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## Special theme: Core Research Project 'State, Community and Identity in the Modern Hispanic World: A Study of Resettlement Policy in Spanish America'

*In its American colonies, Spain adopted a forced resettlement policy, requiring formerly scattered small native settlements to consolidate into larger, planned towns. During the three centuries in which this policy was in force, millions of individuals were compelled to move into thousands of towns. Consequently, their residential patterns, social organization, power relations and identity were radically transformed. Our core research project (2011–2014) aimed to clarify the diverse, highly complex processes of this transformation. The essays that follow summarize some of our results.*

# Resettlement Policy: A Success or Failure?

**Akira Saito**

*National Museum of Ethnology*

Travelers who visit Latin American cities certainly will not fail to notice their uniform and planned character: a square central plaza, a church and a town

hall fronting it, straight streets crossing at right angles, blocks of the same shape and size, etc. Those who venture into rural communities with a large native population will realize that the same urban structure repeats itself there. It is impressive to find, amid the steep valleys of the Peruvian highlands or the flooded plains of the Bolivian lowlands, a tiny urban center laid out in a regular grid plan, which would seem to be the only stronghold of civilization against the savagery that surrounds it and encompasses it. These rural communities have the same civil and ecclesiastical organizations as the cities, and the villagers practice the same form of self-government and Christianity. These miniature urban centers are a legacy of a colonial policy known as *reducción*.

From the beginning of colonization in America, Spanish authorities considered dispersion of the native population not only as an obstacle to effective control, but also as a danger to moral and spiritual integrity. To deal with this problem, civil and ecclesiastical agents tried to concentrate the dispersed population into large, planned towns. Over the course of time, this measure evolved by combining with others such as the establishment of parishes, residential segregation between the Spaniards and natives, and

### Contents

**Core Research Project  
'State, Community and Identity in  
the Modern Hispanic World:  
A Study of Resettlement Policy  
in Spanish America'**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Akira Saito<br>Resettlement Policy: A Success or Failure?.....  | 1  |
| Steven A. Wernke<br>Rebuilding Community in Colonial Peru: Investigating the <i>Reducción</i> of Santa Cruz de Tuti ..... | 3  |
| Jeremy Ravi Mumford<br>The 'General Resettlement of the Indians' in Colonial Peru .....                                   | 5  |
| S. Elizabeth Penry<br>Legal Battles over Indigenous Founded Towns in the Viceroyalty of Peru .....                        | 7  |
| Guillermo Wilde<br>Indigenous Agency and Written Culture in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay .....                         | 9  |
| Conferences .....   | 11 |
| Information.....  | 15 |
| New Staff .....   | 15 |
| Visiting Scholar .....  | 16 |
| Publications.....   | 16 |

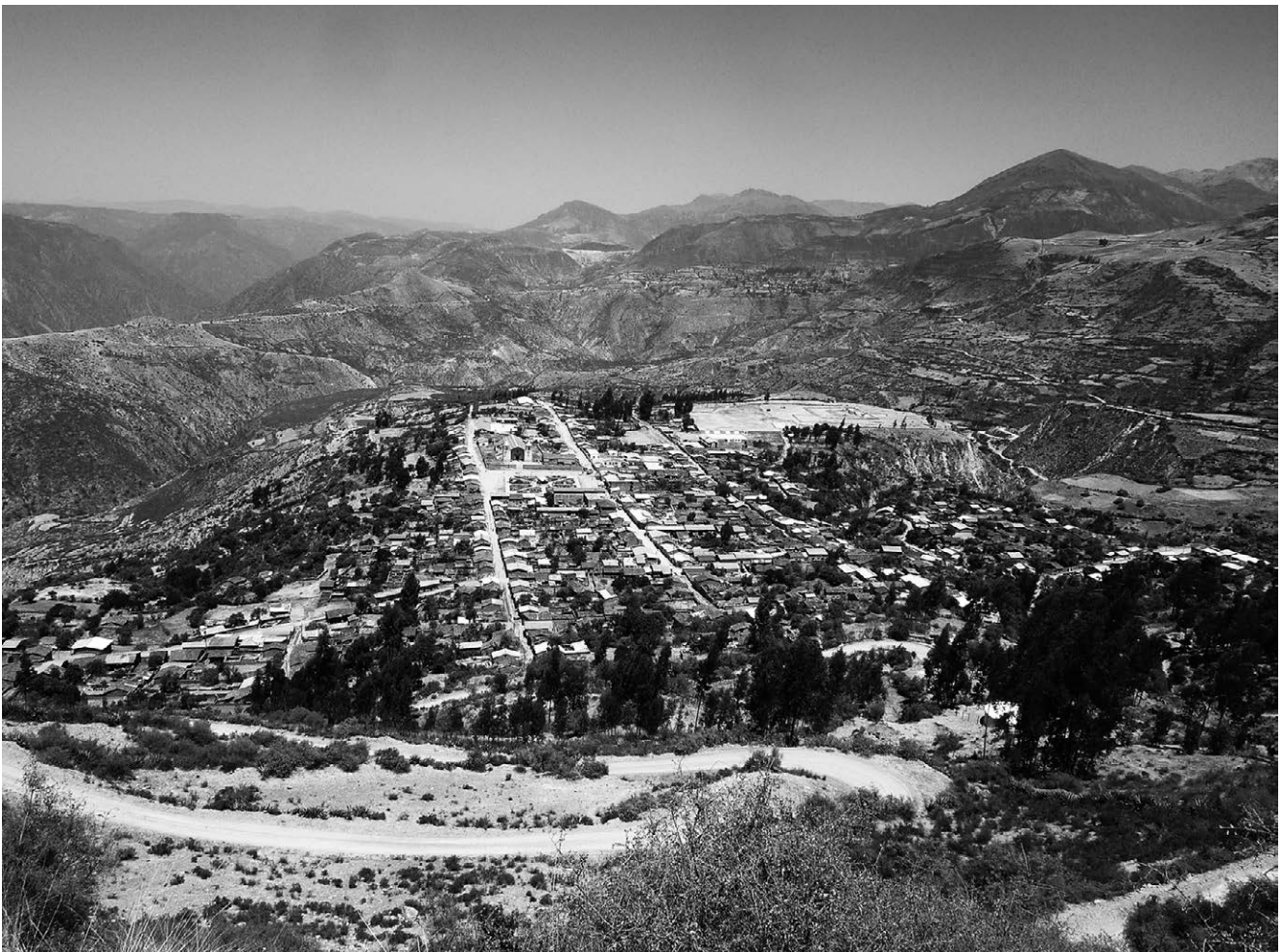
Saito is professor at Minpaku. His recent research themes include the transformations of the native society and culture under the impact of the resettlement policy in Spanish America, and the theories and practices of the Catholic missionaries' cultural accommodation in early modern Asia and America. His recent publications include 'Guerra y evangelización en las misiones jesuíticas de Moxos' (Boletín Americanista 70, 2015), and 'Nuevos avances en el estudio de las reducciones toledanas' (Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 39(1), 2014).

introduction of a municipal form of government and treasury. Thus, it became a synthetic, multi-faceted policy, a kind of panacea for all people considered 'barbarous' and 'rustic'. The main objects of our research project were two experimental applications of this policy to the indigenous people of South America: a 'general resettlement' by the 5th viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo, and the missions of the Society of Jesus.

