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Special theme: Reflections on Research in Africa and Asia

Two professors will retire from Minpaku in March, 2017. The following essays introduce their work at Minpaku. The first essay is by Shigeyuki Tsukada about his long commitment to Zhuang studies. The other three essays describe the work of Shoichiro Takezawa in Mali and northern Japan.

Looking Back at my Zhuang Research

Shigeyuki Tsukada

National Museum of Ethnology

The following introduces research and exhibitions I have been involved with during my time at Minpaku, from 1988 to 2017.

My paper on 'Trends and problems in studies of Nong Zhigao, a Zhuang (ethnic hero)' was published in the *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 40 in January 2016. In the paper, I critically reviewed how Nong Zhigao [農智高] has been studied, particularly in China, from the establishment of the People's Republic of China to the present day. In addition, I presented analyses of problems that have never been studied. To put it simply, the rebellion by Nong Zhigao has been interpreted differently according to the changing times. From the 1950s to the 1960s, whether the society in question was in a state of slavery or feudalism, and what rebellion accorded or not in relation to the former question, was debated on the basis of Marxist Developmental Theory. After the Sino-Vietnamese War of 1979, however, the debate shifted to a specific examination of the issue of his nationality. After the 1980s, as policies of reform and openness were developing, the paradigm of Nong Zhigao debate changed gradually. By the late 1990s, his evaluation as an 'ethnic hero' became established. The view of Nong Zhigao as a patriot who was poisoned, and his

rebellion as a patriotic war strengthened against the backdrop of a groundswell in patriotism. During the first decade of the 2000s, as the internet has become increasingly popular, many intellectuals and ordinary people, aside from professional researchers, have broadened the base of studies. These include descendants of the Nong [農] family, who consider themselves descendants of Nong Zhigao, and the Cen-shi [岑] family, who were on the other side of the rebellion. In these ways, especially in relation to Nong Zhigao, the climate of each time has been reflected in historical studies.

Problems that have eluded analysis include the economic base of Jimi region along the rivers of Zuo-You Jiang, Guangxi [壮族], and historical examination of rights and obligations between the region and the Song dynasty during the time of Nong Zhigao and since ('Jimi' is a national policy for governing different ethnic groups).

My own studies of Nong Zhigao and Jimi province began with my

Contents

Special theme: Reflection on Research in Africa and Asia

Shigeyuki Tsukada Looking Back at my Zhuang Research	1
Shoichiro Takezawa From Mali to Tohoku: Frontlines of Fieldwork	5
Mamadou Cissé Discovery of the Royal Cities of Gao, Mali.....	7
Hiroiyuki Takahashi Master Keaton Takezawa, a Fieldworker in East Japan	8
Exhibition.....	10
Information.....	11
New Staff.....	11
Overseas Visiting Fellows	11
Publications.....	12

Tsukada is a professor at Minpaku. His interest includes resources for histories of the Zhuang and ethnic groups in China. Recent publications include "Trends and problems in studies of Nong Zhigao, a Zhuang "ethnic hero"" Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History, 40(3) (in Japanese), 2016. Tsukada (ed.): Ethnic Cultural Resources and Politics — an Analyziz of South China (in Japanese, Fukuyosha, 2016).

master's thesis, which was written in 1980s and published in part in 1983. It was also the start of my study of the Zhuang people. Here I would like to return to the 1980s, to look back at the course of my studies of Zhuang.

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I first became interested in the Zhuang while examining the government system of Lingnan of the Tang Dynasty for my graduation thesis, and learning of the 'Xiyuan Man [西原蛮]' in Guangxi, the presumed ancestors of Zhuang. Thereafter, I examined the movement of some groups in the Zuo-You Jiang basin, Guangxi, during the Tang Dynasty, for my master's thesis. In Japanese ethnological circles of those days, there was a tendency to target ethnic groups with outstanding characteristics, and the central places of politics and economics. Little attention was devoted to peripheral groups and places. As of 2010, the Zhuang were the largest ethnic group, with a population of 16.8 million minority in China. However, because they had been presumed to be Sinolized, or assimilated, to a considerable degree, they did not draw the attention of ethnological and historical studies. The field was left untouched.

After advancing to a doctoral course at Hokkaido University in 1980, I started to read historical materials of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. In the East Asian history circles of those days, and partly because of problems in the historical materials used, researchers had a strong tendency to study an individual dynasty alone, such as the Tang, Sung, Ming or Qing

Dynasty. However, I wanted to know the history of Zhuang going forward in time, and became interested in ethnology to address the contemporary period.

As a scholarship student, I studied at Minpaku in 1983 and received guidance from Takuji Takemura, famous for his studies of Yao people. I wanted to study history from an ethnological viewpoint to give depth to my studies. As a result, I was able to publish papers about Zhuang peoples' migration and situation in the Ming Dynasty, and social changes such as introduction of the *diannong* [佃農] tenant system in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. In 1985, I studied at Sun Yat-sen University in China for one year, then eventually began working at Minpaku in April 1988. I also stayed in Guangxi for several months in 1989.

