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Special Theme I: Andean Studies at Minpaku

The Andes Mountains stretching north to south along the Pacific coast of South America, and the ancient civilizations established there, have been an important field for anthropological and archaeological research. This region developed its own civilization independently, separate from the Old World until contact in the 15th century. This has made it possible to relativize theories of ancient history that first developed based on studies of Mesopotamian Civilization, which has a direct genealogical relationship with modern European civilization. Andean Studies have shown that there were various paths to the emergence of social complexity.

In postwar Japan, the study of ancient civilizations was actively taken up from early on. Eiichiro Ishida and Seiichi Izumi, who led the founding of the Department of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Tokyo, were among the first to introduce American-style comprehensive anthropology to Japan. They led an overseas survey of the Andean region with a team of researchers from many fields. For more than 60 years since then, the formation of civilization has been a consistent research theme.

Minpaku, since its founding, and led by cultural anthropologists who were part of the Andean research team above, has promoted research on the social organization, mythology, religion, livelihood, and ecological environment of contemporary Andean society. While Minpaku continues the study of Andean civilization (after this was discontinued at the University of Tokyo), our historical perspectives have become broader. Through historical anthropology, we are attempting to perceive and understand the contact between Old and New Worlds that occurred as a result of the Spanish conquest. A distinctive feature of the research at Minpaku is that it incorporates the study and use of cultural heritage, which includes the traces of past Andean civilization. Collaborative practices have been developed to support local societies responsible for the care and use of their own cultural heritage. This aspect of cultural anthropology is based on the critique of colonialism.

In the following essays, we present some of these research activities of Minpaku. (SEKI Yuji, theme editor)



Members of the 1963 excavation at Kotosh, Peru. At far left: Seiichi Izumi (Scientific Expedition of the University of Tokyo to the Andes, 1963).

Contents

Special Theme I: Andean Studies at Minpaku

Introduction	
SEKI Yuji.....	1
Sources of Power in Ancient Andean Civilization	
SEKI Yuji.....	2
A Digital Humanities Approach to the Colonial Tax Tables	
SAITO Akira.....	3
Cultural Heritage in Peru: Use, Conservation and Social Memory	
SAUCEDO SEGAMI Daniel.....	5

Special Theme II: Globalization of Budo in the Middle East

Introduction	
Hatsuki Aishima.....	7
The Japanese Man Who Sowed the Seeds of Karate in the Arabian Desert	
Takaysu Ogura.....	7
Thoughts on Japanese Budo in Iran	
Alexander Bennett.....	9
Global and Everyday Life in Egyptian Karate	
Hatsuki Aishima.....	11

Exhibition.....	12	Overseas Visiting Fellow.....	15
Conference.....	13	Publications.....	16
Information.....	14	Forthcoming Exhibitions.....	16
New Staff.....	14		

Sources of Power in Ancient Andean Civilization

SEKI Yuji

National Museum of Ethnology

SEKI Yuji is Deputy Director General of the National Museum of Ethnology and Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology. He specializes in Andean archaeology and cultural anthropology. Since 1979, he has conducted excavations of ceremonial centers in the northern highlands of Peru, studying the formation and transformation of Andean civilization, while also addressing conservation issues and the social uses of cultural heritage. His major publications include: *El Centro Ceremonial Andino: Nuevas Perspectivas para los Periodos Arcaico y Formativo* (2014) and *Perspectives on Early Andean Civilization in Peru: Interaction, Authority, and Socioeconomic Organization during the First and Second Millennia BC* (2019, ed. with R. L. Burger, L. C. Salazar).

In Andean archaeology, the Formative Period (3000 B.C. to around 50 B.C.) has been a consistent focus of research by Japanese archaeological teams. The Formative Period is known as a time of social integration centered on the construction and renovation of public architecture with spaces where ritual activities took place.

Previously, researchers thought that the Chavín de Huántar site, with evidence from the Formative Period, was the center from which a specific culture spread throughout the Andes. In recent years it has become clear that the influence of Chavín de Huántar was limited. During the Formative Period, core ceremonial centers were established in various regions, and it is better to suppose that exchange among these centers resulted in the sharing of cultural characteristics.

I first joined the Japanese project team in 1979, and we have studied ceremonial centers in the northern highlands of Peru for 40 years. Our pursuit is aimed at the relationship between the emergence of public architecture and social complexity. Large-scale public architecture in the Formative Period suggested to many that the existence of large societies depended on the existence of high-status leaders. In contradiction, the

Japanese research team found that the Formative Period society was relatively egalitarian, as there were no differences among the burials and burial offerings excavated, nor was there any surplus product to support the leaders economically. We proposed a theory that is rare in academic studies of ancient

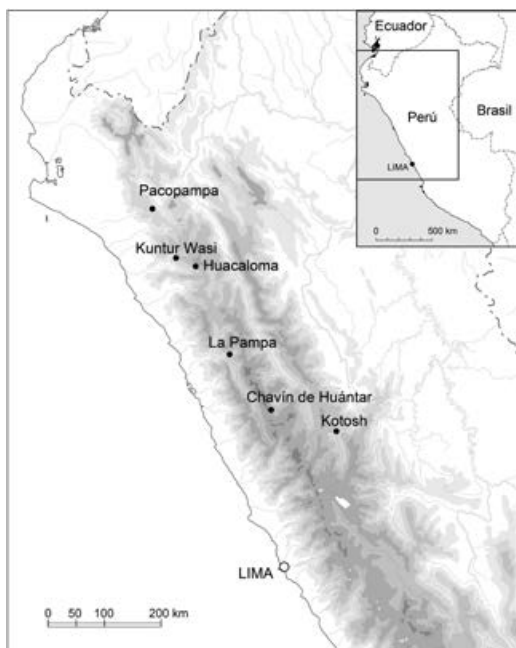
civilizations, namely that even huge public architecture can be created by the voluntary corporate labor of members of an egalitarian society. We named this the “Temple Renovation Theory”.

While searching for support for this theory, I have also thought that from a certain time in the Formative Period, equality would break down and a powerful leader would appear. By investigating several archaeological sites, I could see and clarify the emergence of power holders from around 800 BC to 700 BC – at least in the highlands. My interest has also shifted to how leaders built or generated power. This question has been addressed through excavations at the Pacopampa and Kuntur Wasi sites, in the northern highlands of Peru.

Both sites consisted of huge platforms built on mountain ridges, with a rectangular plaza and surrounding buildings constructed on the topmost platform. It is important to note that inside the main building, there are boot-shaped underground tombs, and luxurious burial offerings including gold objects have been recovered. Cranial deformation was observed in the burials at both sites. Since cranial deformation can only be performed on an infant shortly after birth, it is clear that the individuals buried were persons who were born with special status.

In my view, leaders were involved in rituals that used precious goods like tropical shell, cinnabar, obsidian and sodalite, all materials acquired through long-distance trade. Their power may have been based on access to a variety of precious goods, or control of sources and transport routes, but this was not the only possible basis of power. At the Pacopampa site, there is evidence for production of copper objects (perhaps used for ritual purposes), and such special production may have been the basis for power.

