



National
Museum of
Ethnology
Osaka

Number 6
June 1998

Japanese Studies in Europe

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Japanese studies in their broadest sense in Europe or the West go right back to the first meeting of these two civilisations during the sixteenth century. Let me mention here only the works of the Portuguese P. Louis Frois, S.J. such as his *Historia de Japam*, for example. During their four-hundred-year history, Japanese studies have changed face more than once. They depended—and still depend—more on the self-conceit or *auto-stereotype* of the Western world than on the Japanese reality that students claimed to be analysing. In this respect they faced the same problems as European studies of the Near East, which Edward Said's work¹ has described so vividly. This applies even more because Japanese studies in the West and their stereotypes have heavily influenced Japanese self-understanding which, in turn, is—in many ways—shaping on-going discussion in the West.

Just to point out some of the more important stages that can be discerned in the development of Japanese studies in Europe, I would like to mention the works of Bernhard Varen (Varenius), Engelbert Kämpfer and Philipp Franz von Siebold. Varen, whose *Descriptio Regni Japoniae*, Amsterdam, 1649, was not only the first scientific analysis of Japanese history and culture to be published in Europe, but also the first regional geography in the famous series by Elsevir. He relied heavily on reports from Franciscus Xaverio and other missionaries, but also on Italian sources like Pietro Maffei and depicted a very positive picture of a Japan resembling Europe in many respects and even surpassing it.



Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), first to use ethnological collections in Japanese studies.

This image remained pre-dominant during the Baroque period and was reproduced in works of literature, theatre, in collections of Japanese art, and in the kimono fashion of the time.

Kämpfer, in Japan from 1690 to 1692, published his *Amoenitates Exoticae*, Lemgo, 1712, and had his famous *The History of Japan* edited posthumously, London, 1727. His concept of a highly enlightened, peaceful and blooming Japanese society deeply influenced the early Enlightenment movement. Japan was by then styled as a model for the war-torn, cruel and backward Europe. Kämpfer was the first to create the concept of a prudent 'seclusion policy' (the Japanese term *sakoku* being only a re-translation by Shizuki Tadao in 1811!), the first to speak of a Japanese 'society of harmony' and of the Confucian tradition as one founding concept of Japanese culture and society. In Kämpfer's eyes this led to the fact that Japanese society

Contents

Josef Kreiner
Japanese Studies in Europe 1

Isao Kumakura
Some Observations on Japanese Studies Abroad 3

Stephen Sparkes
John Embree in Reverse: Loose Structures in
Thailand and Close Structures in Japan? 4

T'ia Huiquan
'Mono no yorokobi' and 'Mono no aware' 6

Arapata Tamati Hakiwai
Representation of Cultures: 'Images of Other
Cultures' 8

Announcement 9

Exhibition 10

Conferences 11

New Director 11

New Staff Member 11

Visiting Scholars 11

Publications 12

MINP A K U
Anthropology Newsletter



Alexander Slawik (1900-1996), first to introduce an ethnological approach into German Japanese studies.

1) Said, Edward 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Georges Borchardt Inc.

The author was born in Vienna, Austria. He studied ethnology with focus on Japan in Vienna and Tokyo. He obtained PhD in Vienna in 1964. Since 1977, he has been Professor of Japanese studies at the University of Bonn, Germany. From 1988 to 1996, he was a founding director, German Institute for Japanese Studies in Tokyo. His fields of study are religion and social structure on village level, Okinawa, European collections of Japanese art and material culture.

surpassed by far that of Europe of that time. All of these concepts may be found as—sometimes unconscious—premises in Japanese studies even nowadays.

Kämpfer's writings have been used as sources for European self-critique by many writers such as Jonathan Swift, Oliver Goldsmith, Matthias Claudius, Voltaire, Kant, Fichte and others. But suddenly the image changed at the height of the Enlightenment, sometime around the end of the eighteenth century.

Christoph Meiners of Göttingen drew Japanese culture together with other Asiatic cultures into a very negative picture: now the Europeans saw themselves at the peak of human development, all other races backward and incapable of innovation or even worse. This view was and is reiterated when speaking of Japan's 'group-orientated society' and can be found in the writings of Karl Marx, Max Weber (interestingly enough, Ōtsuka Hisao and others have tried to argue against Weber's reasoning by using Weber's own concepts), up to Karl Wittfogel, and has been reinforced by Japanese scholars like Yamada Moritarō, Nakane Chie (vertical society), Doi Takeo (the concept of dependency, *amae*) and others.

It is interesting to note that, at this change in the European image of Japan, two other cultures within the broader framework of the Japanese, i.e. that of the Ainu and that of Ryūkyū/Okinawa, were 'discovered' by Europe to replace the lost ideal.

Siebold, who stayed in Japan between 1823 and 1829, collected a vast array of material on all aspects of Japanese history, culture and society. While editing his *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und seinen Nebenländern*, Leiden, 1832-1852, he was also able to draw on his voluminous collections (now in Leiden and Munich) as well as collections by his contemporaries Jan Cock Blomhoff and Johann Frederic van Overmeer-Fisscher. This was the first attempt to represent, and explain Japanese culture through tangibles and the contemporary culture of everyday life.

From about the second half of the nineteenth century when—during the Meiji Period—foreigners had been able to do research in Japan without any restrictions for the first time in centuries, Japanese studies began gradually to diversify according to the historical, political and economic connections between each country and Japan, but also in connection with respective academic traditions. So it is not surprising that the term 'Japanology' was first used in the German speaking countries of Middle Europe in connection with the missionary Jean Bettelheim and his translation of the Bible into the Ryūkyūan language, an entirely philological effort, while in English language it was used by Nordenskiöld when speaking of Sir Ernest

Satow and his more cultural-anthropologic, practice-orientated studies.

The first chairs for Japanese studies were created at Leiden in 1856, afterwards Paris, St. Petersburg and London, and it was only during World War II that American studies on Japan began to free themselves from their former orientation towards Europe. In the 1960s, Great Britain started to adopt 'modern' Japanese studies instead of the 'old-fashioned' Japanology. Continental Europe lagged behind. For years it clung to philological studies of, mostly classic, Japanese literature. For Soviet Russia this was the only means to escape Marxist theoretical oppression. For Germany, philology meant the peak of scholarly involvement with a foreign culture. Only gradually and in deep connection with Japanese scholars of social and cultural anthropology like Oka Masao, Ishida Eiichirō, Sumiya Kazuhiko, Ōbayashi Taryō and others, a new approach began to spread, first from Vienna, then from other universities in Central Europe. International cooperation started in the 1970s with EAJS (European Association of Japanese Studies) and many societies at a national level, then also to special fields of study like JAWS (Japan Anthropology Workshop) or the more informal cooperations like 'The Ryūkyūanist' newsletter (Kōji Taira, Illinois) and others, and lastly to international joint ventures like the Siebold-project currently being discussed between the Netherlands, Germany and Austria.