In China, since the 1980s, the policy of openness to the international world has allowed foreign researchers to conduct fieldwork there.

Nevertheless, many constraints remained. Entering the Zhuang area, where there was still much traditional culture, was not permitted until 1989. During fieldwork I found that quite a few high-quality historical materials existed that would complement the historical literature on which I had depended up to that point. Using these materials together with my knowledge of historical philology, I launched historical studies related to social and cultural changes among the Zhuang people.

As a philologist, I had to develop my own fieldwork methods. Initially, collecting information through fragmentary interviews was all I could do. As I gathered experience, I naturally developed my own survey method. It was at Longji, Longsheng, in December 1989 that I started full-fledged fieldwork in the area of the Zhuang people. Through this survey, I was able to contribute many findings to the field. For example, when I knew that a wedding ceremony and banquet would be held, and attended it, I found a pile of baby wear and diapers as well as a clothes closet, a bicycle and other goods, brought by the bride, by the reception desk. The bride appeared with a baby on her back. This experience provided a hint for understanding their unique marriage system called of '*buluo fujia* [不落夫家]'. I realized that pregnancy and childbirth can bring the marriage of the baby's parents into existence. I was able to conduct interviews concerning the elder leader of the villages: Zailao [寨老] and to see the Bouxvueng It-moz



Terraced paddy fields of Ping an village, Longji (Tsukada 1989).

Festival with my own eyes in July 1990.

These experiences allowed me to understand the social principles of the Zhuang people, who build networks around a Zailao, and the characteristic complexity of coexisting Zhuang and Chinese cultural factors. The fieldwork provided valuable information and hints that could not be obtained by reading at a desk. Nevertheless, historical materials were also needed to clarify social and cultural systems. I did not abandon philology, but combined the merits of philology and anthropology to reach a deeper comprehension of the target society and culture.

In 1992, I published a study of the development of Zhuang people's annual events. After discovering, understanding, and analyzing new literature related to annual events, in order to understand their origins and development, I realized that numerous Zhuang and Chinese cultural factors coexist in these events. Until then, anthropologists did not refer to literature related to Zhuang people's annual events of the past, say, in the Qing Dynasty. They only saw the contemporary assimilated people and noted a lack of distinct features. However, close reading of the literature revealed that even if they had been assimilated, their traditional customs were partially retained. Additionally, results showed that the Zhuang people were not monolithic, but regionally diverse. The complexity and local diversity of the Zhuang people were also presented in a paper about the Bouxvueng It-moz Festival in Longji, Longsheng (Tsukada, 1992) and a paper about the localities of Zhuang annual events (Tsukada, 1994). Among the Zhuang, hereditary tribal headmen were Sinolized, but their people's traditional culture was maintained.

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In February 2001, for the first time, I could meet the Nung people who inhabit Cao Bang province in northeastern Vietnam. The Nung and Zhuang peoples have many features in common with regard to food, clothing, and housing, marriage system, growth customs, and society. Historically, the Nung people migrated from Guangxi to Vietnam. The comparative study was very fruitful (Tsukada ed., 2006). Thereafter, I visited Vietnam seven times and the border region in Guangxi several times until 2012, to survey Zhuang peoples' exchanges with people on the Vietnam side.

Since the 1980s, and particularly



Nung women in Quảng Uyên, Cao Bang, Vietnam (Tsukada 2001).

since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two nations in 1991, private frontier trading has been active. Common foods such as rice, meat, and vegetables as well as specialties have been traded in accordance with price differences between the two countries. I realized that the people living in border areas cross the border and go to markets on a daily basis. Because they have relatives across the border, they cross the border at family events such as weddings or funeral ceremonies. Additionally, individuals have 'Lao Tong' relationships across the borders. These do not involve blood relatives but pseudo-relatives, and the relationships can be transferred to the next generation. The border artificially drawn up in the modern era is marginalized by local people, and they sometimes have a somewhat similar racial consciousness on both sides of the border. Presently, people from the side of Vietnam move to Guangdong as migrant workers. Since 2000, partly because literature related to the border area has been restricted, my research has owed a great deal to interviews conducted on site. I have become much less dependent on literature.

Age groups are important for the Zhuang people. In many Zhuang areas in the west of Guangxi, a patrilineal kin group system (*tsung-tsu*) has not developed. When I visited Tianyang Country during the Lunar New Year celebration in 2009, the villagers gathered at midnight and visited a mausoleum for the first time of the New Year. During a previous survey of the marriage system, 'buluo fujia' [不落夫

家]’, I found that a bride got along with close friends from the same natural village and that they called those friends *huoji* in the Zhuang language. During interviews, the villagers, irrespective of sex and age, said that they had their own *huoji* and the interviews revealed that they have their own age group of the same sex from the cradle. Historical materials of the late Ming Dynasty show that a group of young men and women went to the top of a mountain or waterside, and there exchanged songs with each other. From my interview, I confirmed that they participated in the song picnic not alone but in a group of a few members of the same age group. The age group, which is second in importance to the kin group, may have supported Zhuang village society in unstable environments that were likely to produce an identity crisis. Perhaps the *tsung-tsu* system did not develop much in areas where people had strong ties through age groups. Patrilineal systems became rather dominant in the middle and eastern parts of Guangxi, which have been strongly sinolized. This viewpoint was not considered in earlier Zhuang studies at all and led to a large step forward in my studies related to the Zhuang society.