Another question I am focusing on is how leaders controlled the social memory of the past. Social memory is said to be formed not by an individual but by a group of people through repeated actions. At both sites mentioned above, activities from an



Major Formative Period sites in the northern highlands of Peru

earlier, culturally-distinct phase have been identified, before emergence of the authority figure.

At the Kuntur Wasi site, earlier structures were completely covered with thick earth and stones at the time of the leader's emergence. This represents a denial and cover-up of the previous culture and social memories. At Pacopampa, traces of earlier uses of stones can be seen in retaining walls that support the platform, and in the walls of rooms. In addition, the structure itself was also reused, and access through the sacred space followed the same route as in the previous phase, thus preserving and maximizing social memory. The later architecture at Pacopampa was an inheritance or acceptance of the past. Thus, under different leaders in the same Late Formative period, social memory and materials were used in different ways, suggesting differences in the ideology on which power was

based.

I believe that we can understand the society of early Andean civilization more clearly by viewing the ceremonial center not merely as a reflection of an existing ideology and leader. Such a place is a device for creating ideology and power, through negotiation between those in power and those over whom power is exercised.



Long view of the Pacopampa archaeological site (2016, Heinz Plenge)

A Digital Humanities Approach to the Colonial Tax Tables

SAITO Akira

National Museum of Ethnology

From the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century, indigenous peoples of the Andes suffered two large-scale military conquests, first by the Incas and next by the Spanish. The empires these conquerors built were quite distinct but, seen from the viewpoint of the conquered populations, they looked more similar than dissimilar; they both reorganized local polities, levied taxes, and imposed religions. The taxes the Spanish laid on the Andeans as well as the tables that specified tax kinds and amounts were called *tasas* in Spanish. The first Pan-Andean *tasas* were assessed and promulgated by the fifth viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo. Though critical of the “despotic” rule of the Incas, Toledo eagerly studied it and often emulated it in his administration. His *tasas* were also based on Inca precedents. In the 1570s, the viceroy ordered a general inspection of the former Inca territory, regrouped the native population into about 550 *repartimientos* (administrative units), and fixed taxes for them. The tax tables that resulted from this inspection consisted of approximately 7,000 folios.

In addition to the tax data proper, the tables contained information on population, settlements, political organization, economic activities, and more. The originals were kept in the vice-regal palace in Lima until, in 1884, they were consumed by fire.

Fortunately there are duplicates, extracts, and summaries in archives and libraries in Spain and Latin America. Some were compiled into a book by Spanish officials for administrative purposes like the one held by the former Royal Treasury of Potosí. Others were prepared on petition of the native tributaries who sought to reduce their tax burden as in the case of the *tasas* of the Capachicas kept in the General Archives of the Indies in Seville. Scholars of Andean history have used these sources for different purposes. In the 1970s and 80s, demographers often analyzed the population data. In the 1980s and 90s, ethnohistorians extracted information on specific regions or groups. Thanks to these various efforts, the majority of extant copies have been edited and published.

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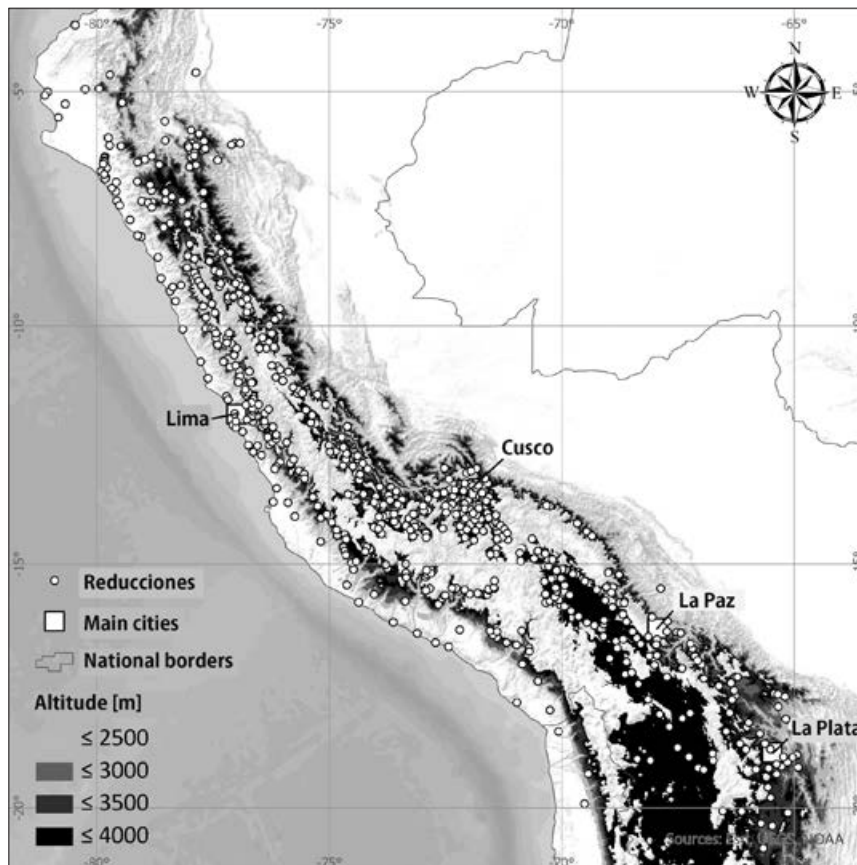
In my opinion, however, the full potentials of the *tasas* are yet to be exploited.

As historical sources on native society, the *tasas* have some unique advantages. First, they cover an extensive area from present-day Ecuador to the northern part of present-day Chile. Second, they provide basic data on population, settlements, and other matters for the vast majority of the indigenous peoples (approximately 1.5 million). Third, these data were collected in the same period (in the 1570s) and recorded according to the same format. As a result, they are structurally homogeneous and mutually comparable. In sum, the *tasas* help us get a momentary but overall picture of the rapidly transforming native Andean society under Spanish rule. Although they lack depth as information on specific regions or groups, they are unique and valuable as a whole map for all of them.

The large quantity and the homogeneous quality of *tasa* data make them amenable to digital analysis. On April 2021, I started a new research project in collaboration with Yasuhisa Kondo (Research Institute for Humanity and Nature), Nozomi Mizota (Doshisha University), and Tomoko Koyama (Kwansei Gakuin University). In this project, we adopted

a digital humanities approach to analyze the *tasas*. The main focus of our analysis is the relationship between the *repartimientos* and the *reducciones*. A *repartimiento* was an ethnic and political unit of native society under the command of a *cacique* (hereditary lord) who responded to the Spanish authorities for tax collection and labor conscription. In most cases, a *repartimiento* corresponded to the whole or a part of an *ayllu* which was a prehispanic social organization based on a segmentary lineage system. In the *tasas*, all the *repartimientos* were given an indigenous name and some were divided into *parcialidades* (moieties).