By necessity this overview had to be very cursory and could not touch on many important researchers, projects and publications, in particular over the last fifty years. But what I have tried to show is that we should never forget how closely interwoven Japanese studies are with the self-conceptions of Europe and the West. Elucidation of this ought to be the primary task before engaging with anything Japanese.

For further discussion I refer to Befu, Harumi and J. Kreiner (eds) 1991. *Othernesses of Japan*. Munich: iudicium; Kreiner, Josef and H.D. Ölschleger (eds) 1996. *Japanese Culture and Society: Models of Interpretation*. Munich: iudicium; and Distelrath, Günther 1996. *Die japanische Produktionsweise: Zur wissenschaftlichen Genese einer stereotypen Sicht der japanischen Wirtschaft*. Munich: iudicium.



August Pfizmaier (1807-1887), first translator of a Japanese work of literature into a European language, Ryūtei Tanehiko's *Ukiyogata Rokumai Byōbu*, Vienna 1847.

Some Observations on Japanese Studies Abroad

Isao Kumakura

National Museum of Ethnology

Japanese studies carried out in various parts of the world have grown tremendously for the past three decades, both in terms of quantity and quality, to the extent that they are now incomparably more advanced than thirty years ago. Under these circumstances, a short essay cannot encompass the entire scope nor trend of Japanese studies worldwide, since available resources and information are limited. For instance, the Japan Foundation (*Kokusai Koryu Kikin*) issues periodicals reporting on the current situation of Japanese studies in overseas countries. If all of these publications were brought together, the physical volume would be enormous. In this report, therefore, I wish to focus on my personal experience of participation in a fairly limited number of academic conferences.

In August 1997, I participated in the 'Conference on Japanese Studies in Europe', and experienced some shock. The conference organiser was EAJS (European Association of Japanese Studies), which was founded in the 1970s. If you look at a photo of a meeting in those days, you find that the Association had about thirty members. In sharp contrast, about five hundred researchers and students came to the eighth conference, which was convened in Budapest last year. This quantitative growth itself was amazing enough. There were many sessions and groups in the programme. I was invited to the group titled 'Fine Art and the Performing Arts'. During the conference, I found that the level of attendance varied significantly from one session to another, depending on the content of presentations.

Since the conference brochure provided complete information on session schedules, participants were able to move about freely inside the conference hall, attending whichever sessions they chose. When some subjects stimulated major interest among participants, many people rushed to listen to those sessions. Often there were not enough seats for everybody in those rooms, so many people had to stand against the walls throughout the discussions.

The popular sessions that I myself attended included those focusing on the core of contemporary youth culture and popular culture: 'Takarazuka Opera and Cartoons for Girls', 'Shin Meiwa Denki', 'Chindon'ya (street entertainers employed to advertise the opening of new stores, sales, plays and other events)' and so on. The sessions that attracted the least attendance offered presentations on traditional arts, such as *noh*, *kabuki* or *cha-no-yu* (tea ceremony). The rooms allocated for these subjects were conspicuously slack and quiet.

This reminds me of a conference that I attended at the Leiden University in February 1998. The theme was 'the Asian Food Culture in the Twentieth Century'.

Given high interest in contemporary culture, the programme attracted many researchers and students, even from outside the regular circles. According to those in the University, when a lecture course is about 'Japanese food culture', it will usually attract about thirty students, whereas only three to four students will be enrolled if it is about 'waka literature (a traditional short poem consisting of 31 syllables) during the Heian Period'.

In response to these observations, I expect that many would say immediately, 'Oh! That! Nothing surprising at all! It has been like that for years'. Even in Japan, there are more students enrolled in studies of ancient times, the middle ages and pre-modern times, which are basically centred around the reading of printed materials, than in research into the history of the Edo period, which would require lengthy and cumbersome reading of hand-written scriptures in archives. Usually, in the department of comparative culture at a university, there are many more students who choose to deal with modern culture as a theme for their graduation thesis than those who attempt to address the issue of culture from a historical perspective. This seems to be a universal phenomenon today, regardless of nation. Especially for foreigners who specialise in Japanese studies, it is already a very demanding task to master the Japanese language. If they need, on top of that, to learn ancient Japanese grammar, old Chinese literature, and the reading of Japanese scriptures in ancient times, it is quite understandable if many of them are put off from such areas of work.

On the other hand, however, it should be noted that this phenomenon is not merely a detachment from history among people, but it also reflects a large and looming issue in society.

It is true that I enjoy presentations on Japanese youth culture or contemporary culture at academic meetings. I almost feel as if I was listening to reports of an alien culture in some unknown place. It is a lot of fun for me to learn about a Japan which I did not know before. Having said so, however, it is also true that, after listening to those presentations, I usually somehow feel dissatisfied and frustrated. My frustration arises from the recognition that, although conclusions have been reached in one way or another, they do not really clarify what is going on. Initial questions remain unanswered. It is not that researchers in those subjects do not live up to what is required of them. Rather, I imagine that the problem is related to the quality of such novel themes for research. In other words, the researchers maintain such a strong personal attachment to the themes that their work itself becomes a joy and a

pleasure, almost like a hobby.

I would like to make clear that I am not criticising them. In retrospect, I remember academic societies thirty years ago, when they had an overwhelmingly influential power over their members, determining the direction of research work, almost dictating what types of studies were desirable and supportable, and which work should be discouraged as dangerous. In those days, there was inarticulate agreement in academia about what was acceptable and what was not acceptable. Modern academia is much healthier in that scholars can enjoy almost complete freedom in the choice of subjects, concentrating on the pursuit of interest as much as they like, without being disturbed by the opinions of others.

I presume that, as a post-modern phenomenon, Japanese studies will be further segmented, personalised and expanded without control, as scholars continue to identify and fill new niche within the scope of current and previous research work. As far as this discipline is concerned, it is not possible to discover an innovative theme for research solely by summarising or categorising the global trend of studies in relation to Japan and its culture today. As I mentioned before, the Japan Foundation can provide data on the major directions of work in various countries. The published

literature undoubtedly includes valuable materials for Japanese studies. Nevertheless, perusing these publications would hardly be useful for individual research purposes. In order to create something that is genuinely innovative, all we can do is to search with our own eyes and feet as extensively as possible, exploring what might eventually become our primary interest.

There is a problem, however. We have lost the conventional framework or consensus that previously guided research. We therefore have more difficulty in recognising universal or general standards in research. Whatever the research may be, it will be initiated as a point of view, which is extended to cover other points, following the course of development to reach higher dimensions, transforming points into planes in the end. This process requires something much more than ordinary effort, especially in areas such as youth and popular cultures. Even though a higher dimension can be achieved in some of these subjects, the research might remain limited to the level of personal commitment. These new subjects can be pursued in joint projects or symposia, but I fear that there is a natural limitation on what can be achieved in this way.

John Embree in Reverse: Loose Structures in Thailand and Close Structures in Japan?