In Japan, cultural resource studies became popular during the first decade of the 2000s. In 2002 the Association for the Study of Cultural Resources was established. Its collected papers, *Anthropology of Resources* (in 9 volumes), were published in 2009 (Kobundo). I studied cultural resources of the Zhuang people, discussing tourist development in Yizhuo and Yangshuo using traditional literature of Sanjie Liu, a fabulous great poet; a terraced paddy field in Longsheng changing into a tourist destination, and the movements of Chinese and Vietnamese villagers engaged in tourist businesses around Ban Gioc Detain Falls along the border between China and Vietnam. Chinese people tend to combine cultural resources with cultural industry including tourism, in accordance with the goals of economic development and profit. Furthermore, in the multicultural state, which includes many ethnic groups, ‘people’ are not monolithic but sometimes aggregates of local groups or multiple subgroups. To understand what is used as a resource and how, and from whose or what viewpoints it must be analyzed, is to unravel a tangled thread. Considering this complexity, I organized two inter-university research projects (2006-2009 and 2010-2013) at Minpaku.

In addition to studies of the Zhuang people, I studied the ‘Tunpu people’ [屯堡人] in Guizhou in the 1990s, ‘Kamtai people’ [臨高人] in Hainan and ‘Zheyuan people’ [蔗園人] in Guangxi during the first decade of the 2000s. The customs of Tunpu and Zheyuan are a mixture of those of the Han people and those of minorities. Those studies provided a chance to consider how ethnic groups are defined in China, particularly their generation and boundaries.

I actively strove to use the results of the research on Zhuang people for an exhibition. A special exhibition was held in Spring 2008, ‘The Profound Earth: Ethnic Life and Crafts of China’, for which I served as executive committee chairman. A raised-floor style house (second story) of the Zhuang people was reconstructed in the exhibition space. In the 1990s, I had already proposed to build a raised-floor style house in the main exhibition hall. That was my dream for a long time. I looked for houses to use as candidate models in China in the late 1990s. I found a suitable house when I visited Jingxi in October 1998. Although the Zhuang people retain their own traditional features in houses, they also positively accept



Inside the Zhuang raised-floor house, on display at Minpaku.

outside influences and assimilation. They build 'modern' houses that retain raised-floors, but that also have electrical appliances such as the TV, stereo, and DVD player. Exterior walls are made partially of concrete blocks. For the special exhibition, I was in charge of a display related to the Zhuang people, including the raised-floor house and annual events, while also arranging diverse exhibits including clothes and crafts of the ethnic groups in southwest China with the cooperation of Hiroko Yokoyama, my colleague in the museum, and others. This became unforgettable to me as the first special exhibition about China at our Museum, and as a compilation of my studies of the Zhuang people.

In Spring 2014, when the main hall China exhibition of Minpaku was re-arranged for the first time in 32 years, part of the Zhuang raised-floor style house was also reconstructed. Everything for the exhibition, furniture to roofing tiles, was bought on the spot in China. I collected historical materials not only of the Zhuang people in Guangxi but also of the Wa, Jinghpaw and others in Yunnan, the Miao and Tong in Guizhou, and the Yi in Sichuan. We received excellent cooperation from the Guangxi Museum and the Guangxi Museum of Ethnology. Above all, I was grateful for generous support from Mr. Jiang Tingyu [蒋廷愉] and Mr. Wu Weifeng [吴伟峰], directors of the Guangxi Museum.

From Mali to Tohoku: Frontlines of Fieldwork

Shoichiro Takezawa

National Museum of Ethnology

In 2001, I began working at Minpaku. My main research objective at that time was archeological excavation in Mali (West Africa) to obtain new data for rewriting West African History. As societies in Sub-Saharan Africa did not use writing before the arrival of Islam, archeological research is the only means to revise an old-fashioned, cultural imperialistic view of the African past.

With this perspective, I and Malian colleagues have dug at different sites in Mali, especially in the area called Niger Bend, where great Empires flourished between the 7th and the 16th centuries. Our most important findings were realized in the Gao area, and are discussed in the following essay by Mamadou Cisse. All the findings of our research in Mali can be found in *Sur les traces des Grands Empires*, a special issue of the Malian journal *Etudes Maliennes*, published in 2016.

The year 2011 became a turning point of my career. That year a huge earthquake attacked coastal cities and towns in East Japan. This earthquake of magnitude 9.0 was the largest ever recorded in Japan. Shocked by images of the catastrophe and upset by the sufferings of the local people, my wife and I decided to go to the area completely destroyed by the tsunami.

