpaku)

## **Beads in the World**

Sep. 22, 2018 - Nov. 25, 2018

Okayama Orient Museum



Human Figure



Amish Crib Quilt

## **Publications**

## Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 42

Issue 2: S. Uda, 'Why did a Japanese Cormorant Lay Eggs on Cormorant Fishing of Uji River?: A Comparative Study of Capture Techniques and Breeding Methods', and S. Takezawa, 'The Making of Yanagita Kunio: From a Romantic Poet and Liberalist Bureaucrat to the Founder of Japanese Folklore Studies'. Issue 3: A. Nakano, 'Re-Examing the Bride-Wealth Marriage in North India: A Case Study of Affinal Relationships among the Jogis in Western Rajasthan', and K. Ikeya, N. Kishigami, S. Sasaki and M. Toda, The Trends of Hunter-Gatherer Studies: Information from the Eleventh International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS11)'.

## Senri Ethnological Studies

**No.95:** K. Ikeya, (eds.) Sedentarization among Nomadic Peoples in Asia and Africa. 344pp.

**No.96:** M. Mio, K. Fujita, K. Tomozawa and T. Awaya. (eds.) Structural Transformation

in Globalizing South Asia: Comprehensive Area Studies for Sustainable, Inclusive, and Peaceful Development. 220pp. **No.97:** M. Han and Y. Se, (eds.) Anthropological Perspectives on History, Culture and Museum: Theoretical Practice in Japan and China. 383pp.

No.98: R. Kikusawa and L. A. Reid, (eds.) Let's Talk about Trees: Genetic Relationships of Languages and Their Phylogenic Representation. 171pp.

## Senri Ethnological Reports

No.143: A. Hamada and M. Toda, (eds.) How Do Biomedicines Shape People's Lives, Socialites and Landscapes? 211pp.

No.144: H. Kawai and Z. Liu, (eds.) Food Culture and Daily Life in China under the Socialist System. 175pp.

**No.145:** N. Yamamoto, (eds.) A Study of the Special Exhibition of Latin American Music and Musical Instruments in the National Museum of Ethnology. 203pp.

**No.146:** L. A. Reid, (eds.) Satawalese Cultural Dictionary. 371pp.

## Exhibition catalogue

K. Ikeya, (eds.) Beads in the World. (English edition) 136pp

## MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

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

Available online at: minpaku.ac.jp/ publications

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