In the 1570s, Toledo implemented an ambitious program of general resettlement which required widely scattered small settlements to consolidate into larger, planned towns (*reducciones*). Its main objectives were to promote conversion of the natives to Christianity and to make it easier to exact taxes and corvée labor from them. The viceroy's program was a serious attempt to transform Andean social structure. In fact, an *ayllu* (as well as a *repartimiento* based on it) and a *reducción* were organizationally different. The former was a kinship group whose members believed themselves to be descended from a



Locations of 662 *reducciones* (Akira Saito, Yasuhisa Kondo, Nozomi Mizota, and Tomoko Koyama)

common ancestor while the inhabitants of the latter formed a community by taking up residence in it. An *ayllu* had a vertical and segmentary structure while a *reducción* had a horizontal and radial structure. They were not incompatible and various forms of articulation developed. However, their relationship did not escape tension and friction. Throughout the colonial period, native Andean society continued to evolve out of this tension. By the end of the eighteenth century, the balance had definitively shifted in favor of the *reducciones*. The *ayllus* and their mythical founders had faded from memory and their successors (*caciques*) had lost legitimacy. They were replaced or even violently removed by the elected town officials whose power was based on the *reducciones*.

According to our calculation, Toledo's *tasas* enumerate 537 *repartimientos* and 881 *reducciones*. Of the latter, we managed to locate 662 (see Map). Our map shows that the majority of *reducciones* stand in three lines extending from northwest to southeast along the Pacific coast,

western Andes, and central Andes. These areas had already been densely populated before the Spanish conquest. Toledo's *tasas* also specify how many tributaries were relocated from what *repartimiento* to what *reducción*. For example, in present-day Bolivia, 286 tributaries of the *repartimiento* of Tacobamba were relocated to the *reducción* of San Pedro de Tacobamba and another 286, to the *reducción* of Santa Ana de Potobamba. To this town, 108 tributaries were also added from the *repartimiento* of Chaqui. In our research project, we attempt to compile all information of this kind in a database and visualize the complex relationships between the *repartimientos* and the *reducciones* using a network graph. We hope that this graph will help us understand in what respects and to what degree the viceroy's reform changed the settlement pattern and the social organization of native Andeans. We also hope that it will allow us to recognize ethnic and regional differences in the course of change among indigenous peoples after Toledo's massive reorganization of the viceroyalty.

Cultural Heritage in Peru: Use, Conservation and Social Memory

SAUCEDO SEGAMI Daniel

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Peru is well known for its rich archaeology, with sites such as Machu Picchu and the Nazca Lines attracting thousands of tourists every year. These two sites, among others, are the impressive legacy of cultures that have continuously occupied Peru since more than 5000 years ago. Excellent preservation of archaeological remains, their abundance, and the advanced technological knowledge represented in many artefacts have all contributed to the popularity of this country. Several elite tombs have been found with precious objects made of metal, wool, wood, and stone. Even the bodies of people found in those tombs were so well preserved that scientists could observe tattoos and other features that help to reconstruct ancient societies in detail.

However, having many well-preserved archaeological sites has also been a challenge for modern Peruvians. With a

population of more than 33 million spread over a large territory, Peru has a moderate average density of only 25 persons per km², but half of the population is concentrated in major cities along the coastline, and especially in the capital city of Lima. Since the 1960s, continuous centralization of basic services and infrastructure, and increasing rural to urban migration, have led to uncontrolled urban growth. Many archaeological sites have been engulfed and destroyed in the process. In the countryside, the situation is not better: archaeological sites compete with available agricultural land, with many ancient structures incorporated into fields or farmyards. Everywhere, sites have suffered from a long tradition of looting for the precious objects they may (or may not) contain.

In Peru, the Ministry of Culture is responsible for protecting archaeological

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Public Archaeology in Peru, in K. Okamura and A. Matsuda (eds) *New Perspectives in Global Public Archaeology*, pp. 251-261, Springer. P. Chirinos Ogata and D. Saucedo Segami (2020) Towards an Archaeology of the Japanese Diaspora in Peru, *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*.

sites. Since this ministry receives less than 1% of the national budget, and more than 10,000 archaeological sites have been registered all over the country, there are many problems. To solve them, archaeologists have been testing different ways to encourage local populations to protect archaeological remains. The main approach has been to appeal to the idea of a national heritage and the potential for economic activities related to tourism. The success of this approach has been limited, mainly because tourism demands additional services or attractions that most towns do not have. Additionally, archaeological sites are classified by the government as monuments, so local communities cannot conduct any activities that may alter or damage them without Ministry consent – and any research on sites can only be carried out by a project directed or co-directed by a Peruvian archaeologist. As a result, local people are left out of the process of understanding and managing their own heritage unless they are directed by a professional archaeologist. Archaeologists therefore have a vertical relationship with local communities, centered on overseeing what communities do with their archaeological heritage rather than facilitating new ways for them to interact with it.

To challenge this situation, Yuji Seki (Minpaku) and I have been trying new approaches at Pacopampa, a small town located in the Cajamarca region of the northern highlands. The Pacopampa Archaeological Project started in 2005 and aims to empower local people to embrace archaeological sites and remains as part of their social memory by connecting this tangible heritage to local knowledge and customs (intangible heritage), thus broadening the significance of archaeology for them.

After five years, the project has led to changes in what local people consider important about their culture and physical surroundings. The town is composed of nearly 120 families that have lived here for more than 100 years. Most families are engaged in multiple economic activities, including agriculture, stock breeding, and local commerce. The nearest large city, Chiclayo is about seven hours away by car, making Pacopampa relatively remote. The presence of the national government, is limited to a medical post, a kindergarten, a primary school, and a secondary school. Every year, young people from Pacopampa migrate to large cities after finishing secondary school. They go to follow a university career or work, but do keep strong connections by supporting local activities and coming

back for festivities. The town is managed by a local mayor and a town assembly organized into different *ad hoc* committees. The understanding and support of these local authorities has also been important.

The Pacopampa archaeological site is truly monumental, and is located just 15 minutes walking distance from the town. It has been treated with a mix of respect and fear by local people because of stories about supernatural beings that may harm you at night, and because it is considered the resting place of ancient people. This image has been gradually changing with the interaction between archaeologists and local people working together to unearth the ancient remains hidden there. Several elite tombs have been discovered, bringing worldwide fame to the town.

Considering the potential of the site and the town to attract tourism, the local population had a strong interest in joining initiatives for protecting and promoting their hometown. In Peru, most tourism projects related to archaeological heritage tend to focus only on archaeological remains, making local populations dependent on professional archaeologists. Our project has proposed a novel approach in which the main focus is the intangible heritage of the town (history, customs and traditions), chosen by the town itself. Two initiatives aim to enable local people to receive visitors in the future and establish connections with the archaeological site. The first has been hiring a conservation specialist who works with local people and teaches them. The second is a plan, presented to the Cajamarca regional government, for building a Visitors Center to introduce the town's attractions, and a provide place where local residents can learn and share information about their own history and customs.

To begin gathering information for the planned Visitors Center, the Project conducted annual workshops with town residents from 2017 to 2019 (these will continue after the coronavirus pandemic has passed in Japan and Peru). The workshops allow participants to become part the process of deciding what aspects of their cultural heritage can be shared with visitors. The workshops also allow them to rediscover the history of their town, customs and traditions held over the years, and the local knowledge of each participant. Project members join only as facilitators, helping to record the information gathered during each workshop. These records have become part of the social memory of the town.