The next month, on April 8, we left Kyoto by car to go to Otsuchi town in Iwate Prefecture to work as volunteers. That was the beginning of our long stay in the disaster stricken area. In fact, we stayed there for half of our time over the 18 months following the catastrophe.



Next day after the tsunami in Otsuchi town (Yoshiharu Ogawa, 2011)

Takezawa is a professor at Minpaku. He obtained his PhD at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, and specializes in African history and archeology, social anthropology, and museum studies. His recent publications include: *The Aftermath of the 2011 East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami* (Lexington Books, 2016), *Sur les traces des Grands Empires* (edited by Takezawa and Mamadou Cissé, special issue of *Études Maliennes*, 2016). Beside 13 articles written in foreign languages, he has published in Japanese more than 100 articles and 9 books, and edited 13 books.

Two months later, we began to work as professional volunteers to help the inhabitants of small coastal villages draw up reconstruction plans for their villages. I already had some experience in this field. At the same time, we began to collect testimonies of the victims of the tsunami, using video. What we wanted to know was how they escaped from the tsunami, and how they managed the evacuation centers. The vivid testimonies collected on the spot just after the catastrophe enabled me to write a book: *Living the Aftermath of the Catastrophe* (in Japanese, *Hisaigo o Ikiru*, Chuokoron-shinsha, 2013). That was well appreciated and reached the final screening for the Kodansha Nonfiction Prize. Its English translation has just appeared at Lexington Books under the title of *The Aftermath of the 2011 East Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: Living among the Rubble* (2016).

I am now preparing an exhibition on the East Japan Earthquake that will be held at Minpaku between January 19 and April 11, 2017. This exhibition will be taken to Otsuchi town, although there still remain some practical problems for this plan. I am sincerely anxious to present this to the local people. I believe it indispensable to share the fruit of fieldwork with the people targeted by that work.

This plan, nevertheless, will raise a serious problem that is less pragmatic than epistemological. If we organize and show the exhibition only at Minpaku, 1,000 km away from the devastated areas, its focus will demonstrate the power of the tsunami and the sufferings of the local people. This kind of exhibition is worth realizing by way of warning, because the population of Kansai region in which our museum is located is not prepared enough for a disaster that is likely to occur in the near future (A Great Nankai Trough Earthquake of the same magnitude as the East Japan Earthquake is expected within some decades). However, this rationale does not apply if the exhibition is to be presented in the disaster stricken area.

In Otsuchi, about 10 % of the total population was killed or disappeared and 60 % of the houses were destroyed by the tsunami. Almost all the inhabitants of the town lost friends or relatives. Many of them are still suffering from traumatic memories of the catastrophe. Their sufferings have manifested in strong opposition to a plan for preservation of the ruins of

Otsuchi town hall, where 40 of the 137 employees were killed by the tsunami. Supported by scholars and NPO agents, young people in the town seek its preservation as a warning for future generations. But the majority of the inhabitants are against it, saying that to see the building half-ruined reminds them past painful experiences and makes them feel agony. How can an exhibition on the East Japan Earthquake be justified given their continued suffering?

It is obvious that an exhibition focused on the catastrophe will be rejected by the local population. Perhaps a diachronic exhibition - that presents not only the catastrophe, but also daily lives before it - will have a better chance to be accepted. This idea came from my experience in Otsuchi. After collecting photography representing daily lives before the catastrophe, I held two small photo exhibitions in the town center. These were much appreciated by the inhabitants. They expressed great satisfaction when looking at them. Of course, it is nostalgia that gave them satisfaction. But the story does not end there. These exhibitions must encourage them by awaking a sense of collectivity, through activation of shared memories.

This interpretation is supported by studies of trauma in psychiatry. It was just after the World War I that doctors found a growing number of patients who suffered from mental troubles. At first, the doctors could not be sure if the troubles were of mental disorder or physical disorder provoked by the shock of explosions of bombs. But soon they understood that the disorders originated in mental shock, and that the best remedy for the trauma was to remind the patient of social ties that they felt in the battlefield. Later studies such as J.L. Herman's *Trauma and Recovery* (1982) have shown that the remedy for trauma does not consist in repressing traumatic memories, but in reviving them to integrate into their consciousness.

These studies are very significant for our exhibition. If it reproduces the joint actions that could be observed in the evacuation centers, or in the daily lives before the catastrophe, it will contribute to awaking a sense of collectivity among the inhabitants of the town. I hope that our exhibition is not only accepted by them, but helps to relieve the sufferings they have endured since experiencing an unutterable catastrophe.

Discovery of the Royal Cities of Gao, Mali

Mamadou Cissé

Cultural Mission of Kangaba, Mali

Since 1999, the National Direction of Cultural Heritage (DNPC) of the Malian Ministry of Culture has been working with Minpaku through Shoichiro Takezawa to safeguard, protect, promote and conduct research on Malian cultural heritage. During this collaboration, several archaeological excavations were carried out at many locations in the Mema area, the Gao region (Gao Ancien and Gao Saney) and the Manden zone, with the participation of Malian and Japanese researchers including Takezawa. We Malian colleagues call him Take. Some Japanese students have participated, and we also implemented a training workshop for officers of the DNPC and Malian students specialized in archaeology at the University of Bamako. In 2014, an agreement for cooperation was formalized between Minpaku and the DNPC in order to strengthen and promote collaborative activities. Among all the activities, the archaeological research realized in the Gao region, at Gao Ancien and Gao Saney, has been the most significant, with rich and unprecedented results. This essay is about results obtained with Take from 2001 to 2010, at Gao Saney and Gao Ancien.

