National Museum of Ethnology Osaka

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MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

Special Issue for 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding

In 2024, the National Museum of Ethnology is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its founding in 1974. This Special Issue presents an anniversary column by the Director-General, Kenji Yoshida, and five symposium essays brought together by our Special Theme editor, Rintaro Ono.

Totem poles at Minpaku entrance, carved by Kwakwaka'wakw artists of Canada's Northwest Coast: An older pole (right) installed at the museum in 1977 looks across to a new pole (left) installed in 2020. (M. Watanabe, 2024)

Director-General's Column

Past, present and future of the "forum" of humanity

Kenji Yoshida
National Museum of Ethnology

Minpaku was established in June 1974 as an Inter-University Research Institute in the fields of ethnology, cultural anthropology, and related disciplines. Subsequently, in November 1977, the main building was completed on the former site of the 1970 World Exposition in Senri, Osaka, and the museum officially opened in 1977. In 1989, a doctoral program was added in partnership with the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (Sokendai), and in 2004, following implementation of the National University Corporation Law, it became a constituent institution of the National Institutes for the Humanities.

Minpaku is home to 55 researchers, each engaged in fieldwork across the globe, studying the diversity and commonality of human cultures and the dynamics of societies. It is regarded as the only anthropological institution in the world equipped with research, education, and museum facilities that cover the entire globe. Furthermore, Minpaku is now the largest ethnographic museum regarding facility size. With the expansion of our research coverage over time, the collection of material items from around the world has

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Kenji Yoshida has been Director-General at Minpaku since 2017. He specialises in museum anthropology and has been carrying out fieldwork on the expressive culture and cultural heritage of Southern Africa, especially Zambia. He has also organised various exhibitions on art and culture by networking with art museums and cultural museums. His major exhibitions and publications include *Discovery of Cultures* (Bunka no Hakken, in Japanese) 1999, *Images of Other Cultures* (ed. with John Mack, exhibition catalogue) 1997, *Self & Other: Portraits from Asia and Europe* (ed. with Brian Durrans, exhibition catalogue) 2008, and *Power of Images: the National Museum of Ethnology Collection* (exhibition catalogue) 2014.

exceeded 346,000, making it the largest ethnographic collection since the latter half of the 20th century.

Human civilisation is facing the most significant turning point in several centuries. Until recently, the group regarded as central ruled and controlled unilaterally the group regarded as peripheral. The dynamics of this power relationship seem to be changing. These days, we witness new contacts, interactions, and realignments – creative and destructive – between what used to be regarded as central and peripheral. Amid this movement, new divisions are emerging globally.

Moreover, since experiencing the COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020, we have come to realise the close connection between human life and the movement of invisible viruses and bacteria. In other words, humanity is part of a "biosphere" that includes all forms of life. Furthermore, the term 'Anthropocene' has been proposed, and as we become aware that human activities are imposing irreversible burdens on the Earth's environment, we are being urged to take global action with our eyes on the future.

Despite the pressing need for global cooperation within humanity, forces that hinder this cooperation are still at work. It is more crucial than ever to build a world where people can live together beyond linguistic and cultural differences, with respect for diverse cultures. At no other time has there been such a need for anthropological knowledge and for ethnological museums to fulfil their role in fostering empathy and deeper understanding of one's own and others' cultures.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of our establishment, we have implemented a series of commemorative projects to reflect on Minpaku's past 50 years, assess our current situation, and envision what Minpaku should be in 50 or even 100 years from now. Specifically, we plan to compile and publish a "History of Minpaku over 50 Years," develop a "Museum History Archives" that includes interview videos with our esteemed emeritus professors under the title "Testimonies of the Era," hold a special exhibition to celebrate the 50th anniversary, and conduct a series of international symposia focused on future perspectives.

Over the past half-century, the circumstances surrounding museums have undergone significant changes in tandem with global transformations. A reevaluation of the traditional role of museums, which has been to unilaterally produce fixed information and representations grounded in science and so-called universal values, is now taking place in various fields and regions. Museum activities rooted in community and resident participation, collaboration with educational institutions, collection and exhibition processes premised on cooperation with those being exhibited, and the construction of co-creative databases that aim to share and utilise information on collections with a wider audience are being promoted. In recent years, there has even been a conspicuous movement (in some instances resembling a competitive race) to return cultural assets taken from local areas during the colonial era back to their original locations (from Europe and America, mainly).

In all of these developments, we can observe a shift where museums, which were once authoritative devices

The new Africa Exhibition Hall at Minpaku, "Work" section. This section focuses on individuals, displaying life-sized panels featuring each person's portrait and the tools they use for their work. On the panels, videos allow each person to talk about their thoughts on their "job." The exhibition was designed to foster empathy with the people of Africa as our contemporaries. The photo shows my field assistant from Zambia, Mr. Joseph Phiri, visiting Minpaku and encountering the panel where he appears in the video. Taken in 2019.

for the unilateral dissemination of information, are now being repurposed as platforms that foster bidirectional and multidirectional exchanges and flows of information. A clearer image of the future role of museums is beginning to take shape, especially in terms of the relationship with the communities and societies that originally produced objects housed in these institutions. This recognition underscores that museums are not the ultimate "owners" of their collections but rather "custodians" who facilitate various forms of collaborative work with the original creators, owners and users of collected materials.

Here, I have discussed visible changes in the nature of museums, but this paradigm shift can also be observed in the discipline of anthropology itself, not just in the museum field.

Minpaku has long positioned itself as a "forum" of humanity, where people with diverse perspectives can come together, make discoveries, and foster new discussions and challenges, creating a space for interaction, collaboration, and co-creation for the future. Currently, Minpaku is conducting a Special Research Project titled "Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity in the Post-Nationalist Era." Amid the instability and gyrations of nation-state frameworks, ethnic conflicts and divisions have been intensifying worldwide. Current issues include racism, anti-immigration, minority oppression, ethnic violence, and even genocide. This international research project has been designed to analyse and elucidate the current world situation in a multilayered manner. The project combines cultural anthropology and its related fields to explore possibilities and guidelines for realising a convivial human society.

The Museum is also promoting a project to construct the "Info-Forum Archives of Human Culture." This initiative aims to share information about objects, photographs, and audio-visual materials in Minpaku's collection not only with domestic and international researchers and museum visitors, but also with people from the communities that originally created and used these materials. The insights gained from these exchanges will become additional information resources that can be shared internationally, allowing us to collaboratively nurture new joint research, exhibitions, live performances, and community activities.

As we celebrate the significant milestone of our 50th anniversary, we look ahead to further developing the role of our Museum as a "forum" and space for preserving humanity's memory and knowledge. We are committed to co-creating a future based on that legacy, and to expanding activities that will help realise a harmonious human society.

Special Theme: Human and Cultural Heritages from Maritime Perspectives

Maritime cultural heritage

Rintaro Ono

National Museum of Ethnology

On 11th–12th May, 2024, we held an international symposium for the 50th anniversary of founding the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku): "Human and Cultural Heritages from Maritime Perspectives". This symposium was supported by Minpaku and the Center for the Maritime Asian and Pacific Studies (MAPS) at Minpaku. MAPS was established in 2022 as part of the Global Area Studies Program launched by the National Institutes for the Humanities.

The anniversary symposium focused on the past and present situation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the maritime world, mainly in coastal and island environments. A total of twelve speakers joined from Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, Micronesia, American Samoa, Fiji, USA, and Japan, participating in talks and discussion along three main themes; (1) Cultural Heritage, indigenous culture and museums (2) Canoes and traditional navigational knowledge, and (3) Bark-cloth (tapa) and paper mulberry – origins, tradition, and art, all of which provide important issues and cases of both tangible and intangible cultural heritages in maritime world. All the invited speakers have had front-line roles

Rintaro Ono is Professor at National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan. He received his M.A. (2000) and Ph.D. (2006) in Area Studies (Southeast Asian Studies) at the Sophia University, Japan. His research is focused on Maritime Archaeology and Anthropology, and specifically: human maritime adaptation process, human migration into Island Southeast Asia and Pacific Islands, human maritime exploitation history, and maritime trade history. He has been involved in many research projects in Japan (Okinawa), Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, and Micronesia. Since 2022, he has led the MAPS (Maritime Asian and Pacific Studies) project at NIHU (National Institutes for the Humanities) in Japan.

related to maritime cultural heritage and also considered future priorities for conserving, continuing and developing cultural heritages and human activities in the maritime world.