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The author is a PhD candidate at the University of Oslo. His research to date has been conducted in northern Thailand, in a Shan village in Mae Hong Son Province, and in an Isan village, Loei Province. The title of his PhD is 'Blood and Merit: Gender and Cosmology in Two Thai Communities'. He has examined social practice, kinship, gender relations and ritual symbolism in these two communities. His thesis was submitted in December 1997 and will be defended in Oslo in September 1998.

Spending six weeks at the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka in the spring of 1997, provided me with an interesting, although somewhat limited, opportunity to reflect upon the differences between Thai culture, with which I had been working for more than two years, and Japanese culture, which I experienced for the first time. In a sense, I was following the footsteps of a great anthropologist, John Embree, but in reverse. I was familiar with Embree's work on Thailand from his influential essay entitled, 'Thailand: A Loosely Structured Social System'¹⁾ and had read with interest his earlier works on Japan, especially his monographs, *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*²⁾ and *The Japanese Nation*.³⁾ Unlike his pioneering Japanese work, his single contribution to Thai anthropology, before his untimely death, provoked a debate lasting several decades. 'Loose structure' became a 'gate-keeping' concept in Thai anthropology, a metonym for Thai society as a whole.⁴⁾ This concept grew out of Embree's previous experiences in East Asia which coloured his approaches to Thailand, and I shall briefly summarise the salient points of his argument below after reviewing some of the prominent ideas from his Japanese works. I shall try to place the concepts of loose and

close structures into the context and understanding of those times in order to reveal how knowledge about certain societies is produced.

In *The Japanese Nation* Embree focuses on the feudal system of social organisation in Japan and states that there is limited mobility in the 'in-between' groups but none among those found on the top or at the bottom of the system.⁵⁾ When dealing with cultural patterns, his emphasis is on group solidarity and loyalty, the ideals of self-discipline, formal gift exchange, a refined etiquette of avoidance and other rules governing behaviour. Embree was also influenced by Ruth Benedict, whose notions of Japanese life as formulae of *chu* and *ko* and *giri* and *jin* could be 'parceled out into separated provinces on a map'.⁶⁾ Benedict's 'culture-at-a-distance' reports on Thailand⁷⁾ and Japan⁸⁾ stressed the identifying of cultural patterns and consistencies which could aid US administrators in understanding these foreign cultures. Here the Thai are portrayed as 'fun-loving' in contrast to the ordered and predictable Japanese.

Embree arrived in Bangkok as the American cultural officer with the goal of establishing a programme for ethnographic

1) Embree, John 1950. 'Thailand: A Loosely Structured Social System', *American Anthropologist* 52: 181-192.

research in Thailand on behalf of Yale University. Embree defines culture in terms of 'loosely' and 'closely' structured societies: Thailand represents the former due to considerable variation of sanctioned individual behaviour whereas Japan is typical of the latter, characterised by behaviour which conforms closely to formal social patterns with the individual having far less flexibility and finding it difficult to deviate. Embree gives examples of loosely structured behaviour based on observations on the family and on the level of the nation state. What he perceived as a lack of filial duty to parents was reflected in the 'unreliable' and spontaneous, and flexible political system, absence of a standing army and a lack of clear inheritance of power in the Thai royal family. Although, Embree's article is an improvement on Benedict's report based on interviews in the US, I suggest that many of his conclusions are based on texts, pre-conceived notions and limited exposure to the field.

Upon rereading Embree's article on loose structure I was struck by the ethnocentric point of view and the influences of the time. It was shortly after the Second World War when American military personnel were operating in Thailand. The language is of discipline, order and predictability. Perhaps such concerns can be traced back to Japan in the 1930s when Embree was living there during a time of military rule and frantic industrialisation in an effort to rival Western colonial powers in the Pacific. In many ways, Embree appears to side with Japan, a growing industrial society with order and discipline, more than with Thailand, a predominantly rural culture with 'chaotic' rituals, an unorganised bureaucracy and education system, and *sanuk* (fun-loving). We are compelled to ask: what common element in American society and East Asian Confucian values does Embree find reassuring but absent among those 'undisciplined' Thais? One can speculate on the Protestant work ethic, rational and ordered scientific thinking or a regularity and predictability of behaviour which established the context in which Embree conceptualised this difference.

Whatever it was the notion of loose structure stuck in Thai anthropology for many years, with scholars taking sides for and against⁽⁹⁾ or claiming that it was 'a classic example of loose thinking' as the then British structuralist, Tambiah, does.⁽¹⁰⁾ With the benefit of recent trends of self-reflection and re-examination of concepts and methods in social anthropology, and nearly thirty years of anthropological studies on Thailand, one can identify shortcomings in Embree's notion of loose-structure which partly resulted from his previous experience of Japan. The most important point, in my opinion, is how patrilineal descent and filial duty in Japan hindered him from seeing the important role women play in Thai kinship. Hale calls women the 'fixed points' in the Thai kin system due to their importance in the household, local economies, inheritance of the parental house and duties to the ancestors in northern Thailand in particular.⁽¹¹⁾

Despite this criticism, I feel there is

something to Embree's argument and I found myself, somewhat against my will, using his words or similar analogies when first confronted with the organised, efficient and conformist tendencies upon my arrival at Kansai Airport and introduction to Osaka. I was amazed at the discipline. Filling up the car with petrol was turned into a little ritual: the car drives in, service attendants bark out greetings of welcome, bow and carry out their duties with military precision before taking their places on a white dot for the next customer. I had previously thought the British were the world's best at queuing! They do not stand a chance compared with the Japanese: white lines, arrows, signs marking where the different Shinkansen trains stop, and precise disembarkation and embarkation in record time. Discipline was evident everywhere, even at the National Museum of Ethnology with its bells indicating 12:00 lunch and 13:00 return-to-work.

These observations reflect in many ways what Japanese scholars have struggled with: behaviour patterns which deal with the opposition of conformity versus the individual aberrant, group solidarity versus the ego.⁽¹²⁾ Lest I fall into the same trap as Embree on Thailand, I choose to avoid generalisations and stereotypes concerning the whole range of behaviour in Japanese society and, instead, confine my impressionistic observations to one theme, gender. I have been studying various aspects of gender in Thai society, and despite obvious differences between the two societies in question, there are also some important parallels, at least in the mind of this Westerner.

The underlying principle in both Thailand and Japan, I suggest, is the inherent superiority of the male over the female. In Thailand this is based ultimately on Buddhist concepts of karma and spiritual advance: being born male implies a greater amount of accumulated merit. Men alone may be ordained as monks and have near exclusive access to spiritual power. Women due to their ability to give birth and menstruate (considered unclean) are deemed closer to nature and further removed from the spiritual realm. Buddhism, like Christianity, preaches the triumph of spirit over flesh.

In Japan, male superiority seems to be founded on Confucian ethics and patrilineal descent. In traditional Japanese society the women's rightful place was in the home and taking care of the children, and this has continued with the industrialisation of the country this century. Interaction between men and women tends to be hierarchical from a Western point of view: women, even in professional positions, show respect to men and their male colleagues, and there are probably many instances in language and in behaviour which eluded me. Women respond to male commands and at the same time are careful to provide for men's needs, combining notions of obedience, subservience and nurturing. In Thailand, too, women should not raise their voices to men and are considered the 'hind legs' of the elephant but are also associated with the production of food for the family and the

2) Embree, John 1939. *Suye Mura: A Japanese Village*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

3) Embree, John 1945. *The Japanese Nation: A Social Survey*. New York: Rinehart and Company Ltd.

