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Hero Quest in Habikino

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I had gone to Furuichi Station, Habikino, in quest of a hero, the legendary Prince Yamato Takeru no Mikoto.

Furuichi seemed a sensible place to look because it was mentioned in *Nihon Shoki*, an early seventh century history of Japan. According to this celebrated account, the hero had been buried where he died, on the plain of Nobo, but he had then taken the shape of a white bird and flown off to Kotobiki. Although another tomb was erected for it there, the white bird continued its westerly flight to Furuichi, in the present-day city of Habikino, which lies Southeast of modern Osaka. A third tomb was therefore made but once again the bird did not remain; it flew up into the heavens and was thereafter lost to sight. Furuichi may thus lay claim to be the earthly resting-place of the hero's spirit.

It is no surprise that a hero should be buried in Habikino because a remarkable cluster of giant tombs lies at the heart of the city. They come in many shapes and sizes but the largest of the group had a keyhole format, is 425 metres long, and 330 wide at the base. Thickly wooded and surrounded by moats, they loom over nearby houses, like palatial green oases among the urban sprawl. Though not the largest, the one that cast the greatest glamour for me was the Hakuchoryo Kofun in Karusato 3-chome because outside the moat a notice in Japanese and English states that this *kofun* has been authorised by the Imperial Household Agency as the mausoleum of the 'legendary' Prince Yamato Takeru.



Mural by Yagi Atsushi, at the Habikino Municipal Hakucho Children's Hall

Not only is there his tomb in Habikino, there is also a Shiratori (White Bird) shrine dedicated to Yamato Takeru (and to Susano no Mikoto). Originally established in the neighbouring Ikidani district, it moved to the present location during the late Edo Period, becoming the guardian shrine of the Furuichi area. Hearing that the autumn festival would be celebrated at this shrine, and assuming in my innocence that Yamato Takeru would play some part, I paid a daylong visit to the event.

My experience was wholly pleasurable. As the guest of Habikino City Council, I was placed in the wise care of

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MINP A K U
Anthropology Newsletter

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Muramoto Shigekazu, and enjoyed the hospitality of Matsunaga-san, whose family involvement with the festival has stretched over six generations. So I was given an insider's view of the preparations and the eventual procession of one *danjiri* (the East one) to the Shiratori Shrine for the ceremony of *miyairi*.

One could certainly detect an aura of heroic, if not martial, exuberance as the cumbrously laden *danjiris* were hauled along to the persistent cry of '*koryase*' while the cargo of young men worked themselves into a state of near-frenzy. Some shops had barricaded their fronts at the street corners lest a *danjiri* should run out of control, and I was told that on no account would a *danjiri* be reversed even if someone were lying underneath. There was evident rivalry with the West group, whose *danjiri* made a provocative incursion into East's territory. Heroic images were also in evidence; they were, though, of historical not 'legendary' figures. The *happi* coats of North depicted the decisive battle between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi clans; those of Temple sported a picture of the loyal warrior Kusunoki Masashige; while East's included an image from a carving on their *danjiri*, the fight between Yoshitsune and Benkei on a Kyoto bridge.

But for me to highlight young male violence would be to paint a very misleading picture. This was orderly modern Japan. The *danjiri* stopped at the traffic lights and road sweepers continuously swept up the scattered streamers and confetti. Nor was this solely a young man's rite of passage, for women were among the haulers, and even occasionally rode the *danjiris*. What I saw was really a good-humoured, risk-free, day out for the whole community. And although traditional fervour was very much in evidence, I was continually aware of innovations in the rites. The dates of the festival were, for example, arranged to fit the weekend. Young heads were often dyed a fashionable blonde or

even a more startling purple or green. Many of the brief *kagura* performances (*niwaka*) that each *danjiri* presented before the shrine were, I was told, untraditional:

they were much more obscene these days, more rehearsed and often imitative of TV comedians. Besides the customary drums and flutes, I could hear a *rappa*, the distinctive trumpet used at baseball games. The camera has become an indispensable component, and not only among the onlookers: East posed for a group photograph before starting out; and, while waiting at the shrine, one *danjiri* participant was video-recording the arrival of other groups.

All very enjoyable but, savouring a plate of noodles and a welcome beer at the small restaurant near the station, and reflecting on the absence of Yamato Takeru from the day's proceedings, I noticed a sleeping girl, aged about four, at the next table. Surrounded by other members of the East group, she too was wearing a *happi* coat depicting Yoshitsune's defeat of Benkei. This sight of a very young and female participant reminded me of the only Yamato Takeru image I had found in Habikino that day. In a side street west of the station there is the newly built Municipal Hakucho Children's Hall, a place where youngsters can read and play after school. On the front of this building, Yagi Atsushi has painted an attractive mural in bold primary colours and vigorous cartoon style. It shows a young couple in Ancient Japanese dress, who seem to be watching a flying white bird. The protagonists, I was told, are Yamato Takeru and his female partner, Ototachibana. They appear here in a surprisingly new context. Traditional iconography had shown Yamato Takeru in three main roles: pitting his strength against powerful animals; adopting female disguise to slay a rebellious chieftain; or wielding his magic sword to repel a fire lit by his enemies. Ototachibana, on the other hand, was invariably shown in an act of self-sacrifice: saving her companions by throwing herself into the waves to appease the anger of the sea god. But here there are no violent or tragic overtones. Instead, the young hero and his chirpy girl friend gaze out in delighted self-satisfaction. The images have acquired new associations, for Habikino City Council has adopted the white bird from the heroic legend and the *haniwa* in Yayoi burials, and employed it as a symbol of peaceful progress; and in local eyes, Ototachibana has apparently taken on a special significance as people link her name with that of the city's emblematic tree: the *citrus tachibana* or Japanese orange. Like the *matsuri*, the Yamato Takeru myth has become pacific, juvenile, unisex.

Besides a hero, I'd found a heroine that day.