Here, I briefly introduce all the speakers and their presentations, and short essays by four of the speakers are presented in this special issue of the newsletter.

The symposium began with a greeting from Minpaku's Director-General, Kenji Yoshida and an introduction by the present author. In the first session on cultural heritage, indigenous culture and museums, we had three talks. Marlon Ririmassei, the head of Research Center BRIN Indonesia, discussed public, private, and people partnerships for cultural heritage preservation in Indonesia. He introduced cases in Sulawesi island where the world's oldest cave rock art has been found, collaborative archaeological study by BRIN and Minpaku on past human migration and culture, and the need to protect cave sites as cultural heritage in the face of recent nickel mining activities. Mis'ari, director of Museum Bahari Jakarta, introduced activities and challenges of the Museum, which has an important role in preserving the maritime heritage of Indonesia. Further details are presented in her essay in this newsletter. Nasrulamiazam Bin Mohd, director of Museum Perak Malaysia, spoke about sail guard collections at the Department of Museums, Malaysia. The sail guard is an important and elaborately designed component of traditional Malay fishing boats such as the *kolek*, but the use of traditional wooden boats is decreasing in Malaysia. Based on the museum collections, he introduced the diversity and significance of the sail guard and how museums might help preserve boat-making traditions.

For the second session on canoes and traditional navigational knowledge, we had four presentations. Marianne George, head of Pacific Tradition Society, USA, introduced the knowledge of ancestral sailing networks and wind system navigation in Melanesia, and traditional seafaring knowledge based on teaching by Te Aliki Kaveia of Taumako. She has also provided an essay for this newsletter. Alson J. Kelen from Waan Aelõñ in Majel (WAM), Republic of the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, spoke about past voyages with outrigger canoes and WAM programs. As WAM director, he has been involved in traditional canoe building and voyaging projects in the Marshall Islands and is actively engaged in education through canoeing, establishing a canoe house in Majuro Atoll, and various programs targeted at young people. WAM methodology is founded on the centrality of Marshallese voices, through interviews, proverbs, legends, and language, and Kelen emphasized understanding the canoe as a vehicle for generating purpose, identity, and pride. Our third speaker, Kyoko Miyazawa, is a film director for Umikobo Inc., Japan. She introduced traditional canoe-building and seafaring skills and the example of canoe building and her navigation from Polowat in the Caroline islands to Guam in the Mariana Islands. This project was part of the exhibition program at the Oceanic Culture Museum, Motobu, Okinawa. Using video records, she shed light on the skills of the little-known men and women of the tiny island of Polowat – the very bearers of an ancient intangible maritime heritage while also facing many changes in their present life. The last talk in this session was by Akira Goto from the Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University, Nagoya. He reviewed the nested distribution of boat types in ethnographies of the New World, Sunda, Wallacea, Sahul, and Oceania, and an essay based on his talk follows in this newsletter.

Our last session, on "Bark-cloth (Tapa) and Paper Mulberry - Origins, Tradition, and Art" had seven speakers. In the morning session, Sipiriano Nemani Ranuku, director of the Fiji Museum, Suva, introduced bark cloth making in Fiji, and collections in the museum. The Fiji Museum, established in 1904 by a voluntary association known as the Friends of Fiji Museum, opened in 1955, and thus has a relatively long history among island museums in Oceania. He described initiatives regarding bark cloth at the Fiji Museum, archaeological excavations, and the documentation of oral traditions. Ryoko Ogata, a doctoral student at Kitakyusyu University, Japan, reported cultural transformation and inheritance in South Pacific bark-cloth making, introducing cases from Fiji and Santa Cruz in the Solomon Islands. She compared production processes in each region with a focus on raw materials, tools, dyes, and beating techniques, and found a close relationship between technique and socio-cultural background in each region. In Fiji, bark-cloth is primarily used for ceremonial purposes and significant life events such as weddings and funerals. In the Solomon Islands, it is primarily used as clothing, and its usage is limited to specific regions

due to varying clothing customs across the country. Reggie Meredith, professor of art at the American Samoa Community College, spoke about *siapo* which means bark cloth in Samoan language. As an expert in siapo textile art, she introduced production and utilization in American Samoa in recent years. She also described cultural purposes, and educational approaches employing historical information, legacy collections, museum visits, and visual aids.

The afternoon session began with a presentation by Yuka Keino, curator at the Aomori Contemporary Art Centre in Japan. She discussed the past, present and future of tapa collections at the Museum of Samoa and Aomori Contemporary Art Centre. She introduced vocational workshops organized by the Museum of Samoa, classes and workshops on hand-painted tapa (*siapo mamanu*) patterns conducted by herself, and the recent work of contemporary artists of the Pacific such as Robin White and Yuki Kihara. Through tapa the collaboration of women, these artists have addressed alarming environmental issues in the Pacific, and are building connections between the Pacific region and Japan. Lastly, she introduced an exhibition titled "TEXTILE REVELATIONS — Oceania's Creations, Fukumoto Shigeki and Fukumoto Shihoko" curated by the speaker and organized by the Aomori Contemporary Art Center, Aomori Public University, in 2023. Next, Kuo-Fang Chung, a professor at Academia Sinica, Taiwan, introduced the population genomics of paper mulberry and evidence for past Austronesian expansion and migration across maritime Asia and Oceania, based on recent DNA studies. Further details are presented in an essay in this newsletter. Shigeki Fukumoto, an artist who has visited Oceania multiple times since 1969, reflected on the question "What is tapa to people?" He has been exploring the origins of art in human societies by examining the significance of shared values. He has examined the nature and function of "valuable" items, including tapa, woven fabric, pig tusks, yams, fiber adornments, shells, bird feathers, in the South Pacific concurrently, and suggested that the essence of "valuable" items is that they are also attractive as objects of artistic creation and appreciation. Our last presenter was Minao Kitamura, director of Visual Folklore Inc., and a well-known documentary film director. He showed us a short version of his new film *Shizuri*. The title refers to a tapa-like mythical textile possibly made of the paper mulberry tree. The tree is real and did exist in southern China and spread to Japan, at an early date. Many researchers believe that tapa also existed at an early time in Japan, as seeds of the paper mulberry tree have been found abundantly in archaeological sites in the Jomon period. Unfortunately, due to its perishable nature, no tangible evidence of an early bark-cloth exists. The absence of stone beaters, tools used for making tapa, further complicates confirmation (wooden beaters could have been used, but these are also not found). Here, the film maker focused on a cotton strip attached to the knob of a copper mirror from the Shosoin Repository. This mirror was produced domestically during the Nara period, more than a thousand years ago. He compares this material with actual tapa made by beating the bark of paper mulberry or kozo (a plant closely related to paper mulberry), and suggests that it was indeed tapa.

The two-day symposium was held in person and online. Over 600 audience members joined, and there was a lively discussion around each session. We now plan to hold the special exhibition *Boats, Canoes and Humanity – Maritime life in Asia and Oceania* in September to December 2025, during the 50th anniversary year of the voyage by Chechemeni. This is a large, single-outrigger canoe that has been exhibited at Minpaku since 1977. The canoe was made on Satawal island in Micronesia, and was sailed from there to Okinawa using traditional navigation methods including so-called star navigation. The symposium was also partly preparation for the forthcoming special exhibition. We learned a lot from all the speakers, and are glad to include a few of their contributions in this volume.

Introduction of the symposium (Minpaku, 2024)

Phylogeography of Pacific paper mulberry: insights into Austronesian expansion and migration

CHUNG Kuo-Fang
Biodiversity Research Center, Academia Sinica Taiwan

Kuo-Fung Chung is specialist in the field of Evolutionary Biology, Systematics (Taxonomy), and Genetics. He and his colleagues have studied genetic sequence of Pacific paper mulberry both in Taiwan and Oceania for long time. The significant papers of them in this topic are "A holistic picture of Austronesian migrations revealed by phylogeography of Pacific paper mulberry" (PNAS 2015) and "Sex Distribution of Paper Mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) in the Pacific" (PLoS ONE 2016).

In 2008, Taiwan's Ministry of Education conferred the "First Class Professional Education-Culture Medal" to IWASA Yoshichika (1922–2014), the first foreign recipient of that honor. A 1942 graduate of Kansai Advanced Technical School (now Osaka Institute of Technology), Iwasa was a passionate ethnologist of South Pacific cultures. He eventually donated some 22,000 objects collected during his 50 expeditions to Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and French Polynesia to Taiwan's newly established National Museum of Prehistory (NMP), in Taitung. While curating Iwasa's donation, CHANG Chi-Shan, then an Assistant Researcher at the NMP, was intrigued by the large quantity of *tapa* and pondered the cultural significance of barkcloth in Austronesian cultures.