4) Appadurai, Arjun 1986. 'Theory in Anthropology: Center and Periphery'. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28(2): 356-361.

5) Embree 1945, pp.117-127.

6) Benedict, Ruth 1947. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. London: Secker and Warburg, p.195.

7) Benedict, Ruth 1952. *Thai Culture and Behavior: An Unpublished War-time Study Dated September, 1943*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data Paper.

8) Benedict 1947.

9) Evers, Hans-Dieter (ed.) 1969. *Loosely Structured Social Systems: Thailand in Comparative Perspective*. Yale University, Cultural Report Series no.17.

10) Tambiah, Stanley 1966. 'Review of Thai Peasant Personality by Herbert P. Phillips', *Man* 6: 424.

11) Hale, Ann 1979. 'A Reassessment of Northern Thai Matrilineages', *Mankind* 12: 138-150.

12) Lebra, Takie Sugiyama, and W.P. Lebra (eds) 1986. *Japanese Culture and Behavior*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press.

monastery.

Another aspect which struck me as very 'unwestern' was separation of the sexes. Abroad, Japan is known for its work and the amount of time salarymen spend on the job and with their male colleagues in the evening. The division of labour seems to have been exaggerated due to the intense competitiveness of Japanese industry, sacrificing the family and a variety of activities in which men and women participate together. Although there is a separation of the sexes in Thailand, it is by far less extreme than in Japan. Thai men spend more time with their children, for example although this is being reduced in urban areas.

Women's roles in politics and the economy in the two countries have certain similarities and differences. Many scholars have noted that Thai and Southeast Asian women play important roles in local economies, are the majority of sellers and buyers in markets, and control the purse strings of the household. In a similar manner, Japanese women control the finances and running of the household. Neither have economic or political power on a national level: very few women are elected to political offices or head large corporations. There are, of course, notable exceptions in both countries. It has taken women nearly one hundred years in Scandinavia to have a greater say in politics (approximately 40% of elected members are women nowadays), but even now few women are managing directors or chairwomen for large concerns.

I am not suggesting that women's liberation in the West is the only possible alternative for the evolution of gender relationships in Japan. One aspect, however,

which is important is that real political power makes a difference and is a way of protecting women's interests and values, such as extended maternity leave, ensuring women's rights, establishing equal treatment in the work place and curtailing sexual exploitation, as well as promoting greater equality between the sexes. Present developments point to a gradual dismantling of the inherent superiority of the male in both Thailand and Japan. What forms and meaning will be generated during this process of social change might very well depend on what Embree labelled the 'close' or 'loose' structures of these two societies. By focusing on gender, however, this dichotomy of structures tends to diminish and become less important as both societies change from hierarchical structures to more flexible, contextual and complementary gender values.

The production of knowledge is dependent on specific contexts and interactions between the field and the anthropologist. One is no longer able to make assertions without considering a range of factors which influence perception such as historical developments, 'gate-keeping' concepts, important contributions of authors and their texts. The debate concerning loose and close structures in Thai and Japanese societies respectively, stimulated many scholars to examine in more detail the culture and behaviour of these peoples. No longer can an anthropologist merely study what one perceives as 'reality' but one should be more concerned with what knowledge has been produced before and how that contributes to his/her own perception of that reality.

'Mono no yorokobi' and 'Mono no aware': Thoughts Inspired at the Lotus Appreciation Gathering

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In August 1997, a programme called 'Early Morning Lotus Appreciation Gathering and Xiangbibi (elephant nose cup)' was organised in the Japanese Garden of Senri Expo Park, where dozens of lotus flowers were in full bloom. Zhōu Jihua and I are Chinese. We had sometimes heard about an old Chinese tradition of 'Xiangbibi Drinking Party', which was said to have been common during the third century AD, but we had never experienced it ourselves. Our house neighbours were also very interested in the special programme offered at Senri Expo Park. One summer morning, with a bright and fierce sun shining in the clear blue sky, we and our neighbours set off by car to the Park, where we found many trees providing pedestrians with a comfortable shade.

As soon as we walked into the Japanese Garden, we were attracted to a Xiangbibi drinking stand near the gate. Behind a series of tables and chairs, a group of girls was serving rice wine (sake) for visitors. The girls were young, fresh and attractive,

wearing *happi* coats (traditional straight-sleeved coats). Some of those girls were holding high a big lotus leaf, onto which others poured rice wine. The liquid ran through the hollow in the centre of the long lotus stalk, to reach the end, from which the party guests sipped. It looked as if the participants, in reproducing the ancient Chinese custom, were holding in their mouth the tip of an elephant's nose. That is why the tradition is called Xiangbibi. On that day, many people queued inside the Garden to taste the delicious liquor, which was poured into their mouths through the lotus leaf stalk. Participants enjoyed the ancient Chinese tradition and the unique and quaint manner of serving rice wine.

We stayed there for a while, observing the participants learning how to drink sake with Xiangbibi. After that, we strolled down to the lotus pond following directions on a map. Floating in the air were the melodious notes of traditional Japanese music. While walking around the pond, we could identify

many varieties of lotus, each of which was exciting and valuable. We found 'Zuifei lotus' (a kind of pretty lotus flower, which people view as a metaphor for the beautiful queen, Yang Guifei, of the Tang Dynasty), 'One-thousand-year-old lotus', 'Chinese-Japanese friendship lotus' and so forth.

During this walk, we talked to our friends about how lotus flowers were grown, fostered and appreciated by the Chinese, and in turn, our friends explained the Japanese customs and traditions centred on lotuses. Our conversation gradually developed into an exchange of culture and folklore between the two countries focusing on lotuses. The Japanese said, 'In our custom, lotus flowers are mainly used in funeral services based on the Buddhist faith. For this reason, they usually remind us of the other world of new life, in which we are to be reborn after death'. On this particular point, I found a major difference in culture between China and Japan.

In China, lotus is called *lian* or *he*, and it has been one of the most favourite subjects in Chinese art for centuries. In as early as the seventh century BC, the Chinese produced bronze containers or utensils with lotus designs inscribed on the surface. In every area of ancient art and craft in China, we can discover excellent representations of lotus. Elaborate lotus designs have seeped into every aspect of daily life for Chinese people, and have been cherished and adored for generations. For instance, we find lotus patterns in murals, wall paper, garments, bed clothes, household utensils, and so on.