Among all the projects of *reducción* realized in Spanish America, Viceroy Toledo's is probably the best known. Compared with the other projects, its centralized and authoritarian character stands out. It had a distinctly colonial purpose: the collection of head taxes and the recruitment of forced labor, although evangelization remained a primary goal. Between 1570 and 1575, Toledo made a tour of inspection or 'general visitation' through the extensive jurisdictions of the High Courts of Lima and Charcas, where he took a detailed census of the native population, assessed taxes and

built *reducción* towns by means of appointed inspectors. The census produced at the end of his inspection lists a population of 1.4 million distributed in 839 towns. While Toledo's inspectors spread across the Andean region, the Society of Jesus deployed its force at the frontiers. The Jesuits arrived in Peru in 1568 and took charge of the parishes of Lima, Huarochirí and Juli. The experiences gained there helped them develop missionary activities in Paraguay, Chile, the Amazon, and elsewhere in the following centuries. The missions founded among the Guaraní of Paraguay are deemed as their most successful enterprise. At the height of their prosperity in 1732, the missions comprised a population of 141,182 distributed in 30 towns.

In previous studies, the resettlement policy was often subject to simplistic and reductive interpretations, according to which, its goal was a wholesale replacement of the native society and culture by the Spanish model, and its mode of implementation was a



View of a town in the central highlands of Peru (Saito, 2010)



unilateral imposition of a preconceived form of civil life without consideration for local conditions. As for its consequence, there was a marked tendency to evaluate it dualistically as either a success or failure. Many Andeanists argued that Toledo's policy ended in failure in face of a fierce resistance by the natives, who abandoned *reducción* towns and escaped to their former villages or other places like cities, mines and farms of the Spaniards. In contrast, scholars of the Jesuit missions tended to stress that the fathers' protectionist and paternalistic policy contributed to successful construction of a prosperous Christian republic among the indigenous people.

These interpretations are not entirely wrong, but simplify a much more complex reality. While the resettlement policy sought to restructure the native society and culture, it also tried to preserve some of its elements, in particular, the subsistence base. The construction of *reducción* towns required negotiation with various local agents. In this process, the ideal model had to be adapted to local conditions. In the Andes, the natives resisted Toledo's policy, but this does not mean that there was no room for a compromise, a concession, or an appropriation. The indigenous people of Paraguay, Chile or the Amazon agreed to settle down in the missions and convert to Christianity. They also managed to create an autonomous space where they could develop a non-orthodox, eclectic form of religiosity. In our research project, we tried to unravel this complexity and reflect on the



Ruins of the *reducción* of Trinidad in Paraguay (Saito, 2002)

historical legacy of the *reducción* in South America.

Our project was conducted between April 2011 and March 2014. Its members included anthropologists, archaeologists and historians from Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Spain, the United States and Japan. Our project received institutional support from Minpaku and the Andean Studies Program of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. The two institutions reached an agreement for academic cooperation in December 2010. Under this agreement, scholars of different nationalities carried out research together. The end result of our project will be published as a Spanish-language book in Peru.

## Rebuilding Community in Colonial Peru: Investigating the *Reducción* of Santa Cruz de Tuti

**Steven A. Wernke**

*Vanderbilt University, USA*

When Francisco de Toledo, the 5th viceroy of Peru, arrived in the Andes in November of 1569, the region was convulsing in crises that followed a generation of plunder, chaotic rule, and violence. The Inka state-in-exile posed an existential threat to the colony,

while declining mining and tributary revenues and a rapidly spreading Andean millenarian cult in the central highlands troubled the core and margins of the colonial order. Toledo's agenda was sweeping and radical: to crush the Inka rebellion, overhaul

Wernke is associate professor of anthropology at Vanderbilt University, USA. His research interests center on colonialism, community, landscape, and the built environment during late prehispanic and Spanish colonial times in the Andean region of South America. His recent publications include *Negotiated Settlements: Andean Communities and Landscapes under Inka and Spanish Colonialism* (University Press of Florida, 2013), and *'Andean households in transition: The politics of domestic space at an early colonial doctrina in the Peruvian Highlands'* in M. Oland, S.M. Hart and L. Frink (eds.) *Decolonizing Indigenous Histories: Exploring Prehistoric/Colonial Transitions in Archaeology* (University of Arizona Press, 2012).

colonial political administration, shore up mining operations, and execute the *reducción general de indios* (general resettlement of Indians) as part of a viceroyalty-wide general inspection and census. Over the course of just a decade (the 1570s), the *reducción* forcibly displaced some 1.5 million native Andean people into over a thousand compact, gridded towns built around central plazas and churches throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru.

The central conceit of the *reducción* was that Indian subjects would become properly 'civilized' and Christianized by rebuilding their communities from the ground up. Constructing new urban environments in miniature would instill new habits, routines, and rhythms of daily life, foster Catholic ritual practice, and enable surveillance by clergy and other local authorities. But of course, the viceroy also stepped into worlds already made. How did these new towns come into being in those worlds? How were decisions made about who would be resettled to which *reducción* towns? How were they built? What were their long-term impacts? Surprisingly, despite the scale and importance of this colonial project, the answers to these questions are far from settled, in part because local-level documentation of the program's implementation and effects are paltry.

My current research engages these questions by combining uncommonly-detailed and complete written documentation with archaeological research at a spectacularly-preserved *reducción* town—the site of Santa Cruz de Tuti (today known as Mawchu Llacta), located high in the Colca Valley of southern Peru. This large town was documented in several of the colonial censuses of the valley, and parish records provide detailed information on its demography and social organization right up through its abandonment in the mid-1800s (when the population resettled a few kilometers downslope to the modern town of Tuti). The *Proyecto Arqueológico Tuti Antiguo* (Tuti Antiguo Archaeological Project) traces how the ideal plans of *reducciones* drawn up by colonial officials were negotiated in their construction within this local landscape, and how, simultaneously, indigenous ideals of community were inscribed onto their grids. As an 'archaeological microhistory', the project strives for a community-level view of a long historical trajectory through the Spanish conquest, the entire colonial period, and into the early republican era.