The colonization to Remote Oceanic islands by Austronesian-speaking peoples concluded the last stage of the Neolithic human expansion around the globe. Austronesian ancestors crossing unprecedented water gaps to reach remote islands of the Pacific is a testament to the ability of Neolithic humans to conquer unpredictable challenges and adapt to diverse environments. Based on linguistic and archaeological studies, the Blust-Bellwood Model advocated a 'Farming/ Language Dispersal Hypothesis', postulating that early adoption of the agricultural and sedentary lifestyles among Austronesian ancestors had led to population growth and intensified competition for land, triggering their expansion and migration that eventually settled all habitable Remote Oceanic islands. Because Formosan indigenous peoples speak and preserve the oldest and most diverse Austronesian languages, Taiwan is generally considered as the earliest traceable Austronesian homeland, indicating that the island is either the cradle of Austronesian language or a refuge for ancient Austronesian languages.

One major prediction of the Blust-Bellwood Model, or the 'Out of Taiwan' hypothesis of Austronesian expansion and migration is that some 'commensal' plant and animal species essential to early Austronesian settlers should have been transported from Taiwan as part of their 'agricultural package' to be cultivated across Remote Oceanic islands forming an Austronesian 'transported landscape.' Phylogeography is a powerful approach that can employ DNA sequences to study in great detail the intraspecific genealogy of transported species, and complements linguistic and archaeological approaches to unveiling the prehistory of Pacific seafaring.

Initially trained as a forester, CHANG Chi-Shan soon recognized that paper mulberry, whose inner bark has been the prime material for making *tapa* by Austronesian-speaking peoples since ancient times, presented an ideal commensal species to test the Blust-Bellwood Model, as first envisaged by Peter Matthews of Minpaku in a 1996 paper. Known botanically as *Broussonetia papyrifera*, paper mulberry is a common dioecious tree species native to China, Korea, Taiwan, and northern Indochina. Being dioecious means that male and female reproductive organs are found on different individuals (in many plant species, individuals have both) and the presence of both male and female trees is needed to complete sexual reproduction and produce viable seeds. During Captain Cook's Pacific voyages in the late 18th century, it was well documented that paper mulberry trees were widely cultivated and propagated by vegetative cuttings to produce material for barkcloth in Polynesia. Although daily use of barkcloth has been replaced by the introduction of woven textiles, barkcloth remains one of the most iconic components of Austronesian material culture, and survives in many rituals and ceremonies.

I entered my first academic position in 2008 at the Forestry Department of National Taiwan University. This was where Chi-Shan had received his

BSc and MSc degrees, and soon after my arrival he contacted me to discuss the feasibility of using DNA sequence data to trace the origins of Pacific paper mulberry. In May that year, a "Workshop of Biodiversity and Migration of Austronesian People: Evolution and Impact" was held at the Academia Sinica, Taiwan, and one of the speakers invited was Lisa Matisoo-Smith from New Zealand, a pioneer in the study of commensal organisms to explore Austronesian prehistory. Inspired by presentations at the workshop, Chi-Shan and I started collecting samples of paper mulberry. Later, LIU Hsiao-Lei, also a forestry graduate with an interest in ethnobotany, joined the project as a master student. After testing numerous DNA regions, we identified the hypervariable *ndhF-rpl32* intergenic spacer of the chloroplast genome as an ideal marker to study the phylogeography of paper mulberry.

Coincidentally, the Chilean sisters Andrea Seelenfreund, an archaeologist, and Daniela Seelenfreund, a biochemist, had been working independently on the same topic from the other side of the Pacific, sampling paper mulberry trees across Polynesia. To collaborate and expedite the paper mulberry study, we both secured funding in 2014 to carry out reciprocal visits. My visit to Chile and the excursion to Rapa Nui were particularly memorable, because the trip was also joined by Peter Matthews, whose 1996 paper had inspired our work.

In our first collaborative paper, published in PNAS in 2015 (doi: 10.1073/pnas.1503205112), we presented the phylogeography of paper mulberry based on the *ndhF-rpl32* sequences of 604 paper mulberry samples collected from East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceanic islands (including 19 historical herbarium specimens from Near and Remote Oceania). This article demonstrated that all Pacific paper mulberry trees, traditionally used for the production of barkcloth, are genetically homogeneous and carry the chloroplast haplotype cp-17, which is otherwise found only in southern Taiwan. Subsequently in 2016, a paper reporting the sex of Pacific paper mulberry trees based on a DNA sex-determination marker was published in PLoS ONE (doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0161148) (see coauthors in photo). This paper showed that all Pacific paper mulberry trees used to make barkcloth are female. These two papers indicated that a female clone of paper mulberry tree carrying chloroplast haplotype cp-17 was transported from southern Taiwan and clonally propagated and cultivated throughout Oceanic islands. Since haplotype cp-17 has an unambiguous Taiwanese origin and paper mulberry is a dioecious tree, the results of these two papers suggest that a female clone from southern Taiwan was artificially transported out of Taiwan, consistent with the prediction of the Blust-Bellwood Model and the Out of Taiwan Hypothesis of Austronesian expansion and migration.

With the rapid progress of genomic research, we collected genomic data to further our understanding of the transport of paper mulberry across the Pacific islands. Using RADseq, a genome-wide marker, we can further show that Pacific paper mulberry originated in Taitung, southeastern Taiwan, where the initial out-of-Taiwan migration took place (as suggested by recent linguistic and archaeological studies). Based on

Meeting at the University of Chile on 8th Oct., 2014. From left to right: Kuo-Fang Chung, Daniela Seelenfreund, Peter Matthews, Ximena Moncada, Andrea Seelenfreund, Claudia Payacán and Gabriela Olivares (all co-authors of the PLoS ONE paper)

A female paper mulberry tree showing two clusters of female flowers (this tree carried the cp-17 chloroplast haplotype). Photo by author (Hawaii, 13th Jun., 2018)

complete chloroplast genome sequences, we demonstrate that paper mulberry was transported out of Taiwan around 4000 BP, and the transport route is highly congruent with the proposed pattern of Austronesian expansion and migration, further supporting the Blust-Bellwood Model and the Out of Taiwan Hypothesis.

As a botanist, my ethnological journey since 2008 was ignited by the donation of the Osaka educated Iwasa and inspired in part by the work of Minpaku professor Peter Matthews. So I found it a great privilege to present our work at a symposium celebrating the 50th anniversary of the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka.

Transoceanic migration – out of Eurasia

Akira Goto
Nanzan University

Akira Goto specializes in Maritime and Cultural Anthropology as well as Astroanthropology in Oceania. He is well-known as an expert in the study of boats, canoes, fishing hooks, myths, and material culture in Oceania and Maritime Asia. He obtained his doctoral degree from the University of Hawaii and has been engaged in research and education at Miyagi Gakuin Women's University, Doshisha Women's University, and since 2007, at Nanzan University. He has also been active as the director of the Anthropological Institute of Nanzan University, and contributed to the renewal of exhibits at the Oceanic Culture Museum in Okinawa. A recent publication is Akira Goto and Naoko Matsumoto (eds.), "Trekking Shores, Crossing Water Gaps, and Beyond: Maritime Aspects in the Dynamics of 'Out-of-Eurasia' Civilizations", (Okayama: Research Institute for the Dynamics of Civilizations, Okayama University, 2023).

Homo sapiens was a new group of humans that evolved in Africa about 300,000 years ago, and left Africa around 70,000–80,000 years ago (the Out-of-Africa model). From the Arabian Peninsula, they migrated across Eurasia to the Americas by a northern route, and to Australia and New Guinea Island by a southern route (the Out-of-Eurasia model). They also migrated through coastal areas of the Indian subcontinent to the ancient continent of Sundaland, which consisted of the continental shelf of south-east Asia, and the islands of Java, Sumatra and Borneo, joined by land as a result of the sea level falling during the last Ice Age. Here I reconsider the history of humans who walked along the coast, migrated to lands visible across the sea, and eventually to invisible lands beyond the horizon. Let's rethink the kinds and nature of boats that were their means of transport.