Early historical sources in Arabic mention the existence of the twin cities of Gao: the royal city and the market town called 'Sarnah'. These sources report that by the 9th century AD, Gao was already the seat of a polity described as 'the greatest of the realms of the Sudan (Black Africa)', yet no archaeologist or historian could discover traces of this legendary town. The archaeological site of Gao Saney is a tell approximately of 35 ha and is 6 to 7 m high. Excavations of the main mound were conducted by the Malian-Japanese team in 2001-2002, and by DNPC in January 2009. Our excavations revealed for the first time that Gao Saney is the town of 'Sarnah' of the Arabic texts.

During the 2001 and 2009 excavations, we found a more than 6 m deep domestic deposit of pottery, bones, spindle whorls, iron objects, and the debris of secondary processing of long-

distance trade products, including crucibles, molten or malformed glasses, slag, glass beads and copper objects, and oil lamps. These came from the 8th to the 12th centuries. We found that from its foundation in the 8th century, Gao Saney had been actively involved in further processing of imported copper and glass for regional trade and local consumption. We concluded from these findings that Gao Saney was not only a commercial trading town, but also a manufacturing town located deep in the Savanna of West Africa.

The results encouraged us to reconsider previous interpretations of the beginnings of long distance trans-Saharan trade networks. Many historians and archaeologists had thought that significant long-distance trade developed after the 9th century, since written evidence before this century was lacking. This interpretation is contradicted by the discoveries at Gao Saney and Gao Ancien.

From 2003 to 2010, we worked with Take at Gao Ancien. Thirty five units of different sizes covering 1,191 m² were excavated. In the course of these excavations, two different buildings (the Pillar House and the Long House) and the remains of other structures (basin



Large buildings at Gao Ancien (pillar house in the foreground) (Takezawa, 2007)

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and latrine) and stones walls were exposed.

The excavations at Gao Ancien revealed a large complex of structures in the area locally known as the site of Kankou Moussa's mosque. The remains of numerous constructions (house wall foundations, columns and flooring) built with drystone walls, mold-formed mudbrick and fired brick were exposed, particularly in deposits dated from the 9th to 12th centuries AD.

The Long House, located in the southern part of the site, was built with laterite and schist drystone walls, fired brick and mudbrick. The exposed wall (eastern) of the southern building extends 37 m. This building had many long narrow rectangular rooms of different sizes (7.8-9.8 m long by 2.2 m wide) and a monumental decorative gateway made out of fired bricks. This long building appears to be an elite residence because of its size and the materials used for construction (fired brick and schist slabs in particular). Radiocarbon samples of wood taken from the deepest layer of the schist slab stone walling located at the northern end of the Long House give a date of 1070±40BP (cal AD 890-1025).

North of the Long House, the Pillar House was built with quite elaborate schist slabs. Inside this structure, two rooms, each measuring 3.10 x 2.22 m, were exposed. The doors of these rooms led to a central room (vestibule) with eight circular stone pillars inside. Many areas of the house floor were painted in red ochre and white lime powder. Outside this pillar building, there are fired bricks used as flooring in certain areas. This pillar house, built around AD 900-950, was likely a royal building because of the exclusive use of

elaborate schist slabs for its construction, and the presence of a considerable quantity of exotic goods such as glass beads and glass objects (glass weight and vessels), glazed ceramic, copper-base objects and gold fragments.

To the east and the west of the Pillar House lay, respectively, a basin with pedestal and a presumed latrine (also built with elaborate schist slabs). Although the construction dates of these structures have not been determined, we think that they are closely connected with the 10th-century Pillar House because of the similarities in materials and construction techniques.

Over 22,000 glass beads were discovered among the building remains and other excavated areas, in addition to 2,410 copper fragments, over 2,000 iron objects, 571 glass vessel fragments, dozens of spindle whorls, carnelian beads, and glazed ceramics made under the Fatimide dynasty. This period was connected to the Early Gao kingdom.

It is important to note that the period of construction of the main buildings of Gao Ancien coincides with the later occupation period of the habitation mounds at Gao Saney. These two towns coexisted during the 10th and the 11th centuries AD. This is consistent with the information of 10th century Egyptian chronicler al-Muhallabi concerning the twin towns of Kaw-Kaw: the royal town with its palace and treasure houses and the market town of 'Sarnah' with its trading houses. If these cities are really the royal capital of the first Gao kingdom, we may have found the earliest royal palace in the history of West Africa.

