“Tōhaku” and “Minpaku” within the History of Modern Japanese Civilization: Museum Collections in Modern Japan

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1. INTRODUCTION

The founding of the Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, hereafter Tōhaku) dates to the *hakurankai* (exposition) held by the Ministry of Education Museum (Monbushō Hakubutsukan) in the Taiseiden of Yushima Seidō in Meiji 5 (1872). The word *hakurankai*, together with the word *hakubutsukan* (museum), had already appeared in Fukuzawa Yukichi's *Seiyō Jijō* (Conditions in the West), published in 1866; the first such *hakurankai* to be held within Japan was the Kyoto exposition of Meiji 4 (1871), which used the Daishoin at Nishi Honganji temple. The *hakurankai* at Yushima was the first to be put on by the government. Moreover, the organizer of this exposition, the Monbushō Hakubutsukan, was the first organization formally known as a *hakubutsukan*. The first government-organized "exposition" in Japan thus led to the birth of Tōhaku as the first "museum"—the first national museum—in Japan.

On the other hand, the National Museum of Ethnology (Kokuritsu Minzokugaku Hakubutsukan, hereafter Minpaku) in Senri, Osaka, was founded in 1974 on the site of the 1970 Osaka Expo. It opened to the general public three years later, in 1977. Thus the first international exposition held in Japan led to the birth of Minpaku as the first national museum of ethnology in Japan. Still today, given the size of its collections, Minpaku continues to be the most important ethnological museum in

Japan.

There is a gap of almost exactly 100 years between the founding of Tōhaku as the first national museum in Japan and the founding of Minpaku as the first national museum of ethnology in Japan. While it may be an accident, the founding of each of these museums was roughly 100 years after the respective founding of museums and ethnological museums in Europe.

One can date the beginning of the history of public museums and art museums to the opening of the British Museum in 1759 and the establishment of the Louvre in 1793, respectively. Both of these museums were founded at the same time as the establishment of civil society, with the aim of opening to the people the natural specimens, foreign curiosities, and works of art which until then had been collected by scholars or the royalty and aristocracy. Over time, museums came to be differentiated according to the character of their collections. Natural history museums mainly collected natural specimens, art museums collected works of art, and ethnological museums collected the products of "other cultures."

The establishment of ethnological museums in Europe and the United States was concentrated in the period between the 1860s and the 1880s. The Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden was established in 1862 and the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, associated with Harvard University, in 1866; they were followed by the Munich Museum für Völkerkunde, founded in 1868, the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1869, the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde in 1873, the Musée d'Ethnologie du Trocadéro in Paris in 1878, and the Pitt-Rivers Museum, established by Oxford University in 1883. One can call the period between the 1860s and the 1880s the "age of the ethnological museum."

"The age of the ethnological museum" was also "the age of expositions." Starting with the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, and followed by the international expositions in Paris in 1855 and 1867, Vienna in 1873, Paris in 1878 and 1889, and Chicago in 1893, these national festivals spread out throughout Europe and the United States, promising to survey from a single vantage point a world subordinated to the political and economic control of the West. Once the exposition closed, the various objects and materials which had been displayed there were acquired by art, natural history, and ethnological museums, further swelling their collections. The first Great Exhibition in London was the impetus for the founding of a Museum of Manufactures (subsequently the South Kensington Museum and today the Victoria and Albert Museum). The 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle was the immediate occasion for the establishment of the Musée d'Ethnologie du Trocadéro. The exhibits at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair became the nucleus of the Field Museum of Natural History, which was established at the close of the exposition.

One can say that Tōhaku and Minpaku in Japan, in the way in which they were founded, followed the Western pattern of development from expositions to museums and art museums. Were museums in Japan, then, merely the product of importing and transplanting, 100 years after it had been established, the museum system of the

West? Answering this question requires placing Tōhaku and Minpaku as institutions within the history of modern Japanese civilization. In this essay, by tracing in detail the way in which both came into being, and comparing their differences from the form of museums and art museums in the West, I would like to provide a sketch of the state of museum collections in modern Japan.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TŌHAKU

1) The early period

As mentioned above, the Tokyo National Museum traces its founding to the first exposition in Japan, organized in Meiji 5 (1872) by the Ministry of Education Museum in the Taiseiden of Yushima Seidō. However this was not the first exposition-like event organized by the Meiji government. In fact, a brief *bussankai* (exhibition of products) of seven days had been held in the grounds of the Kudan Shōkonsha shrine in May of the previous year, 1871 (Meiji 4), organized by the Product Bureau (Bussankyoku) on the South Campus of the Government College (Daigaku Nankō). In the planning stage, this *bussankai* had been called a *hakurankai*.