It has been pointed out that cave paintings found in Sulawesi, Indonesia, may date back as far as 50,000 years, and migration to Sulawesi would have taken place from Borneo or the Lesser Sunda Islands, within sight of Java. Beyond that, however, migration to the Sahul continent is more likely to have taken place by crossing the sea to invisible land, although it is not known exactly how much of the landforms and islands that now form the seabed would have been visible in Late Pleistocene. But *Home sapiens* had reached Sahul, the continent of Australia and New Guinea, around 60,000 years ago.

As already noted, humans leaving Africa travelled eastwards through Eurasia along two routes, northern and southern. The reason for this bifurcation was the presence of the Himalayas as a barrier in the middle of Eurasia. Previously, it was thought that the northern group reached the eastern edge of Siberia, then entered the Americas by walking along Beringia, which had become landlocked due to the lowering of sea level in the Bering Strait. Since the Laurentian Glacier at that time prevented further southward migration, southward migration was assumed to have started around 14,500 years ago after the glacier shrank.

In recent years, however, archaeological sites have been discovered in California on the west coast of North America that date back to around 16,000 years ago. Sites of the same or slightly older date have also been discovered on the Pacific coast of South America. Since glaciers were still extensive in that period, it must have been difficult to travel south on foot. It is highly likely that people travelled south along the Pacific coast in a relatively short time using boats, together with knowledge of fishing techniques that may have originated in the western Pacific rim, as discussed by Matthew Des Lauriers and others.

In this process, man's mode of movement evolved from (i) walking along the coast, (ii) using boats to reach lands visible beyond water gaps, and finally (iii) using boats to reach invisible lands beyond the ocean horizon. Process (i) would have already taken place during the migration from the African continent to the Arabian Peninsula. Process (ii) would have been acquired during migration from the Indian coast to Sundaland, to cross rivers and reach nearby islands. Migration along the Pacific coast of America would have involved not only

walking, but also crossing water to the Pacific islands of Canada and islands off the coasts of California and Baja California.

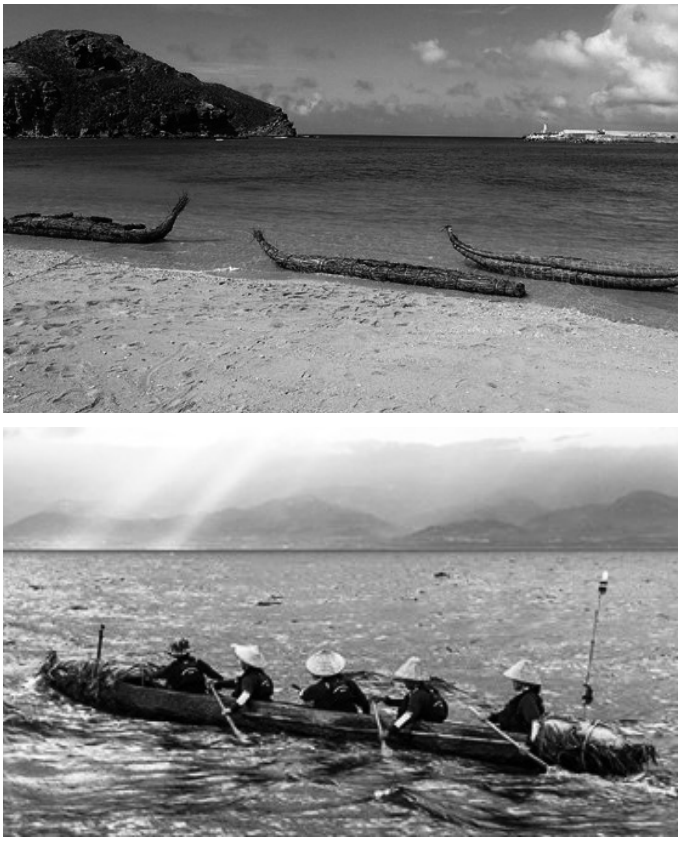
A key question is what kinds of boats made these early human maritime migrations possible? Possible kinds include boats built with (i) reed bundles tied with rope, (ii) animal skin stretched over wood or bone frames, (iii) logs and rope (rafts), and (iv) carved logs (dugout canoes). These are the basic forms of boats made from natural materials, i.e. plants and animals, and propelled by natural forces. Natural propulsion can be river currents, ocean currents, wind or human power. The type of boat that is suitable for a particular environment is, in a sense, a compromise, determined by a number of factors. One factor is the intended use of the boat, while others relate to materials and construction methods.

Factors related to intended use may include size, weight, beam, speed, navigability, durability, load capacity, stability and so on. These all relate to moving the boat. The materials available in a desert or an Arctic region with little vegetation are different from those in a boreal or a tropical rainforest. The 'efficiency' of a boat design does not simply involve availability of materials, or ease of construction; it must also be understood in relation to structure and function. In areas where animal domestication developed, animal hides (e.g. sheep, cattle, etc.) became abundant, and wild sea mammals were also abundant in many coastal regions. In addition, we need to consider how aquatic transport contributed to the economy in each area. Efficiency should therefore be considered in relation to the whole system of economy and society.

There are some limitations to the use of different types of boats. For example, rafts used from the equator to about 40 degrees north to south tend to become unusable in cold seas. This is probably because rafts are constantly covered by waves, which is not tolerable for humans in cold waters (which include surface waters in deep ocean areas of the tropics). Fauvelle and others have proposed that while very large dugouts can be used for open ocean voyages, and that skin boats are also suitable for open sea voyages, especially in the Arctic and sub-Arctic. Large trees are lacking in these northern regions, while the tallow used to seal stitched skins together is said to melt in warmer southern waters, making skin boats unusable there.

The complex, overlapping and nested distribution of different kinds of boat on the North American continent suggests that there were several waves of migration and that human flexibility in building boats in the right place at the right time was behind this. In Oceania, commonly recognized as an outrigger canoe area, there are also reed bundle boats, bark boats and log dugout canoes, so it is necessary to consider the different uses of all these boats.

The '30,000-Year-Old Voyage Thorough Reproduction Project' conducted by the National Museum of Science of Japan (2016 – 2019) experimented with three types of boat: a reed bundle boat, a bamboo raft and a dugout canoe. The dugout finally succeeded in crossing from Taiwan to Yonaguni Island in Okinawa. Experimental archaeology of ancient boats and navigation is often conducted by building just one type of boat (e.g. a log raft in Thor Heyerdahl's Kontiki project). However, in terms of building "the right boat for the right job (適材適所)," the National Museum of Science project was significant in that it allowed the performance of different boats to be compared under similar conditions (a crossing of open ocean with strong sea currents), resulting in many new insights into human exploration of the maritime world.



The '30,000-Year-Old Voyage Thorough Reproduction Project' conducted by the National Museum of Science of Japan (2016 – 2019)

Ancestral voyaging networks, relational knowledge, and wind-system navigation

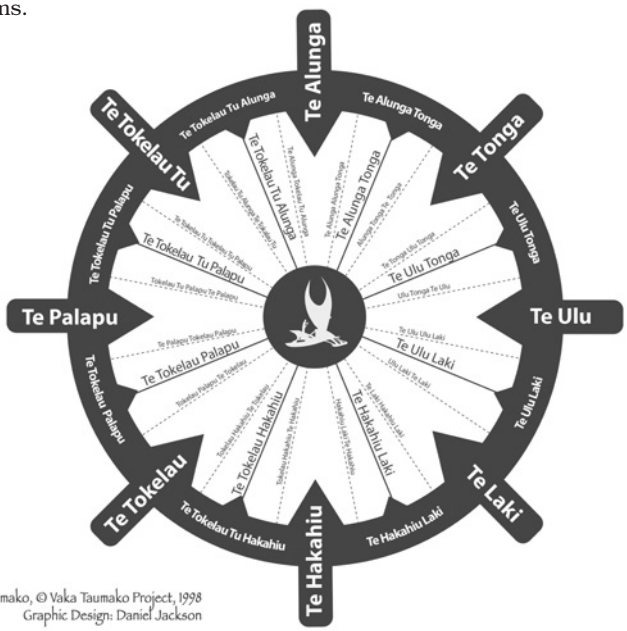
Marianne "Mimi" George
Vaka Taumako Project of Pacific Traditions Society

Marianne "Mimi" George, PhD, is a cultural anthropologist and sailor who supports training youth in ancestral voyaging knowledge to address current problems, including unemployment, biodiversity loss and climate change. She has responded to requests to document: voyaging traditions of Austronesian people of New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea; a small mixed-gender crew over-wintering a sailboat in Antarctic sea-ice: networks of sea-hunters and reindeer herders across Bering Straits, and networks of the Polynesian people of Taumako, Southeast Solomon Islands. She has also described the leading roles of women in voyaging cultures, and navigation methods as specific applications within wider ancient knowledge systems.