Master Keaton Takezawa, a Fieldworker in East Japan

Hiroyuki Takahashi

NPO Tohoku Kaikon, Japan

It was soon after the Great East Japan Earthquake that I met Professor Takezawa for the first time in Otsuchi, Iwate Prefecture. The town was tremendously devastated by the earthquake and tsunami on March 11, 2011. In Ando, one of the coastal villages in Otsuchi, most residents had lost their houses and were staying in

an evacuation center. This was set up in the primary school gym and classrooms located uphill, and more than 500 people were there. I went to Ando every day as a volunteer and often saw a man with mustache and a note pad. That was him, Takezawa.

As the town had been completely destroyed and one third of the



Members of Tohoku Taberu Tsushin (Yasunobu Tamari 2013)

employees of the town hall were killed by the tsunami, receiving food supplied by emergency catering was the only means for the evacuees to survive. I went to Otsuchi every day to provide food and began feeling the necessity to discuss the town's future. So I began to talk about the reconstruction plan with young residents under a tent in a corner of the primary school ground. At every meeting, Takezawa was there. He listened to our voices and took notes.

The members were in their thirties and had no experience in town planning. We didn't know where to start. The press reported that Otsuchi town was behind the other municipalities damaged by the tsunami, in the efforts towards reconstruction, because of the loss of the mayor and section chiefs of the town office. This news made us anxious and hasty. We decided to hold meetings in the major evacuation centers to know what people were thinking about their future.

After printing invitation leaflets for the meetings, we visited the centers to hand them out, one by one. Takezawa was kind enough to work together with the bundles of leaflets. He attended all meetings and helped to synthesize the people's voices. As this was the first experience for us, we had to feel our way through the experiment. Furthermore, people were getting increasingly anxious. As our attempts were independent of the administration, we sometimes felt unconfident and stumped. In such hard times, Takezawa helped us and encouraged us.

He was always smiling and cheerful. Whenever we confronted difficulties and complained "It's hopeless," he encouraged us and said "Don't worry, let's make it." His words restored our motivation and we could keep going ahead. Everything was going like this.

A year after the earthquake and tsunami, Iwate prefecture imposed on all municipalities a reconstruction plan

with giant seawalls. We were against this plan that would cut a harmonious relationship between humans and nature. To manifest our objection, I quit my position as prefectural assembly deputy and stood as candidate for election of the Iwate governor. Unfortunately, I was defeated. In these hard times, it was Takezawa who called me to give encouragement. Thanks to his advice, I became engaged again in the discussion about seawalls. He is always good at motivating people. I feel that somehow I can accomplish the impossible whenever I talk with him.

I find him a thorough fieldworker. He walked every corner of the devastated area, listened to people, and made notes. Based on his fieldwork, he described an original reconstruction plan that differed completely from the administrative one. It is often said that the inhabitants of Iwate's coastal regions, including Otsuchi, are conservative and closed. But he smoothly entered and drew out from people what they were really thinking. It was surprising for me. He was trusted by many people.

When he talked with local people, he never used difficult technical terms. I think that is why people listened to his words. He was never arrogant and pompous. He always put an importance on the words in face-to-face communication. And he is skillful at assembling these words in order to construct a total image of the town's future. I, being in politics at that time, leaned many things from his attitude.

Takezawa reminds me of Master Keaton, main character of the same-titled manga by Naoki Urasawa. I read it enthusiastically in my youth. Master Keaton is an excellent investigator for an insurance company. He finds clues in tiny pieces of evidence and solves difficult problems. I found that Takezawa is like Master Keaton.

I am now at a turning point in my career. This resulted from my experiences in Otsuchi town, where I met volunteers from urban areas. I was surprised to find that they seemed happy and active in their volunteer work. They seemed to get satisfaction from the direct relationships with local people who have wisdom and various techniques for living that are not needed in urban life.

Based on this idea, I founded the NPO "Tohoku Kaikon" and started a project "Taberu Tsushin" to establish rapport between urban and rural residents. The project aims to link consumers with the producers of food. There are many groups that engage in

Takahashi is Director of NPO Tohoku Kaikon and Editor in Chief of Tohoku Food Monthly (Tohoku Taberu Tsushin) which won the Japan Good Design award in 2014. The success of this project led him to create the "Japan Taberu Monthly League". A former Iwate prefectural assembly member, and candidate for Iwate governor in 2011. His main publications include Dakara, bokuha noukawa starni suru (Why I make farmers star-players, CCC Media House, 2015) and Toshi to chihou wo kakimazeru (Mixing urban and rural communities, Kobunsha, 2016).

this kind of project. Our original aim is to establish a wholistic relationship between the consumers and producers. To realize this, we limit the membership to 1,500 and send members a 16 page newsletter that reports the producers' life and words. Products such as oysters in the shell, and fresh vegetables with the soil still attached, appear in the newsletter as an appendix.

Since the beginning, direct

communication and acquaintanceship have increased remarkably. Now over 300 people are waiting for a membership vacancy. We received the gold prize of the Good Design Award in 2014, and the 2016 Service Award of Minister in charge of Overcoming Population Decline and Vitalizing Local Economy of Japan. We think that our project is a step towards dramatic change in the urban and rural relationship.