While sharing information, participants have become “specialists” of

the knowledge they own, in the eyes of town residents. Even though most people in the town already know each other, sharing information allowed older participants to be recognized not only by family members, or people of the same age, but also by younger generations. At the same time, knowledge that is usually not accessible because it is tied to gender roles (e.g. cooking or weaving), became open to all the town. Some customs that had been forgotten could be reconstructed after several people shared fragmentary memories. An example of this is a celebration called *rebanado*: when a new roof was completed for a house, owners had to throw a party in which cheese, bread, fruits and other gifts were shared and suspended from the new roof. Since this was an expensive celebration, it became rare in the last decade, and younger generations had not

experienced it. Workshop participants decided to close our second workshop in 2018 by reenacting this celebration. We will continue to gather ethnographic and historical information together with the residents of Pacopampa, and are confident that this will help them attract more visitors, and build a strong community proud of its history and traditions.



Rebanado, a celebration for sharing after completing the roof of a house (Saucedo Segami, 2018).

Special Theme II: Globalization of Budo in the Middle East

This special theme explores the global popularity of budo through case studies from the Middle East. Budo is the fundamental philosophy of modern Japanese martial arts which aims at training body and mind through physical exercises. Judo and karate are the most famous budo and they have become Olympic sports. Athletes around the world, including those in the Middle East, dedicate their lives to daily training. Three essays illustrate how people of Egypt, Syria and Iran appropriate budo differently. How did budo spread in the Middle East? Which aspects of budo attracted the Middle Easterners? The diverse images and practises of budo serve as a window in which to gain insights into societies and cultures of the contemporary Middle East. (Hatsuki Aishima, theme editor)

The Japanese Man Who Sowed the Seeds of Karate in the Arabian Desert

Takayasu Ogura

The Mainichi Newspapers Company

The Japanese Budo Association (*Nippon Budō Kyōgikai*) contains nine member organizations respectively representing the Japanese martial arts of karatedo, judo, kendo, *kyudo*, aikido, *shorinji kempo*, sumo, *naginata*, and *jukendo*. These martial arts have become popular around the world. While there are no accurate numbers as to the total number of athletes involved in each martial art, the estimated 70 to 100 million people involved in karate worldwide almost certainly make it the largest of the martial arts. Considering that the

estimated number of people involved in judo is around 1.3 million, the worldwide popularity of karate can be seen to be larger by an order of magnitude.

Even so, karate was not the first martial art to spread to the rest of the world. Men's judo achieved official recognition as an Olympic sport in 1964 at the Tokyo Summer Olympics, followed by women's judo at the Barcelona Summer Olympics in 1992. Conversely, although karate was included for the first time as an official sport at the Tokyo Olympics held in 2021, it has been

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excluded from competition for the next Games in Paris.

In contrast to judo, karate achieved worldwide popularity only after the Second World War. In judo, Jigoro Kano opened the door to internationalization by founding the Kodokan Judo Institute in 1882 and standardizing the rules in 1900. Hence, judo had already started out on the path of internationalization before the First World War. On the other hand, insurmountable differences between the various schools of karate obstructed rule standardization. Even today, many schools exist in Japan, each calling itself karate, but all train according to different rules and hold their own tournaments.

After the Second World War, the Japan Karate Association (JKA) which was founded by the disciples of Gichin Funakoshi, dubbed the “father of modern karate”, made a major contribution to karate’s worldwide spread. Since the 1960s, JKA dispatched instructors overseas, the first of whom was Hirokazu Kanazawa, to Hawaii and Europe. In the Middle East, the beginning of this process took place when the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA, later the Japan International Cooperation Agency, or JICA) sent Hideki Okamoto of the JKA to Syria as a karate instructor under the auspices of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) in January 1970.

Born in Okayama in 1941, as a high school student, Okamoto had practiced karate at a local dojo (training hall), and after enrolling at Kokushikan University in Tokyo he became the founding captain of the university karate club. After graduating, he became a JKA instructor, in which capacity he was posted to Syria. At that time, karate in Arab countries was being taught in sports centers and similar venues by people who had learned karate in Europe. However, there was never a Japanese karate instructor, and few people in Syria knew anything at all about karate.

Immediately upon his arrival in Damascus, Okamoto went to inspect the training hall. The floor was bare concrete, not even laid with wooden planks. But the judo hall on the floor above was already furnished with fine tatami mats. Judo, which had been officially recognized as an Olympic sport six years earlier, was already well-known in the Middle East. On the other hand, few people were familiar with karate, and even after he began training, Okamoto attracted few students. He was small of stature with a youthful face, and when he tried to give instruction, his students treated him as though he were a child, telling him, “Go call your father!”

Disheartened, in May 1970, Okamoto got into a scuffle with riot police after he had been drinking alcohol, and ended up using his karate skills to knock down a large number of riot squad officers in rapid succession. Although top officials at the Japanese Embassy were livid at the incident, and attempted to send Okamoto back to Japan, the reaction by the Syrian government was completely at odds with what the Japanese expected. Far from condemning Okamoto’s violent outburst, they now saw the value in “karate as something that can be used in combat”. The World Karate Federation was established in October 1970, in concert with the hosting of the first World Karate Championships in Tokyo. The only Arab country to send competitors on this occasion was Syria, with Okamoto serving as head coach. The May brawl prompted a rapid increase in the number of people interested in learning karate, and requests for Okamoto’s instruction also came from the neighboring countries of Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt. Okamoto moved to Lebanon in 1972. He fled the civil war in 1976 and relocated to Egypt. He went on to establish karate associations one after another throughout the Middle East and Africa.



Okamoto (center front) in Lebanon, where he continued teaching after suffering a neck fracture (c. 1972, provided by author)

I met Okamoto in 2002 when I was assigned to Cairo as my newspaper’s Middle East correspondent. Based on my interviews with him, I wrote *The Man Who Could Not Be Lawrence: The Life of Hideki Okamoto, Who Won Over the Arabs with Karate* (Kadokawa, 2020).

One of the reasons for his success, in addition to demonstrating karate’s practical aspects, was that he changed his own mindset and behavior to suit local ways of doing things. For example, some Arabs are reluctant to bow to other people, based on the thinking that one should only bow before God (Allah). In that case, he endeavored to accommodate local custom, instead of insisting that things be done the Japanese way. In Saudi Arabia, rather

than bowing, he adopted a method in which opponents lightly lower their gaze towards each other.

The globalization of a sport necessarily entails the standardization of rules while incorporating the local culture of individual regions. When he went to Syria, Okamoto was already mentally prepared to live out the rest of his days in the Middle East. Something of this earnestness surely would have resonated with the local populace. After Okamoto's arrival in Syria, the number of karate practitioners in the Middle East increased. But in his later years, Okamoto was not always satisfied with

the state of affairs as it stood. Namely, he suspected that karate was sweeping the region as a European-influenced sport, and that its spirituality as a Japanese martial art was being neglected. When a sport is globalized, the question of how to preserve aspects that reflect a local culture is an issue faced by all sports.