Tanaka Yoshio recollected that the *bussankai* of 1871 had initially been planned to "promote industry." "The purpose of an exposition is to gather the products of the whole world into one place... and thus to expand people's knowledge and remove the invidious limits on their understanding. Since the Empire (*kōkoku*) has not had such a project until now, its goods have therefore not been abundant" [TŌHAKU 1973: 28–29]. The intention was to provide a general survey of the "Empire's" products. This may have been an attempt to apply to the "Empire" the idea behind the Paris Exposition Universelle — to try to provide a general survey of the world's products. The initial site plan, in the shape of the imperial chrysanthemum, may also have been based on the plan of the Paris exposition.

Eventually, however, the exposition was implemented on a substantially reduced scale, with its name changed to *bussankai*, and using the existing buildings of the Shōkonsha shrine. Natural products — minerals, animals, and plants — made up the majority of the exhibits, among which were included a few Western imports such as surveying and medical instruments, and some ceramics. Obviously, this was a continuation of the tradition of Edo-period *bussankai*.

In July of Meiji 4 (1871), the Government College was abolished and the Ministry of Education (Monbushō) established in its place, and in September a Natural History Bureau (Hakubutsukyoku) was set up within the latter. It was this bureau within the Ministry of Education which organized the first *hakurankai* at Yushima Seidō, calling itself the Ministry of Education Museum.

The prospectus for the *hakurankai* more or less appropriated that of the *bussankai* the previous year, but inserted the expression "natural and man-made alike (*tenzō jinko no betsu naku*)" after the phrase "to gather the products of the whole world into one place." In addition, exhibits were to be sought far and wide, "whether ancient artifacts, natural curiosities, imports from China or the West, or recent manufactures," thus including antiquities as defined in the "Proclamation concerning the Preservation of Antiquities," promulgated by the Ministry of State (Dajōkan) the previous year [TŌHAKU 1973]. The promulgation concerning the preservation of antiquites came about due to a worry that, with the trend toward novelty-seeking and the rise of the anti-Buddhist movement following the Restoration, historical artefacts were being destroyed or exported in great numbers. In actively emphasizing the collection of these "antiquities," the Ministry of Education's *hakurankai* aimed to form a comprehensive collection in order literally to "survey" (*hakuran*) the products of the "Empire," regardless of whether they were natural or man-made, new or old.

It was precisely at this time that the Japanese government was planning to participate in the international exposition to be held in Vienna the following year, 1873, and the collection of exhibits for the *hakurankai* was combined with the collection of exhibits for the Vienna exposition. There were also some exhibits which were sent to Vienna after having been exhibited at the *hakurankai*.

Figure 1 is a print of the *hakurankai*. Apart from specimens of animals, plants, and minerals, various exhibits are displayed, including paintings and armor, musical instruments and costumes. Compared to the *bussankai* the previous year, the increase in the number of antiques clearly stands out. The gold *shachi* (killer whale) from Nagoya castle, donated to the Imperial House by the Owari Tokugawa family, was a notable draw, and there were about 150,000 visitors during the exposition. Following the close of the exposition, the *hakurankai* opened on days ending in 1 or