The East group's *danjiri*



Geographic Space and Social Space: A Continuum

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Concept of space

For long, Geography remained a subject for curiosity and voyages, and geographers were explorers and surveyors. Descriptive narratives, as S. W. Woolridge and W. Gordon East conclude,¹⁾ were written with 'no vestige of a beginning and no prospects of an end'.²⁾ In this open field, geographers very often appear ambitious, and crazy too. If not crazy, what else they can be when they fondly claim that Geography is the mother of all sciences (or studies?) or when they take up any topic for investigation. This may not be entirely their fault, the discipline itself has traditionally been vaguely defined as the study of human beings with reference to Earth. However by 1960s, thanks to the wide-spread introduction of quantitative tools, there dawned a New (better, Modern?) Geography with more scientific vigour, abstraction and theory-building. Geography got a face-lift and geographers got fascinated. Concepts of space have now become really the focal point of Geography, and locations, distances and interactions have become the building blocks for theories in Geography. Geography, to the jubilation of geographers, has been accepted as spatial science. Locations are distributed on the earth surface; distances between locations determine forces of friction and the interactions which demarcate space, a new abstract geographic space. Points, lines and polygons are treated as physical entities in this space.

Geographic space

Geographic space may be a physical or quantitative construct. In a literal sense, geographic space refers to an extent of area occupied by physical reality or activity. In quantitative jargon, it may be a surface, uniform or undulated, defined by the interplay of factors. Quantitative views of space add a depth to the concepts of area, type and region that are traditionally used in Geography. Quantitative space may be represented by a polygon between points, or within a location. A circle within which a pair of bullocks goes around and around near a banyan tree in a dusty village in Tamil Nadu, India, for the purpose of extracting gingelly oil, is a physical space. Marketing of the gingelly oil involves interactions and the interaction space may be a quantitative construct. Geographic space may be reflective as well as indicative, giving functional validity to the concept. The

various configurations of geographic space define or reflect structure, and the study of spatial structure brings greater meaning to Geography and reveals the potentials of Geography. The quantitative spatial structure is not simple, but it is understandably complex and multi-dimensional.

Time and geographic space

Geographic space may be seen with reference to time too. There is a definite meaning to the combination of space and time. Massimo Quaini pointedly describes the character of space as 'one beside other and time as one after other'.³⁾ In semi-arid regions like Tamil Nadu, India, well irrigation and cash cropping are wide-spread in dry season and tank irrigation and food-cropping are wide spread in the rainy season. Between 1960 and 1990, the decline in water table was more in the inland region than in the coastal plain in Tamil Nadu. Time is thus an important element that gives more practical meaning to geographic space. It is a measurable quantity in nature and a qualitative variable in a social perspective.⁴⁾ Time and space are the main components for the historical dimensions of society. Historical Geography, in the Marxist context, refers to a structural process involving space and time.⁵⁾ With its parameters of interval, duration and sequence, time allows us to make sense of space, and becomes a resource that can be exchanged for economic returns. Time permits complication or simplification in spatial structure, and introduces the possibility of cyclic structure. Before the Green Revolution of the 1960s, logistical requirements and scheduling of farming were relatively simple; now farming requires a greater managerial skill to negotiate its complexities.

Quantitative revolution

With this basic frame of space and time established, let us turn to thinking about social space. For this we have to start with the quantitative revolution that happened in Geography in the 1960s and 1970s. A feverish adoption of quantitative tools by geographers spread quickly all over the world. The speed of this revolution was amazing, and initiated a rejuvenation for Geography. New frontiers were opened and fresh approaches were discovered. For example, hundreds of studies were made of crop-combinations, agricultural efficiency, settlement hierarchy and

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1) Woolridge, S.W. and W. Gordon East 1952. *The Spirit and Purpose of Geography*. New York: Hutchinson's University Library.

2) Jones, Emrys 1975. *Readings in Social Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3) Quaini, Massimo 1982. *Geography and Marxism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

4) Adam, Barbara 1990. *Time and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- 5) Carlstein, Tommy, Don Parkes and Nigel Thrift 1978. *Human Activity and Time Geography*. London: Edward Arnold.
- 6) Quaini, Massimo 1982.
- 7) Ahmad, Aijazuddin 1997. 'Fifty Years of Geography in India and Abroad', *The Indian Geographical Journal* 72 (1), pp.1-10.
- 8) Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London: Verso.
- 9) Gregory, Derek 1978. *Ideology, Science and Human Geography*. London: Hutchinson.

growth centres from west to east in the Gangetic Belt of India. Geographers skilfully described spatial configurations, but failed pitifully in explaining processes, and most exhibited theoretical inconsistencies, too. The new studies were simply Geographic narrations with statistical treatment. Thus, even with the quantitative revolution and the invention and introduction of new concepts of space, Geography has yet to provide a methodology that achieves practical significance and social recognition. It is no wonder that Massimo Quaini, to his alarm, found his students saying that Geography is 'a parrot-like, chaotic study', and leaving Geography en masse.⁶⁾ The reason put forward very often for this present awful situation is, as Aijazuddin Ahmad observed in 1997 in his Presidential Address to 19th Congress of the National Association of Geographers, India, that Geography is yet to be socialised, and geographers are very often indifferent to social issues such as poverty, social conflict, and unemployment.⁷⁾ He wants to develop a humanist (or humanistic) Geography. It means, as Marxist Geography has already proposed, that Geographic space needs to be tuned to social space. Next, comes a discussion about whether or not Geographic space is a social product.

Social space

If there is no human being, what is the need for Geographic space? Only the presence of human beings brings meaning or sense to Geographic space. Human beings for various reasons live in groups, in social groups and not as individuals or in isolation. As social objects, they are raised in a cultural environment characterised by a set of values, morals, beliefs, traditions and goals inherited from their predecessors and around which they organise their living and exchanges—and thus develops social space. Human interactions take place within the family, between families and between social groups. Social relations and processes define social classes, and all these play a role in building Geographic space, which is thus important to both individual and society. Social processes define the spatial behaviour of individuals and groups and hence define Geographic space. As social processes are not or need not be rational all the time, Geographic space may sometimes develop from illogical relations and processes, thereby compounding the complexities of Geographic space. For example, routes to burial grounds in a caste-ridden Hindu village in India may get complicated if suppressed communities are not allowed to use the most direct or shortest routes which pass through the main settlement.