In 2009, Okamoto died at the age of 67. Condolences were delivered to the JKA from students he had taught across the Arab world. In 2014, his former students in Egypt gathered to scatter ashes over the Nile.

Thoughts on Japanese Budo in Iran

Alexander Bennett

Kansai University

I have continued researching the international dissemination of budo for nearly three decades. Being a non-Japanese budo practitioner myself (kendo, *naginata*, *jukendo* etc.), I am particularly interested in why Japanese martial arts have become such an international phenomenon. Although motivations for starting budo vary depending on age and environment, many people I have talked with over the years report that the embryonic spiritual or religious countenance of the martial arts has taken on more significance for them over time.

In 2004, I spent a few months in the Islamic Republic of Iran to conduct research on Iranian consciousness of Japanese culture with a focus on the martial arts. I was astounded to learn how enthusiastic Iranians are about the martial arts. According to the editor of one of six specialist magazines there, martial arts taken collectively are second only to soccer in terms of numbers. This is not limited to Japanese martial arts. Korean taekwondo and Chinese wushu have a considerable following. The Japanese budo disciplines of karate and judo, however, have by far the greatest number of practitioners. Other Japanese martial arts such as aikido, kendo, *iaido* (swordsmanship using the blunt edged sword) can also be found dotted throughout the country. So prolific are the martial arts in Iran, the physical education department in Iran's Ministry of Education established a special

division to administer them. There are dojos everywhere, and Tehran alone boasts hundreds of private dojos as well as a giant martial arts complex (Budokan).

While in Iran, my chaperone (a martial artist himself) took me to an aikido dojo one night where they had made their own tatami mats. On the dojo wall was a photograph of Ayatollah Khomeini along with portraits of hallowed Japanese budo pioneers such as Gichin Funakoshi (karate), Morihei Ueshiba (aikido), and Jigoro Kano (judo). I found it ironic that portraits of these grand old Japanese masters were hung on the wall beside the religious leader of Iran. Even more surprising was the location of the dojo. It was inside the former United States embassy. During the 1979 Islamic Revolution, students from Tehran University held embassy staff hostage for 444 days. Although Iranian and US diplomatic relations remain somewhat "strained" to this very day, I was heartened to see that this building was being put to good use.

Apart from the special historic significance of this building, it was representative of the dozens of others that I visited in my time there. Most dojo floors were covered in rubber mats to protect practitioners from falls. A Japanese dojo typically uses tatami mats. *Tatami* is not an item readily available in Iran for obvious reasons, but a closer look at this photo shows how the locals attempted to make mats as authentic (i.e., Japanese) as they could. I also encountered *iaido* practitioners who

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Aikido training at the dojo housed in the former US Embassy in Tehran (Bennett, 2004)

made their own *katana* (sword) for use in training.

Indeed, the Iranian martial artists I met were deeply enamoured with budo, and Japanese culture in general. At first glance, the many dojo scenes I witnessed looked as though they had been transplanted from Japan. The locals were dressed in traditional Japanese attire performing their drills in time with Japanese commands and counting. The dojos where training was conducted were treated as almost sacred spaces. Japanese-styled bows of respect were conducted when entering and leaving the dojo, and by students to their instructors. It confirmed to me that budo was certainly one of the most successful of all Japanese cultural exports. In terms of actual participation, I would argue that it is in fact the most successful. Few people in Japan realise the influence budo holds as a form of soft power.

I found the Iranian people to be deeply devout in their Islamic beliefs, and always happy to talk about religion with me. I was curious to know if the many teachings on morality and character development espoused in budo presented any kind of conflict with their Islamic faith. To clarify, the following definition of Japanese martial arts (“Philosophy of Budo”) issued by the Japanese Budo Association in 2008 outlines the objectives of the various budo disciplines:

Budo, the martial ways of Japan, have their origins in the traditions of bushido—the way of the warrior. Budo is a time-honoured form of physical culture comprising of judo, kendo, *kyudo*, sumo, karatedo, aikido, *shorinji kempo*, *naginata* and *jukendo*. Practitioners study the skills while striving to unify mind, technique and body; develop his or her character; enhance their sense of morality; and to cultivate a respectful and courteous demeanour. Practised steadfastly, these admirable traits become intrinsic to the character of the practitioner. The Budo arts serve as a path to self-perfection. This elevation of the human spirit will contribute to social prosperity and harmony, and ultimately, benefit the people of the world.

The competitive aspects of budo are not mentioned at all in this definition. Rather, the spiritual objectives and merits for studying budo are highlighted. In fact, the reason why the “Philosophy of Budo” was formulated was to remind Japanese practitioners of the importance of budo as a “way of life” rather than simply competitive sports where the acquisition of medals is prioritised. In post-war Japan, the doctrine that “victory is everything” has arguably undermined the ideal of *ningen-keisei* or “personal development” in budo. More than a few Japanese practitioners, however, seek to blame this “lamentable trend” on the “globalisation” of budo. Such critics point out that following the international spread of budo, the underlying ideals of the so-called “budo spirit” (*budo seishin*) have been compromised.

I have long been sceptical of such arguments and was curious to know how Iranian practitioners related to the ideals and virtues of budo culture touted in Japan. I was permitted to survey members of the Tehran Budokan to ascertain just what position budo teachings occupy in Iran. Around 500 people responded to my questionnaire. The overwhelming majority suggested that budo teachings complemented their religion. The basic sentiment of their responses could be summed up as follows: “Budo study makes me a better Muslim because the combination of physical and mental discipline improves me as a human being”. One comment stuck in my mind for its conciseness. “Budo is a spiritual and physical supplement for me; like vitamins for my religion”. Of course, I would never overstate the scientific veracity of such an impromptu survey, but it did help me identify general attitudes and trends.

It has been almost 20 years since I was in Iran, and I wonder if these general attitudes have changed in any way. Notwithstanding, my visit there confirmed to me that the global “migration” of budo need not be decried, as it often is by budo authorities in Japan, for its disruptive effects on “authentic traditional culture”. If anything, it is apathy at the source of the culture that leads to cultural decay. I suspect that the hundreds of Iranian *budoka* (budo practitioner) I encountered in 2004 do not need to be reminded through a document like the “Philosophy of Budo” of why they are doing budo. They are already aware of the universal values inherent in budo culture as they make the most of the limited resources and equipment available to them.

Global and Everyday Life in Egyptian Karate

Hatsuki Aishima

National Museum of Ethnology

Karate is a cultural practice of Egyptian middle-class people. For Egyptian *karatekas* (karate practitioners), this sport is a means to join the global flow, a rare opportunity for people situated at the margins of the international political economy. They perceive karate as a global sport rather than as a Japanese or Okinawan martial art. Karate trainings consist of practising *kata* (“forms” that is a series of choreographed movements) and *kumite* (sparring). At competitions and gradings, referees assess by international rules and regulations when judging the quality of techniques executed in a *kata* or *kumite*. Egyptian *karatekas*—like those worldwide—learn the same techniques and *kata*, a system which guarantees the globality of karate. In contrast to the uniformity of the global karate community that is seen at world championships, however, the training environments and motivations of individual *karatekas* vary considerably around the world. The specific features of karate that attract Egypt’s middle classes cast new light on how they experience a globalising world in their everyday lives.