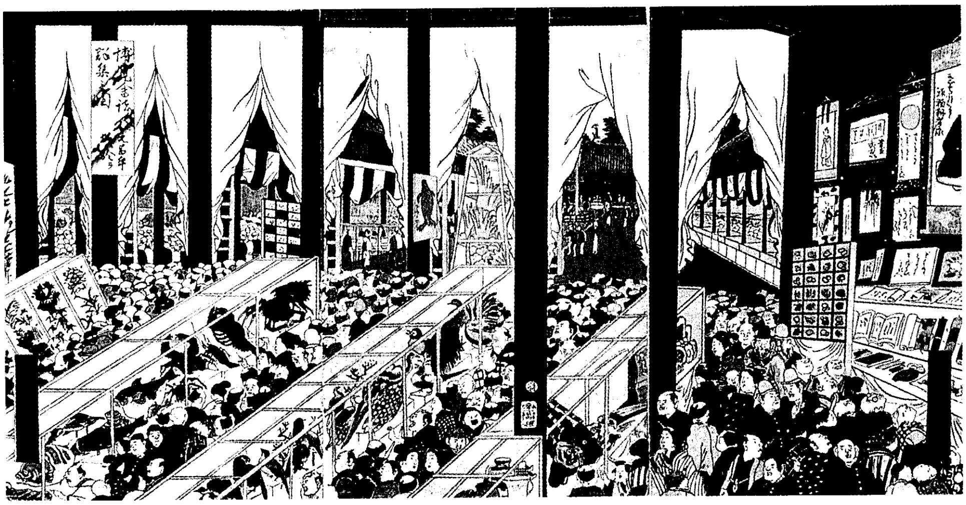

Figure 1. *Hakurankai* (the first exposition in Japan) Ikkei 1872
Wood-block print Private Collection

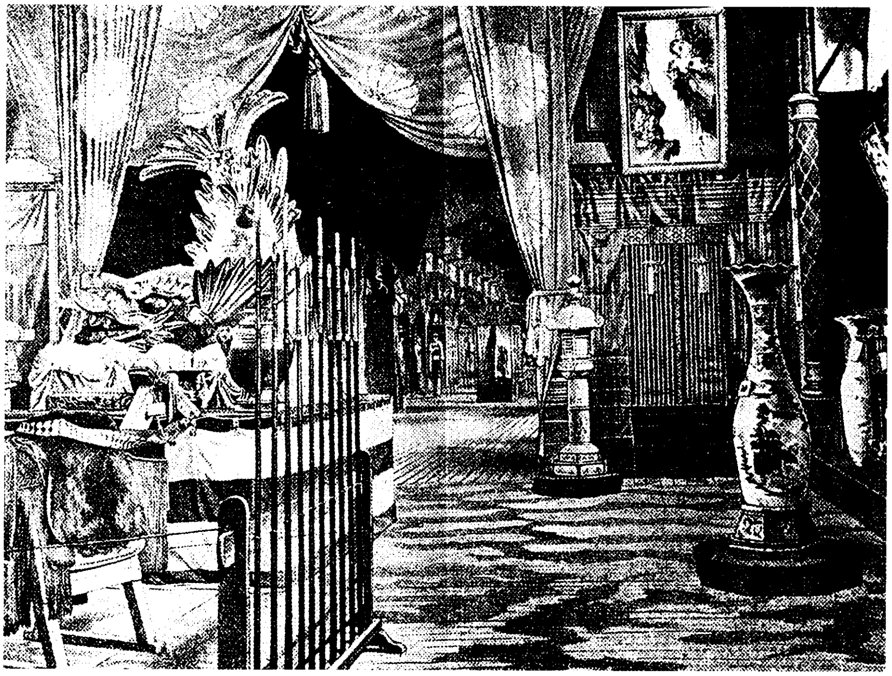

Figure 2. Japanese exhibits at the Vienna International Exposition 1873
(From *Ōkoku Hakurankai Sandō Kiyō* 『墺国博覧会参同紀要』 1897)

6, thus becoming a permanent *hakubutsukan*. It is because of this that Tōhaku dates its founding to this *hakurankai*.

The gold *shachi* also went to Vienna (Fig. 2). Apart from this, the Japanese exhibit at the Vienna International Exposition was mainly composed of craft objects, such as a papier-mâché model of the *Daibutsu* (Great Buddha) at Kamakura, lacquerware, textiles, and ceramics. It also included a few Ainu and Orokko pieces. The prominence of craft objects was due to Gottfried Wagener, a German who had been employed by the government to select the exhibits, and who had decided to emphasize craft objects, in which he was personally interested, rather than the products of the immature Japanese machine industry. Subsequently the Japanese government strove to promote industry by actively encouraging the production and export of crafts. With this, a new significance was also attached to the conservation of antiquities. As Satō Dōshin has pointed out in *Nihon Bijutsu Tanjō*, the idea was that one would enlighten people by collecting, preserving, and exhibiting antiques, and thereby encourage the production and export of high-quality contemporary arts and crafts [Satō 1996: 179]. The collections at *hakurankai*—and at *hakubutsukan*—were systematically linked to industrial promotion, educating the general public by showing them not merely natural products, as resources, or new manufactured goods, as proof of "enlightenment," but also outstanding "antiquities."