Bringing social process and Geographic space together gives social relevance to the subject of Geography, and this has been emphasised since the development of Marxist Geography. Marxism, as 'a theory of history and an analysis of society', concentrates on the means of production and discusses the spatial configuration of development in the context of social structure and relations.⁸⁾ The Marxist approach revolutionised thinking throughout the social sciences, and provoked Geographers to think more meaningfully. Marxist Geography was forcefully developed in David Harvey's writings, and assumes a link between social process and spatial form. Spatial form and social process get connected in the historical extension of production. Society is characterised by inequalities, stratifications and classes. Capital accumulations, class struggles, and social conflicts define social relations that shape the spatial organisation of production. The distribution on space may be connected to the structural underpinnings of the society, and in a broader sense, it means that Human Geography is viewed from the perspectives of class analysis. Thus Derek Gregory observes that 'spatial structure can not be theorised without social structure and vice versa'.⁹⁾

There has arisen a conflict between Sociologists and Geographers on whether it is best to look at social organisation in space or spatial organisation in society or whether emphasis should be strongly on society or space. Sociologists prefer to think in terms of social organisation in space and understandably Geographers, in terms of spatial organisation in society. There need not be any conflict and both are complementary to each other. Geographic concepts of physical space, sociological concepts of social space and anthropological concepts of personal or human space may vary in structure but they have bearing on each other, nevertheless. Understanding the harmonies and conflicts among these spaces may be needed to pursue and define Geographic space and vice versa. For instance, in an urban setting, the Geographic space of women's mobility may have to be constructed in terms of time, social controls, economic demands and technological development. The difference between men and women in the average distance travelled in a day (daily mobility space) within a city occurs partly because of the differences in the economic sphere of the city, in the social demands and controls on men and women, and in the perceptions of space by men and women. A pertinent question arises in this context: whether social space is a cause and Geographic space is its effect. Of course one need not think in this way, as

the functional relationships are true both ways. This situation recalls the proverbial chicken and egg. In fact, seeking cause and effect may be a futile deterministic approach, since the realities and component factors are dynamic in character.

Cyberspace

The world is currently witnessing a sea change in exchanges due to economic liberalisation, globalisation of marketing and economic development, and the communication revolution. In this situation, Geographic and social spaces must be considered with regard to cyberspace too. Cyberspace is the product of the combination of computer, digital and communication technologies. It is an electronic and digital space. The interconnections in this space make 'the world into a global village'. In this context, questions regarding Geographic space, information technology, time and society become very linked. Rapidly growing information technology has been reducing the friction of distance. Locations are separated but computer connections link them instantaneously, thereby 'making the departures meaningless'. Stephan Graham, when discussing the links of society, technology and space, describes a growing technological possibility of areal uniformity and reduced dependence on specific place and time;¹⁰ he expects a continuous restructuring and recasting of space due to complex relations between

technology and society; and he finally visualises socio-technical relations operating among multiple, heterogeneous networks of information technologies and human actors. Cyberspace is an infrastructure and society is using it for its spatial interactions. It is becoming systems of systems; it uses human beings for its continuous development and improvement, and human beings use it to reduce spatial frictions. Capital and technology are involved in the whole process, society responds to this link, and so a political perspective develops, too. Publics want to use the technology more freely but the investors of capital always exert property rights to safeguard their business and industrial interests. Technology as such is scale neutral but its accessibility is influenced by social structure and relations, and the size and dynamics of human settlements. Rich and poor, large and small, static and dynamic, near and far, and similar contrasts result in differential accessibility, adoption and development. Metropolitan urban centres are now very well endowed with communication infrastructure in contrast to smaller towns. This non-neutrality with respect to communication may redefine the Geographic space in a given social space. Cyberspace technology promotes a more dynamic Geographic space, which is continuously reshaped. Social space is also continuously reshaped, and this in turn affects the Geographic space further.

10) Graham, Stephen 1998. 'The End of Geography or the Explosion of Place?: Conceptualising Space, Place and Information Technology', *Progress in Human Geography* 22(2), pp.165-185.

Recent Scientific Dating of Indian Trade Cloth: Plans for international research cooperation

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Over centuries, Indian textiles have been traded to many parts of the world where examples have survived as precious heirlooms in private treasuries. Today we usually associate handmade textiles from South Asia with folksy and often crudely worked tie-dyed or mirror embroidered clothing, and block-printed bed-covers, yet for more than a millennium India was prominent internationally, as the producer of diverse fabrics of outstanding quality.

The range of Indian textiles known to have been exported is surprisingly broad and encompasses brocades, carpets, super-fine muslin, tapestry-woven shawls, multi-coloured Madras checks, and silk ikat and other tie-dyed fabrics.

Some of these developed from domestic forms popular in specific regions of India, while other types were fashioned specifically for the needs and tastes of export markets. For instance, the history of the Kashmir shawls, from a Mughal emperor's sash to the height of French fashion during the Napoleonic era, and the subsequent technical and design changes in the production of cashmere wool textiles have been well-documented.¹¹

In recent years, our knowledge of the extent of the Indian textile trade has been considerably deepened. Some of the world's rarest Mughal carpets have been identified in Japan among the hangings used to decorate the spectacular floats in Kyoto's Gion festival.²¹ A previously

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especially textile history. She is currently writing a new history of Southeast Asian art for the Thames & Hudson World of Art series. At Minpaku she worked with long-time colleague Shinobu Yoshimoto on Asian textile projects.

1) See Irwin, J. 1973. *The Kashmir Shawl*. London: HMSO.

2) Walker, D. 1997. *Flowers Underfoot*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

3) Cohen, S., 'A Group of Early Silks: The Tree Motif', and R. Crill, 'Vaishnavite Silks: The Figures Textiles of Assam', in Dhamija, Jasleen (ed.) 1993. *The Woven Silks of India*. Bombay: Marg Publications.

4) Yoshioka, T. and S. Yoshimoto 1980. *Sarasa of the World: Indian Chintz, European Print, Batik Japanese Stencil*. Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin. Gittinger, M. 1980. *Master Dyers to the World: Technique and Trade in Early Indian Dyed Cotton Textiles*. Washington: Textile Museum. Yoshimoto, S. 1996. *Indian Sarasa Discovered in the Southern Ocean Islands of Indonesia*. Kyoto: Kyoto Shoin.