Furthermore, in poetry, there have been thousands of superb verses written about lotus. For example, in *Shi jing*, the oldest anthology in China, we read: 'There is a Fú sāng (sacred tree which appeared in old Chinese legends) in the mountains, and lotus flowers bloom in the wetlands'. Chinese people appreciate dearly the beauty of lotus petals, which, they believe, are not commonly equalled by other plants. As lotus petals unfold, they glow in a colourful and gorgeous manner, while the leaves and stalks present a striking green. Lotus roots are pure white and they remain unstained despite the fact that they grow in mud. The flowers, leaves and roots of lotus all provide striking natural shapes and the plant is a remarkable subject for art.

The Chinese are famous for their love of food and drink. Lotus has maintained a firm position in Chinese traditional cuisine. Its seeds, fruits, leaves and rhizomes are all utilised in Chinese cooking. Lotus is indispensable in the whole spectrum of Chinese cuisine from simple home cooking to extravagant dinners for state guests. Lotus can also be used as medicine. Nodes on the rhizomes are effective as cough medicine, and the leaves are used in an antipyretic. Lotus seeds are a very potent energy source.

Lotus is also considered a good gift for others. This is not only because of nutrition, but also because of the auspicious attributes of this plant. In the Chinese language, the lotus seed is '*lianzi*', and '*liansheng guizi*' is a phrase which signifies people's great hope to have many sons. The expression '*liansheng guizi*' is usually shortened to '*lianzi*', and the

character used here has the same pronunciation as the character for lotus seed; thus it has been the custom in Chinese society to give lotus seeds to a newly married couple. Another important character of lotus is that the seeds stay viable for centuries, and even after one thousand years of storage. The seeds have, therefore, been used as a gift to the aged to celebrate a long life.

Lotus has had an important political implication in society. Zhou Dunyi, a philosopher in the North Song Dynasty, created a beautiful verse about lotus plants, which has been quoted ever since. The verse reads, 'Although lotuses are grown in the muddy ground, they remain intact and unstained. They are not voluptuous or suggestive, while being exposed to little waves of clean water. Although hollow inside, they are straight and upright. They do not produce runners or branches'

This metaphor signifies that civil servants should not be corrupt, and that they should value nobility and integrity, thus dedicating themselves to the grand cause of society. Even if they are fortunate enough to have easy access to affluence and comfort in life, they should not seek luxury. Their life style should be thrifty. They should pursue self-discipline and aspire for the most fundamental principles. While these attributes of lotuses were fully appreciated in that Dynasty, politicians made it a rule to keep ornaments with the designs of lotus flowers and roots in their office and home.

Presumably, because lotuses were described in Buddhist scriptures, the followers of this religion adored them most of all plants in ancient times. They regarded the lotus flowers as 'sacred flowers'. In addition, Buddha was often represented as a figure sitting on lotus flowers. In Chinese, Buddhists called the world ruled by the Buddha *lianjie* (lotus heaven), monks' garments *lianfu* (lotus clothes) and the place where the Buddha was seated *lianzuo* (lotus seat). We can also detect the Buddhist influence in the protocols of funeral services in ancient China, which contained various lotus designs. When a deceased person was laid down in a coffin, people decorated the shoes with embroideries or patchworks of lotus flowers, thus expressing their prayer that the deceased could swiftly move forward beyond the boundary of this world, reaching the sacred country of the Buddha.

What is important is that Chinese people have appreciated the multi-faceted attributes of lotus, treasuring the idea of identifying themselves with this species. Wherever one goes in China,

Papercut by Han Yueqin: A pair of Mandarin ducks (symbol for a newly married couple) enjoying their life in a lotus pond. The central character expresses double happiness.



lotus images are ubiquitous, be it a river, lake, or ponds in private premises. One is exposed to the beauty of lotus in innumerable places. A glorious lotus culture has been fostered with the development of Chinese society.

It is an intriguing question why, when it comes to the perception of lotus, there is such a remarkable difference between China and Japan, despite the two nations sharing so many similarities in other respects. China is a vast nation on the Asian continent, where people can be assured of positive experiences in life despite rainy days, saying, 'Although the sky is dark in the east, there is bright sunlight in the west. Although the south is heavily damaged by flood, the north remains safe and sound'. Even if we suffer from serious losses in one area, there is still some hope left for the other areas. People are used to the comforting idea about life that there is always some shelter available for them so that they can survive difficulties. Conceptions of sorrow, grief or distress have not been deep-rooted in the Chinese consciousness. Instead, people have sought a positive outlook on life and nature, an attitude that I would like to identify as *mono no yorokobi* in

contrast to *mono no aware*.¹¹ For instance, if somebody over eighty years old passes away, the Chinese call it *Xisang* (funeral service for one who has completed a long life, fully accomplishing the assignments of life), thus celebrating it by sending to the family of the deceased a piece of scarlet silk, on which a message of condolence is written.

On the other hand, in the Japanese archipelago, people have experienced natural disaster quite frequently. The problem for Japan is that the total area is more obviously limited, with little spare land left for people to take shelter. This environment has triggered an intensified consciousness about crisis in nature among Japanese people. Whatever extraordinary events take place, people tend to grasp the situation with a tinge of sorrow and grief. This attitude can be identified as *mono no aware*. The environment does have a deep influence on the way in which people look at life and nature. On that particular day last summer, I happened to detect dissimilarities between China and Japan in how people see lotuses. Now I am very interested in whether



Early Morning Lotus Appreciation Gathering and Xiangbibi in the Japanese Garden, Senri Expo Park.

we can better understand differences in ethos between the Chinese and Japanese by focusing on how lotuses are appreciated by these two peoples.

1) '*Mono no aware*': A literary and aesthetic ideal cultivated during the Heian period (794-1185). At its core is a deep, empathetic appreciation of the ephemeral beauty manifest in nature and human life, and it is therefore usually tinged with a hint of sadness (Excerpt from *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopaedia*. Tokyo: Kodansha Ltd., 1993)

(This article was originally written in Chinese. It was translated into Japanese and then into English.)

Representation of Cultures: 'Images of Other Cultures'

Arapata Tamati Hakiwai

National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

This opportunity to critique the special exhibition 'Images of Other Cultures', a collaboration between the British Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, was gladly accepted, given the ever-growing international 'gaze' on how cultures are represented in museums. The exhibition coincided with a twentieth anniversary celebration of the opening to the public of the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku).¹¹

This celebration in itself is to be recommended—defining moments in a museum's history are very often either dismissed as insignificant or are otherwise recorded as mere factual detail in the overall history of the museum. The present exhibition thus signals an important moment for this young museum, as well as highlighting the need in Japan to seriously look at the issue of cultural representation, or rather, how cultures have been represented in museums.

The National Museum of Ethnology is brave and courageous

in mounting this exhibition. In recent years museums world-wide have received mounting criticism regarding ineptitude and 'cultural arrogance' in representing cultures, primarily through exhibitions. I hope that the present exhibition is a precursor to more serious examination and questioning of museum practices, traditions and future directions. Although exhibitions are in fact only one area of concern for indigenous peoples and ethnic groups, they are important: it is through exhibitions that many people see and experience unique expressions of cultural richness and diversity. When we think about any exhibition, many questions beg to be answered. Exhibition on whose behalf? How is the exhibition being curated? Whose voice(s) are being presented? Is that really the actuality/reality of the people and culture? Who is in control and who is telling the story?

