

Special Issue:
Does Anthropology Really
Exist in Japan?



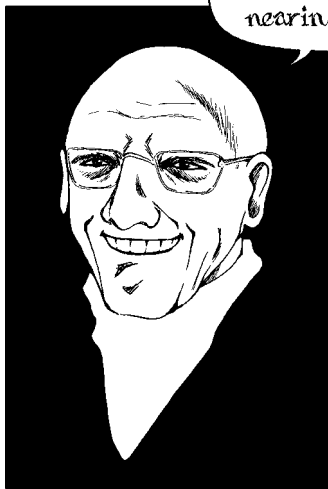
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On Humanity and Anthropology in Japan

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Man... , perhaps
nearing its end!

More than three decades ago, in a defiant but baffling statement at the very end of his *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault wrote that 'man is an invention of recent date. And one perhaps nearing its end'.¹⁾ For Foucault, whilst economics, sociology, demography and other sciences derived from the age of classical Enlightenment have been challenged by the 'counter-sciences' such as psychoanalysis and ethnology, i.e. social and cultural anthropology, the latter envisage the terrain of diverse constructions of man, humankind and humanity, as opposed to the unitary conception of modern individual subjects. He argues further that these counter-sciences together with structural linguistics, in the end, prove beyond doubt that man is in the process of disappearing in the wake of disruption of modern

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I don't think that Foucault simply predicts here the end of modernity *per se*, but this seems to reflect a certain reality of what happened subsequently to

anthropology through 1980s and 90s when conventional ethnographic practices were seriously questioned, on the one hand, and postmodernism and cultural studies came into prominence over the social and human sciences, on the other. Certainly, Japanese anthropology has been busy in coping with a disciplinary crisis against the move of the Western epistemological ground. But, in practice, its response has been rather ambivalent, as if it could still enjoy relative autonomy of the discipline under the heavy institutional and language protection and the assured financial support.

During the past three decades Japanese anthropology departments and the related institutions have produced quite a large number of anthropologists, working in Asia, Africa, America and other parts of the world, with fairly good financial support from the government and other sources. Some immediate responses to the disciplinary crisis have been to pick up a number of social and cultural phenomena derived from globalisation and its local effects (ethnic conflicts, civil wars, migration, minority movements, environmental issues, tourism, identity politics, etc. Indeed, the outpouring of research results published in the 1990s includes excellent and thought-provoking insights into these issues comparable with those in Euro-American anthropology,³⁾ although

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1) Foucault, Michel 1970 (1966). *The Order of Things*, Alan Sheridan (trans), p.387. London: Tavistock Publications.

2) In approaching this matter, Edmund Leach argues that modern anthropology is a by-product of the post-Cartesian attempt to objectify everything in the world and it has made the generalised man so imprecise as to be almost meaningless. Yet he fails to explain how new anthropological practices have effects on the vanishing man in the recent epistemological transformation. He focuses too much on the disciplinary fission between zoological, physical unitary nature and cultural diversity. See Leach, Edmund 1982. *Social Anthropology*, pp.84-85. London: Fontana.

3) To mention only a few English publications by those associated with Minpaku, for instance: Kurimoto, Eisei and Simon Simons (eds) 1998. *Conflict, Age and Power in North East Africa: Age Systems in Transition*. Oxford: James Currey; Tanabe, Shigeharu and Charles Keyes (eds) forthcoming. *Social Memory and Crises of Modernity: Politics of Identity in Thailand and Laos*. Surrey: Curzon Press.

4) Some interesting discussions on the subject are contained in Bremen, Jan van and Akitoshi Shimizu (eds) 1999. *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*. Surrey: Curzon Press.

5) Yoshida, Kenji 1997. 'Images of Other Cultures' in Museums, in Yoshida, K. and John Mack (eds) *Images of Other Cultures*, pp.41-49. Tokyo: NHK Service Center.

6) Strathern, Marilyn 1995. 'The Nice Thing about Culture Is That Everyone Has It', in M. Strathern (ed.) *Shifting Contexts: Transformation in Anthropological Knowledge*, p.169. London: Routledge.

7) '[The] human essence is no

mostly written in Japanese, a huge language barrier.

Also notable is another trend of research concerned with the history of anthropological practices that marks a reflexive turn in the discipline with detailed examinations of its practices and discourses, ranging from those in colonial situations to the contemporary issues on globalisation.⁴⁾ The reflexive turn and self-referential treatments of anthropological practices, fashionable in the US anthropology, have come into Japanese anthropology. Associated with this reflexivity, museum anthropology focusing on the representations of the other and own cultures also has come to be a major problematic among those working on material culture, in particular, those associated with museum activities.⁵⁾ Interdisciplinary collaboration, particularly with historical research, is increasingly evident and contributes to widening anthropological perspectives to cope with the rapid and complex changes under the globalised milieu. However, the disciplinary vigour of anthropology itself naturally wanes within the blindly mixed bag of collusion, often without any mutual theoretical engagement and scrutiny.

The development of post-structuralist anthropology and cultural studies in the English speaking world and beyond confirms that what Foucault envisaged in the late 1960s has significantly transformed the nature of social and human sciences. Yet what happened in Japan is, instead, the ironic unwinding of the modern sociological obsession that human beings live together as a discrete individual or clearly discriminate group in the social world. Thus the works on ethnic/ethnocised conflicts, identity politics, or environmental issues largely tend to ignore, with some notable exceptions, ways in which the individual and social identities of the people concerned are constructed and disrupted through power relations with the Other.

These processes often accompany struggling with, resisting and negotiating not only the Other but also what regulates themselves in a subjective fashion.

Also the reflexivity prevalent among the anthropologists working on museums or history of anthropology often draws on

no more than the binary opposition of representations as referring to 'We vs. the Other', or 'the centre vs. the periphery', a crude legacy of structuralist objectivism. This symptomatic resort to the conventional objectivist premises would not indicate naively the revival of the generalised, overarching humanity that has led to a sharp discrimination between the human and the excluded since modernity began. To the contrary, however, it has served to enlarge the delusional constructions of the Other, often forgetting, by the anthropologists' obsession with the binary opposition, how they constitute their representations, images, or identities in their own social processes and power relations.

I am not quite sure how far the anthropological knowledge on the epithet of humanity, whether in the Japanese or Western senses, has been deepened or has vanished in Japanese anthropology. Strangely enough, some anthropologists have been rather insensitive or even indifferent to the fundamental conceptions in anthropology and their transformation under current globalisation and associated epistemological changes. This seems to cause confusion among many anthropologists, especially when they are confronted with severe conflict situations involved in ethnocised violence, wars, social suffering and identity politics. It has long been argued since the 1980s that humanity together with 'culture' and 'society', the major concepts in anthropology, have been weathering away and have even been singled out and abused dogmatically in nationalist and socialist cultural politics, in racial, ethnic and cult violence, and even in neo-liberalist free market fantasy.

In an attempt at re-appropriating the overtaken concept of humanity, Marilyn Strathern notes that it can be re-defined as an *awareness* of the co-presence of persons, referring to 'the amalgam of desire, capability, artefact and embodiment by which persons live'.⁶⁾ Humanity 'contra-Marx' in his 'Theses on Feuerbach'⁷⁾ is to be distinguished from what anthropologists and people describe as or claim to be universal human characteristics. These are inevitably only claims, and must always and already be 'under erasure' in the undecidability of meaning, as Jacques Derrida asserts.⁸⁾ For anthropologists, humanity is therefore to be preserved, just as the concept of 'sociality' still operates, outside anthropological descriptions, and despite the commitments of anthropologists to social relations in the field. As Strathern indicates, humanity is not to be reduced to an essentialist epithet, but is to be understood as a fact of existence. Our understanding of this existence only emerges after long observation,

Humanity... ,
an awareness of
the co-presence of persons!



description and the exercise of imagination. To reach this understanding anthropologists must study how people form particular social relationships, and construct their identities.

The generalised humanity vanished with Foucault long ago, but the vanishing leads us, as a side-effect, to look at the social and power relations at local levels, rigorously avoiding any descriptive and engaged efforts that endorse any imaginary, purified views of humanity. By doing anthropology in this way, I believe, we may eventually make visible the premises of humanity, the Strathernian co-presence of persons, and the variety of ways in which human subjects are able to

constitute themselves through desires, knowledge, body and goods. In my view, this anthropology is a necessary response of humanity to current social realities.

In this special issue of the *MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter*, we invite two colleagues, Eisei Kurimoto and Akitoshi Shimizu, who left the Museum for Osaka University and Hitotsubashi University respectively from April 2000, to contribute articles under the rubric, 'Does anthropology really exist in Japan?'. We hope these authors can shed light on the current situation and the future of our anthropology.

abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations. See Marx, Karl 1845 (1975). 'Concerning Feuerbach' [Theses on Feuerbach], in *Early Writings*, Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton (trans), p.423. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

8) Derrida, Jacques 1987 (1980). *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, Alan Bass (trans). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

'Crisis' in Japanese Anthropology: Imagined or Real?

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Now it seems that there is a unanimous cry of 'anthropology in crisis' among Japanese anthropologists. For instance, in a book review in the latest issue of *Minzokugaku-kenkyu* (The Japanese Journal of Ethnology), the quarterly journal published by the Japanese Society of Ethnology, Keiji Maekawa argues as follows:

While anthropologists are engaged in self-criticism, the modern world system has been expanding, encapsulating marginalised societies in various ways. In the face of such reality anthropology is powerless. ... Anthropology is now powerless to other disciplines. Although it has been established institutionally, very little has been achieved to have an impact on outside of itself, except a few cases. [my translation]¹⁾

Let us take one more example. Motoji Matsuda's paper, 'Crisis of Anthropology and the Possibility of Tactic Realism', starts with an alarm:

They say that now anthropology is in danger. Danger does not mean that it is thrilling and charming. To the contrary, the mask of vanity is being stripped off and its very existence is facing the possibility of bankruptcy. [my translation]²⁾

According to this widely shared view, anthropology is losing not only its 'charm', but its very *raison d'être* as a privileged discipline monopolising the right of representation about the Other. The main long-standing object of anthropological

studies—small scale, isolated 'traditional' societies—no longer exists. And those voiceless people studied by anthropologists now have voices. This is what Matsuda calls 'Writing Culture shock', given by the seminal work by J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (1986),³⁾ and it is not particular to the anthropology in Japan.