Indian Chintz discovered in South Sumatra, Indonesia (Minpaku Inventory No. H 185630)

unknown form of 16th-century silk lampas textile, long stored in the treasuries of monasteries in Tibet and Nepal, has recently been investigated, revealing a form of complex weaving structure from the northern Indian region of Assam no longer found in modern Indian textiles.³⁾ The intense interest in the arts of the ancient Silk Road linking East Asia with India and the Middle East through Central Asia has also revealed ancient textile types probably attributable to the Indian subcontinent. In particular, figurative cotton fragments point unambiguously to Indian origins.

In many international markets, it was precisely these Indian skills in textile dyeing and the production of finely spun and woven cotton that were most admired. The best known Indian textiles internationally—mordant-painted and printed cotton chintzes—combined these superior features. During the height of the Mercantile Age in the 17th and 18th centuries, delicate multi-coloured floral chintzes decorated not only the drawing rooms and boudoirs but also the bodies of the elite of western Europe. We know from the trade records and extant examples that chintz cloths created by the same techniques were also very popular in the East: these included the sarasa of Edo-period Japan, the Thai-style calendered furnishing fabrics of Ayuthya-period Siam, and, in particular, a wide range of Indian cottons known by many different local terms in Indonesia.

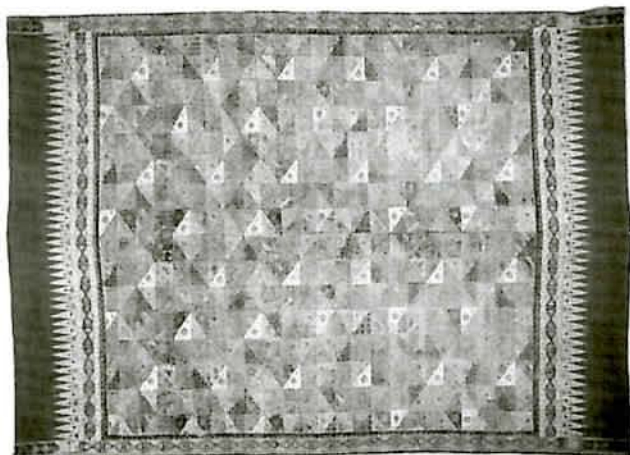
While the significance of India for textile trade to the West during the Mercantile Age is well documented, recent studies of Indian textiles in various Asian repositories and archaeological sites have dramatically changed scholars' perceptions of the breadth of the cultural exchanges—both in terms of the geographic reach of the trade and the diversity of fabrics involved.⁴⁾ It had always been clear that European involvement in the trading activities of Southeast and East Asia was a relatively late development, with the newcomers

the enormous numbers and variety of Indian textiles passing through Malacca and other Southeast Asian entrepôt. Although recognising that European merchants—especially the Dutch and English East India Companies—appropriated existing patterns of trade in terms of destinations and commodities, textile scholars have assumed, not surprisingly, that no fabrics from the pre-European period survived in the humid tropical conditions of Southeast Asia. Hence, while aware of early textual references to Southeast Asian trade, prudent curators and textile historians have conservatively assumed late 17th to late 18th century dates for Indian trade textiles collected in Indonesia.⁵⁾

The antiquity of South Asian superiority in mordant-dyed cottons has been firmly established through discoveries at the Harappan archaeological sites in the Indus Valley in today's Pakistan. The Mohenjodaro excavations not only uncovered fragments of fast-dyed cotton thread but also revealed a series of large vats, evidence of a textile dyeing industry on a commercial scale for a flourishing trade network which included Central Asia and Mesopotamia by the second millennium BC.

That by the medieval period a vigorous trade in mordant-printed and resist-dyed cottons extended to the Red Sea and Egypt was confirmed by archaeological finds in those regions. Unfortunately, textile fragments discovered in the 1930s at Fustat, near modern Cairo in Egypt, were handled unscientifically. Considerable numbers of the fragments, including a substantial percentage of mordant-printed and indigo-dyed batik resist cotton fabrics from India, were widely dispersed among museums and private collections in the West with little information about their position in the dated layers of the Fustat excavations.⁶⁾ Scholars of Indian textile history adopted a range of tentative datings, ranging from the 12th to 18th centuries, but predominantly favouring 15th to 16th century attributions based on stylistic grounds, and affinity with other objects in the Fustat site.⁷⁾

Controlled excavations at Quseir al-Qadim, a smaller, less significant port site on the Red Sea in the early 1980s, and further excavations at Fustat in the same period, yielded many more textile fragments. Although these were often less intact and visually exciting than earlier discoveries, they provided stronger scientific evidence for the antiquity of the Indian cloth trade. Again the dates for fragments of Indian origin appeared to span many centuries, from perhaps as early as the 12th century through to the



working within and eventually taking over existing trading networks. Early Portuguese adventurers and Spanish voyagers in the early 16th century recorded

17th century. In 1995–6, however, new research began which further confirmed the antiquity of Indian textile trade. At the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Ruth Barnes organised carbon 14 analysis of samples from the museum's Newberry collection of over 1,000 Indian cotton fragments from Egyptian archaeological sites. Her findings set the origins of some textiles to as early as 1010 AD (plus or minus 55 years).⁸⁾ Of particular importance was the fact that the collection included a considerable number of elaborately patterned cotton pieces—in red, brown and blue dyes and decorated in block-printed resist and mordant techniques, and possibly resist and mordant painting.

The similarities in the techniques and designs of the Egyptian fragments to large Indian trade cloth found in Indonesia had long fascinated scholars. Five-meter lengths of old Indian chintz with the famous hamsa goose roundel design which figured so prominently on the title page of Pfister's *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan* had been discovered in Indonesia.⁹⁾ The time was ripe for John Guy of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London to test a small selection of that museum's recently established collection of Indian textiles acquired from Indonesia. Published in late 1998, Guy's findings excited textile scholars, with radio carbon datings as early as the 14th century for large mordant-printed and batik-resist Indian textiles in fine condition and with excellent colour. These datings confirmed that the Indian textiles had been imported into the Indonesian archipelago well before European involvement in Southeast Asian trade.¹⁰⁾

During my recent visiting professorship in Osaka, these findings formed the background for discussions with S. Yoshimoto and T. Morita, about collaboration between the Australian National University, the National Gallery of Australia (Canberra), and the National Museum of Ethnology (Osaka) on systematic dating of Indian trade textiles and their Indonesian counterparts.