Whether this exhibition has achieved what it set out to do is debatable. What the exhibition

needs, besides this critique by international curators and researchers, many of whom are 'outsiders', is a qualitative critique from members of the cultures being represented. Not to have this, I suggest, is merely creating a reflective gaze into the mirror. In addition, it would be especially productive to have audience evaluations carried out with the public, to see whether or not the 'messages' and intentions of the exhibitions are being communicated effectively, and whether or not what is intended is in fact what is being received.

The exhibition entranceway or first point of departure 'Western Views of Other Cultures' is an excellent idea as it confronts the visitor with how cultures have been presented in the past, that is, from the 'other' perspective. In *Minpaku Anthropology Newsletter* (No 4, June 1997, p. 7) Kenji Yoshida writes that 'viewing this early ethnographic presentation will naturally lead people to realise the large degree of subjectivity that can be associated

with any attempt to exhibit or perceive other cultures'. The ethnological, outsider approach is very familiar and one that fuels resentment and anger from the cultures being presented. Asking visitors to see how cultures have been presented in the past is innovative and highly commendable, but not being able to read the Japanese signage made it difficult to assess whether or not the public actually realised the intention underlying this first gallery. It was also difficult to ascertain what sorts of messages were being communicated. The signage appeared to be 'orthodox' museum-centric labels in brevity and design but because they were written in Japanese I cannot comment on the value of what was written. There were a number of 'major' treasures on display but whether the public realised why they were there as well as their importance in their cultures is unknown. I hope that the signage said more than the name of the collector, the date it was acquired, and so on. The labels and how they were positioned appeared very ethnographic. Although I understand this approach, this format appeared to be the only format adopted throughout the whole exhibition.

Deconstructing the 'ethnographic' text and museum exhibition style is something that museums must do better when attempting to represent cultures. The permanent exhibition in the Osaka museum is very ethnographic in presentation with large numbers of similar treasures appearing everywhere, grouped into familiar typologies and classifications. I wonder whether the Japanese public really understood the intention of this first gallery or whether in fact they thought that this was another corridor of cultural enlightenment in which to reflect on other cultures, as in the corridors of the permanent gallery?

Kenji Yoshida in *Minpaku Anthropology Newsletter* (*ibid.*, p.4), writing of room 4, said that 'we will display hybrid arts and artefacts that reflect the culmination of interactions between cultures

across national borders'. What I believe to be the border-crossing of cultures today is their ability to engage with indigenous peoples and diverse ethnic groups directly and effectively so that the etic or 'outside' perspective becomes the emic or 'inside' perspective. What was disappointing here was the apparent lack of any real participation from cultures within the areas represented. The partnership with the British Museum seemed to signal that the cultures and peoples of Africa, in particular, did not need to be contacted. The assumption that other museums can speak about other cultures and, in large part, for them, is questionable and dangerous to say the least. Direct bridges of communication, I believe, need to be established so that exhibitions can speak with authority and resonate with the many voices of each culture.

The fact that the exhibition will travel to the Setagaya Art Museum in Tokyo will help to break down self-imposed perceptions and historical traditions that separate art galleries and museums, and especially ethnological museums. The heady questions of what is art, and what is culture are integral to the dynamics of any discussion on cultural diversity. Many people today still believe that art galleries are for contemporary cultures while museums are for the past. This initiative will no doubt create debate and healthy dialogue about these so-called 'fixed' traditions, and hopefully, pave the way to more meaningful definitions and working relationships between museums and art galleries.

The last area called 'The Border-Crossing Cultures Today' was to me a bit confusing. I fully understood the intention to show the persistence of unique and distinctive cultures in the contemporary living culture, but I think this was unconsciously curated in the 'other perspective' masked or disguised in the present. The juxtapositions of certain treasures seemed reminiscent of typologies and their classifications found in western science. The labels or signage were also very orthodox

and, in themselves, said this is a museum. More creativity in design and presentation could have done wonders.

Finally, the exhibition was strongly visually oriented and two-dimensional. It would have been good to experience material directed to other senses—the sounds of Africa, Oceania and Japan for example. While touring the exhibition, I overheard a delegate from Africa comment on the flags, saying that their meanings were in the proverbs and that their placement was odd. The inner messages of unique and distinctive cultures are reflected in their traditions and languages, and perhaps more engagement with the culture and peoples directly would have resulted in a more robust exhibition, an exhibition resonating with the voices of the peoples being represented. Nevertheless, congratulations to the organisers for their courage and commitment in mounting this exhibition and hosting the international symposium.

The author is a kaitiaki or curator of Maori treasures at the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand. He is a Maori and his tribes are Ngati Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata and Ngati Porou (tribes on the eastern seaboard of New Zealand's North Island). For the last eight years he has been involved in developing exhibitions, research on Maori culture, and care for Maori cultural heritage. In 1989-1991 he helped prepare the travelling Maori art exhibition 'Taonga Maori' that toured Australia (Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane). The author strongly believes that museums must 'breakdown the walls' to involve indigenous people more in the management and care of their taonga or treasures.

1) The Special Exhibition 'Images of Other Cultures' was held at Minpaku from 25 September 1997 to 27 January 1998. Two other review articles on that special exhibition appeared in the previous issue.

Announcement

Structural Reorganisation at Minpaku

Since foundation in 1974, the main function of the National Museum of Ethnology has been defined as 'to collect and conserve ethnographic materials, to exhibit them to the

public, and to carry out ethnological research'. Researchers here are expected to do substantial field research on societies and cultures throughout the world, and to present their results to academic audiences and the public.

Previously, our research departments consisted of four areal departments and one cross-cultural department. Research units within the departments were each assigned

one professor, one associate professor, and one research fellow.

For the last twenty years, the Museum has published numerous ethnographies and has contributed the development of anthropological theory. However, the globalisation of many social and cultural phenomena in the contemporary world led us to restructure our research system so that the Museum can tackle contemporary

phenomena more readily, and deal with social demands concerning them.

After reorganisation, we have four disciplinary departments and a centre for research development. In these departments and centre, full professors will be most numerous, followed by associate professors, and then research fellows. Professors and associate professors are expected to independently lead joint projects in collaboration with other institutions. Research fellows will continue their individual and independent research, but are not entitled to organise formal joint projects. The range of positions remains very traditional. For the last twenty years, Minpaku research staff in these positions have had more independence than in most Japanese research institutions. With these changes, we are moving

from an arrangement with predominantly junior research staff to an arrangement with predominantly more senior staff.

In contrast to the Japanese employment system generally, the museum will also have several professors in the Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology who are employed under contract with a limited term of office. They will be expected to conduct projects with contemporary and possibly controversial themes for six years. The projects should be completed within this limited but generous time span. This new component of the employment system should give the Museum greater flexibility in the direction of its research. Four professors and two associate professors from our present staff have been shifted to the new positions. Their research fields

include development anthropology, environmental anthropology, and tourism anthropology. Some of the new positions may become open to new staff after the year 2004. Research fellows who are employed after September 1998 will also have a limited time of office.