The May, 2024, MAPS Symposium and Workshop celebrated Minpaku's 50-year anniversary with a focus on maritime perspectives and realities rooted in ancient cultural heritage. One aim was to build a foundation for planning new programs related to maritime cultural heritage.

Ancestral sea-routes between islands and relationships between seafaring people and observable phenomena including winds, swell patterns, weather, seasons, asterisms (celestial bodies and dark shapes in the sky), plants, animals, and lights, were taught by Te Aliki Kaveia of Taumako, in the Solomon Islands, as part of a system of knowledge called *Te Nohoanga Te Matangi* (TNTM). Kaveia practiced TNTM in deep sea navigation for over nine decades. In the Vaka Taumako Project he taught that mastery of TNTM comes by learning the relationships and agency between many types of phenomena, and between those phenomena and human practitioners. Such complex knowledge is mobilized when people sail the ancestral sea-routes.

Te Nohoanga Te Matangi, 32 named wind positions taught by Te Aliki Kaveia of Taumako



Source: Te Aliki Kaveia of Taumako, © Vaka Taumako Project, 1998
Graphic Design: Daniel Jackson

Many ancestral sea-routes have not been sailed for decades or centuries. Yet, today it is still possible for practitioners of science, heritage and conservation to learn TNTM relationships that are key to protecting the ocean, biodiversity, climate, and the people of Oceania. Ancestral navigation trainers and their students need allies to make voyages that re-open derelict sea-roads, re-establish ancient voyaging networks, and apply that knowledge to protecting biodiversity and adjusting to climate change.

Frigate birds soar to the East on Westerly storm winds and then return home on Easterly trade winds. They show the way to sail to distant islands of 'remote Oceania,' and how to return. Ancient stories of first deep sea voyagers describe vessels and navigational knowledge shared by birds, women and orphaned babies who gain supernatural powers from animals. It is they who established inter-island networks based on environmental realities.

Throughout Oceania today there are few of the hundreds of distinctively designed ancestral vessels that surely existed and most of those that remain are proa – double-ended with one hull or outrigger shorter than the other. Proa are faster, more maneuverable than monohulls or catamarans, carry nearly as much as catamarans of the same size, and have shallow draught that allows them to sail over a reef to the beach. Taumakans of Southeast Solomon Islands are Polynesian experts using only ancient designs, materials, and methods to build deep sea proa. Their 'Vaka o Lata' are known for their long-armed pandanus sail – a sail that is aerodynamically superior to any modern design, owing to both its shape and the flexibilities and textural characteristics of the materials that the sail and booms are made from.

Sailing on the surging, swelling global-being of Oceania requires capable proven vessels and connections between ourselves and

the ocean, animals, plants, and people of our inter-island networks. Vessel designs and navigation technology were created to suit the wind, sea and sky conditions of the routes they plied.

Sailing practices heighten awareness of what is happening to the ocean, islands, and their inhabitants. Sailing along the routes of different inter-island networks mobilizes ancient knowledge and relationships that can be used to protect the ocean, biodiversity and climate. Noted below are only four examples of the hundreds of documented voyaging networks across Oceania:

1) In 2020, a modern-materials Drua sailed on a Homeland Reunion Voyage around the Lau Group of Fiji. The Drua owners aspire to build a Drua of *Intisia bijuga* (a Pacific teak, 'titanium of the Pacific') – like the boats their ancestors built for Tongans who campaigned with them for centuries during their inter-island wars, and for owners who used them to carry cargo 150 years ago, in contract with Europeans.

2) William Davenport recorded and mapped many items traded by vessels sailing interisland routes in the Santa Cruz Islands network. Not mentioned in his list are the leaves of a variety of pandanus that makes strong, long-lasting sails. This variety grows on Taumako and the material was highly desired by voyagers from islands where this type of pandanus did not grow. Another popular cargo was dried or fermented breadfruit. Eighty-two cultivars of breadfruit grow on the tiny island of Taumako, each with distinctive uses. Preserved breadfruit is a great voyaging and emergency food.

3) In the Northwest Pacific, many voyaging networks have been mapped for Yap State and the Outer Island Sawey System, including two by the Yap Historic Preservation Office, for Caroline Island tribute voyages by Hasa Hachigchig, and for sea routes between Palau, Saipan, Lukunor, and Ulithi.

4) In the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea, navigators in the Kula voyaging network use a system of wind positions that is coordinated with cycles of gardening, harvesting, and food scarcity. Five named winds blow seasonally and favor voyaging on specific routes. Susanne Kuehling has studied and created diagrams to explain the correlations.

Te Nohoanga Te Matangi (wind positioning system) is what Kaveia of Taumako taught his navigation students. Dozens of 'wind compass' images have been documented in various regions of Oceania. These modern representations were almost all arranged with "North" on top, but geographic North or polar magnetism are irrelevant to the meaning or use of the wind positioning system. A clear explanation of how wind positions relate to weather and to the rising and setting positions of stars that bring or accompany stormy weather was Satawalese knowledge reported by Tomoya Akimichi at Minpaku. But Kaveia of Taumako taught many more relationships.

Kaveia taught that TNTM has 32 named wind-positions around the horizon. Te Alunga means 'pillow', which is the 'head' position of the tradewind season, and guides systematic thinking about where you are, and what signs you can look for, or call for, and connect with. Each wind position has a partner position located on the opposite side of the horizon. Kaveia taught four wind positions where the sun rises and sets as it moves from solstice to solstice, with seasons defined by the solsticial and equinoctial wind-positions, by strong or weak winds or calms, and by special winds that do not occur every year.

Kaveia also taught the wind-positions in which 10 asterisms, (including dark shapes in the sky), actually rise and set, and how some of these differ from the wind positions in which the asterisms are useful in navigation. That is, some asterisms are useful for navigation when they are below the horizon and cannot be seen…very different from the European method of celestial navigation in which asterisms are only useful when they can be seen. When at sea Kaveia demonstrated many relationships between wind-positions and seasons, weather, swell patterns, inter-island routes, and plant and animal behaviors. For example, when the wind is in a certain position it will be a certain season, there will be certain types of weather, the swell patterns will form certain shapes, the currents will go different ways, certain plants will flower or fruit, and animals will nest or migrate. Kaveia taught that each of these phenomena is paired in 'complementary partners,' just like the 32 wind-positions around the horizon. For example, when one star rises its partner star sets, and when swells come from Te Tonga – a strong tradewinds wind-position – those swells

overpower the partner-swells that come from Te Tokelau, a strong cyclone winds wind-position.

Systematic knowledge of the relationships between these phenomena is accessible while sailing along the routes of ancient networks. When sailing the phenomenal and relational realities can be recalled, observed, experienced and documented. That is also when rich and unprecedented collaborations can best happen between ancestral voyaging practitioners (experts and students) and modern scientists, environmentalists, conservationists, and heritage workers (experts and students). Groups on more than 56 Pacific islands now aim to revive their ancestral voyaging schools and inter-island networks, share their exquisitely detailed relational knowledge systems and new programs with many partners, and develop in research and education.

Author washing a Te Alo sailing canoe. Photo by Jacob Penchansky (2012); copyright Vaka Taumako Project.

The Museum Bahari Jakarta program to preserve Indonesia's maritime cultural heritage

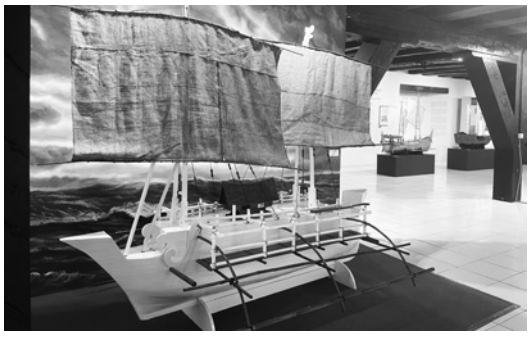
M. Hum Mis'ari
Museum Kebaharian Jakarta

Mis'ari is Director of the Management Unit at *Museum Kebaharian Jakarta* under the Office of Culture in Provincial Government of Jakarta. This Unit is responsible for three destinations: *Museum Bahari Jakarta, Rumah Si Pitung*, and *Museum Arkeologi Onrust*. She obtained a Master in Museology at Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung, and also joined the Museum Management Technology Course at *Minpaku* in 2002. Her vision is to develop museums as learning centers and spaces that create opportunities for visitors. This vision is reflected in public programs that involve and bring together diverse communities.