We have just finished the first of several phases of research at the site. Given the central, causal role that the built environment had in the *reducción general*, understanding the placement, construction, and organization of the town and its architectural elements was the first objective for our fieldwork. The extent and complexity of the well-preserved stone-masonry architectural remains required a novel approach. We first collected thousands of low-altitude aerial images of the site from cameras mounted to unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs or 'drones') and meteorological balloons, then processed them into map-correct orthomosaics and digital elevation models at very high resolution. This imagery then served as the reference for digitizing buildings, walls, and other features of the built environment of the town, which were recorded using tablet computers in the field. We also collected up to 65 attributes on each of the 562 structures at the site, and directly dated buildings by measuring specimens of a particular species of slow-growing lichen (*Rhizocarpon geographicum*) on the worked surfaces of their stone masonry. Next, we conducted an intensive archaeological survey of the site, collecting surface artifacts from over 1,800 collection locations. The project is now processing and analyzing these data in a Geographical Information System (GIS), and I am preparing a

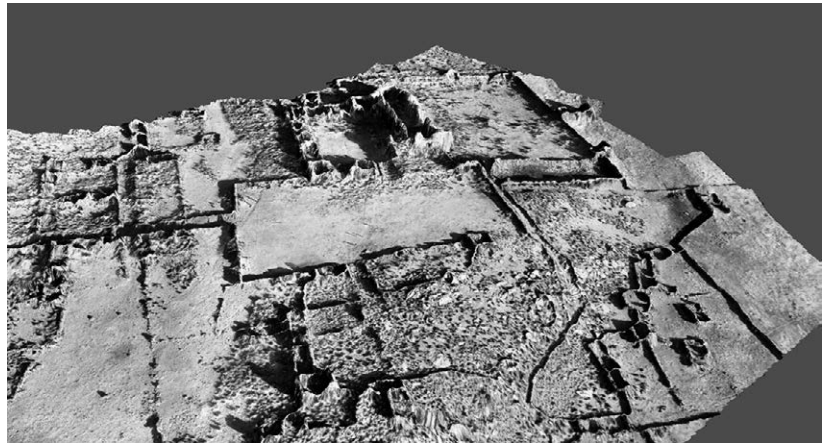


Orthomosaic and draft architectural map of the *reducción* of Mawchu Llacta, based on images taken from UAVs and lighter than air platforms



book manuscript to be published through Cambridge University Press. This book incorporates GIS-based simulation of movement (foot traffic) and perception (visibility and surveillance).

The picture emerging from this research is very different from the pronouncements of Toledo and other colonial authorities. On first impression, the *reducción* would seem to conform to a perfectly regular, 10 x 10 checkerboard grid imposed on the landscape. The insistence on the regular orthogonal grid is especially impressive when considering the irregularity of the terrain, and the fact that this area was also the location of a major Inka era settlement which had to be first dismantled. But remains of the older Inka center were not entirely obliterated by the *reducción*, and what was left in place is especially intriguing. In looking at the checkerboard grid of the site, one would expect to find the greatest regularity of layout in its center—that is, around the church and plaza. But in fact, this is where the grid is *least regular*. The plaza in front of the church corresponds to the plaza that was likely the center of the former Inka center. Finely worked, Cuzco-Inka style masonry blocks make up a significant proportion of the church and rectory buildings themselves. In short, the very core of the *reducción* was oriented around the central ceremonial complex of the Inka settlement. Based on analysis of colonial censuses of the town, I also infer that the majority of its population was composed of ranking kin groups (*ayllus*) that descended from the original inhabitants of that Inka



*Three dimensional rendering of the central area of the reducción, including the trapezoidal (Inka) plaza, main church, and parish buildings*

provincial center. They continued to mediate administration during the colonial era.

The argument I am formulating contends that through such confluences, Spanish Catholicism, urbanism, and colonial conceptions of social order came not only to subjugate Andean peoples, but also came to be apprehended and incorporated by them. Colonial institutions and practices were thus substantially transformed. That is to say, the process of *reducción* produced a new social order, but one that was both trans-local and irreducibly local in character.

With these insights, the next phase of our project will take specific soundings into ritual and domestic contexts at the site, through archaeological excavations planned for 2016.

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## The ‘General Resettlement of the Indians’ in Colonial Peru

**Jeremy Ravi Mumford**

*Brown University, USA*

In the 1570s, the Spanish viceroy ordered the entire Native American population of what is now Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador—a settled peasantry of more than a million people—to move in to newly-built towns designed according to a single, universal plan. The towns were called *reducciones de indios*, from the Spanish verb *reducir*, meaning to reduce, subdue, resettle, or convert. They were laid out in regular grids

surrounding a plaza and church, and had native town councils and other institutions of Spanish municipal self-government. They allowed the Spanish conquerors to count and control the Andean population for tribute, forced labor, and Christianization. The resettlement was an astonishingly ambitious undertaking: never before, perhaps, had a European state reorganized local communities on this

Mumford is lecturer in the Department of History at Brown University. He has published articles on topics from the 16th through the 19th centuries and from North America to the Andes in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, the *Latin American Research Review*, the *Colonial Latin American Review*, the *Canadian Historical Review*, and other journals. His first book, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*, was published by Duke University Press in 2012. He is currently working on the subject of royal incest and close-kin marriage among the Incas, the Spanish Habsburgs, and the elite of early colonial Peru.

scale. The campaign was not unique in its goals, which Spain pursued, as circumstances allowed, throughout its many colonies, but was unique in its scope. Its ambition foreshadowed modern episodes such as Soviet collectivization. The campaign was called the General Resettlement of Indians.

The Spanish empire claimed a mandate to convert New World peoples to a vision of community often invoked by the term *policía*. The Spanish word *policía* derives from the Greek *polis*, city, and *policía* had at its heart a peculiarly urban, Mediterranean vision of how to organize space. Spain's campaign to impose this vision on Native America led to centuries of struggle over how to organize spaces and communities in what Spaniards called the 'republic of Indians'. To the Spanish, the spatial order of gridded streets expressed, in some ineffable way, the bright clarity of Christian, Hispanic civilization.

Not surprisingly, historians traditionally interpreted the 'General Resettlement of Indians' as a radical imposition of Spanish culture on Andean society. They have assumed that it substituted a Mediterranean pattern of settlement, in dense, nucleated communities, for the traditional pattern of dispersed enclaves which anthropologists call the Andean 'vertical archipelago'. And they have seen it as an attempt to impose a new, modern form of rule, presaging the Foucauldian model of governmentality. New research by scholars in Latin America, the United States and Japan, however, has complicated this model.

I became interested in the topic

while backpacking in Peru many years ago, when I observed that many of the oldest rural towns shared a characteristic checkerboard grid and central plaza, dating from the 1570s. In the plaza, in small towns as well as cities, couples sat close together on benches near a fountain. Young boys shined businessmen's shoes or chased a football across the gray paving stones, in the shadow of the town church, and next to a 400-year-old stone pillar that once served as the whipping post for criminals in the *reducción*. My research on the origins of this urban model brought me to archives in South America and Spain, such as the Archive of the Indies in Sevilla, Spain, a Renaissance palace next to the city's great cathedral. By the fountain next to the archive and the cathedral, I would sit at dusk watching swallows wheeling over the gushing water, to be replaced by fluttering bats as the sky darkened into night. As I learned to read the script, abbreviations and characteristic language of 16th-century Spanish documents, I discovered a rich well of information, as well as highly personal voices and stories. Later, I had the chance to study Quechua in Bolivia and to volunteer on an archaeological project run by Steve Wernke, excavating an early colonial indigenous village in the Colca valley outside Arequipa.