One aim of this research project is to provide a reliable framework for the visual dating of Indian trade textiles in international collections, public and private. This would be achieved by applying refined scientific radiocarbon dating methods (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry) to carefully constructed sets of iconographically and physically similar Indian textiles traded to Indonesia. The NME and the NGA have extensive collections of Indian trade textiles which would form the basis for systematically selecting sets of textiles related by physical properties such as

thread, weave, colour-dyes, size, motif, and design structure. Where necessary the selections from these two major public collections could be supplemented by textiles from key public and private collections to create a coherent and sufficiently broad range of samples. The aim of the project is to link reliable carbon 14 dates with thorough visual descriptions of Indian textiles traded to Indonesia. The resulting database will enable scholars and curators use visible properties to estimate with reasonable accuracy the age of Indian trade textiles in international collections and ancestral treasuries, without the need for more costly dating techniques.

A second but related field of research would extend the dating procedures to encompass Indonesian textiles. These have long been acknowledged as part of the same treasuries and collections, but have always attracted more recent dating. Scholars invariably date old Indonesian textiles to the 19th century whereas the Indian trade counterparts are dated 17th–18th centuries, based on the knowledge that the Industrial Revolution heralded the end of trade in Indian hand-made textiles. While it is true that hand-made textiles continued to hold an important place in Indonesian ritual into the 20th century, the admiration and value, often sacred, with which locally made textiles were also endowed, ensured that the finest were carefully stored as clan treasures and court heirlooms. Textiles from those regions where heirloom textiles—both Indian and local—have been very carefully stored between ceremonies, offer exciting prospects for early datings. Such textiles are often attributed mythical origins associated with founding ancestors. Again the extensive textile holdings of the NGA and the NME could provide the basic sample set, with supplementary items sought from other public and private collections to representation of an adequate range of key textile types.

Given the considerable costs of the research proposed here, the selection of both Indian and Indonesian textiles will be premised on a number of factors: art historical significance of the type of textile, availability of sufficient samples of a particular type or genre; and any historical or anthropological information that suggests considerable age.

In the case of Indian trade textiles, comparison with works already tested by the Ashmolean and Victoria and Albert Museums would be important. However, links in design between the Middle Eastern fragments and those chosen by the V & A Museum have led to a concentration on trade textiles produced in Gujarat in west India. Further

5) See Maxwell, R. 1990. *Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation*. Melbourne: OUP.

6) See Pfister, P. 1938. *Les toiles imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindoustan*. Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire.

7) These fragments can be found in museums in India, Europe and the USA. Barnes, R. 1986. *Indian Block-Printed Cotton Fragments in the Kelsey Museum, the University of Michigan*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. Irwin, J. and M. Hall 1971. *Indian Painted and Printed Fabrics*. Ahmedabad: Calico Museum of Textiles. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, M.-L. 1986. *Golden Sprays and Scarlet Flowers: Traditional Indian Textiles from the Museum of Ethnography, Basel, Switzerland*. Kyoto: Shiksha.

8) Barnes, R. 1997. 'Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt'. *The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford and London: OUP.

9) Textiles displaying this design and collected in Indonesia are now located in museums around the world, including the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., the AEDTA collection in Paris; and the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

10) Guy, J. 1998. *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East*. London: Thames & Hudson.

11) See Volger, G. and Karin von Welck (eds) 1991. *Indonesian Textiles*. Cologne: Ethnologica.

sampling should include items from other important trade-cloth producing regions along the Coromandel Coast. While previous tests have concentrated entirely on cotton textiles decorated with mordant-painting or printing, and batik, the research proposed here would ideally include double-ikat patola silks from Gujarat, already known to have been highly prized in Indonesia by the medieval period.¹¹⁾

This research is positioned at the nexus between art history and material science, and would draw upon the anthropological, art historical and conservation expertise of both museums. Our expectation is that the research will establish early dates for many Indonesian textiles and for many Indian fabrics traded to Indonesia. By carefully dating sets of described samples we will be able to establish more reliable visual criteria for dating Indian

trade textiles. This will be a valuable contribution to art historical research, which was previously too dependent on iconographic comparisons with dated Indian textiles exported to Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. New guidelines will be provided for more accurate and confident assessments of the age of Indian and Indonesian textiles by museum curators and scholars of Asian textile history.

Impressions of CHAGS 8

Richard B. Lee

University of Toronto, Canada

Four years in preparation, the Eighth Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS) unfolded at Minpaku, the National Museum of Ethnology, October 26–30, 1998. The CHAGS series has brought together scholars from all over the world to chronicle the past, present, and future of the world's hunting and gathering peoples. Previous CHAGS were held in Paris (1978), Quebec (1980), Munich (1983), London (1986), Darwin (1988), Fairbanks (1990), and Moscow (1993). Meeting for the first time in Asia, the Osaka CHAGS 8 attracted an unprecedented 200 scholars drawn from no fewer than 23 countries. Of particular importance was the financial support of Monbusho and other sources which enabled a number of indigenous, Third World, and former U.S.S.R. participants to attend. Except for the opening and closing sessions in which simultaneous translation was provided all the CHAGS sessions were conducted in English.

In addition to the main session in Osaka, CHAGS 8 also included a highly successful archaeological pre-conference at Aomori, October 21–24, which featured detailed analysis of Japan's famous Jomon Neolithic culture in a strongly comparative context, and an October 31 post-conference session at Hokkaido University, hosted by the Hokkaido Ethnological Society, featuring presentations of some major results from the Osaka conference.