Another aspect of our dominant feeling of being left out is that anthropology has little say in contemporary practical (and theoretical as well) issues such as development, environment, gender, ethnic conflict, to which many of us believe that our discipline is relevant. Very few anthropologists appear on mass media to comment on these issues. An illustrating case is 'international understanding' (*kokusai rikai*) recently introduced as part of school curriculum at primary and intermediate educational levels. Few anthropologists were consulted when Monbusho (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture) was planning this, and few are involved in the making of textbooks.

Seen from a different point, however, it is strange that this sort of negative self image is becoming wide spread while, as Maekawa says, anthropology in Japan is, though to a moderate degree, being institutionally established. There are now many more universities that have graduate courses in anthropology compared to some twenty or thirty years ago; the membership of the Japanese Society of Ethnology, the sole national association of ethnologists/ anthropologists is expanding and now has 1,837 individuals out of which 369 are students (as of May 2000); enough

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1) Maekawa, Keiji
2000. 『Review of
*Shisoka Sareru
Shuhen Sekai*, A.
Shimizu (ed.)』,
*Japanese Journal of
Ethnology* 64 (4):
527.

2) Matsuda, Motoji
1996. 『Crisis of
Anthropology』 and
the Possibility of
Tactic Realism』,
*Annals of Social
Anthropology* 22: 23.

3) *ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

4) The following were
published in 1999.
Osugi, Takashi
*Creoleness and
Alterity*; Yoshida,
Kenji *Representation
of 『Other Cultures』*;
Kurimoto, Eisei
*Modern and Primitive
Wars*; Tokoro, Ikuya
Border Crossings;
Matsuda, Motoji
*Anthropology of
Resistance*.

research grants and funds are available to sustain fieldwork; a number of books are still being published annually, although, like anywhere else, publication of 『purely academic』 or 『ethnographic』 books is becoming difficult. It is true that universities in Japan are having tough times, undertaking major reforms under the guidance of Monbusho, but this is not particular to the departments of anthropology. It is also true that would-be students in anthropology are being lured to seemingly more up-to-date disciplines such as development studies and sociology. Nevertheless, we may be in a better position than our colleagues in Europe and North America.

Moreover, it is not the case that our discipline has been attacked by neighbouring and related disciplines as useless and out-dated. It is also not the case that we are criticised as being authoritarian, exploiters, and imperialists by those whom we study, although some consider this seriously at a personal level. So, what are the sources of our negative self image? We may say that it comes from within ourselves and we are losing our confidence as being anthropologists. This self criticism from within is, however, of predominantly external, largely American, origin, as the term 『Writing Culture shock』 suggests.

In order to regain an affirmative self image, some of us try to demonstrate that anthropology is useful in practical issues. The present situation, however, seems to me that we are trying to sell our knowledge and experience to a wider market without a success. These fields such as development, gender and conflict are already dominated by other disciplines. If the market is regulated by the principle of free competition, this failure is because the discipline lacks a selling value. Anthropologists in Japan, I am sorry to say, are reduced to poor salespersons who desperately try to open a new market without adequate market research, without knowing selling values of their commodities. It is a shame.

I want to argue that, what we have to do is to think about not how we can sell, but for what reason and to whom we sell. In fact, first we need more debate among ourselves about the directions of our studies. The Japanese Society of Ethnology has already organised symposia on this issue, the first one 『Now What Can Anthropology Say to the World?』 in 1993, followed by 『Human Sciences in the Transformation Era』 in 1995. The results were published in *The Japanese Journal of Ethnology* (vol.59, no.1 and vol.60, no.4).

But not enough has been done.

Individual members also organised panels for dealing with practical issues at annual conferences of the Society. Examples are one on the human rights and another on the Ainu, whose summaries were also in *The*

Japanese Journal of Ethnology (vol.60, no.4 and vol.61, no.3). But they are still at a rudimentary stage.

We have to clarify, for instance, whether we are trying to become practitioners, advisers and consultants in practical fields, which of course will expand our job opportunities, or arguing that we need to study those fields critically. Another fundamental point, which has not been discussed, is our positioning and commitment; are we concerned primarily with 『the top』, i.e. governments, international agencies and mass media, or with 『the bottom』, the local and often marginalised people whom we study, or with both, acting in-between as a sort of mediator? Moreover, if we committed to a marginalised people, with whom in particular do we deal, given that no group is politically unified and free from internal disagreement and conflict?

These issues, of course, are not new. We have a long history of discussion on applied or practical anthropology, and more recently on the positioning of anthropologists. The answer should be sought by each of us.

There is no doubt that research interests and topics in Japanese anthropology are becoming increasingly diversified. And there is an emerging literature on subjects that were not previously dealt with by anthropologists, such as history, colonialism, development, world systems, globalisation and local reactions. The new series of twelve monographs, 『Perspective of Contemporary Anthropology』, published by Iwanamishoten, is an example. So far volumes on creolisation, representation of other cultures, urbanisation and resistance, international migration, and war have been published,⁴⁾ and others on multi-culturalism, technology, body, race and so on are coming up. Therefore, the issue is not the survival of each anthropologist, but the survival of anthropology as a coherent discipline. As the topics and interests are diffused, will anthropology itself be diffused and dissolved? Or, will something 『anthropological』 remain at the core of our approaches and theoretical orientations?

Definitely, doing fieldwork and understanding local contexts are persistent elements in anthropology, but they are not sufficient to bind us together and present anthropology as a charming, challenging, worthy, and hopefully useful discipline to the outside. I believe that anthropology is by nature not a theoretically coherent discipline but an approach to the subject. Therefore, if the anthropological approach is being accepted by other disciplines, we should be glad, though it may result in the dissolution of anthropology as an academic institution. This point also needs to be discussed. To conclude, I suggest that it is a high time that the Japanese Society of Ethnology as the national association and the National Museum of Ethnology as the national centre of anthropology research

*Globalised Africa: a
Japanese
anthropologist, three
South Sudanese (two
of whom are officers
of the Sudan People's
Liberation Army) at a
posh South African
hamburger restaurant
in Kampala, Uganda.
March 2000. Photo by
E. Kurimoto.*



provide an arena to discuss these related issues one by one, if anthropology is to remain a discipline.

Does Anthropology Exist in Japan?

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Does anthropology exist in Japan? This question is actually out of the question. The Japanese Society of Ethnology, Japan's largest nation-wide association for socio-cultural anthropology, was established in 1934 and currently has more than 1800 members (in May 2000). The *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, a quarterly published by the Society, has reached sixty-four volumes. In a broader perspective, general anthropology has a longer history in Japan; the first association in the name of anthropology was formed in 1884, and interests that could be classified in socio-cultural anthropology were part of this history from the beginning. These few facts should suffice to convey an image of anthropology as a substantial existing field in Japan.¹⁾

On the other hand, anthropology in Japan does not appear to have been recognised in due terms internationally. The original question 'Does anthropology exist in Japan?' appears to be closely associated with a preoccupation that anthropology is a discipline specifically developed in the historical context of Western colonialism. The most appropriate response to that question is not to answer it directly but to consider the context in which to answer it.

One useful device in considering 'anthropology in Japan' is a distinction between unmarked 'anthropology' and 'indigenous' (Fahim 1982) or 'national' anthropologies (Gerholm and Hannerz 1982). By 'anthropology in Japan', I mean anthropological works conducted by scholars who have their academic basis in Japan. In this conceptual framework, anthropology in Japan is to be analysed in terms of the local characteristics of Japan, a peripheral area in anthropology, and in contrast to 'central' countries such as the USA, Britain and France, where unmarked 'anthropology' is supposed to be located.

The conceptual framework is based on

an assumption that allocates the unmarked and marked anthropologies to 'central' and 'peripheral' countries, respectively. As a working device to fairly observe anthropology of different countries, I would treat anthropology in the allegedly 'central' countries as variants of 'national' or 'indigenous' anthropology, in the same sense that anthropology in Japan is recognised as a national anthropology.

A definition of anthropology in relative terms

Anthropology was once commonly defined as the study of other cultures. In the current, prevalent trend of inter-disciplinary studies in humanities and social sciences, the self-identity of anthropology is becoming ever more difficult and obscure. Nevertheless, the old definition is acceptable for the purpose of this article.

The old definition of anthropology is heuristic in showing that the epistemology of the discipline depends on the relationship of self with others. When anthropology is analysed in terms of collective engagements, the anthropological self is assumed to be certain collective entities, such as the West, or British society, or the group of professional anthropologists, depending on the sociological context in which anthropological works are considered.

The definition of anthropology is theoretically neutral, so that the position of the collective self should be open to any national/ethnic societies. The anthropological self, however, has actually been presumed to be an exclusive property of the West. I would argue that the enduring colonialism of Western anthropology transformed, and continues to transform, the theoretically neutral position of the anthropological self.

An early form of this colonialism was the construction of 'primitive' societies by anthropologists who shared a common

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1) For more detailed information on the modern history of anthropology in Japan, see Shimizu 1999.

2) Here I like to cite the criticism Malinowski (1929, 1930) raised as early as the late 1920s against antiquarian styles of research by his contemporary anthropologists.

3) ¶Native¶ anthropologists have also pointed out that non-Western students of anthropology attending universities in the USA are guided to choose their own societies as the subject of their research and to eventually become ¶native¶ anthropologists (Kuwayama 1997; Ota 1992).

4) Japanese anthropologists are not free from the same colonialist vision. They refer to works by ¶local¶ sociologists in those countries as anthropological works.

5) In order to make the typology theoretically complete, I am tempted to add ¶native intellectuals¶ as a fourth type. It indicates those native experts on their culture whom professional anthropologists, out of their restrictive sense of institutionalised disciplines, are reluctant to recognise as peer anthropologists.

6) Anthropological museums seem to have most sincerely endeavoured to respond to criticism raised by ¶native¶ peoples on their representations (Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association 1992; Rosoff 1998).

preoccupation of salvaging true, genuine ¶primitive¶ cultures as they were supposed to be before the Western contact.²⁾

Sanjec spotlighted another aspect of the same colonialism, by which natives were extensively exploited in their co-operation to anthropologists. No matter what substantial contributions native co-operators had made to anthropologists during their fieldwork, anthropologists devised the notion of ¶informants¶ and excluded native co-operators from the authorship of ethnography, which was exclusively reserved for professional anthropologists (Sanjec 1993). The notion of ¶native anthropologists¶, with the implication that they are only expected contributions of data on their own societies, may be seen as a present-day counterpart of the former ¶informants¶.³⁾

A third index of the persistent colonialism is found in the power structure of present-day anthropology internationally. Reflecting the dominant status of anthropology of a few ¶central¶ countries, the standard languages of those countries, English in particular, have become the *de facto* common languages of international anthropology. An asymmetrical pattern of reference is observed. Anthropologists of leading countries can expect their publications to be read throughout the world. It is not the case with those countries where local languages are used in education and academic publication. If anthropologists of such minor countries expect their publications to be read internationally, they must choose to publish their works in one of the *de facto* common languages—a foreign language for them (Gerholm and Hannerz 1982). This asymmetrical pattern of reference means that anthropological works conducted in minor languages are entirely invisible to anthropologists of the few leading countries in the West, and to anthropologists working in other minor languages.