One thing I learned was that the *reducciones* drew from the traditions of the Inca Empire, as early Spanish colonists understood it, as well as Spanish ones. The grid street layout and central plaza, which Renaissance-era Spaniards invested with so much importance, was also characteristic of Inca state complexes. These were not 'cities' in the European sense: they were not places where large numbers of private individuals lived and conducted private business and trade, but instead were spaces of state ritual and industrial-scale state production of cloth, maize-beer, and other commodities. Even the whipping-post in the Hispanic plaza had a counterpart in the Inca plaza: the *ushnu*, a stone platform on which the Inca monarch or his local representative sat during festive gatherings on the plaza. It was on that platform, in the plaza of prehispanic Cuzco, that the Inca king sat as he toasted his ancestors, mummified kings, with flagons of maize beer on important holidays. Members of those Incas' kin-groups carried the mute cadavers on their backs to toast one another, the living king, and the Sun.

The General Resettlement of the 1570s was, on its own terms, a conservative project. It reflected



Church on the plaza of a *reducción*, Peru (Mumford, 2007)



ethnographic inquiries by Spanish colonial priests and officials, as well as negotiations with indigenous lords who maintained their authority over the native society under Spanish jurisdiction. Furthermore, the General Resettlement was intended not to impose a modern, metropolitan regime of governmentality, but to restore an ancient style of rule: the surveillance and discipline, at the level of the individual and the collectivity, which Spaniards attributed to the prehispanic Inca Empire. Much as in 19th and 20th century colonial enterprises in Africa and India, the Spanish moved ambivalently between two impulses: to

remake the conquered society after a European image, or to rule it according to its own norms. Those norms, they believed, included a tradition of authoritarian rule, a self-serving image drawn partly from Aristotle's claim that despotism is the appropriate form of government for barbarians. They also drew on a sophisticated understanding of Andean community economics. Some of the most brutal and invasive aspects of colonial rule were based not on importing techniques of governmentality from Europe, but on ruling Andeans through their own culture. This led to the production of a self-interested colonial ethnography.

## Legal Battles over Indigenous Founded Towns in the Viceroyalty of Peru

S. Elizabeth Penry

Fordham University, USA

Almost since the time of the Spanish foundation of *reducciones* or resettlement towns for indigenous people of South America in the late 16th century, the 'success' or 'failure' of the resettlement policy has been a subject of debate. *Reducciones* were to civilize and Christianize Andeans and instill in them *buena policia*, the good habits and customs that could only be obtained through urban life. But Spaniards, all the way from local parish priests to a succession of viceroys, lamented the failure of their utopian project. Nearly all agreed that Indians fled their towns, and by extension, fled civilization and Christianity. Time and again, Spanish officials called for a new, more effective resettlement policy. In my study, I reframe the question, instead of asking whether *reducción* towns failed or succeeded, I ask what impact did the policy have on indigenous society, and what did indigenous people themselves make of the policy?

To answer this question I examine the foundational moments of three indigenous towns, two in modern day Bolivia, and one in modern day Peru. What all three of these towns have in common is that they were all founded by native Andeans in the early 17th century as annexes of original Toledan resettlement towns, complete with civil and religious institutions, and all three continue to exist today. The towns and the chapels that were central to them,



Don Pedro Chiri and Don Diego Chiri (signatures at bottom) defend their chapel dedicated to Saint Barbara, a foundational moment for Santa Bárbara de Culpa, ca. 1616. Archivo y Biblioteca Arquidiocesanos Monseñor Miguel de los Santos Taborga, Sucre, Bolivia

were legally constituted by their native Andean settlers with formal foundational rituals, or written

Penry is assistant professor of History and Latin American Studies at Fordham University in New York. She specializes in the history of indigenous people of the Andes during the colonial era. She has received awards from Fulbright, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the John Carter Brown Library, among others. She has done extensive archival research in Bolivia, Spain, Argentina and Peru, and she is a former editor of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. Her first book, about the indigenous political community in the 16th through 18th centuries, will be published by Oxford University Press.



A procession in honor of Saint Barbara, the patron saint of Santa Bárbara de Culta. The town was founded over the protests of a local priest ca. 1607 (Thomas A. Abercrombie, 1979)

agreements, but in each case the legality of the towns was called into question either by the parish priest of the original *reducción* town, or the local Spanish bureaucrat, or even by other indigenous leaders. These Spanish bureaucrats and priests who fought to stop the new town foundations were often the same people who testified that indigenous people had fled their *reducción* town.

I shift the focus of study from these Spanish reports to study the disputational process sanctioned by the Spanish crown and legal system in order to contextualize both Spanish and indigenous motives. By shifting the focus to the legal process, and equally doubting Spaniards' accounts as well as indigenous ones, it becomes clear that the story of flight from *reducción* towns is a very Spanish-inflected understanding of indigenous actions: instead of fleeing *from* their original resettlement town, native Andeans were fleeing to new towns of their own creation, modeled on the same grid-pattern design, and with the same civil and religious institutions, the town council and religious brotherhoods organized to celebrate saints, as in the original resettlement town. Across the Archbishopric of La Plata (roughly contemporary Bolivia), perhaps as many as five new towns were founded by native Andeans for each original Toledan *reducción* town in the succeeding generations.

Why would native Andeans seek to create new towns, apparently modeled on the towns which their parents or grandparents had been forced into by Spanish policy? Part of the reason is that the native population continued to

decline in the 17th century, and a much smaller indigenous population struggled to hold on to their ancestors' land. At the same time, the crown made a patrimonial claim to all unused territory in its realm. As a result, Andeans spread themselves thin in an effort to maintain landownership. However this materialist explanation does not account for why Andeans uniformly established town councils and religious brotherhoods dedicated to Christian saints within each newly found town. The answer then is more complicated; these town-based institutions had become key in reproducing social life. It was the Andean uptake and adaptation of civil and religious institutions within towns that had become central to defining who was a legitimate member of the community and a means to legitimate authority. Indeed over the long colonial period, indigenous authority shifted decisively away from the hereditary nobility who had ruled under the Inca to elected commoners who held town council posts, a colonial innovation of commoner self-rule. And to aspire to those coveted town council positions, it became necessary to lead the cult to the saints. Early Spanish policy had encouraged the cult of the saints as a way to bring Andeans to Christianity. Andeans' enthusiastic uptake of saints' celebrations led a later generation of Spanish priests to try to curb the numbers of saints celebrated, but even so it was not uncommon for a *reducción* to celebrate ten or more saints.

Certainly, Andeans did not share with Spaniards an identical understanding of saints, or kinship, or personhood. Just to take a few examples, llama sacrifices punctuated saints' celebrations, eucharist was performed with coca leaves and corn beer, the Virgin and Santiago spoke to believers through shamanistic practices. All of these represent Andean uptakes of Christianity, which Spaniards rejected as idolatry. By the late 17th century, these institutions that appear on the surface as 'Spanish' had become foundational to new indigenous ideas of personhood, kinship, religion and politics.