Attending the 50th Anniversary International Symposium at the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), Japan, "Human and Cultural Heritages from Maritime Perspectives", 11th–12th May, 2024, was a transformative experience for us from Museum Bahari. This event commemorated the role of Minpaku in preserving cultural heritage and the study of ethnology, and brought museums together from across the world to explore new strategies in curating and safeguarding cultural heritage. Our delegation from the Jakarta Maritime Museum (Museum Bahari Jakarta), was pleased to join this meeting and engage with the global community of museums. The Minpaku symposium presented an opportunity for us to expand our knowledge, expand our network with other institutions, and gain fresh perspectives on how we can contribute to international discourses on heritage, culture, and identity.

Museum Bahari is dedicated to Indonesia's rich history of seafaring and trade. This country has always had a deep connection to the global

Former warehouse buildings at Museum Bahari Jakarta (Photo by Yulia Andalassari) September 9, 2024.



The Samudra Raksa Ship at the temporary exhibition *Artefact 3.0 The Monumental Ship: Shared Cultural Heritage, Sharing the Memories*, Museum Bahari Jakarta (August 22, 2024 to October 26, 2024). Photo by Yulia Andalassari.

movement of people and ideas. Museum Bahari has a significant role in preserving the maritime cultural heritage of the country, and is regarded as one of the most important museums in Indonesia. Our mandate covers all aspects of maritime history, from past to present. This mandate is reflected in the collections, public displays, and also the buildings that comprise the museum. The main part of the museum is a former warehouse initially constructed in 1652–1771 and used by the Dutch East India Company to store spices, coffee, tea and cloth before these were shipped to ports across Asia and Europe. It is located near the present waterfront of Jakarta and originally stood alongside a canal where sailing ships could be berthed. Nearby, and also part of the museum, is a watch tower (built in 1839) that also served as a signal station between the shore and ships in the harbour. The watch tower was built on remnants of the city wall that surrounded Batavia.

Traditional sailing vessels are represented at the museum by various ship models and also full-sized original boats. The model of an ancient 8th to 9th-century wooden double outrigger sailing vessel (the Samudra Raksa Ship) is on display, and is based on a ship depicted with a stone relief carving at Borobudur temple in Java. A full-scale replica of this ship was built by a British expedition team, and in 2003 to 2004 it sailed from Indonesia to Madagascar and to Ghana, showing that such a vessel could have been used for long-distance trade. There are also rare examples of traditional Pinisi, Lancang, and Gelati vessels, an exhibition of shipbuilding tools, and descriptions of the maritime traditions and folklore. The displays also include models of Dutch East India Company ships, and a scale model of the island Onrust (Pulau Kapal, or ship island). For centuries, the island near Jakarta was a shipyard for repair of the Dutch East India Company ships, and vessels from other countries. Modern shipping is also represented in museum displays of navigational aids, maps, information about lighthouses, and historical photographs. A display on Biological Oceanography highlights the rich biodiversity of coastal areas in Indonesia.

Museum Bahari contributes to the conservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage through collaborative research, publishing educational books, conservation of paintings related to maritime history, workshops, seminars and exhibitions. We have been inspired by the diverse strategies that other museums have employed to address social issues. We are now considering how Museum Bahari can take on a more active role in promoting discussions around environmental sustainability, particularly in relation to Indonesia's fragile marine ecosystems. As a maritime museum, we are uniquely positioned to highlight the importance of preserving the oceans, not just as a resource but as a cultural and historical lifeline for many Indonesian communities.

Attending the Minpaku 50th Anniversary International Symposium reinforced our belief that museums play a crucial role in shaping how societies understand their past and envision their future. It also highlighted that collaboration across borders is essential for museums to thrive in the 21st century. Museum Bahari is committed to preserving Indonesia's rich maritime heritage while also embracing new methods and technologies that can make our collections more accessible and engaging to a global audience. The future of museums is one of collaboration, innovation, and, most importantly, connection – both to the past and to the people who carry these stories forward.

Opening ceremony for the temporary exhibition *Artefact 3.0. The Monumental Ship: Shared Cultural Heritage, Sharing the Memories*, held in collaboration with the Embassy (Mexico, Argentina, Ireland, Chile, Portugal, Pakistan, South Korea, Netherlands). Photo supplied by Museum Bahari Jakarta.

Column

Nostalgia for Romania

Shinmen Mitsuhiro
National Museum of Ethnology

Mitsuhiro Shinmen, PhD, is Professor at National Museum of Ethnology. He specializes in the Science of Religion in Eastern Europe, and has conducted fieldwork in Romania.

My first time in Romania. I first visited Romania in the summer of 1983. The reason for my visit was out of an interest in the religion of Romania, the home country of the world-renowned religious scholar Mercea Eliade. At that time, however, the people were trapped in despair and resignation under a dictatorship.

For me, this visit to Romania had already begun on the train to Bucharest, which I had caught connecting from Paris. Two Romanian men from Vienna had boarded my compartment.

Still not knowing Romanian, I began a faltering conversation with them in English and German. They told me they were a theologian and a mathematician who had attended an international conference in Vienna. As our conversation progressed, they told me about the situation in Romania. I had already known something of this in Japan, but the political situation in Romania, as told to me in graphic detail by people who were involved, was far more difficult than I had imagined. The eyes of the secret police were everywhere, and ordinary citizens also report people to the authorities. The two men told me not to trust anyone I meet and to be careful.

The train crossed the border in the middle of the night and ran through Transylvania. Eventually, as the train approached the station, the theologian got off first. A woman with long hair in a mackintosh stood on the platform, shrouded in fog. The theologian said goodbye to us and as he stepped off the platform, the woman ran up to him and jumped into his arms. It was just like a scene from a film! My first stay in Romania began with this romantic scene.

Summer in Bucharest 1983: repression and civil life. Religion was in a delicate position in Romania under the socialist regime. The national religion, the Romanian Orthodox Church, was closely associated with nationalism and was allowed some freedom as long as it showed cooperation with the government. Other sects, however, were strictly controlled or suppressed.

Under these circumstances, there was no way that religious research could be carried out. Therefore, I turned instead to folklore studies. For this, the Romanian language was a must. Thankfully, a month's language training at a university with accommodation and meals was set by the Romanian government. I could not refuse this good opportunity.

Summer in Bucharest was hot. The canteen where breakfast was served was flooded with light early in the morning. There was no breeze in the classrooms, and the temperature nudged up in the afternoon. The lecture, in Romanian, continued as I drifted into a hazy consciousness. I had to wait out until lunchtime with all my heart.

Fortunately, after lunch it was time for a siesta (nap). We could relax until the evening. The sun was hot, but we headed out into the city. Dusty Bucharest was not a good place for a walk. However, in the center of the city is the beautiful Cişmigiu Park. And a little further on, the citizens were relaxing in the vast Herăstrău Park with its open-air ethnographic museum.

Although I was uneasy about surveillance of the course participants, I eventually made friends. I finally came to realize that a cultured civic life can be maintained in the face of poverty and oppression.

Ethnic issues I learned about in Cluj. It is fortunate that I decided to study folklore instead of religion, but languages are not always as easy as they seem. I decided to attend my third summer language course in Cluj, the central city of Transylvania.

Cluj is home to a large Hungarian population. The city also has the Hungarian name of Kolozsvár. It was there that I became aware of the ethnic problems that existed under the Romanian socialist regime. In particular, the suppression of Hungarian culture in Transylvania. My initial reaction was: Why would this happen in a socialist country? Isn't socialist thought supposed to be about international solidarity among the

class of workers, transcending ethnic divisions?

In practice, socialist regimes are found to have an intensely nationalist flavor. In the first place, the power base of President Nicolae Ceauşescu was nationalism. Ceauşescu became a favored name when he announced his non-participation in the 1968 Czech Incident, in which Warsaw Pact troops crushed the Czechoslovakian population with tanks. It was a cool political decision rooted in the anti-Russian sentiment of the Romanian people, but his presence was the subject of wishful thinking on the part of the West, which hoped to break up the socialist system.