Egypt’s national karate team is one of the strongest in the Middle East and Africa. Among the 195 member states of the World Karate Federation, several Egyptian *karatekas* are ranked among the top ten in the WKF official ranking. Alluding to Egyptian players’ success at international competitions, some karate enthusiasts in Egypt claim that “karate might have come from Japan but it has become fully Egyptian”. Victories at international sporting events are an indispensable source of national pride. Regardless of the type of sport or the scale of competition victories—including that of karate—the national media widely cover the results and the public follow them with enthusiasm.

Egypt is a socially stratified country. There are public discourses that associate sports with social class. For instance, squash and table tennis are quintessential upper-class sports, while weightlifting and football are considered working-class. Because there is no proper physical education provision at most schools, children can only engage in sporting activities if their families can afford sporting club memberships and lesson fees. Karate is regarded as “a

sport for the middle class”, but Egyptians from all walks of life practise it or have experience in taking karate lessons during their childhood. Karate is the second most popular sport in Egypt after football. Around 1.5 million Egyptians play karate, most of them children between the age of four and twelve.

In a society with little upward social mobility, sport is a rare medium for some to realise their economic aspirations. Egyptians view certain sports as more egalitarian, enabling people from humble origins to become national heroes. Karate teams in prestigious sporting clubs recruit young talented players regardless of their social class and provide financial aid. Children from all social classes practise karate because compared to other sports, it does not require an initial investment in uniforms and equipment. Modern karate literally means “empty hand” in Japanese (Okinawan karate was originally spelled as “Chinese hand”). As its name suggests, karate is practised with one’s body and doesn’t require any equipment. In contrast, judo training requires tatami mats, and its practitioners should wear a special training suit that enables them to grab one another. In contrast, a karate training hall can be established nearly anywhere, even in a small flat with a wooden floor or in a tiled mosque courtyard. I have visited a karate class that took place in the reading room of a public library. While it is required to wear karate-gi (karate training suit) with belt at grading and competition, students may train in shorts and T-shirts. This flexibility is an important factor in sustaining the popularity of karate because it allows children from low-income families to gain experience in playing a sport.

Since the 1980s, karate has been widely embraced among the educated middle classes as a morally safe and sound sport for young girls and boys to practise. During my fieldwork in Egypt, I met a young Muslim woman with a headscarf who told me that her nursery offered lessons for memorizing the Qur’an and karate. The pedagogical parallel between Quranic education and karate training, namely the emphasis on memorisation, is highly instructive. Karate trainings consist of *kata* and

Hatsuki Aishima is Associate Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology. She has also held appointments at the University of Manchester in UK and Freie Universität Berlin in Germany. In her monograph, *Public Culture and Islam in Modern Egypt: Media, Intellectuals and Society* (IB Tauris, 2016), she explored the roles of mass media and modern education in shaping the public knowledge, scholarly culture and literary traditions of Islam. Her publications have appeared in *Culture and Religion*, *Die Welt des Islams* and *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

kumite but children start with the former. Some Egyptian trainers define *kata* as “daily homework” (*wājib yawmī*). *Wājib* means “duty” in Arabic when describing religious duties for Muslims but this is also the term used for “homework” at Egyptian schools. Just as Muslims memorise the Qur’an by repeating phrase by phrase, verse by verse, one can only learn *kata* through drills of basic techniques and by repeating the choreographed movements. At Egyptian schools, memorisation is viewed as a highly cherished and indispensable skill. The training style of karate is highly attractive to Egyptian parents who are in search for ways to enhance their child’s intellectual capacity to memorise.

Ten years have passed since the 25 January 2011 Revolution which ousted President Hosni Mubarak. Yet, many young Egyptians continue to dream of travelling abroad in order to escape political instability and economic recession. When I attended a grading at a government-run sporting club in a middle-class neighbourhood of Cairo, the examiner asked students with white belts, “why do we have to learn *kata* correctly? Why do we start from the left?” He continued, “if you were training abroad and you turned right when the other players turned left. Wouldn’t it would be a big problem? Players around the world learn the same *kata*. That is why you need to learn each move correctly”. Children’s eyes sparkled with excitement. Each trainer has different ways of explaining why a *kata* starts from the left side. Some say, because most people are righthanded, each *kata*

starts from the left to enhance the weaker side of one’s body. Others understand that because the first movement of karate must be a defence, the opponent (who tend to be righthanded) would attack with his/her right hand or leg, therefore the first move would be executed from the left. The examiner of this grading was a middle-aged man who travelled hours to Cairo. Perhaps he used to dream of playing karate abroad. Whether one actually travels or not, karate serves as a means for Egyptians to experience the global in everyday life, making them feel part of a globalising world.

On the day of my visit, approximately fifty students passed the grade for the yellow belt. I wondered how many will continue to the black belt and eventually represent Egypt at international competitions.



Young Egyptian women at a national championship (Aishima, 2015)

Exhibition

Local cultures assisting revitalization: 10 years since the Great East Japan Earthquake

Special Exhibition
March 4–May 18, 2021

In the wake of the unprecedented damage wrought by the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, considerable attention has been paid to local culture as a driving force for reconstruction efforts.

Local culture entails the living environment shaped by humans adapting to local climate, the history built up through people’s

continuous residence on the land, and the whole of life created by activities in this living environment and history. It can also be described as the memories of life inherited and passed down in the community. Local culture is thus intimately linked to the lives of the people living in a community, where it fosters a rich sense of humanity and creativity. As a result, local culture has rich potential to support reconstruction in the wake of disaster.

However, local culture is rarely something we are conscious of in the course of our day-to-day lives. Amidst the rapid changes that reshape contemporary society, we face a crisis in which local culture is all

too easily forgotten, even in the context of disaster recovery.

Now, ten years after the Great East Japan Earthquake, this exhibition reflects anew on activities associated with local culture, and how these have supported reconstruction efforts. The exhibition has five parts that help us think about local culture and its inheritance – the cornerstone of a prosperous society.

The Prologue, entitled “Memories of tsunami”, features a work by the artist Motoyuki SHITAMICHI entitled “Tsunami Boulder”, and scenes from daily life where memories of the tsunami persist. Part 1, “Local culture’s potential for supporting revitalization: the power of local



Restoring cultural properties damaged in the disaster: A lion mask (*shishigashira*) used in folk performing arts (Wadaka, 2012)

performing arts”, introduces the revival of a folk performing art that can be described as intrinsic to the identity of the Sanriku Coast. The revival has become a driving force for reconstruction in the wake of the Great East Japan Earthquake, and illustrates the important roles of local culture in community revitalization. Part 2, “Revitalization of local cultures” focuses on the tangible aspects of local culture in disaster recovery. Shown here are the rescue of material objects from disaster sites, their temporary storage in safe locations, and emergency measures needed to curb deterioration resulting from the disaster. Part 3, “Rediscovering local culture after disasters” introduces activities that have led to local revitalization. Special efforts have been needed to decipher local culture in disaster-stricken communities together with local residents. In Part 4, “Preparing for disasters”, we showcase tsunami monuments and tsunami warning boards that were erected in order to learn from the experience of disaster. We also offer a database that visitors can browse to find examples with texts in multiple languages, and show a traditional *kami shibai* (paper theater) performance intended to pass on the memory of the Great East Japan Earthquake. As an Epilogue, we present a corner entitled “Succeeding local culture – what connects peoples”. Here, visitors can reflect on the nature of local culture while viewing concrete images organized in relation to history, dialect, natural environment, festival culture, cuisine, and lifeways.