Exhibition

Amazing show tents in Japan

*Special Exhibition
September 8 – November 29, 2016*

Something great, something rare, and something exciting... Why have shows continued to attract people? The special exhibition "Great Exhibition of Show Tents", introduces the world of shows of curiosities, down through the ages.

Many people do not have a very good impression of the word "show." Expressions such as "I made a show of myself" or "I do not want to put something on show" have negative implications of catering to curiosity. However, even if the word elicits some negative impressions and although "show" might be at a disadvantage today, such has not always been the case.

In this picture of Shijogawara in Kyoto in the early 17th century, one can see a dancer performing like a spider while holding a rope extending downward from a high post, a man drawing a short bow with his feet, and many show-booths of rare or strange animals and birds. Later, during the Edo period, pictures of the downtown areas



of Edo and Osaka also present many show tents with graphic signs or flags on which each attraction was painted; they are clustered in an amusement district. In pictures displaying precincts of shrines and temples, scenes of show tents with flags are also drawn. Some *nishikie*, colored woodblock prints of that period, portray a man and a woman in fashionable kimono using show tents as a background, suggesting that they were fashionable locations.

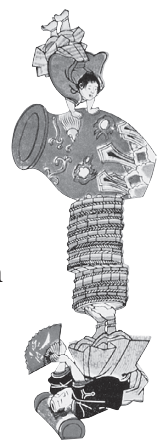
During the Meiji era, in addition to these conventional show tents, a permanent hall for spectacles and a show tent enclosing different show-booths appeared. Even in new cities such as Yokohama, many shows were held. The show tents in each area attracted many spectators who crowded around them, and into them.

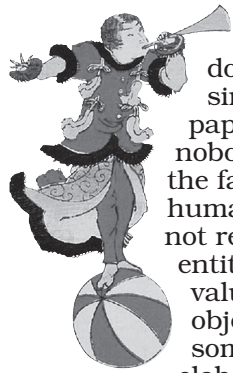
Show tents presented a wide variety of shows, with fascinating bodies and objects. Physical performers practiced stunts on a rope pulled high over spectators, juggled big or small things or even a person by the feet, spun a top in an acrobatic manner, or performed magic to bring out or stop water at will. Curious objects were also displayed: basketwork in which thin strips of bamboo were knitted into human or animal figures; *isshiki-zaiku*, in which some materials, such as shells or corals, were made into original shapes; *karakuri-zaiku*, in

which inanimate objects were operated with elaborate mechanisms -including lifelike dolls, which were elaborate enough to look truly lifelike- and chrysanthemum figures, with clothes festooned with colorful chrysanthemum flowers. Often, rare animals such as camels or elephants and parrots or parakeets were displayed.

Despite their myriad contents, the show tents seem to have had some common characteristics. One of them might be the recreation of a kind of sensation of the living body. Watching a performer almost collapse on a rope suddenly, people hold their breath and utter a cry unconsciously. When a performer blows fire out of his mouth, people also sense heat around their own cheeks and a burnt smell. Staring at a chrysanthemum doll, they smell the fragrance of chrysanthemums. In any case, with their sensations strongly stimulated, they might have an illusion of feeling the performers' movement or execution of a trick.

Another common characteristic is that truth and falsehood cannot be clearly distinguished, a point which people do not always care about. When paper butterflies fly, they are not real





butterflies. Nevertheless, they do have some well-simulated reality as paper butterflies, so nobody gets angry at the fakery. Porcelain human figures are also not real, but they are entities with their own value, as porcelain objects. As long as something human is elaborately represented, they might be extolled, but shall never be criticized as fake.

Characteristically, the shows differ considerably from what people feel in their daily life in terms of comfort, and discomfort, or truth and falsehood. In daily life, the differences between comfort and discomfort or truth and falsehood are clear and discomfort or falsehood are avoided. A comfortable and true life is the goal to be achieved. However, considering the actual status of daily life, which is full of paradoxes, the objective is obviously impractical. If such a life could be realized, then it would be more dreadful than fantastic.

It may sound somewhat paradoxical, indulging in the fantasies offered by shows might help people exercise sensations of the living body, which in turn help them respond fully to daily life, in which comfort and discomfort or truth and falsehood are mixed, and which is therefore full of absurdity, contradiction, and conflict. Shows might be regarded more positively because they can have such utility: they are shows after all.

Ryoji Sasahara
Chief Organizer
National Museum of Ethnology



Information

Award

Four Minpaku researchers have recently been given prestigious awards for their exceptional academic and social contributions:

Mikako Toda (Research Fellow, Research Center for Cultural Resources) received the Jury's Special Award of Ars Vivendi Incentive Prize from the Research Center for Ars Vivendi at Ritsumeikan University. This annual award is given to excellent publications related to the art of living (*ars vivendi*) (March 1, 2016).