Types of national anthropology
When different national anthropologies are compared, the analysis tends to be focused on the dichotomy of centre and periphery. By taking into account of the relationship of the anthropological self with others, as basis for comparison, differences among national anthropologies can be observed in more detail, and the following types of national anthropology are distinguished.

The ¶metropolitan type¶ indicates those national anthropologies, typically found in a few leading countries in the West, in which the relativist definition of anthropology—the study of other cultures—is reiterated. In examples where anthropologists study certain groups of people within their own country, they as

members of a dominant majority study minority groups. Anthropology in the USA covers almost all areas on earth, but anthropological works in other Western countries tend to be focused on their former colonies.

In the ¶domestic type¶, anthropologists study other societies, but the scope of their research rarely extends beyond the national border of the country. Anthropologists are primarily concerned with ethnic minorities within the country. This tendency is typically observed in India and China, where anthropology is paired with sociology, which is defined as the study of the ethnic majorities, i.e., the Hindus and the Han Chinese, respectively. Sociologists of those countries are identified as anthropologists, often marked as ¶local¶, by Western anthropologists.⁴⁾

The third in my typology is auto-anthropology. As with the domestic type, ¶local¶ anthropologists concentrate their interests on society within the national border, but the society happens to be homogenous and mono-ethnic. Anthropology in Korea, as it used to be until recently, may be recognised as of this type. Here the relativist definition of anthropology holds true only from the point of view of ¶metropolitan¶ anthropologists.⁵⁾

Colonialist gaze on other national anthropologies

In most non-Western countries that have systems of academic research and education, the national anthropologies are either of the domestic type, or of the auto-anthropology type, or mixtures of both. Among personnel of those countries, the most visible to Western anthropologists have been native ¶informants¶ and, to a lesser degree, ¶native anthropologists¶. Moreover, I would suggest that Western anthropologists tend to regard national anthropology of the domestic type as auto-anthropology, and auto-anthropology as simply consisting of ¶native¶ cultural experts. It is also a tendency for anthropologists of non-Western countries to accept their subordinate relationship with metropolitan anthropology in Western countries. This is particularly the case in those countries where, as a colonial legacy, Western languages are used as the standard languages of education and academic works. Communication between metropolitan and ¶native/local¶ anthropologists is accomplished easily if ¶local/naive¶ anthropologists have been educated in major Western countries; they are well trained in terms of the disciplinary regulations of anthropology in the West.

The position of Japanese anthropology
Anthropology in Japan occupies a

singular position among various national anthropologies. It has never been influential to anthropology of other countries; the greatest barrier in this respect has been the language, Japanese, in which the main body of anthropological works by Japanese scholars has been published. When it comes to the subjects and topics of research, however, Japanese anthropology is of the metropolitan type, in the same sense that anthropology in major Western countries is. In Japan as well as in major Western countries, anthropology has been primarily concerned with 'other' societies in foreign lands.

Anthropology in Japan is unique in the combination of being located in a non-Western country and being of the metropolitan type. This unique position makes anthropology in Japan all the more invisible to Western anthropologists. Western anthropologists who might pay any attention to anthropology in Japan are mostly specialists of Japanese society and culture. For the sake of their research, they might approach and co-operate with Japanese sociologists, folklorists and historians, but they would rarely meet Japanese anthropologists, because Japanese society and culture used to be a very minor topic of research among Japanese anthropologists.

Relationship of Japanese anthropology with other national anthropologies
One of the key concepts with which post-modernists criticised anthropological practices has been 'representation'. By representing other societies, supposedly non-literate and silent, in the guise of scientific objectivism, anthropologists, in their cultural politics, had exerted hegemony over those societies. Hence, the most difficult issue for anthropologists is how to include native voice in anthropological representation. Some sectors in anthropology, anthropological museums in particular, have eagerly sought thorough participation of natives on an equal ground with anthropologists.⁶⁾ In Japan, too, hegemony through anthropological representation is one of the focal issues of discussion among

anthropologists. There are many facets in this issue, and the relationship between anthropologists of different nationalities is one of them.

Anthropologists in Japan are extending their interests beyond the national border of Japan. They co-operate with 'local/native' anthropologists in developing their anthropological research. If the approaches of Japanese anthropologists in this respect have something different from their counterparts in Western anthropology, it is found in the choice of languages. Japanese anthropologists have organised occasions of international collaboration, in which Japanese and 'local/native' (and, on many occasions, Western) anthropologists participated, and in which the 'local' languages (the languages of the participating 'local/native' anthropologists) were used as one of the official languages, or even as the unique official languages. Here, the 'local/native' anthropologists mean those coming from the societies with which the collaborative works are concerned. It may be mentioned here that the National Museum of Ethnology has taken the lead in promoting international collaborations in this direction. Among the publications of the museum are: many collections of papers on the topics of Latin America which were published in Spanish (*Senri Ethnological Studies* no.10, 1982, no.33, 1992, and no.37, 1993; *Senri Ethnological Reports* no.5, 1996 and no.9, 1998), and in Brazilian Portuguese (*Senri Ethnological Reports* no.1, 1994), and all containing contributions of scholars from Latin America; a collection of papers on China in which some papers were written in Japanese and others in Chinese (*Senri Ethnological Reports* no.8, 1998). The museum has hosted international symposia and workshops on Latin America (many times since the 1980s), Mongolia (1999), China (1996) and Korea (2000) and these were conducted using the 'local' languages.

It may be argued that dialogues between metropolitan and 'native/local' anthropologists, no matter how equally they may be related with each other, do not guarantee a non-hegemonic

representation of the societies to which the 'native/local' anthropologists are related. It can be expected, however, that the international collaboration, formed with participation of 'local/native' anthropologists and conducted in 'local' languages, will be effective in overcoming a certain, if limited, aspect of colonialism within anthropology, particularly with respect to the colonial relationship among different national anthropologies.

Conclusion

Gerholm and Hannerz (1982) identified the hegemonic anthropology located in a limited number of leading Western countries with the name 'international anthropology'. Kuwayama (1997) proposed to name this phase of international anthropology as 'the world system of anthropology'. I would argue that both are misnomers. Both may reflect the dominant status of Western anthropology in international perspectives. The same representations, moreover, connote universality, but such claim has no empirical basis. The general reluctance, or rather negligence, of Western anthropologists to refer to anthropological works published in minor languages shows that the claim of universal validity, and hence of universal authority, has not been examined even by Western anthropologists themselves. The original question 'Does anthropology exist in Japan?' invites another questions. To what extent is Western anthropology universal? How is anthropology in leading Western countries different in nature from anthropology in other nations like Japan?

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Graphical Borrowing and African Realities: The Wolof Language

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Wolof

Wolof is an important language used in Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania and neighbouring countries such as Guinea and Mali. Its ancient origin as an orally transmitted language is believed to lie in the area of what is now Senegal. During the eleventh century AD, the Arabic alphabet was adopted for religious purposes as a means of representing Wolof, Pulaar, Mandingo and other West African languages. The written form of Wolof using Arabic is known as Wolofal. In Senegal, my home country, and also in Gambia and Mauritania, Wolof is officially recognised as a national language. Yet, its history has been studied little and Wolofal literature from all periods has been poorly preserved. My interest lies in investigating the history of the Wolof language and wish to encourage the preservation of early texts.

Early history

Most contacts between the people of sub-Saharan Africa and Arabo-Islamic culture have occurred in Western and Eastern Africa. In what is known as the Sudano-Sahelian region of Western Africa, contacts between local populations and Arabo-Islamic culture can be traced back to the eighth and ninth centuries AD. Arab travellers and geographers who wrote about this region include the *taariikh* (chronicle) writers such as Al Bekri (died in 1094), El Idrissi (1099-1155) and Abderrahmane es-Saadii (1596-1656). These writers reported that during the eleventh century, the Senegal River valley received a huge influx of people from the Zanaga Berbers. These people

were pivotal for Islamisation in the region. The name of the present Republic of Senegal is generally thought to be derived from the name Zanaga. The ancestors of Wolof speakers became Muslims under their influence. From Berber and Arabic languages, Wolof borrowed many words such as those for days of the week, greeting formulae, and the Hegira (also called the Islamic calendar). The most important and still dynamic phenomenon was the adoption of Arabic letters to transcribe local languages.

Transcription with Arabic alphabet

Early attempts to transcribe local languages in western Africa were confined to people already literate in Arabic and such people were mainly Muslim scholars and some members of aristocratic families. The use of Arabic letters to transcribe Wolof language was linked to Islamisation during the first diffusion of Islam in western Africa and throughout its subsequent elaboration. This has generally been a slow process and it is only during the nineteenth century that Wolof people became Muslims on a wide scale. Despite the importance of Arabic lettering there has been little adaptation of the Arabic sound system.

In Wolof language, consonants and vowels play the same role in terms of vocalisation whereas in Arabic, vowels are only for vocalisation. Thus for various reasons, Wolof sounds were reproduced in accordance with the nearest Arabic letters or an Arabic letter was incorporated into the Wolof sound system by tacit convention and/or the writer's choice. These processes

are part of the larger phenomenon of transcribing non-Arabic, mainly African, languages, with the Arabic alphabet. Such transcribed languages are known as *ajami* a simplified form of the Arabic word *ajamiyyu* meaning in Arabic non-Arab.

At present, it is very difficult to know precisely when non-Arabic written conventions were introduced for letters that do not exist in Arabic. However, we can assume that the process faced many obstacles. One example is the sacred status of the Arabic alphabet. The Koran, the sacred book of Islam, is believed to have been revealed in Arabic. The application of diacritical marks was a turning point which made Wolof orthography distinct within the general phenomenon of *ajami*, and which permitted its development as a complete writing system free from religious considerations. Wolof written culture could now develop its own genius and interact with the verbal culture. This phenomenon is known as Wolofal. Etymologically, this term means adapted or transformed into Wolof. The term was first used to indicate the oral nomenclature forged from Arabic concepts and used to facilitate the understanding of Arabic texts by monolingual Wolof speakers who were learning Arabic. It applies now to any Wolof text written with Arabic letters.