Yet the new colonial culture—being neither pre-Columbian nor Spanish—would ensure that for Spaniards the native Andean town foundations were evidence of duplicity and resistance to civilization. What Indians were doing in founding new towns, was proof of civility and Christian zeal only when initiated by Spaniards. But reexamining evidence of town creation shows that Indians refused to be infantilized as mere passive



recipients of *buena policía*. *Reducción* was not only an instrument of oppression and exploitation. Municipality was the Castilian technique of autonomous self-government. Within the mature colonial system, town institutions were the primary sources of autonomy and rights to legal protection. Andeans made *reducción* and its institutions their own. Claiming that *reducción* failed or suggesting that Andeans remained authentically themselves only when they ran from its institutions, is to deny Andeans' own

role in the forging of a colonial society. It is also to accept arguments from Spanish officials rather than the voices of Andeans in the extant colonial records of conflict over Andean initiated town foundation. Producing something distinct from the Castilian model, Andeans shaped the *reducción* town to their own ends and transformed it into the armature of Andean community-making, as well as the principal vehicle through which they would negotiate a relative autonomy, and assert their legal rights in colonial courtrooms.

## Indigenous Agency and Written Culture in the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay

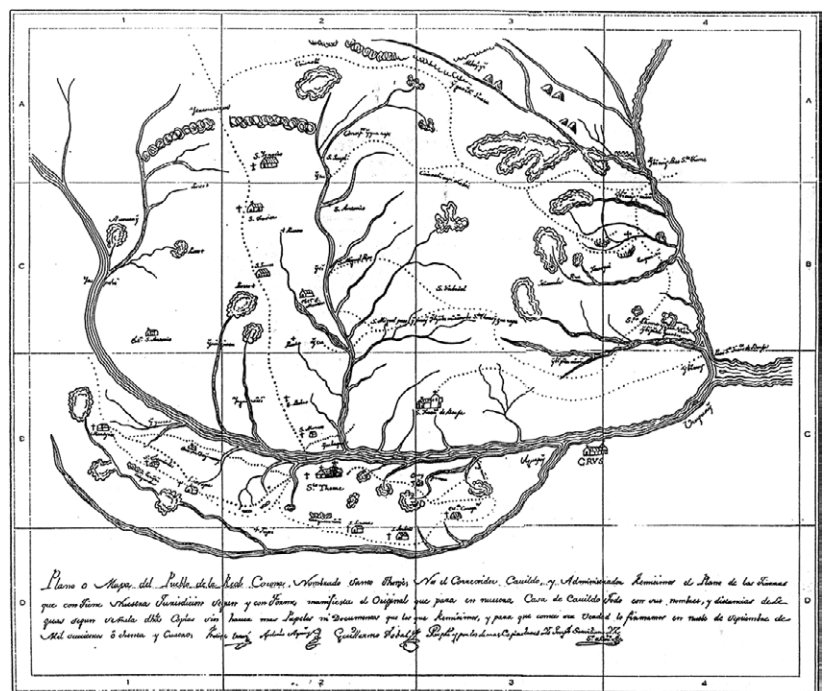
Guillermo Wilde

National Scientific Research Council of Argentina

Few themes of Latin American colonial history have aroused as much public interest and controversy as the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. From Voltaire's *Candide* to Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Law*, from Lugon's *Christian Communist Republic* to the famous film *The Mission*, the missions have inspired many historical and fictitious narratives, and have polarized opinions and ideologies. While some intellectuals saw the missions as the accomplishment of classical utopias in the South American jungles, others regarded them as a mere chapter of the black legend perpetrated by the Spanish colonizers in the Americas. These writings generally crystallized an image of the missions as an independent state in which indigenous peoples passively accepted the imposition of European civilization's project. Although scholarship in recent decades has strongly questioned this image, we are far from fully understanding the social and political functioning of the missions during the long period of their existence.

From the beginning of 17th century to the end of 18th century, the Spanish Crown sent Jesuit missionaries to the southern borderlands of the Viceroyalty of Peru to organize the resettlement of thousands of Indians in mission towns or *reducciones*. In the Paraguayan region, the *reducciones* aimed to incorporate indigenous populations scattered throughout the rainforest into the colonial system, facilitating the control of a large territory in dispute

with the Portuguese Crown. The *reducciones* were supposed to comply with the rules of colonial urbanity and keep the Indians spatially segregated from Spanish society, so that they would be 'protected' from the abuses of colonizers and enslavers. After repeated setbacks—invasions, desertions, looting and epidemics—the Jesuits, in agreement with local indigenous leaders, were able to build up dozens of



Map of the region of the mission town Santo Tomás (1784). G. Furlong Cardiff, *Cartografía jesuitica del Rio de la Plata* (Talleres S. A. Casa Jacob Peuser, 1936)



Ruins of San Ignacio Miní. View of the church from the plaza (Wilde, 2000)

Wilde is senior researcher at the National Scientific Research Council of Argentina (CONICET), and overseas visiting fellow at Minpaku. His research has focused on religious conversion in colonial Latin America, with particular emphasis on indigenous leadership, music, art and ritual. He is author of the book *Religion y poder en las misiones guaraníes* (2009) and was awarded the Latin American Association Studies Premio Iberoamericano Award (2010). He edited the volume *Saberes de la conversión: jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (2011), and is now beginning comparative research on the expansion of Catholic missions in Latin America and Asia in the early modern period.

mission towns. In the early 1730s, the total population of the Guaraní *reducciones* amounted to 140,000 Indians distributed across 30 villages.

This process produced deep territorial, political and demographic fragmentation in indigenous societies. Some traditional leaders who had initially resisted the missionaries and struggled against colonial impositions progressively lost power and were forced to accept the new regime. Others negotiated with the missionaries, agreeing to settle in the mission towns in exchange for political and economic privileges. Thus, the new socio-political and religious organization contributed to the formation of new identities. The mission towns sought to homogenize a diverse indigenous population, imposing a uniform and 'rational' lifestyle, standardizing the use of a general language, Guaraní, and regulating the use of time and resources. Members of the indigenous elite who collaborated with the missionaries played an important role in the missions' government based on local councils (*cabildos*), militias, and church posts.

Recent research has paid special attention to the role this indigenous elite played in the production of texts and maps. The discovery of a large number of manuscripts made by indigenous authorities in different media and for diverse purposes, from council documents to personal accounts, calls into question old assumptions about indigenous 'passivity'. Evidence indicates that the skill of writing was important in the missions' daily life, and that its practice was widespread among members of the indigenous elite. Writing was an unknown technology for the Indians

inhabiting the area before European invasion. But the Indians appropriated it after a few decades. It is reasonable to think that the learning of writing and reading accompanied the consolidation of the missions' bureaucratic, political and religious regime. Some members of the indigenous elite, such as the secretaries of the council, musicians and fellows of the brotherhoods (*cofradías*), were known for their writing abilities. Indians not only produced bureaucratic texts, but also doctrinal and theological ones, some of which were published using mission printing presses. Two remarkable examples are the books *Sermones y ejemplos* and *Explicación del catecismo*, written by cacique and musician Nicolás Yapuguay. The Indians also produced historical documents, such as diaries of military campaigns. Writing was for them not only a tool of communication but also a source of social and political prestige, especially during a political crisis. In 1768, as the Jesuits were being expelled from Spanish territories, the indigenous authorities of the mission towns addressed a letter to King Charles III thanking him for the good treatment they had received from the governor of Buenos Aires on a number of occasions.