Domestically, however, Ceauşescu pursued a policy of suppressing minorities and increasing the Romanian population. With regard to population growth, contraception was banned and multiple childbearing was encouraged. Furthermore, Hungarian language institutions were abolished and linguistic assimilation was promoted.

The Romanian revolution of 1989: hope and disillusionment. In the winter of 1989, the world was tense. In the town of Timisoara, news broke of the massacre of civilians who had physically tried to protect a Hungarian pastor.

East German citizens were already pushing in on the Hungarian and Austrian borders, the Berlin Wall had been opened and the Velvet Revolution had taken place in Czechoslovakia. The long-awaited liberalization of Eastern Europe had finally begun. However, these events occurred just as we had given up on the idea that Romania could be different.

But the situation changed abruptly. As per customs, tens of thousands of mobilized citizens gathered in the square in front of the Communist Party headquarters, and when Ceauşescu began his speech, the square was soon filled with heckles and jeers. Television cameras captured the president with a drawn expression on his face. Soon a helicopter took off from the Communist Party headquarters. A few days later, Ceauşescu and his wife/partner were captured and executed.

It was a long-awaited moment of liberation, but at the same time various suspicions arose. For example, the fact that Ion Iliescu, who was the number two in the regime, became president, may have involved a scenario including the Soviet Union. As a result, the revolution was soon even referred to as the 'stolen revolution'.

Yet liberalization was still liberalization. People's faces were cheerful. Nevertheless, it was also freedom from competition and unemployment. Soon after the revolution, people in economic difficulties gathered at the grave of former President Ceauşescu and looked back with nostalgia on the socialist era without unemployment.

Fieldwork: dreams and reality. The Ceauşescu dictatorship finally fell. The Soviet Union was also dismantled under Mikhail Gorbachev. In the former Yugoslavia, ethnic and religious wars began. My fieldwork was set against the background of these times.

A local ethnographer introduced me to a small village in the Maramureş region, where I was invited to live. It was a beautiful village with wooden houses dotted amongst the greenery, a fine wooden gate facing the street and an old wooden church on a hill at the edge of the village.

The villagers were gentle and polite,

People's Palace: Former palace of President Ceauşescu, Bucharest (Shinmen, 2014)

and if they meet men on the street, they greet them with a wave of their hand to their hat. The children were obedient and cute, leading us by the hand through the village and interpreting the dialect of the older people for us.

The days were spent immersed in customs and habits that would soon be featured on Japanese television many times over, such as the village street walks on holidays, weddings, funerals, church services, each family's own distilled liquor (Ţuică) made from the communal distillery, waterwheel huts and washing facilities using the water current of the river.

However, the village is also part of a modern society, rather than a paradise. The reality is harsh and includes conflicts between the Romanian Orthodox Church, which is the main church in Romania, and Greek Catholics (who converted to Catholicism from the Orthodox Church in the 17th century); disputes over the dismantling of collective farms; conflicts between traditional religions and evangelical sects; and inadequate social infrastructure. I was also struck by the poverty and the lonely old people who seem to have been forgotten by the children living in the town.

The nostalgia of my stay took on a slightly bitter taste.

Changes in fieldwork styles during my anthropological career

Motoi SUZUKI
National Museum of Ethnology

Motoi SUZUKI is Professor at the National Museum of Ethnology and the Graduate University for Advanced Studies "SOKENDAI". He specializes in Latin American area studies, development anthropology, and museum studies. He has conducted ethnographic research on the modern Yucatec Maya, on rural development, and fair trade of cacao production. In 2023, he was the chief curator for the special exhibition "Arte Popular: The Creative and Critical Power of Latin Americans" (National Museum of Ethnology). His works include *Latin America* (co-editor, Asakura Shoten, 2007, in Japanese), and *Comparative Civilizations of Ancient America* (co-editor, Kyoto University Press, 2019, in Japanese)

In this essay, I would like to reflect on the development of my research in relation to changing styles of fieldwork. During my career, I have attempted four styles of fieldwork. The characteristics of these styles can be described as "dwelling," "commuting," "traveling the globe," and "traveling through time". The term "dwelling" refers to living in the community of the people being studied, participating in, and observing their daily lives. This is the standard style of fieldwork in cultural anthropology. "Commuting" means making repeated trips to the people under study to observe the changes that have taken place over time. "Traveling the globe" means visiting people who live in different parts of the globe but have certain relationships with each other. Finally, "traveling through time" means an investigation that interprets how history is constructed in museum exhibitions.

I conducted my first fieldwork in the village of Sisbicchén, a Maya settlement in Yucatan, Mexico, from 1986 to 1987, when I was a graduate student. The purpose of the research was to describe the contemporary culture of the modern Maya, especially the changes in the ethnic consciousness of the people. Ethnic consciousness is a question of who people consider themselves to be, and examining it requires carefully documenting of the ways in which they express themselves in their daily lives and the context in which they do so. For this reason, the "dwelling" style of fieldwork was extremely effective.

From this research, I observed that contemporary Mayan people use different self-identifications according to the various ways in which they interact with Mexican society. During the fieldwork, however, I witnessed the hardships of the people's economic life, which raised the question of what I, as an anthropologist, could do about it.

What came to my mind was a study of technical cooperation to developing countries by the Japanese government. In 1996, when I joined the faculty of Chiba University, Japan, I became a frequent participant in a study group called "Development Assistance and Anthropology". In 2005, I began researching the impact of a rural development project that the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) was implementing in the State of Chiapas, in southern Mexico. Because of my teaching assignment, it was difficult to conduct a "dwelling" style study anymore. I switched to a "commuting" style of fieldwork, conducting short-term stays of one week to 10 days almost every year until 2012, and ethnographically monitoring

the progress of the project and its effects after the project was completed.

What I learned from this study is that while JICA projects produce a lot of lessons to be learned about social change, JICA's official evaluation of the development project is merely a procedure to confirm whether or not the objectives were achieved within the project period. Leaving only an official evaluation at the end of a project is, so to speak, "sitting on a gold mine", because the precious findings of the social experiments conducted through the project have been left unexploited. Therefore, I set out to gather information by "commuting" to the sites on a regular basis, keeping in mind the diversity of the project participants' experiences and the changes they have undergone since the project ended.

I started this study with the intention of improving Japan's official development assistance policies, but while conducting the research, I began to wonder how my research could help the general public take more interest in development issues and engage in activities to assist people in developing countries.

So, I decided to study fair-trade as well. Fair-trade is a trade system that supports the sustainable development of producers by guaranteeing favorable trading conditions for them. Anyone can participate in international development simply by purchasing fair-trade products. In 2007, I moved to MINPAKU, where I organized an Inter-University Research Project on fair-trade from 2008 to 2011. As an anthropologist, I was interested in understanding not only the outcomes of fair-trade, but also the individuals involved and their motivations for participating in the initiative. I focused on fair-trade chocolate and began to investigate where cacao was produced and where it was processed into chocolate. I continued to travel around the globe until 2017, visiting cacao producer cooperatives in Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Ghana, chocolate factories in England, Switzerland, and Austria, and fair-trade shops in England, France, Germany, Switzerland, USA, Canada, Thailand and Japan to interview them about their involvement and evaluation of fair-trade from their perspective. In this study, the anthropological field was not a single place, but rather a nexus of people across the globe who make up the institution of cacao-chocolate fair-trade.

Through a series of these research travels I found that there are two sides to fair-trade. For supporters of fair-trade, its aim to promote sustainable development operates like a dream. If they accept the dream, they feel that they have the agency to change the world. On the other hand, for the multinational food industry, fair-trade is just another marketing tool. Companies of all sizes participate in fair-trade because they have loyal customers who will buy their products if they label them as such. There is an overwhelming lack of information from third-party evaluations on the effectiveness of fair-trade, but if this is somehow overcome, I expect the gap between the two sides can be corrected.