Many merchants, artisans, peasants and others still use Wolofal in their daily life and work. People who use Wolofal are generally known as Koranic literate because most of them have learned how to read and write at traditional Koran schools or *daara*. In fact, Wolofal is easily

accessible to anyone who has completed the first stage of the Koranic school, a training which usually lasts about two years.

The Roman alphabet was chosen by official promoters of the six national languages in Senegal, namely Wolof, Pulaar, Sereer, Manding, Joola and Soninke. This led to political protests in 1971 by those who were literate in Wolofal because they felt excluded by this national and landmark decision. Behind the two representations of Wolof language lie two worlds of thought, each ignorant about the other. Since 21 May 1971, the use of Roman letters has been officially sanctioned and is strengthened by government decrees. The use of Arabic letters does not benefit from any institutional support, but is ubiquitous and popular. Before the late 80s, people using only Wolofal were counted as illiterate in the official census.

Contemporary forms of Wolofal There are currently enormous numbers of Wolofal documents in free circulation in West Africa. They are easily found in the streets of big towns and particularly in Dakar where they are displayed in the hands of peddlers. The booklets are mainly reproductions of the sermons and speeches of religious leaders, and texts on the religious practices of Islamic brotherhoods. Booklets, pamphlets and notices for health education or agricultural techniques are also distributed by some non-governmental organisations such as USAID. The

Christian missionaries and the Evangelic Institute of Dakar are also issuing Wolofal documents that centre on the dialogue between Islam and Christianity.

Despite refusal to recognise Wolofal as an established written form of Wolof language, colonial officials in the past sometimes found it necessary to use Wolofal to communicate with the local majorities. Many treaties established between France and the Wolof kingdoms were written in Wolofal. Later, in rural areas especially, Wolofal appeared in some official documents concerning health, hygiene and agriculture. In 1960, the newly independent Republic also produced Wolofal documents. At the same time, a survey by the Senegalese Ministry of Development confirmed that a majority of people in rural villages was able to read and write in Wolof.

Wolofal is visible almost everywhere: on the walls of the city, on popular transport, on traditional boats, at hospital entrances, in the hands of street peddlers, and on billboards along the arterial roads of towns. The arrival of computers has promoted the setting-up of a tremendous number of micro-edition houses. These are effectively free from any control or monitoring. Most of them print pamphlets and other documents that range from religious popularisation to magico-religious practices and utilitarian information. Prices demanded by the informal distribution network are lowest.

The information provided is more accessible for more people than that provided by public and private bookshops.

Older forms and their preservation
The *daaras* or traditional Koranic schools keep a large body of literature that includes

Banknote from Ayuru market in Niger, September 1998. It was issued by the West African Bank in 1912 and was used all over West African territories under the French colonial rule. French, the official language, is used on one side; Arabic and Wolofal are the only local languages on the other side.

masterpieces of uncommon beauty. A range of ancient to contemporary examples exist concerning religious and secular themes. One of the greatest names in Wolof literature is Cheikh Ahmadou Baamba (1850–1927). He was the founder of the Murid brotherhood, and translated the Koran into Wolof. He is said to have written documents amounting to 7.5 tons, largely in Wolofal. The poet Musaa Ka (1883–1967) composed *Qarnu bi*, a magnificent epic about the 1929 Wall Street crisis. Mbaye Jaxate wrote poems and abundant prose works dealing with social, philosophical and educational problems. Wolofal poetry and prose are a very important cultural and literary heritage, and include personal letters, diaries, and works on traditional medicine, magic divination and meditations. These and many very old texts can easily be lost. They are scattered in rural areas of West Africa and abroad. Some of them are held in Europe, mostly in France and Portugal, having been carried away by colonial administrations. They are located in private and public libraries and are usually classified as ‘unreadable Arabic’. In Western Africa, most documents are in the hands of religious families or their followers who cherish them as mystical and religious objects. They regard them as a source of charisma and as tokens that ensure health and wealth. They generally refuse to lend them for study or publication. Some manuscripts have been passed from father to son over generations and there is no doubt that the manuscripts help to legitimise the holder’s position of spiritual leadership by serving as symbols of divine blessing and protection, i.e. as *baraka*. It is not accidental that in Wolof, the word *teere* means both book and talisman.

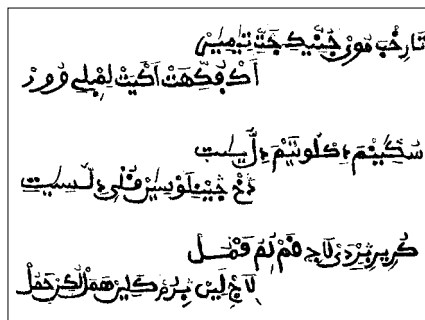
In private storage, documents are exposed to all kinds of danger: fire, weather, insects, use as talismans worn on the body, and so on. The chiefs of some religious families have encouraged the owners of documents to place them in the public library of Touba, the religious centre of the Murid brotherhood, but largely in vain. Mistrust of official institutions is prevalent.

Concluding remarks

My first concern now is to send out an SOS for the physical rescue of Wolofal literature and the cultural heritage that it embodies. Preserving this literature in public archives is a vital necessity. Most Senegalese are unconscious of the existence of old documents in their own language, and are thus unaware that these documents constitute the foundations for Senegalese literature and national culture. Wolofal literature has always been suffered neglect, even by researchers who have worked on the spoken language. Academic interest in Wolofal has been confined to studies of religious poetry, mainly by members of the Islamology Department of the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, Senegal. More extensive fieldworks are

urgently needed to rescue this cultural heritage and to answer many academic questions regarding the construction and history of Wolof and Wolofal.

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African Tales, and numerous articles on West African languages and cultures. His broad geographic areas of interest are Northern and Western Africa.

Extract from Jazaa lu s-Shakuur by Musaa Ka (1883-1967) and edited by Serigne Mbay Diop Taayif, Dakar, Senegal.

From Arabic to Wolof in Roman alphabet:

Taarix mooy junneek natti teemeer

Ak fukki hat ak yatt lim bee woor.

Su ngeen ma degloo tey ma dellu yeeti

Ndax niyy nelaw seen xol delluseeti

*Ku reer mbir day laaji, xam lu mu xamul
Laaji leen mbirum ku leen hamal lu
kenn hamul.*

Translation:

The year is one thousand three hundred.

And thirteen, to be precise.

If you listen to me, I'll be again awaking.

In the sleepers I hearts consciousness and questioning.

Who knows not must seek knowledge.

Wonder about the one who has taught you what only you know.

The Theatre of Non-theatre

Walter Pfaff

Parate Laboratorium, Switzerland

How wondrous this, how mysterious! I carry fuel, I draw water. (Hoo Koji)

Throughout this century the modern European theatre has developed in a constant confrontation and exchange with traditional theatre forms outside Europe. This exchange reached a new level when ethnology began to offer a vast number of field studies on theatrical and ritual traditions of different cultures. Some western theatre artists soon recognised that their interest in intercultural theatre work demanded intensive and time-consuming study. Thus their experimental theatre work turned into research on theatre.

The need for analysis and reflection arose as the vast amount of theatrical material collected from different cultures became available. Thus, Richard Schechner founded a field known as Performance Studies in the USA, and Eugenio Barba established the International School of Theatre Anthropology in Europe. While the proponents of performance studies in the USA turned their eyes in a so-called

¶broad approach¶ on a vast variety of performative phenomena in theatre as well as in daily life, European theatre anthropology took quite a different turn. It evolved ¶as the study of the behaviour of the human being ¶ in an organised performance situation and according to principles which are *different from those used in daily life* (italics by the author).¹⁾

But the decreasing interest in theatre techniques has recently made the distinction in theatre anthropology between the extra-daily and the daily body-techniques obsolete. Today the borderline between these two, and thus the borderline between performance on stage and in daily life are fluid, ever moving, and constantly shifting from one side to the other. Traditionally we have been trained to observe how daily life is turned into theatre, but now we have to start asking how the inverse process works, a process that turns theatre and performance into everyday life.

Though theatre historically developed out of daily life by amplifying the daily body techniques into extra-daily body techniques, this process is reversed today. We can observe that theatre techniques are gradually transformed back into techniques of everyday life. Performance studies have shown that the phenomenon of ¶being looked at¶ can be called a *universal of performance*.²⁾ In postmodern society, however, with cameras all around we are constantly ¶looked at¶, and we know it. Therefore, gradually we all turn into performers of some kind, more or less conscious, more or less refined, depending on how we want to present our appearance. More and more, we start to perform our lives, gradually acquiring a *performative competence*³⁾ in doing so.

One reason for this eminent change is the emergence of what Julia Kristeva called the ¶culture of the New World Order¶ in which ¶we are submerged by

entertainment culture].⁴⁾ In this 'culture', the mass media use the notion of *theatre* as a metaphor, that allows it to present the reality itself as a never ending TV-drama. Thus, the bloody battlefields of the Gulf War in Iraq were called the 'theatre of war'; the latest US missile system is officially baptised the 'Theatre of High Altitude Defense' (THAD) and *National Geographic* calls New York 'the theatre for the art of suburban movement'. These are just three examples proving that the media constantly present naked reality as 'theatre'. At the same time ordinary people become increasingly aware of the possible effects of using performance techniques in their everyday lives and begin to manipulate their expressions and feelings. Many workshops now teach how to do it; ordinary people are becoming like professional performers. 'Techniques of acting are used by corporations and other emotion managers who wish their employees—mostly people in service jobs—to actually feel what managers think the job requires them to feel, if they are to be effective in their work'.⁵⁾

All these phenomena are part of what I call the emerging *performative society*. Its description is the task of the social anthropologist. But when every aspect of daily life is turned into a performative event and theatre becomes a metaphor for reality itself, then the term 'theatre' has lost its meaning.