The Indians also produced cartography. There are a few examples of maps, most from the post-Jesuit period. These served to establish territorial limits in the context of disputes with other actors in colonial society. The maps not only exhibit the mission Indians' knowledge of space, they also provide clues about the traditional uses and circuits associated with that knowledge. In 1784, the Indian authorities of Santo Tomé mission town made a map that interestingly shows *sui generis* features that may point to an indigenous conception of space. This map lacks indications of latitude and longitude. It marks roads connecting different places in the countryside, and reorients and distorts watercourses.

After the Jesuits expulsion, both writing and cartography persisted in the Indians' hands as autonomous practices that allowed them to communicate directly with the colonial administration. Indigenous leaders were aware of changes in the government and used their skills and technical knowledge to redefine power positions in the new map of relations. By accurately recording events and registering spatial marks, indigenous leaders contributed to the forging of community identity, the construction of power and the consolidation of social memory.



## Conferences

### Continuity and Change of Chinese Culture: Family, Ethnicity and State under Globalization

*International Symposium  
November 22 – 23, 2014*

This symposium was held as an outcome of a Core Research Project of Minpaku, 'Generation and Dynamism of Discourses on Family, Ethnicity and State in China' (April 2012-March 2015), and International Joint Research between the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (IEA.CASS) and Minpaku.

Scholars from Japan, China, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and America joined the symposium to explore the dynamics of discourses on family, ethnicity and nation-state, and to clarify the mechanisms of continuity and discontinuity in Chinese culture.

After opening remarks by Ken'ichi Sudo (Director-General, Minpaku) and introductory remarks by convenor Han Min, the following presentations were given. Wang Yanzhong (IEA.CASS): Process of building a Xiaokang society in Chinese

ethnic minority areas. Michio Suenari (Toyo University): Some features of *Nam Tong* (Southern Buddhism) in central Vietnam. Chuang Ying-chang (Academia Sinica, Taiwan): Marriage patterns and marriage circles of Taiwan's gentries during the Japanese Colonial Period. He Xi and David Faure (Chinese University of Hong Kong): A millennium in the history of the lineage in China as seen in Jiangxi and Guangdong. Mamoru Sasaki (Kobe University): To study deeply *Chaxugeju* concept presented by Fei Xiao-tong. Zhou Xing (Aichi University): 'Raw and cooked' people in the Han society and culture. Wong Heung-Wah (The University of Hong Kong): Two or three things that I know about Chinese kinship. Kim Kwang-Ok (Seoul National University): A comparative observation of ritual for Confucius in contemporary China and Korea. Qin Zhaoxiong (Kobe City University of Foreign Studies): Ritual for Confucius in China and Japan. Yukihiro Kawaguchi (Tohoku University): Cleavage between discourse and practice of Confucianism in contemporary China. Zhang Jijiao (IEA.CASS): Beehive society: A new concept for understanding China. Yang Han-Sun (Ajou University, Korea): Huaxi village tourism: The space of modernity, the

state, and the market. Myron Cohen (Columbia University, USA): Ethnicity and identity in late Imperial China. Huang Shu-min (Academia Sinica, Taiwan): Family, education and ethnic identity among Yunnan Chinese in northern Thailand. Peng Xuefang (IEA.CASS): Comparison of education between Chinese ethnic minorities and Canadian aboriginal people. Liu Shizhe (Academia Sinica, Taiwan): Academic journals of China's ethnology and anthropology under transformation. Toru Shimizu (Nihon University): Liangshan Yi elite in the period of the Republic of China. Satoru Ito (Minpaku): Self-produced media and traditional performing arts of Yunnan ethnic groups; and Kazuko Birei (Tokyo Woman's Christian University): Delegation from central government to ethnicities and CPC's work for ethnic in the early PRC.

During the two days, 131 participants attended the symposium. The presentations and discussions are expected to contribute to reconstructing anthropological frameworks of family, ethnicity and state in the global era.

Han Min  
Convenor  
*National Museum of Ethnology*



Participants of the symposium at Minpaku (2014)

## Migration and the Remaking of Ethnic/Micro-Regional Connectedness

*International Workshop  
December 5 – 6, 2014*

Since the 1990s, cultural revitalization movements among diverse minority groups, including indigenous people and migrants, have vividly confronted us with the reality that every population seeks an original or unique identity within the multi-cultural, ethnic landscape of modern nation states. These movements push against the myth that modernity must bring cultural uniformity and globalization. They can be interpreted as a process of remaking ethnic or micro-regional connectedness.

'Connectedness' can be defined as face-to-face relationships that forge the sense of community and the sharing of values and ideas. 'Micro-region' is the spatial domain in which these face-to-face interactions or relationships operate in the everyday life of a group. Our workshop adopted a comparative approach to clarify what is needed for the remaking of ethnic or micro-regional connectedness. Thirteen papers were presented by anthropologists and historians from seven countries. The main themes were historicity, symbol and identity, everyday practices, religious dynamics, the power of communal knowledge, and

religious leadership. The following case studies were presented.

Takako Yamada (Kyoto University), Rikdzin Tensung (Sichuan University for Nationalities, China) and Tsering Choedon: Tibetans in Tibet and those who migrated to India from Tibet and resettled in Canada as refugees. Setsuko Sonoda (The University of Hyogo): The movement of Chinese Canadians to save their history. Suchart Setthamalinee (Payap University, Thailand) and Liulan Wang-Kanda (Kyoto University): Muslims moving from China to northern Thailand. Altangul Bolat (National University of Mongolia): Kazakhs in Mongolia. Toko Fujimoto (Minpaku): The return migration of some Kazakhs to Kazakhstan from Mongolia. Takahiro Kojima (Kyoto University): Palaung Buddhists migrating in Northern Myanmar. Ippei Shimamura (The University of Shiga Prefecture): Shamans migrating between mining towns in Mongolia. Tsutomu Kaneshige (Shiga University of Medical Science): The movement of experts among Dong People in Southwest China. Olle Sundström (Umea University, Sweden): Reconstruction of religious identity among the Sami. Elena Glavatskaya (Ural Federal University): The Catholic community in Russia over time.

From these case studies, it appears that having shared communal spaces is the primary need of a population in

order to realize connectedness between members, and it is in such a space that the boundary between self and otherness is marked.

This workshop was supported by JSPS KAKENHI (B) Grant Number 24310181 (Project leader: Takako Yamada), the Kyoto University CIAS Joint Research Project 'Migration and Religious Practices: Comparative Study on the Dynamism of Local Society' (Project leader: Takahiro Kojima), and by the Director-General's Leadership Program, Minpaku. We are now preparing a collection of symposium papers for the Minpaku publication *Senri Ethnological Studies*.