Our new Departments (and their Directors) are as follows (these English titles are tentative): Department of Social Research (Masashi Tachikawa), Department of Cultural Research (Isao Kumakura), Department of Museum Anthropology (Tatsuhiko Fujii), Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology (Nobuyuki Hata), and Department of Research Development (Shuzo Koyama).

Yasuhiko Nagano
National Museum of Ethnology

Exhibition

What is inside?—Forays and X-rays into the Ethnographic Objects

An exhibition with the above title was held from 19 March to 26 May 1998, at the special exhibition hall of Minpaku. The committee members were T. Morita, K. Otsuka, Y. Omori, N. Sonoda, and Y. Yamamoto.

During the last twenty years, staff at Minpaku have taken many X-ray radiographs during inspections of new acquisitions, for ethno-technological research as preparation for restoration work, and other reasons. After use, most of the films rested unused in a drawer of the conservation laboratory. Recently a recheck of these films gave us the idea to exhibit them alongside the original objects, as a way of explaining the regular work of the museum.

X-ray radiography is now a common method for non-destructive analysis of antiquities, works of art, and archaeological objects. However, the technique has not generally been used for ethnographic materials, in Japan or other countries.

The exhibition presented eighty-four radiographs and the corresponding objects in five sections, as follows:

- 1) Introduction: Principles of radiography and a short history of its application to museum materials (on panel).
- 2) Function and design: Radiography reveals the functional parts of tools which are often covered with additional processing or design. For

example, two Indonesian drums of very similar size were found to differ in wall thickness, a difference that creates different sounds.

- 3) Secrets of the artefact makers: Artisans may leave tool-marks or unfinished details (or extra details) on hidden parts of objects. For example, a Nepalese wooden bottle with narrow neck and very thin wall has a trace of inner carving which was made from the top opening. The craftsman was unimaginably skilled. Our most remarkable discovery was the presence of tiny stone flakes inside an Ainu harp that was made more than two centuries ago in Sakhalin. The Ainu have a long tradition of placing a piece of walnut inside a harp when it is made. This piece symbolises the 'holy spirit' of the harp. According to K. Otsuka, a specialist on Ainu culture, there are no documentary reports of stone flakes being used in this way, so the present discovery may represent a lost element of earlier culture, recovered by non-destructive method. In another example, we discovered an old Mongolian technique for making a water flask with consolidated felt.
- 4) Inspection for internal degradation: Internal degradation of objects is often difficult to detect from surface appearances. X-ray radiography allows us to show processes such as iron corrosion penetrating wood, or heavy insect attack inside a calabash.
- 5) Superficial and deep resemblances: A superficial resemblance can be found when comparing an original piece and its replica. The X-ray image of an Iranian drum with fine ivory inlay

revealed the fine structure of the ornament. A plastic copy of the drum, covered with only a photocopy of the ornament produced a very simple X-ray image of the wall. In another comparison, Australian Aboriginal bark paintings made by a conservative older artist and by a younger artist in another group appear similarly traditional, but their radiographs differ because different painting materials were used. The older artist used mineral pigments and the younger modern synthetic colours.

We hope that the displayed radiographs and objects were carefully observed by visitors, so that they could realise the hidden nature of much technical and cultural information. The displayed materials were accompanied by explanatory figures, line indications and captions, because we know that most of visitors have no training to interpret images and materials directly. Some visitors may have sufficient experience or curiosity to somehow interpret images and materials, for others this may be difficult. To help visitors understand the exhibition, we gave a talk in the gallery every Saturday afternoon.

A set of work sheets entitled 'Observing Object and Image' was also prepared for students and other young visitors. This was made with the assistance of a pedagogy PhD student, and received favourable comments from school teachers. In addition, a virtual exhibition of the same title, an abstract of the real one, was simultaneously presented on the Internet.

Tsuneyuki Morita
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

Japanese Civilization in the Modern World: Comparative Studies of Formation and Transformation of Nation States

*16th International Symposium,
Division of Civilization Studies,
The Taniguchi Foundation
3-10 November 1997*

In recent years 'nation states' have become a major topic in various social sciences. In many parts of the world the institutions and ideologies of nation states are under attack. In some states, institutions and ideology are losing their accountability. In other areas, a diverse array of 'trans-national' and super-state institutions are being established.

In this symposium, however, our interests were in the past, not in the present or future situation. We focused on the modern nation state of Japan, from the Meiji era to the pre-war Showa era. In some ways, the institutional systems of nation states are universal, and allegedly modelled on the French Republic. Nevertheless, each state has its own characteristics, formed in its own particular historical context. These issues were addressed by comparing the civilisations of Japan and other countries.

The symposium opened with a stimulating keynote presentation by Professor Tadao Umesao, in which he argued that models for the Japanese modern state indicated not only Western states, but also the Chinese Empire. The tendency towards empire building was thus inherent from the beginning. The Japanese model was then adopted by the Republic of China, he further argued. Major topics in the next eight papers were: nation state and the making of 'national history' in Japan and Germany (Margaret D. Mehl); Chinese nationalism and Japan, their complex inter-relationships (Yujiro Murata); reevaluation of a Korean writer in colonial and military contexts (Takashi Fujitani); duality of nation state and 'nation empire' (Shin'ichi Yamamuro); religion and state in Japan and Germany (Peter Kleinen); nation state and national army (Eisei Kurimoto); the position of Hokkaido and Ainu in modern state formation (David L. Howell); and the Okinawan perspective on the Japanese modern state (Ichiro Tomiyama). After these presentations, overall comments were made by professors Harumi Benu and Josef Kreiner.

We hope that we could shed new light on the issues of the Japanese

modern state and empire, and their relevance for present-day Japan. The results of the symposium will be published in the Senri Ethnological Studies series.

Eisei Kurimoto
Symposium Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

The Twentieth Century as Era of Language

*6th International Symposium,
The Tradition and Change of Ethnic
Cultures in the Twentieth Century
19-21 November 1997*

'The Twentieth Century as Era of Language' was the theme of a three-day symposium at Minpaku. This was the sixth international symposium organised as part of a ten-year project 'The tradition and change of ethnic cultures in the twentieth century'. This multidisciplinary project was launched seven years ago to examine the twentieth century as an epoch-making point in the cultural history of humankind.

Among the twenty-five participants were three foreign scholars affiliated at present with academic institutions in Japan. The participants included sociolinguists (mostly), anthropologists, and specialists in communication and language planning. Fifteen papers were presented in seven sessions.

The symposium subtitle 'language as symbol, language as trade object' roughly characterised our central concerns, and participants brought to light various linguistic phenomena peculiar to the twentieth century. The session titles suffice to illustrate the scope of our interest: the emergence of 'language' in modern times; the role and meaning of language and language policy to a state; language as a symbol of nation and as a symbol of state; language as an ethnic boundary; local identity and present-day dialects; social dialects and speaker's identity; and language confronted with commercialism and multilingualism.