The experience of the Vienna exposition was directly connected to a proposal for establishing a permanent museum facility. The Vice-President of the Exposition Bureau (Hakurankai Jimukyoku), Sano Tsunetami, issued a report on the Austrian exposition on his return from Vienna, in May 1975, in which he recommended the establishment of a museum in Ueno.

"The purpose of a museum [like an exposition] is, by training the eye, to develop people's knowledge and skill." Taking as his model the South Kensington Museum, established in the wake of the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, Sano proposed a plan to set up a museum by opening an exposition for the promotion of industry. This was not, however, a proposal to establish something like the South Kensington Museum in Japan. His adoption of the South Kensington Museum in particular was likely due to its being the earliest example of a museum having grown out of an exposition, and — given that the institution included educational facilities, and was thus "devoted to encouraging industrial and commercial enterprise through the display and comparison of products from every nation" — its being the most appropriate example for the contemporary policy of industrial promotion. The proposal suggested that in Japan it would rather be appropriate to first establish a great museum in Tokyo, within which "to set up six departments, each divided into sections, and each section into classes, thus making it convenient for the visitor to inspect the section or class in which he is most interested." He further suggested that a zoo and botanical garden should be established in the park surrounding the museum, and that thus "the people who enjoyed themselves there... would, without knowing it, be led to the realm of enlightenment, become used to it, and so be educated" [TŌHAKU 1973: 125].

Following participation in the Vienna exposition, the Ministry of Education Museum was combined with the Exposition Bureau; in March 1875 it was renamed as the Museum (Hakubutsukan) and placed under the jurisdiction of the Home Ministry (Naimushō). The Domestic Expositions for the Promotion of Industry, similarly administered by the Home Ministry, were a step toward realizing Sano's ideas. The first Domestic Exposition for the Promotion of Industry, held in Ueno Park in 1877, included an Agriculture Building, a Machinery Building, and an "Art Building" (Bijutsukan). (This was the first use of the term *bijutsukan*.) Following the close of the exposition, the "Bijutsukan" was left standing, and part of the Home Ministry Museum was moved there. Then, in December of the same year, the Home Minister, Okubo Toshimichi, formally proposed establishing a new museum in Ueno. In March 1881, the second Domestic Exposition for the Promotion of Industry opened, with the building for the new museum as one of the exposition buildings; following the exposition's close, the new museum opened in March of the following year. At this point, the museum was put under the jurisdiction of the newly-established Ministry for Agriculture and Commerce. The exhibits at the new museum were divided into six sections — natural products (*tensan*), agriculture and forestry (*nōgyō sanrin*), industry (*kōgyō*), arts (*geijutsu*), historical materials (*shiden*), and books (*tosho*) — and also included an affiliated zoo, botanical garden, and library. The new museum thus came into being quite literally as a comprehensive institution, surveying all objects, old and new, natural and artificial. At the museum's opening the Meiji Emperor delivered a rescript. "There is nothing like establishing a museum for developing human knowledge and encouraging industry... I believe this will benefit the foundations of national wealth." The extensive collections of the museum were insistently identified as the basis for promoting industry.

2) Toward the Imperial Museum

The situation changed greatly with the inauguration of the cabinet system and the separation of the government and the imperial household in Meiji 18 (1885), and with the transfer of the Natural History Bureau and Museum to the Imperial Household Agency in the following March. The latter was mainly intended to incorporate the antiquities held by the Museum as imperial property and so strengthen the assets of the imperial household, now divorced from the government. In Meiji 22 (1889) the Museum was renamed the Imperial Museum (Teikoku Hakubutsukan), and the Kyoto Imperial Museum and the Nara Imperial Museum were also established. Further, in Meiji 33 (1900), it was again renamed as the Imperial Household Museum (Teishitsu Hakubutsukan) in order to avoid confusion with the Imperial Diet (Teikoku Gikai) and the Imperial University (Teikoku Daigaku), both under the jurisdiction of the government. Subsequently, for the half century until Showa 22 (1947) it continued to be known as the Imperial Household Museum.