How can the theatre artists react to this menacing challenge? Expropriated by the mass media, they find their traditional field of work occupied by the enemy—the enemy, because the art of theatre by definition exists through its *difference* from reality; and when this difference is destroyed or negated, theatre itself is destroyed. In this situation the theatre artists have to protect their art, and a very effective form of protection is to become *invisible*, because mass media are glued to visibility. To become invisible is a hard job for the theatre artists trained to catch the eyes of spectators. Therefore, the invention of the 'invisible theatre'—a form of theatre without spectators that resists being seen and that resists the reign of

representation—had to happen in the protected situation of the laboratories. It required an abandonment of representation, of public performances, of audiences, of the stage. Already in 1970, in a speech at New York University, Polish theatre director Jerzy Grotowski declared at the height of his fame that the word 'theatre' was dead for him. He consequently left the world of the theatre of productions for the sake of quasi-monastic research work. He defined the subject of his research: 'The performer / is a man of action. He is not a man who plays another. He is a dancer, a priest, a warrior'.⁶⁾ He is *outside aesthetic genres*.⁷⁾

I call this theatre outside the aesthetic genres the *theatre of non-theatre*. It is still theatre insofar as it is nourished by the extremely old sources of theatre, but it is not theatre as it is outside aesthetic genres and moves in a direction altogether different from what we assume by the common notion of theatre. It is slowly becoming an *art of life*. An example of such non-theatre is Grotowski's latest work, which Peter Brook has called art as a vehicle:

'In the great traditions one can see, for example, monks, who, looking for a solid support for their inner search, made pottery or those who found music as a vehicle. / It seems to me that today / one of the vehicles which allows man to have access to another level ... is ... the performing art'.⁸⁾

Another example is the work of the Parate Laboratory which has engaged in the development of a paratheatrical *life arts* focussed on changing our habits of perception and creating (new) types of disciplined participatory actions. And in extensive caves deep inside San Gottardo mountain in the Swiss Alps, the monastic La Claustra Institute of Jean Odermatt is providing a meeting place to discuss the work of, among others, such laboratories

of invisible theatre.

It becomes clear that the intercultural researchers from such laboratories are not so much interested in techniques from Japanese theatre forms, for example, as in the Japanese traditional forms for a morality of work or what I would call the 'unity of art and life'.⁹⁾ They will study the tea-ceremony, ikebana, gardening, or the art of swordsmanship with as much interest as they studied Bunraku or the Noh-theatre. The practitioner of the theatre of non-theatre, like the follower of Zen, is

'an artist to the extent that, as the sculptor chisels out a great figure deeply buried in a mass of inert matter, he transforms *his own life into a work of creation*' (italics by the author).¹⁰⁾

As this 'work of creation' needs form—nothing is worse than the need of the beyond expressed in a vague, generalised way—he turns to the study of the forms and techniques developed in the great spiritual traditions. Such traditions all rely on a clear method with well-defined techniques, and on an utmost discipline and perseverance in mastering them—a discipline the theatre artists are used to. Thus, through the sacrifice of visibility and through the marriage of acting crafts and spiritual exercises, the theatre artists have saved their art—their professional knowledge of working on oneself,¹¹⁾ and become, in this process of deconditioning masters of *life arts*.

Performing for themselves. Agorita Bakali from Parate Laboratorium performs 'Antigone Passion' without spectators in the snowfields of the San Gottardo mountains. July 1999.



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1) Barba, E. 1991. *The Secret Art of the Performer*. London: Routledge.

2) Blau, H. 1997. 'Universals of Performances; or Amortizing Play', in Schechner, R. and W. Appel (eds) *By Means of Performance*, pp.250ff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

3) I have built the notion of 'performative competence' parallel to the notion of linguistic competence (*sprachkompetenz*) in linguistics.

4) Kristeva, J. 1995. 'What Good are Artists Today?', in Chambert, Christian (ed.) *Strategies for Survival 3 Now!* Lund: Swedish Art Critics Association Press.

5) Hochschild, A. R. 1983. *The Managed Heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

6) The image of the warrior in this context is quite interesting, especially since, in European history, all traces of an art and ethic of the warrior have not only vanished long ago, but became obsolete after the slaughter house of the First and Second World War. Connected with the fact that books on Zen-related Japanese arts like Kendo were much *en vogue* in Europe in the early 60s and Grotowski was known as a voracious reader, the image of the warrior may well reflect the Zen-trained Japanese swordsman, as for example pictured in the writings of Daisetz T. Suzuki. In this context it is interesting to note that Grotowski's language in *Towards a Poor Theatre* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968) shows

striking similarities in more than the technical terminologies with Japanese texts on the art of *bushido*. Unfortunately, no work has been done so far on this connection.

7) Grotowski, J. (ed.) 1988. *Performer*. Pontedera: Centro di Lavoro di Jerzy Grotowski (printed for private distribution).

8) Brook, P. 'Act as a Vehicle', in J. Grotowski 1988.

9) Pfaff, W. 1997. 'The Ant and the Stone' Learning Kutiyattam', *The Drama Review* (New York University) 41 (4): 133.

10) Suzuki, D. T. 1970. *Zen and Japanese Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

11) The first methodical book on modern acting by the famous Russian director Constantin Stanislavski had the title 'The Work of the Actor on Himself'.

Museum Management Technology Training Course 2 August 1999–19 January 2000

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Museo Arqueologico Rafael Larco Herrera, Peru

The museum training course organised by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) was a unique opportunity for museum specialists from developing countries.

Museology is a new and extremely important field for the world cultural heritage, and few countries offer chances for advanced studies in this field. The group training course in museology gave the participants a comprehensive overview of the field to contribute and improve the development of human resources at their own institutions.

The first part of the training course included a general orientation programme. Lectures about Japanese society, history, politics, economy, and education gave the participants an introduction to the host country. Japan is a country that develops high technology, while still keeping its ancestral culture.

The extra-curricular activities organised by the Osaka International Center gave participants a closer approach to and understanding of Japanese identity, and the formal courses provided good opportunities for

expanding the professional experience of all the JICA participants.

The programme included wide coverage of museology subjects, from preservation, collection and exhibition to education. Lectures, visits and study trips offered the chance to learn about many different topics.

Our study trips to Hiroshima, Nara, Tokyo and Nagoya focused on local monuments and various museums. We found ourselves acting as tourists and as research visitors, an experience that was particularly useful for learning how visitors arrive at a museum, what expectations they have, and how well these are fulfilled. We also learned about the roles of museums in social, cultural, and economic promotion.

The International Cooperation Seminar organised by the National Museum of Ethnology during the middle of the training course was a good introduction to the Museum as a whole organisation.

Topics such as collection and acquisition; museum environment; inspection and identification; workshops for children; and audiovisual

materials, let the participants see on site the activities involved in Japanese cultural organisations. The Minpaku Travelling Museum in Kyoto demonstrated a dynamic approach to presenting culture to citizens.

The specialised training also gave participants the chance to follow in their own main fields of interests. For six weeks participants conducted research for their own jobs. Meetings with the staff of different museums allowed the trainees to obtain, compare and exchange many experiences. Good support was provided in the libraries, store rooms, and collection and documentation centres of each museum.

Achievements

Visitors enjoy hands-on activities. Museums should be friendly places for learning and enjoyment.



By the end of the training course our objectives were definitely achieved. The participants had an overview of all the topics involved in museology, and their own fields were strengthened through the specialised training. One of the most useful experiences for me was the opportunity to visit archaeological sites and museums in Japan.

Our main duty is not to make people visit an exhibition once in their lives, but to help them learn about their own invaluable heritage through repeated visits over a lifetime. Museum educational programmes can be integrated with school programmes. It was very exciting to observe families, groups of teenagers, and elder people visiting museums as a personal choice, a cultural habit probably introduced since their childhood.

We cannot rely entirely on people's own wishes to visit museums. We must do our best to make people interested in public collections. These collections belong to them. We can do this by organising outreach programmes, active displays, well-designed routes, clear and multi-lingual captions, and by employing friendly staff and facilities.

One of the goals of many museums is to attract sufficient visitors to ensure the annual budget. Nowadays, private and public museums realise that entrance fees are not enough to cover their expenditures. During recent years, museums have been forced to generate their own revenues through membership campaigns, innovative programmes, accessible museum shops, and good restaurants. Nowadays it is not unusual for corporate seminars and other events to be held at museums after 6:00 pm.

Future activities

The mission of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum where I work is to preserve archaeological heritage, and to serve as an educational and research centre.

Projects in the middle-term future shall be focused on improving visitor services—for example, through interviews or survey cards in order to establish a feedback channel. Advertisement and security are two further matters that need increased attention.

Some long-term projects are developing the volunteer programmes, the restaurant and

coffee shop, an audiovisual hall and multimedia kiosks, and other projects related to preserving the collections including development of conservation and restoration labs and proper store rooms.

In our temporary exhibition programmes, we will continue organising national and international shows to increase awareness of Peruvian cultural heritage. We will also continue exchange with universities, other museums and other research centres to support studies in Peruvian archaeology.

Conclusion

The government of Japan and the Japan International Cooperation Agency realise the importance of cultural heritage worldwide. The development of human resources through training courses clearly shows this.

In developing countries, governments have to first fulfill basic needs before investing in cultural resources. Poverty, hunger and illiteracy are undeniable realities. Improving cultural resources in limited economic conditions is a titanic duty, which can only be achieved with the support of developed countries.

The participants have an enormous challenge. Of course, each of us will try to do our best to make our own institution successful. Success can be measured in terms of improvements to collections, programmes, planning ability, staff, finances, facilities, research, cultural diffusion, and above all education.

The old idea of museums as dark and boring places, or houses for curiosities, is changing. Museums nowadays are aware of their important role in society. They are active and complex organisations that need to integrate collections, exhibitions, and educational programmes, and these must be enhanced with marketing, visitor services and fundraising activities. It is not enough to make people know that the museum exists, we have to encourage them to visit, to participate in different activities, to repeat their visits, and above all to feel involved with the museum.

Museums are good venues for promoting cultural and historical knowledge. They house the

products of ancient civilisations, artefacts made by our ancestors, and hints of the past.

Minpaku's museum training course provides participants with important incentives and conceptual tools to help fulfill their missions at home.

The new millennium offers real challenges. Improving museology is not easy in developing countries. Our efforts can be strengthened by continuous training, technical support, and economical support from countries with the potential to provide these. To achieve sustainable cultural development on a worldwide scale will definitely require many joint efforts.

Acknowledgements

As a participant of the museum management technology training course, I would like to thank the Japanese government for sponsoring this course through the Japan International Cooperation Agency and the National Museum of Ethnology. I would also like to thank the Peruvian government and the Rafael Larco Herrera Archaeological Museum for the opportunity to join the course.

Thanks to all professors who shared with the participants their experience and knowledge. I would like to express my gratitude to the organisers, and coordinators. Finally, I would like to thank all the other participants for their friendship, and professionalism.