In the course of the sessions the participants examined through different cases how language has come to bear symbolic values for both individuals and groups, coupled with the expansion of a modern linguistic ideology and increasing social complexity. In addition to having a salient role as an implement for modern nation building, language has been intentionally exploited to create images for commercial and political mobilisation of people. It might be true that never before in human history has language played such a

prominent role. Without this realisation, no real or deep understanding of the twentieth century may be possible.

Considering the large subject, a three-day symposium was rather short for in-depth discussion of all the issues brought up in the sessions. Nevertheless, many essential points and leading insights did emerge. The symposium papers and discussions will be published in Japanese as a book.

Hiroshi Shoji
Symposium convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

New Director

In April 1998, a new Director was appointed for the Department of Social Research:

Musashi Tachikawa (BA, Nagoya Univ. in 1964; MA, Nagoya Univ. in 1966; PhD, Harvard Univ. in 1975; D Litt, Nagoya Univ. in 1985). His main research interests are Hindu and Buddhist iconography, Tantrism, yoga, and early Mahayana Buddhist philosophy.

New Staff Member

Yamanaka, Ms Yuriko received her MA in comparative literature and culture from the University of Tokyo. She has investigated the transmission of the legend of Alexander the Great in West Asia. Her sources range from historical and religious writings to epics and romances. She also has an interest in oral and popular literature.

Visiting Scholars

The following visitors have been sponsored by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (Monbusho):

Ernst, Dr Thomas M. completed his BA in Anthropology and Linguistics at the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1965. His MA at the same university involved research with an urban youth gang. At the University of Michigan, he completed a PhD, working with Marshall Sahlins and Roy Rappaport. It was based on research with the Onabasulu in Papua New Guinea. After lecturing at the University of Papua



New Guinea, he moved to the University of Adelaide in South Australia where he remained until 1990. He is now a senior lecturer at Charles Sturt University in Australia. In addition to his work in Papua New Guinea, he has carried out ethnographic investigations of Australian society and culture.

Goodman, Dr Roger

is a lecturer in the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oxford, UK. He is the author of *Japan's 'International Youth': The Emergence of a New Class of Schoolchildren*, Oxford



University Press, 1990 (translated into Japanese by the anthropologist N. Nagashima as *Kikokushijo: Atarashi Tokkensō no Shutsugen*, Iwanami Shoten, 1992).

and has edited a number of books including *The East Asian Welfare Model: Welfare Orientalism and the State*, Routledge, 1998. While at Minpaku for one year from April 1998, he intends to complete a monograph on Japanese children's homes (*yōgoshitsutsu*), and to start a new project on the anthropology of Japanese universities. With H. Nakamaki, he is organising the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS) to be held at Minpaku between 10 and 14 March 1999.

Subbiah, Dr Shanmugam Pillai

is Professor of Geography at the University of Madras, Chennai, India. He is also the Director of the Centre for Japanese Studies and Research at the same university. He has been an editor of



the *Indian Geographical Journal*, the oldest geographical journal in India. He has strong research interests in the study of socio-economic changes and land use dynamics and Geographic Information Systems. He will work with Dr Y. Sugimoto during his stay (May-November) at Minpaku, on the long-term project of developing a cultural database for South India.

Tsering Thar Mr

is Associate Professor and Director of the Religion Office at the Chinese Center for



Tibetological Studies, Beijing. He is Amdo (Qinghai) Tibetan and his main interests are the Bon religion in Tibet and Tibetan history. He is the chief editor of a

series of ancient texts on Bon religion published in Beijing. He has long contributed to cataloguing of the Bon Kangyur, by the Oslo project. Since 1996, he has studied the history of Bon monasteries in Tibet, as a member of the the Bon project led by Professor Y. Nagano.

Publications

The following were published by the Museum during the period from January to June 1998:

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, vol.22, no.3, February 1998. Contents: Y. Yasugi, 'On Focus Antipassive Constructions in Classical Yucatec Maya'; K. Hirai, 'An Anthropological Study of "Work" in a Northern Thai Village: Interactions and Social Relations'; Lili Nie, 'Belief in Gods and Demons in the Southern Part of Fujian Province: Field Data from a Country Town'; E. Kuroda, 'Apuntes sobre el Pluralismo Religioso y los Protestantes en la Sierra Mixe y la Ciudad de Oaxaca'.

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, vol.22, no.4, March 1998. Contents: S. Sasaki, 'The Trade Activity of the Peoples of the Lower Amur Basin in the 18th and 19th Centuries'; H. Shoji, 'The Setos and Petseri Territory: Problems of a Split People by a Russo-Estonian Territorial Dispute'; K. Sasaki, A. Matsutani, Li Kunsheng and S. Sakamoto, 'Carbonized Setaria Grain at the Haimenkou Site, Jianchuan Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China'; H. Watanabe, 'Jomon Clay Figurines and the Goddess Cult: An Ethnoarchaeological Study, part 1'; Y. Nishi, 'The Orthographic Standardization of Burmese: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Speculations'; T. Goto, 'Materialien zu einer Liste altindischer Verbalformen'.

◇ Daimaru, H., M. Kubo, T. Matsushita, K. Saruta, H. Takahashi, M. Tanaka (eds), *Catalogue of Clothing Specimens at the National Museum of Ethnology*, Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology (Special Issue), no.19, part 1, 683 pp., March 1998.

◇ Daimaru, H., M. Kubo, T. Matsushita, K. Saruta, H. Takahashi, M. Tanaka (eds), *Catalogue of Clothing Specimens at the National Museum of Ethnology: Index*, Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology (Special Issue), no.19, part 2, 285 pp., March 1998.

◇ Nagano, Y. (ed.), *Time, Language and Cognition*, Senri Ethnological Studies, no.45, iv+312 pp., March 1998.

◇ Umesao, T., J. R. Bartholomew, and S. Sugita (eds), *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World X: Technology*, Senri Ethnological Studies, no.46, iv+162 pp., March 1998.

◇ Yoshida, S. and Y. Toyoda (eds), *Fringe Area of Highlands in Papua New Guinea*, Senri Ethnological Studies, no.47, v+182 pp., March 1998.

◇ Ishige, N. (ed.), *Catalog of the Sinoda Collections at the National Museum of Ethnology: Supplement*, Senri Ethnological Reports, no. 6, 253 pp., March 1998.

◇ Yang Haiying, *An Introduction to Altan Biciq*, Senri Ethnological Reports, no. 7, 353 pp., March 1998.

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

The MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter is published semi-annually, in June and December. 'Minpaku' is a Japanese abbreviation for the National Museum of Ethnology. The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with 'Minpaku fellows' who have been attached to the Museum as visiting scholars from overseas. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic and anthropological audience.

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter is accessible through our homepage at: <http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/eng.htm>

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Please note that signed articles represent the views of their writers, not necessarily the official views of the National Museum of Ethnology.

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ISSN 1341-7959

This Newsletter is printed on recycled paper.

Printed by Nakanishi Printing Co., Ltd.