With the transfer of the museum to the Imperial Household, the administration of the museum departed completely from a policy of "promoting industry" and rapidly turned toward the collection and preservation of "antiquities" and particularly "treasures." One of the main reasons for this was that Kuki Ryūichi, who had assumed office as head of the Imperial Museum, was also Chair of a Special Bureau for the Investigation of National Treasures within the Imperial Household Ministry and was particularly enthusiastic about the preservation of art objects. The museum was now composed of five departments — history (*rekishi*), fine arts (*bijutsu*), arts and crafts (*bijutsu kōgei*), industrial arts (*kōgei,* formely known as industry [*kōgyō*]), and natural products (*tensan*) — thus increasing the relative importance of arts and crafts. Okakura Tenshin, the head of the Tokyo Fine Arts School, was appointed concurrently as head of the Fine Arts department; the survey of national treasures was furthered by the combination of Kuki and Okakura.

Another important project promoted by the Imperial Museum under the leadership of Kuki and Okakura was the compilation of a history of Japanese art. Okakura had already lectured on "The History of Japanese Art" at the Tokyo Fine Arts School. Subsequent to his assuming the position as head of the Fine Arts department at the museum, a request was made to the Imperial Museum for a compilation of Japanese art history, to be exhibited with traditional art objects at the international exposition to be held in Paris in Meiji 33 (1900). *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* (An Outline History of the Arts of the Japanese Empire), published in French as *Histoire de L'Art du Japon* (1899), was compiled in response to this request. [TŌKYŌ TEISHITSU HAKUBUTSUKAN 1916 (1899)] The "history of Japanese Art" thus came into being as a self-image with which Japan sought to appeal to foreigners. The fact that the editing of the first "History of Japanese Art" was undertaken, not in an institution for art eduction, but rather in a museum, and particularly in a museum attached to the Imperial Household Ministry, is highly significant in terms of thinking about the subsequent course of Japanese art history.

Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi, as its name suggests, explained changes in the fine arts of the "Empire," incorporating the results of the Imperial Museum's survey of national treasures; as such, it comprised the treasures owned by the elites in each period, suggesting that these could be understood as the imperial patrimony. The fine arts were divided into an Early Period, the Age of Empress Suiko, the Age of Emperor Tenchi, the Age of Emperor Shōmu, the Age of Emperor Kammu, the Age of the Fujiwara Regents, the Age of the Kamakura Bakufu, the Age of the Ashikaga Bakufu, the Age of Toyotomi Kanpaku, and the Age of the Tokugawa Bakufu. Architecture was periodized as Before Buddhism, Asuka, Nara, Heian (Kōnin and Fujiwara), Kamakura, Muromachi, Momoyama, and Edo. The two classifications, of fine arts and architecture, largely corresponded, and are basically unchanged in contemporary Japanese art history. This project created the periodization with which we are still familiar today and the defining works for each period.

Already in the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum the department of indutrial arts had disappeared, leaving four departments, of history, fine arts, arts and crafts, and natural products, and promoting still further the bias toward fine arts. In Meiji 42 (1909) the Hyōkeikan was built to commemorate the wedding of the Crown Prince (the Taisho Emperor); this building in particular was dedicated to the display of fine arts.

In Taishō 7 (1918), all the exhibits in the museum were reorganized by period, at the initiative of Mori Rintarō (Ōgai), the then head of the Imperial Household Museum. Since its inception, Tōhaku had organized its exhibits by type of object. Ōgai, who had studied in Germany, was enamored of exhibiting by period in art museums and fundamentally changed the existing organization. The new galleries were divided into Ancient, Asuka, Nara, Heian, Kamakura, Ashikaga, Toyotomi, Tokugawa, and Meiji. One might say that the periodization of the *Kōhon Nihon Teikoku Bijutsu Ryakushi* had been incorporated into a concrete display. Within this, to go from gallery to gallery was to trace the history of Japanese art; the works on display, as well as being the masterpieces of particular artists, were arranged so as to represent their period. In the case of European art, this technique — the basic way in which we now experience art — was first realized at the Louvre, as the above paper by Nishino Yoshiaki has shown; for Japanese art, it was first incorporated within the exhibition space of the Imperial Household Museum.