Rebuilding in the wake of disaster is an activity that

involves recovery of the way life was, which is to say the recovery of local cultures that were nurtured in communities. In that respect, museums located in these communities have a significant role to play. In this Special Exhibition, we hoped to convey the dynamic relationship between museums and reconstruction in the wake of disaster.

Shingo Hidaka
National Museum of Ethnology

Conference

Cultural Transmission Against Collective Amnesia: Bodies and Things in Heritage Practices

*Serial Academic Webinars
February 13–March 13, 2021*

Due to the intensification of human settlement, structural change of cities, and technology enabling rapid production and the destruction of the built environment, the modern world is said to suffer from collective amnesia (Paul Connerton, 2009, *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge University Press). This issue is sociological and personal, for our personal memories are closely linked to the environments where we live. Resistance to collective amnesia is also sociological and personal, and is led in various ways by the story-telling of individuals from the familial level to the editing of formal history by governments.

Recognizing these post-modern or super-modern conditions, Minpaku organized a series of five webinars, each with a sub-theme relating to the common theme of *Cultural Transmission Against Collective Amnesia*. Our original plan was a two- or three-day conference with invited panelists from across the world, but the ongoing coronavirus pandemic did not allow this. Each webinar consisted of just three presentations. By reducing the number of panelists for each session, and spreading the

sessions over five weekends, we could more easily invite speakers from different time zones (India, UK, Sweden and US) as well as Japan. New communication services such as Zoom and Google Forms made it possible to open the webinars to audiences from wider areas than the speakers, without difficulty.

In the first session (UK-Japan, February 13, 2021), we heard talks on the *Transmission of Records and Media* (our sub-theme title). In the second session (India-Japan, February 20), we heard about the *Transmission of Things*. In the third session (UK-Japan, February 27), our subtheme was *Transmission through Digital Technology*. In these three sessions, the panelists agreed that it is not a single object, whether an artifact or a database set, that conveys collective memories of any kind. It is more an emmeshing of things, bodily memories and bodily practices. In the fourth session (USA-Japan, March 7), we gathered to discuss *Transmission through Academic Activities*. In the fifth session (Sweden-Japan, March 13), the presenters addressed the *Transmission of Practices and Memories*. In these last two sessions, we focused on how human practices, rather than things, contribute to cultural transmission. Human bodies carry memories themselves and also moderate or regulate things and their physical interactions. Our bodies are motive powers in the cultural transmission of small to big things (including monuments and landscapes), as well as being mobile in movements between different societies.

The significance of the human body in cultural transmission means that face-to-face communication is also indispensable. Interruption by the pandemic has been stressful for everyone. We hope that the more familiar and direct systems of cultural transmission can be soon resumed.

Taku Iida
National Museum of Ethnology



Convener and secretariat hosting 3rd session, February 27, 2021



Four panelists (below) with a participant (above) during 2nd session, February 20, 2021

Information

Awards

Atsunori Ito

Associate Professor, Department of Modern Society and Civilization, National Museum of Ethnology

Received the Award for Collaborative Research from the Japan Consortium for Area Studies (JCAS) for his project "Reconnecting Source Communities with Museum Collections" (November 21, 2020). The project reconnected 2,500 ethnographic items (possessed by institutions and individuals in Japan, the USA and the UK) with Hopi source communities and created nearly 700 hours of video footage of Hopi individuals narrating their personal memories, knowledge and experience about these items. The innovative project was highly commended for connecting museum collections to the source communities' memories, knowledge and experience, and in so doing reviving the past and passing it on to present and future generations. The work is part of Minpaku's long-term effort to create an "Info-Forum Museum for Cultural Resources of the World". Dr Ito previously wrote about his work in this *Newsletter* (2018, No. 46, pp. 3-5).

Yuji Seki

Professor, Department of Modern Society and Civilization, Deputy Director-General,

National Museum of Ethnology

Received the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs Award (December 17, 2020) for many years of dedication to cultural property studies in Japan and Peru. Seki has contributed significantly to worldwide illumination of Peruvian cultural heritage, the conservation of cultural properties in Japan, and the promotion of international cultural exchange. The award recognizes people who have shown outstanding achievements in cultural activities and have thereby contributed to the promotion of culture in Japan or who have dedicated themselves to conveying Japanese culture to the world, and other international cultural exchange.

Yuriko Yamanaka

Professor, Department of Modern Society and Civilization, National Museum of Ethnology

Prepared for an exhibition held at Minpaku and other venues, the exhibition catalogue *REGNUM IMAGINARIUM: Realm of the Marvelous and Uncanny* (Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2019) was supervised by Yamanaka and received two awards at the 61st Japan Catalogue Exhibition, Pictorial Record section: the Director-General of Commerce and Information Policy Bureau (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) Award, and the Gold Prize. The Japan Catalogue Exhibition is hosted by the Japan Federation of Printing Industries and the

Fuji Sankei group. It also received the jury award in the editorial section of *Applied Typography 30* (Japan Typography Association Almanac 2020).

Norio Yamamoto

Professor Emeritus, National Museum of Ethnology

Received the 29th EXPO '90 "Matsushita Konosuke Award" from the K. Matsushita Foundation (FY 2020). The annual award is given to individuals and organizations based in Japan who have made significant academic contributions toward realizing coexistence between nature and mankind. The award recognizes his extensive ethnobotanical research and writing on cultivated plants and human life in the Andes, Himalaya, Tibet, Ethiopia, and other tropical highlands.

New Staff

Osamu Nakagawa

Associate Professor, Department of Globalization and Humanity



Osamu Nakagawa specializes in cultural anthropology. Key areas of his research are: economic anthropology,

political anthropology and globalization studies. He conducted field research in France, including projects on economic mutual assistance associations and on agricultural

product markets. His ongoing research concerns the relationship between Hmong refugees from Southeast Asia and the State in France. He received his PhD in 2006 and worked for Osaka University (-2012) and Rikkyo University (2012-2021). He recently co-edited *Anthropological Thinking* (Sekaishisoshia, 2019, in Japanese) and *Migrating People* (Koyoshobo, 2019, in Japanese).