Shingo Hidaka (Associate Professor, Research Center for Cultural Resources) received a JSCCP Meritorious Award from the Japan Society for the Conservation of Cultural Property, for his extensive contributions to conservation science. This award is given to researchers in recognition for theoretical and technological development in the area of cultural property conservation (June 26, 2016).

Yuji Seki (Professor, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology) was awarded Foreign Minister's Commendation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan for his excellent contributions to academic exchange between Japan and Peru through archaeology (July 20, 2016).

Yuki Konagaya (Professor, Department of Social Research National Museum of Ethnology) received the Yutorogi Award for her outstanding contributions to anthropological studies of nomadic people in the desert of Mongolia, from the Motoko Katakura Foundation for Desert Culture. This prize was established in memory of M. Katakura to recognize outstanding researchers and artists working in the area of desert culture (November 3, 2016).

In memoriam

With regret we note the following:

Kyuzo Kato, Professor Emeritus. Ethnic history in North and Central Asia. Minpaku 1977–1986; d. September 12, 2016.

New Staff

Hatsuki Aishima

Associate Professor, Department of Advanced Studies in Anthropology



Hatsuki Aishima is a social anthropologist specializing in Islam and public culture in the contemporary Middle East. She received

her MA from Kyoto University (Area Studies, 2002) and DPhil from the University of Oxford (Oriental Studies, 2011). Before joining Minpaku in July 2016, she worked as lecturer in Modern Islam at the University of Manchester. Her major publications include *Public Culture and Islam in Modern Egypt: Media, Intellectuals and Society* (I.B. Tauris, 2016). Through an urban ethnography of Egyptian middle classes, this monograph explored the roles of mass media and modern education in shaping the public knowledge, scholarly culture and literary tradition of Islam.

Overseas Visiting Fellows

Elisabeth Engberg-Pedersen

Professor, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Engberg-Pedersen has a master's degree in linguistics and obtained her doctor's degree in 1993 at the University of Copenhagen with a thesis entitled *Space in Danish Sign Language: The Semantics and Morphosyntax of the Use of*



Space in a Visual Language (Signum Press, 1993). She has been involved in the linguistic analysis of Danish Sign Language and

has contributed to developing institutions around Danish Sign Language since the late 1970s: interpreter training, curriculum planning, dictionary compilation, Bible translation, and language planning. In 2011 she became a member of The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. She is currently chair of the Danish Sign Language Council. At Minpaku she is working on the expression of epistemic modality in signed languages.

(July 14, 2016 – January 31, 2017)

Chi-cheung Choi

Professor, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China



C.-c. Choi received his doctoral degree from the University of Tokyo. He is professor and Associate Head of the History Department

at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Government's Museum expert advisor (ethnography), and a member of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Advisory Committee. He has published on Chinese festivals, popular religion, family and lineage, and business history. His major publications include *Jiao: Festival and Local Communities in Hong Kong* (Joint Publishing Co., 2000) and *Continuity and Change: Ethnographies of the Communal Jiao Festivals in Hong Kong* co-edited with Jinxin Wei, (The Chinese University Press, 2014). Choi is currently expanding the 2000 book with a focus on ritual practices in 21st-century Hong Kong and the role of ICH in

redefining local festivals. At Minpaku he is working on a project relating to communal festivals and salvation rituals in East Asian overseas Chinese communities.

(August 1, 2016 – July 30, 2017)

Jacob Copeman

Senior Lecturer, University of Edinburgh, UK



Jacob Copeman studied anthropology at the University of Cambridge from where he received his PhD in 2007. He was

then a Junior Research Fellow at Jesus College, Cambridge University, until he joined the University of Edinburgh as a lecturer in 2009. His regional focus is on South Asia, specifically north India. His major works include *Veins of Devotion: Blood Donation and Religious Experience in North India*, (Rutgers University Press, 2009); *The Guru in South Asia*, edited with Aya Ikegame (Routledge, 2012); 'Social theory after Strathern', edited with Alice Street, (*Theory, Culture and Science, Special Issue* 2014); 'On names in South Asia' (with Veena Das, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* 12, 2015). At Minpaku he is working on two book projects: one on blood donation and politics, with the working title *Political Hematology*, and another on names and naming practices in general.

(September 1, 2016 – December 28, 2016)

Publications

From July to December 2016, we published the following issues and articles:

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 41 Issue 1:

Y. Yoshida, 'How Replicated

Masks Work in Balinese Society: The Case of *Topeng Legong*'; I. Kawase, 'Analysis of the Occupational Function of Azmari Occupational Musicians in Ethiopia', and N. Suzuki, 'Exploration of Inclusion toward the Aging-in-place of Older Adults Living with Dementia: Focusing on Memory Care Conducted by "Bridges" in the United States'

Senri Ethnological Studies

No.93: Yamada, T. and T. Fujimoto (eds.) *Migration and the Remaking of Ethnic/Micro-Regional Connectedness*. 323pp.

Senri Ethnological Reports

No.137: Ito, A. (ed.) *Re-Collection and Sharing Traditional Knowledge, Memories, Information, and Images: Challenges and the Prospects on Creating Collaborative Catalog*. 136pp.

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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