By this time there were also substantial collections relating to Korea, China, Taiwan, Ezo, and "foreign customs." Most of these had not been collected, but were rather the result of donations or exchanges with foreign museums.

In Taishō 12 (1923), however, this expanded Tokyo Imperial Household

Museum suffered serious damage in the Great Kanto Earthquake. All the exhibit spaces other than the Hyokeikan became unusable, and the storage spaces could not be saved either. Following this, the department of natural products (the natural history section) was abolished, and its collections moved to the Tokyo Museum run by the Ministry of Education (subsequently the National Science Museum). The following year, Taishō 13, to commemorate the wedding of the Crown Prince (subsequently the Showa Emperor), the emperor granted Ueno Park, including the zoo, to Tokyo city and the Kyoto Imperial Household Museum to Kyoto City. With the accession of the Showa Emperor, work began on a new main building (today's main building) to replace the old main building. The magnificent new building, in what was designated as a "Modern Oriental Style" (*tōyō fū kinsei shiki*), was opened in Showa 13 (1938).

At the same time as the completion of the main building, the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum abolished the department of history, excepting only archeology, and proclaimed itself a "museum of Oriental arts and antiquities." In the document previewing the construction of the main building, "art" was explained as "the very essence of a country's culture" [TŌHAKU 1973: 458]. At this point, the majority of the foreign ethnological materials mentioned above were also removed from display, and with this step, the specialization in the fine arts, promoted consistently since the transfer to the Imperial Household, was complete.

Soon Japan plunged into war, and the evacuation of the museum's collections became inevitable. With defeat, and the implementation of the Japanese Constitution in April of Showa 22 (1947), the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum started out again as the National Museum. In Showa 27 (1952), it was once again renamed as the Tokyo National Museum. In Showa 40 (1965) the Tōyōkan was completed, and the current organization of the collection was realized — Japanese traditional art displayed in the main building, Japanese archeological remains in the Hyokeikan on the left, and Oriental art as the source of Japanese art in the Tōyōkan on the right. The current Tōhaku has as its main aim "the collection, conservation, and public display of material cultural assets in art and archeology spanning the East Asian region and focusing on Japan." "Archeology" has been added, in accordance with the actual make-up of the collection, but its character as a "museum of Oriental arts and antiquities" has fundamentally remained unchanged. And as demonstrated by the building of the Heiseikan to commemorate the wedding of the Crown Prince, the tradition of expanding the building on imperial occasions also continues to the present. It is perhaps not too much to claim that even now Tōhaku retains its character as the treasure house of the imperial family.

3) The Ethnological Materials of Tohaku

Before concluding this discussion of the Tōhaku collections, and given its pertinence for the discussion of Minpaku which follows, I would like to mention the ethnological collection held by Tōhaku. I have already noted that the Tōhaku collection includes an ethnological collection. Trays, baskets made of hide, tobacco pouches, ear ornaments, all made by "Hokkaido natives," and Orrocco umbrellas, were exhibited at the exposition in the Taiseiden of Yushima Seidō, considered by Tōhaku as its founding moment. In the classification prepared prior to the move to Ueno in Meiji 12 (1879), there is an entry in the fifth class, historical materials, for a category of "objects illustrating the customs in each region"; this is where Ryukyuan and Ainu materials were classified.

On the other hand, a diagram of galleries in Meiji 32 (1899), after the transfer to the Imperial Household, includes rooms for Ezo, Ryukyuan and Taiwanese customs and for foreign customs. The new addition of Taiwan reflects the acquisition of Taiwan as a result of the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). And, as I mentioned above, there was an expansion of ancient Korean and Chinese exhibits in the reorganization of Taishō 7 (1918), following the annexation of Korea (1910) and Japan's participation in the First World War (1914). In Showa 17 (1942), following the completion of the new main building in the wake of the great earthquake, a special "Southern Culture Exposition" was held, taking up the whole of the Hyōkeikan. A total of 500 objects were exhibited, including a prow ornament from a New Guinea canoe and a so-called "god mask" from New Britain. It is clear that with Japan's advance abroad there was an increase in Tōhaku in the number of products of "other cultures" — the obverse of the trend toward the fine arts in the museum as a whole.