While the hunting and gathering way of life is humanity's oldest, this year's CHAGS focused on the rich diversity of contemporary cultures and their ongoing struggles as indigenous peoples to preserve their way of life and revitalize their identities. In keeping with this theme, the organizing committee, co-chaired by Shuzo Koyama of the National Museum of Ethnology and Jiro Tanaka of the Center for African Area Studies, Kyoto University, gave a prominent role to the Ainu and their culture. The Nibutani Dancers opened the conference followed by a keynote address by Mr Shigeru Kayano, former member of the Diet and a leading Ainu spokesperson. Later a group of delegates traveled to Hokkaido to meet with Mr Kayano and visit sites and museums.

The two other keynote speeches offered reflections respectively, on 'Hunter-gatherer studies and the millennium: A look forward (and back)' by Richard B. Lee of the University of Toronto, co-convenor of the original 'Man the Hunter' Conference in 1966, and 'Hunter-gatherers in First World nation-states: Bringing anthropology home', by Nicolas Peterson of Australian National University, a strong ally of and frequent collaborator with Japanese researchers.

The body of the conference itself, spread out over the next three days, offered such rich fare that it would be impossible to highlight all the sessions and

papers worthy of mention. The papers arranged themselves along a continuum from classic themes—descriptions, mainly archaeological and historical, of the internal dynamics of hunter-gatherers—to themes that focused on foragers' complex interactions with and adaptation to outside forces and institutions. There were sessions on indigenous education and schooling, self- and other-images of hunter-gatherers, eco-tourism, land use and demography, forager-farmer relations, gender, mining, fishing, and relations to the state.

At times traditional and contemporary concerns were combined in innovative ways. Grete Hovelsrud-Broda (Brandeis University) and George Wenzel (McGill University) along with Nobuhiro Kishigami (NME, Osaka) assembled a thought-provoking session on 'The social economy of sharing', a central issue in foraging societies but until now poorly theorized. The panelists documented the creative ways in which foragers maintained a sharing ethos in the face of tremendous pressure from the surrounding cash economy and its ethos of consumerism and privatisation.

Another session with internal coherence was 'Symbolic categories, ritual practice and habitual thought' co-chaired by Kazuyoshi Sugawara (Kyoto University) and Thomas Widlok (University of Cologne, Germany). The ten papers explored the cosmologies, worldviews, musics,

dreams, and ceremonies of foragers as they sought to maintain systems of cultural meaning and knowledge under rapidly changing conditions.

Papers on the politics of identity and representation drawn from several sessions formed another coherent 'cluster' with a plan for publication under the editorship of Shuzo Koyama (NME) and Alan Barnard (University of Edinburgh). A publication from the Aomori session is also planned. These and other topical clusters of papers are being considered for publication in the NME's well-known series, *Senri Ethnological Studies*. A possible volume of African papers is being considered for publication in Kyoto University's equally renowned *African Studies Monograph* series. Other publication avenues are also being explored.

The closing session returned to the first day's themes. A panel of Ainu scholars and activists presented an informative and often moving account of the Ainu peoples' efforts to revitalize their language and culture and preserve their heritage. In this respect they were supported by indigenous scholars from abroad present at CHAGS, such as Gloria Cranmer Webster from the U'Mista Cultural Center, Alert

Bay, British Columbia, and Kado Muir, from the Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander Studies in Canberra.

Chaired by Professor Jiro Tanaka of Kyoto University, the closing session featured thoughtful summations of conference issues by Tanaka himself and by Harvey Feit of McMaster University, Canada. Because CHAGS maintains no formal secretariat between conferences the question of when and where the next CHAGS is to be held is always difficult. A group of Scotland-based scholars led by Tim Ingold and Alan Barnard offered to host CHAGS 9 in 2002, aided by James Woodburn and other English colleagues, and their offer was gratefully accepted by the delegates. The proceedings concluded with offers of thanks to the Japanese organizers for a most memorable meeting and a presentation of gifts to key organizers in the form of prints by native Canadian artists as well as a card by the famous Haida artist Bill Reid, signed by many of the delegates.

Two overall impressions struck this observer: first was the youth and diversity of the participants. For many younger scholars this was their first CHAGS and the quality of their work and their energy bodes well for the future of

hunter-gatherer studies. Second was the superb quality of the sixty Japanese contributions. While a strong cohort of senior scholars remains active, one could not fail to be impressed by the strength of junior and middle-ranked Japanese scholars producing excellent work at sites in Africa, the arctic, south east Asia, in Japan itself and elsewhere. The presence of this diverse and gifted younger cohort added immeasurably to the quality of CHAGS and should be a source of great pride to the senior generation of Japanese hunter-gatherer scholars.

Editor's note: The keynote and concluding speeches from the conference have been published by Minpaku (see Publications at page 12).

The author is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Toronto, Canada. He was born in 1937 and educated at the University of California, Berkeley (PhD, 1965). Since the early 1960s, he has been studying on !Kung ecology and social organization. He is a founder of the International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies. His works include Man the Hunter (ed., 1968), The !Kung San (1979), The Dobe !Kung (1984), The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Hunters and Gatherers (ed., 1999), and numerous articles on the !Kung.

Exhibition

Cultural Heritage of the South Pacific: The George Brown Collection

Special Exhibition

The Rev. George Brown (1835–1917), a British missionary, collected many ethnological objects while working in the South Pacific islands from the 1860s to early in the 20th century. The George Brown Collection (about 3,000 artefacts) was transferred to the United Kingdom after Brown's death and until recently was owned by a museum attached to the University of Newcastle. The university offered the collection for sale in 1985 with the condition that it remains undivided.

Human settlement of the South Pacific islands began thousands of years ago. Most Pacific islands

came under colonial rule by the West after the 18th century. Independence movements became effective in the colonies in the 1960s. As modernisation proceeds in the region, traditional cultures have been rapidly changing or disappearing. In this historical context, the George Brown Collection is widely regarded as very important cultural heritage for the South Pacific.

Our exhibition was held from 11 March to 31 May 1999 at the Special Exhibition Hall. About 2,000 artefacts from the collection were displayed on eighty movable racks normally used for non-public storage. About forty photographs that were taken by

Brown himself, mostly in the late 19th century, were also displayed with the collaboration of the Australian Museum in Sydney, where original glass plates are stored.