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The International Cooperation Seminar on Museology, 12–22 October 1999

Michael Kisombo

Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery

With the arrival of a new millennium, changes have emerged in all aspects of life. People in different societies have changed the food they eat, the languages they speak, the clothes they wear, the homes they live in, the laws and manners they use to keep order, and the myths and stories they share. Changes in many facets of culture have been inevitable.

Museums around the world have become crucibles in which culture is forged. They are places where past cultures emerge from the shadows to illuminate the present and future. Many museums want to move from their traditional roles as repositories of cultural material to being more public orientated. Other museums want to integrate with universities, colleges and schools as research institutions. Whatever changes they are challenged with, it is the museum expert's obligation to face the challenges. Thus, newly formed museum studies programs are preparing students for entry into the museum community, and many people working at museums are seeking opportunities to improve their knowledge, skills and technical abilities.

Recognising the evolving nature of the museum profession, the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) organised its Fifth International Cooperation Seminar on Museology in collaboration with the Japan International Cooperation Agency from 12-22 October 1999. The aim of this seminar was to establish mutual understanding among developing museums throughout the world, and to promote collaboration in museology research and training. The seminar was attended by eight JICA participants, and three scholars from Minpaku. With JICA support, I participated as a curator from the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery. Here is my account of the seminar and some suggestions.

At the seminar, theories associated with practical activities were outlined by Minpaku staff. In

the first day, the host museum was introduced and the talk was followed by a guided tour around the galleries. We discovered later that the museum was like an ethnological encyclopaedia of the world, with enormous collections. We learned that the museum operates according to the same statutes as national universities of Japan and must serve as an information centre for the general public.

On the second day, K. Otsuka lectured on 'Meanings of the Acquisitions'. He pointed out the significance of collecting cultural materials and the biases or prejudices that can interfere when making collections. He also pointed out some difficulties and the diligence or sensitivity required each time a cultural object is acquired. He then singled out the various procedures involved during acquisition.

Museum lighting was one of the topics presented by T. Morita. He gave a detailed account of the basic functions of museum lighting and how to apply the principles in different museums. The directions of light reaching objects, the amount of light making shadows, colour rendering, and temperature control were topics of paramount importance raised during this session. He reiterated that there is no universal method of application as every museum presents a different environment.

F. Uno gave a sound lecture on the topic 'from acquisition to exhibition'. This classified many of the procedures of museum work, and Minpaku's own methodology.

Other topics covered were: scale drawing, photographic documentation, museum environment, a travelling exhibition to Kyoto, and workshops for children. Some of the presentations were reinforced during practical sessions. For example, participants were asked to prepare photographic images and scale drawings.

At the end of the seminar, there was an open discussion allowing participants to express their opinions about the seminar.

Most comments were concerned with how the seminar was conducted and the methodologies used. Others were related to Minpaku's exhibits and the technology used. A few participants noted the difficulties they would face if they attempted to apply the same methods as Minpaku at their own institutions.

Most information presented during the seminar was derived from the host museum's experience. The presentations and discussions were orientated from presenter to participant rather than reciprocal. I believe that the seminar would benefit from a more reciprocal approach, so that participants can contribute ideas and experience from small-scale to large-scale museums and from private to public museums. Much could be learned from the experiences of people from diverse contexts. While participants became good listeners, it was quite difficult to translate what we have learnt to small-scale museums with severe financial constraints. The exhibitions and conservation methods shown during the seminar involved highly advanced technology, and participants could only dream of actually using such methods.

Most museums want to be public-orientated, but Minpaku's methods for increasing visitors' interest are far from being applicable to small-scale museums. Our budgets are insufficient.

Despite such obstacles, we were able to grasp some basic ideas from the example of Minpaku. We understand that Minpaku was not built overnight, and some of the ideas that emerged during this seminar will be applicable despite our limited resources. For example, Minpaku's thematic approach in exhibitions and the workshops for students during school holidays. Other ideas would be great to develop, if there is ever a chance: Dr Minpaku (an interactive computer display system) and the videotheque for example.

Let me conclude by saying that museums generally are in fact not

becoming public-orientated. Our presentations, exhibitions and programs should be more educative. We have to encourage visitors to engage in activities that improve their experience of the museum. It is our obligation to make museums more educational, if museums are to survive.

I suggest that the museology seminars should take an approach that comes closer to the participants' needs and expectations. There must be open dialogue between the presenters and participants so that mutual understanding is achieved. The Minpaku course would be improved by giving participants

opportunities to speak on topics of mutual interest.

To conclude, the educational value and potential of museums should be a major focus in future seminars. Defining the educational functions of museums and the relative importance of different activities are significant topics. What is learned in museums and how learning takes place must be well considered for museums to survive in the coming century.

The author is Senior Education Officer at the Papua New Guinea National Museum and Art Gallery. He attended the Museum Management Course from 2 August 1999

to 19 January 2000. For his practical work experience he was attached to Minpaku and the Museum of Nature and Human Activities, Hyogo. In the future he wishes his museum to become more public-orientated rather than remaining just a custodian of cultural materials.

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Exhibitions

Theater at the Museum: The Expressive Body

Special Exhibition

The National Museum of Ethnology held a special exhibition of performances and display entitled †Theater at the Museum: The Expressive Body‡ from 18 March to 14 May 2000. This gave visitors an opportunity to see first-class actors, dancers, clowns, mime artists and other performers from throughout the world. While seeing their performances, visitors were able to discover how performers use their bodies for expression. As a setting for performances, our special exhibition hall was refurbished like a coliseum and also featured displays of old Japanese billboard pictures, marionettes from Asian and European countries, and photographs of Koji Fukunaga's *butoh* dance and the mannequins of Bernard Faucon. Several †dance therapy‡ seminars were also held.

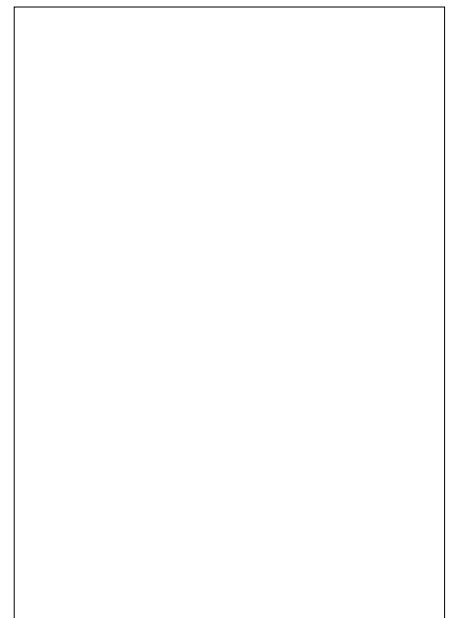
Our life has often been compared to a stage, where each

person plays his or her role and often plays various roles to express each one's personality. Today, linking life to a stage has become more real as the differences between the two genders, ages, and social ranks have become vague. Human beings certainly perform and express themselves by using their own bodies. Our bodies exist closest to us and are our most intimate part of the physical world. The body is like our existence. However, we know little about our own bodies and are unconscious about them as long as they work as we wish. We know little what they communicate on the stage of life. Through this exhibition, we tried to become more conscious of our potential for bodily expression, and could reflect on our own methods of self-expression and performance in daily life.

The following performers appeared:

Thomas Leabhart (corporeal mime); Park Jong Ran (Korean salpuli dance); Kim Manri (disabled dance performer); Kimiko Yanagida (Orissi dancer); Bisbini Family (clowns); BP Zoom; Japanese Girl Quintet; Sennojo

represented by dress, food, housing, and performing arts. It also reflected Confucianism and folk religion, and the dualities of *yangban* (the ruling class) and common people, and of male and female. Our new exhibition emphasises culture in contemporary Korean society, introducing shamanism as its base and Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity as



Park Jong Ran, photo by Koji Fukunaga.

Shigeyama (*kyogen*); Yasumasa Morimura; Yuji Takahashi (composer); Yen Feixia (Chinese martial art); Gilyak Amagasaki and Taro Yuritake (street performers); Roberta Carreri (actress); and Issei Ogata (actor). We thank them all for their great contributions to this project.

Masaichi Nomura
National Museum of Ethnology

components of the multi-layered culture.

On one wall hangs a portrait of Tangun, the father of the Korean people, symbolising their long history of over 4000 years. Then, tracing history back from contemporary culture, the cultures of Christianity, Confucianism, and Shamanism are exhibited. Thus we try to show how history is reflected in today's

Renewal of the exhibition 'Culture in the Korean Peninsula'

The exhibition †Culture in the Korean Peninsula‡, first opened to the public in 1983 and was reopened in March 2000, after substantial changes. In the original exhibition, culture was

culture. Three sections include materials representing today's culture in sports, domestic spaces, and folk crafts. These three sections will be changed in the future to show Japanese culture in Korea (including colonial Korea), and Korean people in Japan and other foreign countries.

A model house from Cheju Island, a *chumak* house in the patio, *changs* 拵 posts and *sotta* poles (originally placed at the entrance to the village) have been placed at the entrance to the patio to create a rest space. The Cheju Island house was moved closer to an Okinawan homestead, allowing visitors to compare these two houses from geographically close locations. The *chumak* was a traditional tavern, and was reproduced from an original example in Ch 拵 gchlong Nam Do. Visitors can enter and experience

a typical Korean floor heating system (*ondol*), and an old lifestyle. Diet is indicated by farm tools, storage jars, dried foods, and eating utensils. Representing rites of passage are the clothing worn by infants on their first birthday (*tol*), wedding garments, and mourning dresses.

On another wall, opposite the corner on the rites of passage, the painting on a folding screen depicts the idealised life of a *yangban*, a leader who supported Confucianism. Opposite the display on Buddhist culture, there are masks and costumes for masked plays (Yi dynasty) and a photograph that criticises a corrupt priest. The exhibition is thus arranged to place related objects as close to each other as possible.

About forty short audiovisual programs are provided in the Minpaku Digital Guide.



Chumak (tavern).

Toshio Asakura
National Museum of Ethnology

Minpaku Comes to Your Town

This program for community education is new for our museum. It is also our first attempt to operate a portable museum system or 'Travelling Museum'. The first Travelling Museum included following elements:

1. Exhibition, 'One Hundred Select Materials from Minpaku'.
2. Video section, a range of fifteen minute programs of daily life around the world.
3. CD-ROM viewer (demonstrating our museum's homepage).
4. Dr. Minpaku Jr. (a computer providing guidance to a selection of touchable ethnographic objects).
5. Museum shop/selling books and souvenir items.

Also provided were ninety-minute lectures by museum research staff, and active guidance by support staff.