Chikako Hirano

Assistant Professor, Department of Advanced Human Sciences



Hirano specializes in cultural anthropology and Indigenous Australian studies, with a particular interest in Aboriginal problem

drinking. She is a qualified nurse and has worked in a psychiatric ward. This experience inspired her to pursue cultural anthropology. She went on to study for her PhD (2020) at the Graduate School of International Cultural Studies at Kobe University. After field research in Australia, her dissertation title was *Drinking in the Central Desert and the Anangu Way: An Ethnography of Indigenous Australian Aboriginals Living in a Post-Colonial Situation* (in Japanese). She then worked as assistant professor at the Graduate School of Health Sciences, Kobe University before assuming her current position. She is now exploring problematic drinking among indigenous peoples and minorities around the world, and wishes to interrogate debates about responses to social crises from the perspective of local people.

Ikue Otani

Research Fellow, Department of Globalization and Humanity



Otani studied archaeology at Kanazawa University and completed her PhD there in 2014. Before joining Minpaku in April

2021, she was an associate

fellow at the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (2014-2017), and joined excavations in Nara. After 2017, she was a JSPS Postdoctoral Fellow (Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University). Her research theme was a chronology of Xiongnu culture remains to learn when and how this historical ethnic group established the first empire on the Eastern steppe area. She specializes in the archaeology of China and the Eurasian steppe zone. Her central academic interest is the historical contact between settled and nomadic peoples, and she is currently investigating archaeological remains of the Xiongnu-Sarmatian Period in Mongolia and southern Siberia.

Yoshiaki Takemura

Project Assistant Professor, Center for South Asia Studies (MINDAS)/Research Fellow, Center for Transdisciplinary Innovation (NIHU)



Takemura specializes in the Anthropology of Performing Arts and South Asian Studies. After receiving his PhD in 2012 from

Osaka University, he worked at Minpaku as a Research Fellow for Integrated Area Studies on South Asia (under the aegis of the National Institutes for the Humanities, NIHU), FY 2014-2018, and again from FY 2021. His publications include "Conflict between cultural perpetuation and environmental protection: A case study of ritual performance in North Malabar, South India", in *Dance Matter Too: Markers, Memories, Identities* (edited by Pallabi Chakravorty and Nilanjana Gupta, Routledge, 2018), *Living as a God and its Lifeworld: Ethnography of the Performing Arts of the Untouchables in Kerala, India* (Fukyosha, 2015, in Japanese) for which he received the Research Encouragement Award of the Japanese Society for Dance Research, 2015. Currently, he is working on a JSPS Grant-in-Aid project entitled "Body Politics of

Migration: Globalization of Indian Dance and Agencies in Singapore".

Chie Kamino

Project Assistant Professor, Center for Cultural Resource Studies, National Museum of Ethnology, and Liberal Arts Communicator, National Institute for the Humanities



Kamino specializes in ethnomusicology, focusing on folk performing arts in South Korea and Japan. For her PhD research (Tokyo University

of the Arts, 2016), she analyzed the life history and music style of a female traditional percussionist, Na Gum-Chu, who was a well-known, skillful stage performer from the 1950s to 1970s. Based on the dissertation, Kamino published a book titled *A Korean Nong-ak and Na Gum-Chu: Life History of a Female Nong-ak Master and the Modern History of Nong-ak* (Fukyosha, 2016, in Japanese). Currently she studies professional performers in Korea and Japan such as *Ise-daikagura* who travel over wide areas to give ritual performances in Japan. She was research fellow at Minpaku from April 2018 to January 2021.

Overseas Visiting Fellow

Yunxing Ruan

Professor, Zhejiang University, China



Yunxing Ruan (PhD, Kyoto University, Japan) is a professor of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Center for

Intangible Cultural Heritage Studies of Zhejiang University. His research and teaching activities focus on Political Anthropology, Cultural Heritage Studies, and Cyborg Anthropology. His primary publications include "Cultural Landscape of West Lake in Hangzhou: From the Perspective

of Citizen Participation in World Heritage Conservation” (in Japanese, *Senri Ethnological Reports*, No.136, Mar. 2016), and “Cyborg Anthropology: the Metaphor of Cybernetic Organism and Intellectual Knowledge Production in the Information Age” (Co-authored, in Chinese, *Open Times*, No.289, Jan. 2020). At Minpaku, he works with Taku Iida for the project of Humanity and Communities in Cultural Heritage in the Age of Digital Technology. His research theme is “Cultural Heritage and Community in the Age of Digital Intelligence: A Comparative Study of Cultural Heritage in Japan and China”. (February 1 – November 20, 2021)

Publications

Online at:
www.minpaku.ac.jp/en/research/publication

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 45

Issue 2: M. Kashinaga, “Creation of the Tai Dam Scripts in Vietnam”; K. Nobori and M. Kanematsu, “Introduction” to special theme “Anthropology of Collaborations and Processes”; K. Nobori, “Inalienability of Artworks”; Y. Nishio, “‘Art’ Born from the Relationship between

Artists and Non-artists”; T. Niwa, “Reflection on the ‘Window-Flowers’ Exhibition”; H. Yamakoshi, “Aiming at ‘Living World Decolonization’ by Art”; M. Kanematsu, “Figure-ground Reversal of Art Projects”.

Issue 3: N. Yoshioka, “Nominal Echo Formations in Kati”; Y. Peng, “Residence Patterns of Hunter-gatherers after Settlement Inferred from Individual Migration Histories”; H. Samoto, “Bamboo Panpipes in Processes and a Makeshift Recording Studio”; Y. Konagaya, “Expedition Photographs of Mongolia (1880–1930)”.

Issue 4: K. Hirai, “Genesis of a Museum Movement”; N. Kishigami, “New Totem Pole Made by Bill Henderson for the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan”.

Senri Ethnological Studies

103: A. Nobayashi and S. Simon (eds.) *Environmental Teachings for the Anthropocene*. 230 pp. (English).

104: N. Kishigami (ed.) *World Whaling*. 358 pp. (English).

105: U. Hemetek, I. Naroditskaya and TERADA, Y. (eds.) *Music and Marginalisation*. 308 pp. (English).

106: K. Ikeya and Y. Nishiaki (eds.) *Hunter-Gatherers in Asia*. 282 pp. (English).

Senri Ethnological Reports

151: Compiled by Y. Konagaya and N. Simukov, *Explorer of Mongolia A. D. Simukov*. 510 pp. (Russian).

152: D. Casajus, T. Nishio, F. Pouillon and T. Saito (eds.) *On the Notion of Popular Culture in the Middle East*. 201 pp. (French and English).

TRAJECTORIA

2020 Vol. 2: Special Theme – Confronting Museums: Collaboration, Reception, and Experiment in ‘Tabuluja (Wake Up!)’ and ‘New York, just another city’ (M. A. Leaha, ed.).

URL: trajectoria.minpaku.ac.jp/

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The Newsletter is published in summer and winter. “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.

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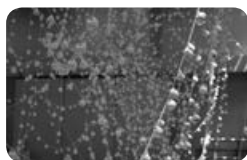
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Forthcoming Exhibitions

National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka



The Beat of the Ground
(Yasuyuki Watanabe)

Special Exhibition

“UNIVERSAL MUSEUM” Exploring the New Field of Tactile Sensation

September 2–November 30, 2021



Thematic Exhibition

The Vibrance of Indian Fabrics

October 28, 2021–January 25, 2022

Sacred *bodhi* tree with cloth