Toko Fujimoto  
Coorganizer  
*National Museum of Ethnology*

## Gastronomic Science and Food Museums of the World

*International Symposium  
December 6 – 7, 2014*

Ritsumeikan International Research Center for Gastronomic Science and Minpaku signed an academic exchange agreement on April 10, 2014. Following the agreement, we organized an international symposium on gastronomic science and the role of food museums in the world.

On December 6, after the opening address by Ken'ichi Sudo, Director-General of Minpaku, greetings were extended by ToyoOmi Nagata, Chairperson of the Ritsumeikan Trust Board of Trustees, Marco Lombardi, the Consul General of Italy in Osaka and Lee Hyun-ju, the Consul General of Korea in Osaka.

The theme of the first day was 'Food Culture Research in the World'.

Naomichi Ishige (professor emeritus, Minpaku), Gabriella Morini (Università degli Studi di Scienze Gastronomiche, Italy), Zhao Rongguang (Zhejiang Gongshang



*Participants of the symposium at Minpaku (2014)*





Flyer of the symposium held on December 6-7, 2014

University, China), Cho Mi Sook (Ewha Womans University, Korea) delivered presentations on food research in their own countries.

After the symposium, a reception was held at Minpaku Restaurant, where Cordon Bleu Japan sponsored a beautiful table with hors d'oeuvres to please all guests.

The theme for the second day was 'Exhibiting Food (Food and Museum): Case Studies in East Asia'. Fifteen presentations were given by Japanese, Korean and Chinese speakers. The museums of food companies such as Ajinomoto, Nissin and Kikkoman also introduced their exhibition approaches.

'Food' has been the biggest issue for survival since ancient times, and relationships between food and environment, ecology, safety, and health are all matters of concern today.

However, it was only in the 1980s that food culture research was launched in Japan with the understanding that 'food is culture'. The term 'food culture' started to become common at about the same time.

In this symposium, we discussed the development of food culture research in Japan and other countries over the last 30 years. The contributions of museums to food culture research were also explained with concrete examples from the participating museums.

The symposium at Minpaku attracted a total of 385 participants over two days.

A collection of the presented

papers is scheduled to be published by Ritsumeikan University in 2015.

Toshio Asakura  
Convenor  
*National Museum of Ethnology*

### **Cultural Heritage in the Regions of China: Anthropological Perspectives**

*International Forum  
January 24 – 25, 2015*

### **Cultural Heritage and Museums in Conflict-Affected Areas**

*International Forum  
February 7, 2015*

These two forums were organized by young Minpaku colleagues independently, but made a good contrast. Regions of China, both mainland and Taiwan, are avant-garde in heritage matters, while conflict-affected areas face basic difficulties in the physical and social safeguarding of cultural heritage. The China-region forum dealt with a wide variety of cases, while the conflict-area forum discussed especially difficult cases. Both forums were supported by the same project: 'Anthropology of Cultural Heritage: Communities and Materiality in Global Systems'. This review will illustrate the scope of the project.

To begin the China-region forum, the aim of the project and forum were explained with Introductory remarks by Taku Iida and Hironao Kawai (Minpaku). Today, the notion of heritage is not limited to tangible objects and buildings, and people's own practices regarding heritage have become more and more important as an academic topic. Intangible cultural heritage is typically maintained through repeated performance (drama, feasts, rituals, music), speech (tales and oral history), and production (craft-making). This is also more-or-less the case

with tangible objects. The entire cultural landscape is a major category of UNESCO World Heritage but cannot be maintained without people's continuous involvement.

The remarks were followed by three keynote speeches by Ruan Yunxing (Zhejiang University, China), Liu Zhengai (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), and Tsutomu Kaneshige (Shiga University of Medical Science). These were based on distinguished studies of cultural landscape and intangible heritage. No heritage described in the presentations remained identical in an exact sense over long periods. Continuity is kept only by repetition with contingent slight differences from preceding performances. Particularly in the mainland China cases, changes in cultural policy from the 'Revolutionary' to capitalist periods strongly affected the transmission of heritage. The following eleven presentations, including Zhuang Kongshao's (Zhejiang University) concluding speech, referred to these changes repeatedly. In summary, we found that intangible cultural heritage is not safeguarded merely by public or extensive recognition, but rather by the spread of values shared by all those who are involved in the practices that generate and maintain heritage.

Two papers presented in the conflict-area forum were, on the contrary, about *tangible* cultures in Syria, reported by Youssef Kanjou (former director of Aleppo Museum, Syria, and visiting professor at Minpaku), and Palestine, reported by Akiko Sugase (Minpaku). However, the discussion concentrated on people's involvement in preserving objects, and communication through museums, which represent intangible aspects of the tangible heritage.

Most ancient relics in the Middle East are highly regarded by outside people, but are not necessarily regarded this way by people living near the sites. This is a significant factor that leads to deliberate destruction during civil wars, as happened



The scene of the presentation at the conference 'Cultural Heritage and Museums in Conflict-Affected Areas' (2015)

to the Buddhas of Bamiyan. Education is urgently needed, but cannot be the top-down education imagined since the age of enlightenment. Rather, it should be a communication or negotiation between groups that value different kinds of heritage, and value heritage in different ways.

Taku Iida  
Convenor  
National Museum of Ethnology

## New Horizons for Asian Museums and Museology

International Symposium  
February 21 – 22, 2015

Minpaku organized an International Symposium 'New Horizons for Asian Museums and Museology' on February 21-22, 2015. This symposium was supported by President's Leadership Fund of the National Institutes for the Humanities (NIHU) and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Core-to-Core

Program 'New Horizons in Asian Museums and Museology', in cooperation with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

Since 1994, Minpaku has offered international training programs to develop human resources for museums. Since 2004 the programs have been fully commissioned by JICA while Minpaku plans, operates, and implements training courses in collaboration with Lake Biwa Museum. Many former participants now play pivotal roles in the operation of museums or in human resource development in their respective countries. Considering that fact, and as a new initiative for international cooperation

through museology, Minpaku launched a three-year project 'New Horizons in Asian Museums and Museology' in 2012, sponsored by the JSPS. The objective of the project is to establish a common platform for sharing knowledge and experience, so that museum specialists and researchers in Asian countries can communicate to each other their activities and research results.

The International Symposium 'New Horizons for Asian Museums and Museology' was positioned first as an opportunity to present the outcomes of the JSPS project, and second, as a result of our 20-years of efforts in international cooperation and human resource development for museums and museology. In Session 1, staff from three countries in Asia gave presentations on how their museums were evolving and adapting to local environments. In Session 2, we explored the potential of museums in the age of information technology. Session 3 introduced two different initiatives aimed at balancing the utilization and conservation of museum collections. Session 4 focused on museums' connections with local communities. Session 5 was a wrap-up discussion about international cooperation carried out by museums.

The symposium provided an



Symposium participants (February 22, 2015)



opportunity for researchers and museum experts from Mongolia, Myanmar, Thailand, and Japan to share research findings and case studies on the origins and maturing of museums, in diverse historical, social, and cultural contexts. It served as a forum to discuss how Asian museums and museology can help in different societies and establish their directions. The symposium contributed to a new framework for sustainable international cooperation, future development of museums, and leveraging the network of museums and museology that has already been formed.