A colour catalogue of the exhibition entitled 'The Performance of Gods' has been published by Tankosha Publishing Co. in its 'Heart collection' series.

The new program started last October, and was first presented at a closed elementary school in Karasuma-Oike ward, in the center of Kyoto City. During five days (20-24 October 1999), more than one thousand people visited the exhibition. The travelling museum opened again at the

Citizens Community Center in Ashiya City (25-29 November), and over two thousand people visited there. At the both places, we were happy to learn that many people became repeat visitors, bringing families and friends with them on the second visit.

In spring this year, we went to Shizuoka City and held our event at Granship, the Shizuoka Prefecture Convention and Arts Center. For this event, we added two corners for learning by experience. One was a dressing corner for trying on Mongolian clothes, and another was a game corner for trying unfamiliar games. In eleven days (14 to 24 April), the number of visitors exceeded 3,600 with an increasing number of repeat visitors as time passed.

To present our program, two large road trailers and a floor area of about two hundred square metres were needed. We had to rent three trailers for Granship because it had a floor area of more than four hundred square metres, and we had to add some large display objects in order to fit the exhibition space. This was not a cost-effective approach. We want the program to remain satisfactory but compact, or else we will need a ship. Information on the events held so far can be found on our homepage at <<http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/>> (in Japanese only).

A number of problems have been encountered with this project. For example, instructing event supporters on the spot was difficult, and the hunt for funding required efforts across the country. We hope to visit several places country-wide every year. We will have to upgrade our program continuously. Our aims are not yet clear enough. Nevertheless, we will go forth. This year, we plan to visit several cities and towns that have called for us.

Masaki Kondo
National Museum of Ethnology

Conferences

The Arts and Representation of Ethnic Cultures: Focusing on the Special Exhibition 'Ethnic Cultures Crossing Borders'

15-16 December 1999

This symposium was held at Minpaku and brought nineteen participants from Minpaku and other institutes together, to discuss the theme of our special exhibition entitled 'Ethnic Cultures Crossing Borders: People Moving, Cultures Mixing'. The symposium was held as part of

the museum's priority research project, 'The Museum Anthropological Study of Cultural Representation'.

Four topics touched upon in the special exhibition were discussed, namely: 'Aboriginal People in the Central Desert', 'The Inuit of the Arctic', 'Shamanic Visions of the Amazon', and 'The Artists of the Kalahari Deserts'. The exhibition itself introduced the present culture of those who live in remote regions and were once hunter-gatherers. Modern arts were chosen as a medium to represent ethnic cultures. The symposium addressed five questions: (1) Why were arts chosen to represent ethnic cultures? (2) What aspects of ethnic cultures are represented by arts? (3) Why have arts crossed borders between ethnic peoples? (4) What problems do exist for the exhibition of arts? (5) Through arts, what impacts do ethnic cultures have on visitors?

Anthropologists and non-anthropological staff from other museums and art galleries participated to discuss our attempt to present arts in a new way, different from usual exhibitions of art works. Actively discussed were the meaning of being regarded as 'art' and 'artist', its background and context. The following eight papers were presented: Toshio Matsuyama, 'Acrylic Paintings at the Central Desert of Australia: Examples of Representation of Indigenous People's Culture at the Exhibition'; Kayo Tamura, 'Indigenous People's Art in the History of Australian Paintings'; Nobuhiro Kishigami, 'Ethnic Art and Representation of Inuit Culture in Relation to the Special Exhibition of Minpaku'; Keiichi Omura, 'Creative Power of Inuit Art: Ethnic Image as a Crossroad of Tradition and Modernity'; Hirochika Nakamaki, 'Representation and Border-crossing of Shamanic Vision in Amazon'; Hikaru Nagatake, 'Report on Activities to Exhibit Art Works relating to Amazon'; Kazunobu Ikeya, 'How Sun Art was Created and Exhibited in Relation to the Special Exhibition at Minpaku'; Tetsuya Kamei, 'Ndebele's Decorations and Museums'.

The symposium provided a rare opportunity for art curators and anthropologists to discuss

art, ethnology and their representation in public exhibitions. The results are now being edited for publication in the near future.

Hirochika Nakamaki
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Wartime Japanese Anthropology in Asia and Oceania 'Anthropology and History' Workshop

20–22 December 1999

Colonial situations have been one of the most important themes in the history of anthropology. Colonialism framed the epistemology and social practices of anthropology in the past; anthropologists have recognised this through their own studies of the history of anthropology. In contrast, relatively little attention has been paid to the history of anthropology during wartime.

Unfortunately, anthropology in Japan has not attracted much notice from scholars who have studied the history of anthropology in the West. In Japan, too, anthropology developed in the context of the nation's colonialism. Moreover, in Japan, anthropology made unprecedented progress in the very context of expanding warfare in Asia and Oceania in the 1930s and 40s. In this workshop we explored the close relationship between anthropology and the wartime situation, with particular regard to the experiences of Japanese anthropologists. The workshop was planned by myself, as main co-ordinator, and Dr Jan van Bremen (Leiden University). The National Museum of Ethnology (NME) hosted the workshop as part of the Museum's new project on 'Anthropology and History'.

The following scholars participated in the workshop: George W. Stocking, Jr (The University of Chicago), Choi Kilsung (Hiroshima University), Chun Kyung-soo (Seoul University), Kevin M. Doak (University of Illinois), B. A. Hussainmiya (Universiti Brunei Darussalam), Koji Miyazaki (Tokyo University of Foreign

Studies), Katsumi Nakao (Wako University), Nie Lili (Tokyo Women's College), Atsushi Nobayashi (NME), Shiro Sasaki (NME), Teruo Sekimoto (University of Tokyo), Masakazu Tanaka (Kyoto University), Yun Hui Tsu (National University of Singapore), Tomiyuki Uesugi (NME) and Katsumi Yamaji (Kwansei Gakuin University).

Professor Stocking reviewed his own research on the history of anthropology, pointed out the problems of 'Eurocentric' and 'national' anthropologies, and presented a perspective on a multi-vocal and global history of anthropology. A broad variety of topics were discussed including a nationalist theory of nationality formulated in mainland Japan, the rise of nationalism under Japan's indirect rule and the non-existence of anthropology in Brunei and North Borneo, an anthropologist's devotion to mobilising Korean youths for warfare, and the academic and practical efforts of anthropologists during wartime in China, Taiwan and Southeast Asia.

Since wartime anthropology has recently been recognised as a serious subject of study, some contributors frankly admitted that they had conducted no more than a preliminary survey of their topics. The workshop helped us to assess the likely or necessary scope of future research agendas concerning wartime anthropology. We were also able to elaborate theoretical and conceptual devices that will be useful in further research on wartime anthropology. The workshop papers will be published by the National Museum of Ethnology.

Akitoshi Shimizu
Convenor
Then *National Museum of Ethnology*

Symposium on Transborder Phenomena

*Presymposium, the Transborder Conflict Research Project
28–29 February 2000*

The symposium 'Aspects of Transborder Phenomena in the Era of Globalisation' was held on 28–29 February 2000 and was the first joint forum of the

Transborder Conflict Research Project, launched in April 1999. This and two other longer-term Minpaku projects will explore how the museum can deal with issues that confront contemporary ethnology and cultural anthropology. The term 'conflict' in the project title is being interpreted broadly to cover not only hostility, but also rivalry, accommodation, and other forms of contact in various phases of transborder phenomena that are accompanying globalisation. Project members have been engaged, individually or collectively, in research related to the main theme of the project.

This symposium aimed at identifying the full range of phenomena involved in transborder conflicts, and will help lead the project towards later theme-specific symposia and activities. Project members are expected to expand or deepen specific topics of interest for symposia within the project framework.

The symposium had six sessions, each consisting of a paper, commentary, and discussion. The sessions, main speakers, and commentators were: (1) Islamic Expansion (S. Hosaka, M. Shinmen); (2) The Role of Labour Migration in West Africa (T. Mishima, H. Kano); (3) The Dynamics of Chinese Overseas Communities (G. Miyahara, A. Fukuura, M. Morikawa); (4) Indigenous Peoples and the State's Legal System (M. Kamata, S. Sugito); (5) Landscape as a Resource (H. Maesawa, H. Furukawa); and (6) Language Expansion and Language Contacts (K. Tsunekawa, O. Sakiyama). Many of the speakers and commentators were specialists invited from outside Minpaku. Other participants included K. Abe, T. Uesugi, M. Kubo, K. Hirai, F. Hirataka, S. Fukuoka, M. Minami, and Y. Kuroda.

In the final discussion and review of the sessions, several crucial issues were highlighted, including the increasing presence of Muslims in Japan, largely a result of immigration from South Asia; the existence of nations that have totally integrated immigration as a core system in the society; the manifold identity of the overseas Chinese which has

led them to form different ties among themselves; the redefinition of the ethnic borders by indigenous peoples; the emergence of global standards and NGO control organisations particularly in the field of environment and natural resource preservation; and the foundation of Creole identity on hybridism, not on purism. As was often pointed out during the discussion, a problem remains, as to how to accommodate these issues theoretically in ethnological studies.

The preliminary report of the symposium will be published in Japanese by the end of this year.

Hiroshi Shoji
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

Representation of Korean Culture in Japan

*International Symposium
17-18 March 2000*

This symposium was held as part of the priority research project 'The Museum Anthropological Study of Cultural Representation' on 17-18 March 2000. One of our aims was to ask the participants to evaluate our new 'Culture in the Korean Peninsula' exhibition, which reopened on 15 March after substantial changes.

Toshio Asakura (NME) delivered a keynote speech. Eight Korean scholars from museums and other institutions were invited, and six papers were presented from the following viewpoints: Chun Kyungsoo (Seoul National Univ.), anthropological view; Chung Jongsoo (National Folk Museum), the viewpoint of folklore; Chung Seungmo (Research Center of Regional Culture), the viewpoint of historical folklore; Maeng Injae (Committee of Korean Cultural Treasures), the viewpoint of art history; and Choe Jongho (Korean Folk Village Museum), the viewpoint of museology, and Lee Insuk (Kyonggi Provincial Museum), museology and a woman's view. Kim Shideog (National Folk Museum) and Song Sunghi (Daedong Institute) chaired this session.

Six participants from Japan acted as commentators: Kim

Byungchul (Asia Univ.), Lee Sunae (Miyazaki Municipal Univ.), Seo Yeongjin (Hiroshima Shudo Univ.), Masachika Ukiba (Nagoya Univ.), and Yasunori Shimamura (National Museum of Japanese History). Choi Intag (Miyazaki Municipal Univ.) chaired this session.