After arriving at MINPAKU, I worked on the renovation project of the Americas Exhibition Hall and gradually my interest in museum exhibitions grew. Starting in 2014, for five years, I became a member of a research project (Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research on Innovative Areas) on ancient American civilizations and was engaged

Sisbicchén village, Mexico (Suzuki, 1986)

in a comparative study of museum exhibitions. The question that I posed for the project was: how was the history of indigenous peoples in Latin America constructed in museums? It is a study that examines a historical trajectory that travels through time, from the pre-Columbian period to the present. I visited museums in 17 Latin American countries and major museums in Europe and the United States, including the British Museum, the Musée du quai Branly, the Metropolitan Museum and Field Museum of Natural History. As a result, I found several patterns in the ways in which this timeline of historical trajectory is organized. Some museums displayed only the pre-Columbian period, some started from the pre-Columbian period to the colonial period but not to the present day, some passed through the colonial period and directly connected the pre-Columbian period to the present day, and some exhibited materials from each period but did not clearly distinguish the periods. I also found that there are only a few museums, such as National Museum of Costa Rica and National Museum of Colombia, that have a consistent display of indigenous cultures from the past to the present. My current research interest concerns the question of what kind of political interest in indigenous peoples exists behind each of these patterns.

The changes in fieldwork style outlined above reflect changes in my own interests over time. At the same time, I should not forget that the changes in my interests have occurred in the context of my work assignments and interactions with fellow researchers. I am very happy to have been able to carry out such diverse research during my career so far. I also feel fortunate to have worked with colleagues at MINPAKU who provide me with much intellectual stimulation.

Exhibition

Conveying the realities of the Minamata disease

A Thematic Exhibition for the 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding
March 14 – June 18, 2024

This thematic exhibition introduced the efforts of people in the Minamata and Ashikita regions to convey the realities of Minamata disease alongside 150 related items. The exhibition began with two videos showing Minamata as it is today, and then introduced four initiatives that have been made to spread awareness of Minamata disease that I have investigated in the regions: the Minamata Disease Museum run by Soshisha, the Minamata Disease Support Center, the work of photographer Jin Akutagawa, the storytelling activities at Cape Myojin, and educational activities carried out by the government. I was the project leader of this exhibition.

Minamata disease is a disease caused by pollution that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s in and around Minamata City in Kumamoto Prefecture. This exhibition does not aim to tell the history of this environmental pollution, but to consider what people in the regions are nowadays trying to convey about the disease, what their thoughts on the above activities are, and what we can learn from their efforts.

Exhibition entrance (Kyonosuke Hirai, 2024)

An exhibition of the storytelling activities at Cape Myojin (Kyonosuke Hirai, 2024)

Since 2005, I have spent a total of 21 months conducting anthropological research in the regions. I organized this exhibition in such a way that visitors can feel like they are doing fieldwork with 'me' in the field. For this reason, I call the exhibition a "fieldwork exhibition". For example, the commentary in the exhibition is written in the first person, 'I', and presents what I saw and felt in the field. At the beginning of each section, the video shows an interview with my key informants. All the photos and videos, except Akutagawa's work, were taken by myself.

Rather than presenting the objective 'truth' about the history of Minamata disease, the people who are carrying out the various initiatives I have outlined above talk not only about the sufferings of the victims of Minamata disease, but also about the wide range of ideas and lifestyles among them. Visitors are thereby provoked into apprehending the stories in a meaningful way, and connecting them to issues that are both immediate and personal to themselves, such as the irreplaceable nature of the environment, family and friends, discrimination, and materially affluent everyday lifestyles.

I believe that visitors can relate to the stories because the 'personality' of the storytellers and their passion appears clearly in front of the visitors through the process of them telling their stories. I hoped that visitors to the exhibition would feel that they might discover something for themselves if they travelled to Minamata, or that they would like to visit Minamata and listen to the fascinating stories of the people there.

According to the results of the visitor questionnaire, the exhibition was generally well received. The concept of a "fieldwork exhibition" seems to have been a success, and the questionnaire included comments such as 'I was reminded of the importance of conveying negative history', or 'I felt like I had taken a look around Minamata with the fieldworker', and also 'I liked the first-person narrative and the perspective of fieldwork reporting'. Several anthropologists told me that the "fieldwork exhibition" showed them an excellent way of presenting ethnographic findings. On the other hand, there was a very small number of negative comments. The main criticism was that the misery of Minamata disease was not conveyed thoroughly enough. I assume that these criticisms are being made by people who are currently, or have been involved in the Minamata Disease movement. Nevertheless, the vast majority of people wrote in their comments that they would definitely like to visit Minamata in the future, which made me particularly happy.

Kyonosuke Hirai
National Museum of Ethnology

Information

Award

Ippei Shimamura
Professor, Department of Globalization and Humanity
National Museum of Ethnology

Received the Order of the Polar Star, the highest civilian honor awarded to foreign citizens by the Mongolian government, for his contributions to the promotion of Mongolian culture, the development of Mongolian studies, and the training of Mongolian researchers. The Order was conferred by President Ukhnaa Khurelsukh on August 1, 2023, and the ceremony was held at the Consulate General of Mongolia in Osaka on June 18, 2024. He was chairman of the committee for the Special Exhibition "100 Years of Mongolia: Encounters through Photography" held at Minpaku from March 17 to May 31, 2022.

Shingo Hidaka
Professor, Center for Cultural Resource Studies
National Museum of Ethnology

Received the Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property Award for his commitment to publicly communicating the importance of cultural property preservation and his contribution to enhancing the significance of the Society's existence. His activities as a "researcher in action" for locally affected cultural properties have attracted wide attention. He deserves the award as a pioneer who can systematize the "Behavioral Science of Cultural Property Conservation," which is required for the conservation of cultural properties to be passed on in the future.

Retirements

After many years at Minpaku, the following staff members will retire in March 2025.

Peter J. Matthews
Professor,
Ethnobotany, prehistory, crop plant biogeography; Asia, Pacific

Ryoji Sasahara
Professor,
Folk culture, performing arts; Japan

Mitsuhiro Shinmen
Professor,
Science of religion; Eastern Europe

Motoi Suzuki
Professor,
Anthropological perspectives on development assistance evaluations

Taeko Udagawa
Deputy Director-General,
Professor,
Cultural anthropology, gender studies; Italy, Mediterranean Europe

Kenji Yoshida
Director-General, Professor,
Anthropology of expressive culture; Africa, Europe, Japan

Publications

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

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Issue 3: A. Saito, "Crisis de la década de 1690 en el Moxos jesuítico: Una reconstrucción histórica con base en un epistolario misionerode la Biblioteca Nacional del Perú"(Spanish); A. Nobayashi, "Indigenous Peoples Status in Taiwan: A Preliminary Study on the Unconstitutional Decision of the 'Status Act for Indigenous Peoples' (Japanese); K. Kuroda, "Preliminary Consideration of the First Japanese Visitor to Makka: From a Study of Saishi Nakashima's World Travel and His Account of 'Mecca' in 1907"(Japanese).

Issue 4: E. Okada, "Performing, Teaching, and Listening to Ragas in Hindustani Classical Music"(English); T. Iida, "Decolonisation of Ethnographic Museums: Formation of Museum Collections in Europe and Japan"(Japanese).

Senri Ethnological Reports

157: Y. Yasugi, "The Title of Totonicapán"(Japanese).

Forthcoming Exhibitions

A Special Exhibition for the 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding

MINGU Design Expo
– Discovering Sources of Wisdom –

March 20–June 3, 2025

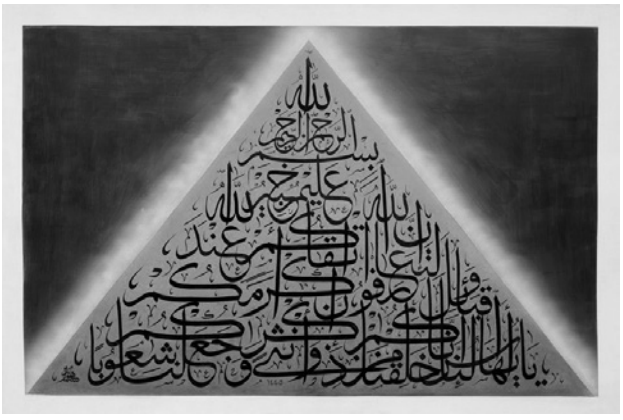
Carved statue Malaysia K0006468

Alcohol jar Republic of Uganda K0006728

A Thematic Exhibition for the 50th Anniversary of the Museum's Founding

Lines and Dots:
The Aesthetic Journey of Arabic Calligraphy

March 13–June 17, 2025



Fuad Kouichi Honda, "The Pyramid of Mankind", 2023, 180×270(cm)

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.

Available online at: www.minpaku.ac.jp/newsletter

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Signed articles represent views of the authors, not official views of the Museum. When a surname precedes first name in an article, the surname is capitalized.

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