Naoko Sonoda  
Convenor

National Museum of Ethnology

## Information

### Award

One Minpaku researcher has recently been given a prestigious award for his exceptional academic contributions:

**Musashi Tachikawa** (Professor Emeritus) was decorated with The Order of the Sacred Treasure, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon, from the Japanese government, in recognition of his life-long contribution to Indian and Buddhist studies. (April 29, 2015).

## New Staff

### Hirofumi Teramura

Assistant Professor, Research Center for Cultural Resources



Teramura studied archaeology and GIS (Geographic Information Systems) at Okayama University and received

his PhD in 2005. He specializes in culture and information science, and has been involved in archaeological excavations in Japan, Uzbekistan and India. He has pursued digital documentation, management and analysis of cultural resources data with the aid of GIS. Before joining Minpaku in April 2015, he was a special appointed associate professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (IRCJS), in Kyoto. His major works include *Methods and Practice in Landscape Archaeology* (in Japanese, Douseisha, 2014). He is currently helping create and operate the Info-Forum Museum for cultural resources at Minpaku.

### Atsumasa Nagata

Research Fellow, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology



Nagata specializes in anthropology and migration studies. He has been interested in contemporary Filipino migration in

Japan and South Korea. His research focuses on Filipino social relations, and collaboration among expatriate Filipino organizations and individuals. He has conducted fieldwork in Kyoto, Japan, and Seoul, South Korea. He studied at Kyoto Gakuen University (1993-1997), and at Ritsumeikan University (2001-2008) where he received his PhD (2008). Before joining Minpaku in April 2015, he was a senior researcher at the Kinugasa Research Institute of Ritsumeikan University. His major works include *An Ethnography of Transnational Filipinos* (in Japanese, Nakanishiya Shuppan, 2011).

### Yuriko Yagi

Research Fellow, Center for Research Development

Yagi studied cultural anthropology at The Graduate



University of Advanced Studies (doctoral studies program at Minpaku) and received her PhD in the year 2012. She

then worked as a researcher and adviser at the Embassy of Japan in Peru (2012-2014). She specializes in Andean ethnology, and has carried out several seasons of fieldwork with communities in the southern highlands of Peru. Her main interest is the cultural dynamics of Andean religions, and especially transformations in the cults of catholic saints. She has also focused on interactions between peasant communities and the migrant societies derived from them in urban areas. She is currently interested in the commercialization of religious items, such as images of saints.

### Mikako Toda

Research Fellow, Research Center for Cultural Resources



Toda was educated at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University, from which she received her PhD in

2013. Her research area is people with disabilities in Africa, with a focus on Cameroon, Republic of Congo, and Democratic Republic of the Congo. Employing an ecological anthropological approach, she has analyzed the everyday lives of these individuals, first treating their work to acquire resources as 'subsistence activities' (livelihood activities) and then examining the reciprocal acts of 'care' that underpin these activities. As a member of the JST/JICA Collaborative Project (SATREPS), she also works with the 'Forest-Savanna Sustainability Project' in Cameroon, helping to

construct systems sustainable that prevent overuse of forest resources.

## Visiting Scholar

### Guillermo Wilde

Associate Professor, National University of San Martín and Researcher at the National Scientific Council (CONICET), Argentina



Guillermo Wilde obtained his undergraduate and doctoral degrees in anthropology at the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. He

is a full researcher at the Argentinian National Scientific Council of Argentina (CONICET) and associate professor at National University of San Martín. His core research themes are indigenous history of the Americas, colonial art and music, religious conversion and mission global history. He is author of the book *Religión y poder en las misiones guaraníes* (Sb, 2009), awarded the Latin American Association Studies Book Award (Toronto, 2010). He has written several articles on the Jesuit Missions of South America, and recently edited the volume *Saberes de la conversión: jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Sb, 2011). Wilde has been a fellow of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Germany) among other academic institutions. He is currently developing a research project entitled 'A Comparative Study of Christian Missionary Work and Cultural Accommodation in Latin America and Asia'.

(January 16, 2015 – January 14, 2016)

## Publications

From January to June 2015, we published the following issues and articles:

### **Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 39**

**Issue 3:** S. Sasaki, 'Historical and cultural representation of Nanai-Heje ethnicity: A case study on the people of Geiker hala in Aoqi village'; J.A. Matisoff, 'On the demise of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman mid vowels'; and A. Ito, 'A redefinition of the significance of the Minpaku "special lectures and performances": A case study of "HOPI social dance and flute music"'.  
**Issue 4:** A. Sugase, "Possession of a saint" and its background: Comparing examples of the veneration of Sayyidnā al-Khader/al-Khodor in southern Lebanon and historical Palestine'; A. Yamamoto, 'Social dynamics in the Chotano basin, northern Peru: Formation and change in a prehistoric Andean society'; and N. Kishigami, 'Low-income and homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada: Report of a 2012 research'.

**Issue 4:** A. Sugase, "Possession of a saint" and its background: Comparing examples of the veneration of Sayyidnā al-Khader/al-Khodor in southern Lebanon and historical Palestine'; A. Yamamoto, 'Social dynamics in the Chotano basin, northern Peru: Formation and change in a prehistoric Andean society'; and N. Kishigami, 'Low-income and homeless Inuit in Montreal, Canada: Report of a 2012 research'.

### **Senri Ethnological Reports**

**No.125:** Sonoda, N., K. Tamura and Nu Mra Zan (eds.) *Asian Museums and Museology 2013: International Research Meeting on Museology in Myanmar*. 187pp.

**No.126:** Kubo, M. and Y. Horie (eds.) *Historical Change in Policies towards Indigenous Australians and Infrastructure Improvement: An Interpretation of the Bawinanga Aboriginal Corporation Minutes (1978 to 1994) for Maningrida and Surrounding Outstations, Northern Territory*. 504pp.

**No.127:** Han, M. (ed.) *Aspects of Leader-Worship in Modern Societies*. 125pp.

**No.128:** Shaglanova, O.A. and S. Sasaki (eds.) *The Cultural Heritage of Buryats, Evenks and Semeyskiye: Material and Religious Articles from the Collections of the Ethnographic Museum of Transbaikalian Peoples (The Republic of Buryatia, Russia)*. 176pp.

**No.129:** Sonoda, N., K. Hirai

and J. Incherdchai (eds.) *Asian Museums and Museology 2014: International Workshop on Asian Museums and Museology in Thailand*. 137pp.

Forthcoming Special Exhibition

### **Food Culture in Korea and Japan: The Tastes of Nanum and Omotenashi**

National Museum of Ethnology,  
Osaka,  
Aug. 27 – Nov. 10, 2015

### **MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter**

The Newsletter is published in June and December. 'Minpaku' is an abbreviation of the Japanese name for the National Museum of Ethnology (*Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan*). The Newsletter promotes a continuing exchange of information with former visiting scholars and others who have been associated with the museum. The Newsletter also provides a forum for communication with a wider academic audience.

The Newsletter is available online at: <http://www.minpaku.ac.jp/english/research/activity/publication/periodical/newsletter>

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