Shuzo Ishimori
National Museum of Ethnology

George Brown Collection at the Special Exhibition Hall



Obituary

In memoriam Urbanus Tongli

19 August 1946–18 January 1999

Urbanus Tongli was born on the 19th of August 1946 in Langda, near Makale, the capital of the administrative regency (*kabupaten*) of Tana Toraja in Sulawesi, Indonesia. After receiving elementary and secondary education in Tana Toraja and Ujung Pandang, he enrolled at Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta, where he was awarded the degree of Sarjana Penuh in philosophy and theology, in 1975. The following year he began working as a teacher at Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang. In 1980, he went to Germany in order to continue his studies. During his stay there he became deeply interested in anthropology and finished his Grundstudium in Ethnologie at Mainz University in 1985.

Tongli then moved to Paris to pursue his study of anthropology at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. In 1987 he received a Diplôme d'Études Approfondies from that school and began doctoral research in Seram in eastern Indonesia. In 1991, Tongli returned to Paris in order to complete his PhD thesis. In 1994 he obtained his PhD degree after writing a thesis on the socio-cosmic order of the Nuauulu in central Seram, with Professor Daniel de Coppet as supervisor. Tongli's thesis is a detailed description and analysis of various ritual practices and relationships among the Nuauulu that are conceptualised by the metaphor of siblingship. His analysis is based on the Dumontian perspective that assumes an encompassing whole consisting of hierarchical layers of ideas and values.

Tongli and his wife, Paskalina Guna, arrived in Osaka on the 16th of October 1998. I and my colleague, Shuji Yoshida, had invited Tongli to the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) as a visiting professor for a period of six months. This was his second visit to Japan. In the previous year he came to Minpaku to present a paper at the 21st

Taniguchi International Symposium, 'Rethinking Indonesian Rituals'. I personally appreciated greatly Tongli's academic talents after first meeting him at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in May 1993. This appreciation was shared by Yoshida, who tried to invite Tongli to the museum shortly after meeting him in Paris in the mid-1980s, without success.

At Minpaku, Tongli was preparing the rough draft of a historical ethnography of the Toraja. In this he planned to incorporate a large body of Toraja oral history that he had collected. In addition, he tried to acquire much information related to religious policies and missionary work in Sulawesi during the period of Japanese occupation. On the 14th of January 1999, however, he began to suffer intermittent breathing difficulties. He received some medical treatment on the 14th and 15th, but the doctors consulted could not discover the cause of his distress.

At around 8:00 p.m. on the 16th, he fainted away in his flat after taking supper. An ambulance took him to the intensive care unit at Osaka University Hospital, but he died there on the 18th of January without coming out of his coma. According to the official medical certificate, the immediate cause of his death was brain stem infarction. Two days later, a requiem mass was held for Tongli at Suita Catholic Church in Osaka, sadly attended by his many friends and colleagues in Japan. Beginning on the 22nd of January, his remains were taken to Makale, accompanied by his widow and two Minpaku staff members.

In 1996 Tongli established the Rebongan Didi Institute at Atma Jaya University in Ujung Pandang. He wished to promote anthropological research on social problems derived from the entanglement of traditional practices with modern ideas and values, in Indonesian local societies. Although he entertained



Farewell party at the 21st Taniguchi International Symposium, 7th October 1997

plans for an array of research projects, the financial basis of the institute was too weak and unstable for a large research team. Inevitably, Tongli could do no more than concentrate on fieldwork in Tana Toraja. This did not disappoint him as he was fascinated with his work, and truly enjoyed it. He probably found a deep pleasure and spiritual peace in accomplishing a reunion with what he had left behind, in childhood, to pursue higher education. I pray that his soul may forever rest in such pleasure and peace.

Takashi Sugishima
National Museum of Ethnology

News

Anthropology and the Internet in Japan

For English-language information about anthropological research in Japan, the best guide appears to be that of the Japanese Society of Ethnology (JSE), at <http://www.soc.nacsis.ac.jp/jse/index-e.html>.

This gives information about the JSE, informative links to ethnological and cultural anthropological studies in Japan, and links to non-Japanese Anthropological Periodicals in Japan. The guide covers universities and academic societies all over Japan, with an emphasis on ethnological, social, and cultural areas of anthropology.

Internet-based information on archaeology and physical anthropology in Japan appears

very scattered. Archaeology and anthropology directories based in other countries have only weak coverage for Japan. A Japanese directory that may be useful is the Japan Directory (<http://www.jin-japan.org/jd/>). Listed here are academic societies and research organisations throughout Japan, in a wide range of fields, and also many sources of research funding (mainly private foundations). Although the directory is intended to be comprehensive, anthropology is poorly represented.

To conclude, there is a need and opportunity to create the first comprehensive Internet guide to anthropological research in Japan.

Conferences

Japanese Civilization in the Modern World: Comparative Studies of Collection and Representation

17th International Symposium,
Division of Civilization Studies,
The Taniguchi Foundation
7–14 December 1998

Acts of collection, that is, the collection of natural and artificial products, have played an important role in the formation and development of civilizations. This symposium focused on European and Japanese collections. The similarities and dissimilarities among collections were examined from historical points of view. Acts of collection are generally followed by exhibitions of the collected objects, so this symposium also covered issues of exhibition and representation.

The symposium opened with a keynote presentation by Tadao Umesao. Comparing Japanese collections with those in Europe, he pointed out that in Japan objects have been collected mainly for the purpose of using them. As a result, he argued, the types of collected objects are rather limited, like Noh masks and costumes, hanging scrolls, and tea bowls. It is true there have been few all-embracing artefact collections and

exhibitions in Japan. During the Edo Period especially, many exhibitions for temple treasures (*Degaichou*) and major products (*Bussan-e*) were held in Edo, Osaka and Nagoya. It does seem that collection and exhibition have not been closely integrated with each other in Japan. This may be a reason why the museum, which is a device for collection and exhibition, has not yet become a 'public' institution in the truest sense of the word, in Japan. Umesao's presentation stimulated participants to discuss various issues concerning collection, representation, museums and expositions.