Researchers of a Minpaku joint study entitled 'A Study on Korean Culture from Material Cultural Perspective' (1997-1999) joined the discussion: Abito Ito (Univ. of Tokyo), Hiroki Okada (Koshien Univ.), Shiro Sasaki (Utsunomiya Univ.), Mayumi Shigematsu (NME), Mutsuhiko Shima (Tohoku Univ.), Fumiko Suzuki (Shimane Univ.), and Kenji Hidemura (Meisei Univ.).

Toshio Asakura
Convenor
National Museum of Ethnology

New Directors

In April 2000, four new directors were appointed to four of five Research Departments. Our five directors are now:
Hiroshi Shoji
Department of Social Research
Tomoya Akimichi
Department of Cultural Research
Yasuyuki Kurita
Department of Museum Anthropology
Yasuhiko Nagano
Department of Research Development
Tatsuhiko Fujii
Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology.

New Staff

Intoh, Dr Michiko received her MA and PhD in anthropology from the University of Otago in New Zealand. Since 1974, she has carried out extensive archaeological research in Oceania, particularly in Micronesia. Her recent interests include ceramic technology, human impacts on island environments, and the significance of cultural variability for human colonisation strategies. She is currently joint editor for *Man and Culture in Oceania* (now called *People and Culture in*

Oceania) and associate editor for *Anthropological Science*.

Han, Dr Min was born in Shenyang, China in 1960. She received her MA in literature from Jilin University, China in 1986, and her PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Tokyo in 1993. Her major research interests are cultural and social continuity and changes among the Han people, and in particular the continuity of lineage, changes in marriage patterns, gender issues, the revival of Christianity, and the recreation of culture and identity at the local and the national levels in the tourism industry. She has conducted many surveys in Anhui, Hunan and Peking.

Visiting Scholars

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

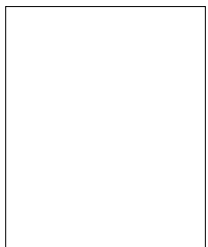
Barkmann, Dr Udo B. was born in Brandenburg/H. (former East Germany) in 1955. He studied Mongol Area Studies, History and Manchu language at the Humboldt-University in Berlin and the Mongolian State University. After graduation he studied at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow. After obtaining a doctorate in 1984, he continued working as research assistant, head of section, and vice-dean at the Humboldt-University (1984-1994). In 1995 he conducted research at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and from 1995 to 1997 he was supported by a scholarship of the German Research Community (DFG). In 1999, he published a book *History of Mongolia*, and a second book entitled *History of Mongol-Chinese Relations 1953-1996* will be published this year. He was a visiting professor at Minpaku from 2 February to 1 May 2000, where he continued his work on 'Land-use Systems in Mongolia before the Collectivization'.



Keen, Dr Ian is Reader in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the Australian National University. He studied anthropology at University College, London, and completed his PhD at the Australian National University. He has carried out research on Australian Aboriginal religion, of kinship and society among Yolngu people of northeast Arnhem Land, and on Aboriginal land tenure in other parts of Australia. As well as many journal articles and chapters in edited books, he is the author of *Knowledge and Secrecy in an Aboriginal Religion* (Oxford University Press 1994, 1997) and editor of *Being Black; Aboriginal Cultures in 'Settled' Australia* (Aboriginal Studies Press 1988). He is currently working on a comparative study of pre-colonial Aboriginal societies for Oxford University Press, and hopes to complete the book during his stay at Minpaku. He is also editing a volume on ethnicity among hunters and gatherers, arising out of the eighth International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies held at Minpaku in 1998, to be published in the Senri Ethnological Studies series.



Strathern, Professor Andrew J. is Mellon Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh. At Minpaku he is working on a joint project with his wife and collaborator, Dr Pamela J. Stewart (who is a Visiting Researcher at the Museum). They are writing a book on materials that they have collected from their work together in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Their recent, jointly authored publications include: *Curing and Healing: Medical Anthropology in Global Perspective* (1999), *Collaborations and Conflicts: A Leader through Time* (1999), *Identity Work: Constructing Pacific Lives* (2000), *Arrow Talk: Transaction, Transition, and Contradiction* (2000), *The Python's Back: Pathways of Comparison Between Indonesia and Melanesia* (2000).

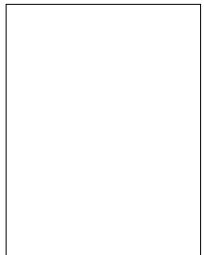


The book project that they are working on is under contract with the Smithsonian Institution Press in the USA. It will deal with the responses of local peoples to mining and other development projects and their construction of practical and mythological ways of both adjusting to and challenging the impact of the outside world on their lives. Dr Strathern and Dr Stewart are visiting at the Museum from 1 April until 30 June 2000.

Boonmi, Mr Thirayuth was born in January 1950, a native of Bangkok. He is Lecturer in Anthropology at Thammasat University. His first degree was in engineering. He then shifted to philosophy and finally to cultural anthropology. During 1973-82, he was a student activist and underground fighter. Present interests include political reform in Thailand, consumer culture and post modernism. His present research topic is 'The Emergence of Plural Societies in Thailand'. He is Visiting Associate Professor at Minpaku from 25 April to 24 July 2000.



Ostapirat, Dr Weera is a linguist specialising in Southeast Asian languages. He is a Research Fellow on the Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus Project, University of California, Berkeley. His recent work includes field research in China and Vietnam on the Mon-Khmer and Tai-Kadai language families. His comparative study of Kra languages, which constitute a lesser-known but important branch of the Tai-Kadai family, is being published as a monograph in the series *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, UC Berkeley. He is Visiting Associate Professor at Minpaku from 21 April 2000 to 20 April 2001.



Millones, Mr Luis is Professor Emeritus at the National University of Huamanga, Ayacucho, Peru. He studied at the Catholic University of Lima, University of Chile, and at the University of Illinois. He was Professor of Anthropology at the University of San Marcos (Lima) and at the University of Huamanga. Millones won the Peruvian national fellowship in 1967, the Fullbright fellowship (Stanford) in 1986, and has been a member of the National Academy of History in Chile since 1991. He was Visiting Professor at the University of Texas (Austin) in 1978 and 1987, also at the University of Princeton in 1991. His research encompasses the history and anthropology of the Andean area. With H. Tomoeda and T. Fujii at Minpaku, he edited *Historia, religi y ritual de los pueblos ayacuchanos*, Senri Ethnological Reports no.9 (1998), and *El Mundo Ceremonial Andino*, Senri Ethnological Studies no.37 (1993) with Y. Onuki from the University of Tokyo. He is currently completing fieldwork on Andean Indian festivals in the North Coast of Peru, as part of a general project on the history of Indian religions in the Andes. At Minpaku he is editing a new book on Cusco.

Publications

The following were published by the Museum during the period from January to June 2000:

Umesao, T., T. Fujitani, and E. Kurimoto (eds) *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World XVI: Nation State and Empire*. Senri Ethnological Studies, no.51, i+164 pp., March 2000. Contents: T. Umesao, ¶Keynote Address¶; S. Yamamuro, ¶The Evolving Meiji State¶; Y. Murata, ¶Chinese Nationalism and Modern Japan¶; M. Mehl, ¶History and the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Japan and Germany¶; P. Keinen, ¶Politics, Religion, and National Integration in Wilhelmine Germany and Meiji

Japan¶; E. Kurimoto, ¶Nation-State, Empire, and Army¶; D. L. Howell, ¶Status and Ethnicity in the Making of the Nation-State¶; I. Tomiyama, ¶Spy¶; T. Fujitani, ¶The Masculinist Bonds of Nation and Empire¶.

Umesao, T., W. W. Kelly, and M. Kubo (eds) *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World XIV: Information and Communication*. Senri Ethnological Studies, no.52, ii+157 pp., March 2000. Contents: T. Umesao, ¶Keynote Address¶; Y. Konta, ¶Mechanisms and Systems Surrounding Edo Period Publishing¶; A. Abe, ¶Japan's Modern Postal Service as a Reorganization of the Early Modern Post-Station System¶; G. Distelrath, ¶The Development of the Information and Communication Systems in Germany and Japan up to the End of the Nineteenth Century¶; E. Janssen, ¶German-Japanese Cooperation in the Japanese Telecommunication Industry¶; S. Mizukoshi, ¶From Active Enthusiasts to Passive Listeners¶; M. Kubo, ¶From Film to Video¶; W. W. Kelly, ¶The Spirit and Spectacle of School Baseball¶; K. Fujimoto, ¶Syntony, Distony, Virtual Sisterhood, and Multiplying Anonymous Personalities¶.

Yoshioka, M. and I. Hayashi (eds) *Anthropological Studies on the Modern History of Oceania*. Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology (Special Issue), no.21, iv+374 pp., March 2000. Contents: M. Yoshioka, ¶Anthropology as a Study of History¶; K. Nakayama, ¶Cannibals and Christians¶; I. Hayashi, ¶Letters and Objects from the Field¶; S. Kubota, ¶Christian Missionaries and Aboriginal People in North Australia¶; T. Tsuchiya, ¶White Souls Have Come¶; R. Tai, ¶Musical Performance as Oceanic Modern History¶; Y. Toyoda, ¶Melanesian Pidgin and Colonialism¶; T. Fujikawa, ¶Aboriginal People and White Law¶; K. Yamaji, ¶Education Policy and a Rural Elementary School¶; H. Sekine, ¶Urban Residents and Sustainable Development in the Solomon Islands¶; D. Miyauchi, ¶Social History of Labour Migration¶; R. Alexander, ¶Fisheries Development, Women and Security in Pacific Island Countries¶; Y. Sato, ¶Tuna Politics in Japan's ODA and the South Pacific Islanders¶; I. Kobayashi, ¶Economic Affairs in Micronesia

after Independence¶; A. Naitoh, ¶Application of the Treaty of Waitangi¶; M. Yamamoto, ¶Used to be the Same¶.

Tenzin, N., Y. Nagano, and M. Tachikawa (eds) *Mandalas of the Bon Religion*. Senri Ethnological Reports, no.12, x+131 pp., February 2000.

Uesugi, T., *Blessed by the Tie that Binds: Gift Exchange and Social Networks in Borneo*. Senri Ethnological Monograph, no.1, xx+458 pp., December 1999.

Kuroda, E., *Mexican Americans: Resistance and Creativity*. Senri Ethnological Monograph, no.2, iv+236 pp., March 2000.

MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter

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