The next eight presentations were titled as follows: 'From "collection royale" to "collection publique": The Formation of the Louvre' (Yoshiaki Nishino); 'Tea and Collecting: The Prehistory of Private Art Museums' (Isao Kumakura); 'The Composition of the Siebold Collection in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden' (Ken Vos); 'Plant Collecting and the History of Japan in Eighteenth-Century London' (Timon Screech); 'Plant Hunters and Japan: Plants, Collection, Display' (Yozaburo Shirahata); 'Arms Collecting in Modern Japan—as the Product of Two "Sword Hunts"' (Naoyuki Kinoshita); 'Japan at the exhibition, 1867–1877: From Representation to Practice' (Angus Lockyer); 'The Tokyo National Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology: Museum Collections in Modern Japan' (Kenji Yoshida); 'The Representation of Disaster, the Display of Laughter: the Postmodern in the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and the Museum of Kamigata Performing Arts' (Lisa Yoneyama).

In the course of these sessions, differences between European and Japanese collections became clear, but it was also found that collections have been functioning not only as mnemonic systems but also as a means of constructing power, citizenship and nationality in Europe and in Japan.

The symposium rounded off and concluded a sixteen-year series of international symposia on Japanese Civilization in the Modern World. Papers from this last symposium are to be published in English as one

volume of the *Senri Ethnological Studies*.

Kenji Yoshida
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS)

12th Meeting
10–14 March 1999

The 12th Meeting of the Japan Anthropology Workshop (JAWS), 'New Directions in the Anthropology of Japan' was held at the National Museum of Ethnology (10–14 March 1999). This was the first meeting of JAWS in Japan and brought together non-Japanese and Japanese anthropologists of Japan to discuss current and future research in their field. The meeting included seven separate panels with a total of 61 paper-givers and discussants. A further 80 individuals attended making this almost certainly the largest ever meeting on the anthropology of Japan.

Participants included almost equal numbers of Japanese and non-Japanese, and the meeting was bilingual (Japanese and English) to allow people to express themselves as comfortably as possible. The meeting was particularly well-attended by graduate and post-doctoral fellows based in Japan, many of whom had not previously been able to attend such an international gathering.

The seven panels were as follows:

1. The Anthropology of Japanese Organisations
 - a. *Gendai Nihon no Shaen Bunka* (Company Culture in Contemporary Japan)
 - b. Informal Activity in (Formal) Japanese Organisations
2. Japanese Disciplinary Perspectives and International Discourses
3. *Mono kara Mita Nihon Bunka* (Japanese Culture Seen in Material Objects)
4. The Anthropology of Social Policy in Japan
5. Perception Representation of the Body in Japanese Culture
6. This Sporting Life: Sport, Society and State in Modern Japan
7. Popular Culture in Modern Japan: Continuities and Change

While it has been decided to leave final publication decision up to the individual panel coordinators, it is expected that the meeting will result in up to seven different publications in Japanese and English.

Hirochika Nakamaki
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

New Staff

Seki, Mr Yuji

received his MA in cultural anthropology from the University of Tokyo in 1983. He has carried out many archaeological excavations to investigate the formation of ancient civilisation in the Peruvian Andes. He is also interested in relationships between cultural policies and nationalism in Latin America, particularly with regard to the protection and presentation of archaeological and historical heritages.

Visiting Scholars

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

Kim, Mr Shi-deog

was born in Andong, Korea and studied folklore at the Graduate School of the National Andong University. He is now a curator at the National Folk Museum in Korea. His research interests include kinship organisation, rites of passage, and material culture. While visiting Minpaku from 24 December 1998 to 23 December 1999, the topic of his research is 'Burial Systems in Korea and Japan'.



Solonggod, Dr Hurcabaatur

was born in Ordos-Mongol, China in 1959. After finishing university he has worked as an editor for the book, *Study of*



Anthropological Theory, in Inner Mongolia, China. His first monograph on ritual in his home village has made him well-known as an anthropologist. He completed his PhD in anthropology at Tübingen University, Germany, in April 1999. His main research interests are the relationships between rituals for ancestors and the worship of Chingiskhan. He is a Visiting Associate Professor at Minpaku from 28 April to 28 July 1999.

Publications

The following were published by the Museum during the period December 1998 to June 1999:

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, vol.23, no.3, March 1999. Contents: A. Shimizu, 'Malinowski Rising out of Oblivion: The Culture-Contact Studies of the 1930s'; S. Nakagawa, 'The Endenese Bifocal Lenses'; and Y. Nishi, 'Old Burmese: Toward the History of Burmese'.

◇ *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology*, vol.23, no.4, March 1999. Contents: M. Tachikawa, 'Materials for Iconographic Studies of Newar Dharmadhatu Mandalas'; P. J. Matthews, J. Tanaka, and S. Koyama, 'The Eighth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies (CHAGS 8)'; S. Kayano, 'Ainu and the Salmon'; R. Lee, 'Hunter-Gatherer Studies and the Millennium: A Look Forward (And Back)'; N. Peterson, 'Hunter-Gatherers in First World Nation States: Bringing Anthropology Home'; and H. A. Feit, 'Analyzing and Celebrating Survival in a Globalizing World: Hunters, Others and Us'.

◇ Matsubara, M., Y. Konagaya and S. Sasaki (eds), *History and Present of the Eurasian Nomadic Societies*. Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology (Special Issue), no.20, 612 pp., March 1999.

◇ Tanaka, M. and M. Tachikawa (eds), *Living with Śakti: Gender, Sexuality and Religion in South Asia*. Senri Ethnological Studies, no.50, iv+293 pp., March 1999.

◇ Millones, L., H. Tomoeda and T. Fujii (eds), *Historia, religión y ritual de los pueblos ayacuchanos*. Senri Ethnological Reports, no.9, 188 pp., December 1998. Contributors: R. C. Carrasco, T. Fujii, J. Gamarra C., L. Huertas, L. Millones, J. J. G. Miranda, H. Tomoeda and J. C. Vilcapoma.

◇ Ishimori, S. and I. Hayashi (eds), *Studies on the George Brown Collection*. Senri Ethnological Reports, no.10, 363 pp., March 1999. Contributors: K. Hashimoto, I. Hayashi, S. Ishimori, S. Kobayashi, P. Matthews, A. Nobayashi, H. Sekine, C. Shirakawa and M. Ujitani.

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

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