Nowadays, ethnological materials amounting to some 6,500 items are stored in Tohaku; even today these are known at Tohaku as "native objects" (*dozokuhin*). As an experiment, I sorted through the "native objects" as catalogued in 1977 in the *Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan Shūzōhin Mokuroku* [TŌHAKU 1977]; the results are

Table 1. "Native Objects" in the Tōhaku Collections (as of 1977)

Regions	No. of items	(No. of items donated by Y. Tokugawa)
Korea	1,174	(69)
China	512	(29)
Mongolia, Tibet, Central Asia	42	(3)
Taiwan	1,685	(182)
Asia	559	(35)
Europe	150	(1)
Africa (Sudan)	21	(0)
North America	132	(1)
South America	48	(0)
Oceania	807	(140)
Ainu	977	(618)
Japan (Main Island)	125	(9)
Okinawa, Satsunan Islands	166	(12)
Total	16,398	(1,099)

presented in Table 1. The large number of the Taiwanese, Korean, Ainu, and Oceanian materials is noteworthy. The majority of the Taiwanese materials were donations from the Civil Administration Section in the Taiwanese Government-General. Tokugawa Yorisada's name occurs frequently as an individual donor. The Naval Ministry, Tokugawa Yorisada, and Hanafusa Yoshitada, who served as special minister to Korea, often come up as donors of Korean materials.

Sasaki Toshikazu has recently published a detailed survey of the Ainu materials. According to him, the roughly 1000 Ainu items in 1977 include 177 from the collection assembled by the Exposition Bureau for the Vienna International Exposition of Meiji 6 (1873), 51 donated in Meiji 16 (1883) by the Hokkaido Enterprise Administration Bureau (Hokkaido Jigyō Kanrikyoku) from exhibits at the temporary exhibition grounds of its predecessor Development Bureau (Kaitakushi), and 618 donated by Tokugawa Yorisada in Showa 2 (1927).

Palau materials given by the South Seas Agency (Nan'yōchō) comprise one tenth of all the Oceanic materials, but there are also substantial collections from the other islands. There are many different donors, but here too, it is noteworthy that donations by Tokugawa Yorisada comprise roughly twenty percent of the total (807 items). Although he only donated a few items, the name of Taguchi Ukichi, an advocate of the southward advance, also stands out among the donors. Naomichi Ishige, the current Director-General of Minpaku, also appears as the donor of one item from Tonga.

The formation of the "native object"— that is, ethnological — collection at Tōhaku thus reflects the development of Japanese colonial rule. On the other hand, it is striking that donations from a single individual, namely Tokugawa Yorisada, amount to some 1100 items, comprising about twenty percent of the total collection. In Showa 2 (1927), Tokugawa Yorisada, of the Kishū Tokugawa house, donated books and documents, ancient objects, coins and stamps, and everyday objects from Ezo, Ryukyu, and Taiwan, totalling 10,914 items to the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum. For a long time it was thought at Tōhaku that Tokugawa Yorisada had simply built this collection himself. However, according to recent research by Sasaki Toshikazu, mentioned above, it is now believed that the collection was the work of Yorisada's father, Tokugawa Yorimichi [SASAKI 1997].

Tokugawa Yorimichi was a member of the Anthropology Lecture Circle (Jinruigaku Kōwakai) begun by Nijō Motohiro in Meiji 35 (1902) at the Peer's Hall (Kazoku Kaikan). Tsuboi Shōgorō, the first Professor in Anthropology at the University of Tokyo, was the lecturer, and participants included Nijō, Tokugawa Yorimichi, Asano Nagayuki (former lord of Aki), and Hachisuka Masatsugu (former lord of Awa), among others; it subsequently became known as the Peer's Anthropological Society (Kazoku Jinrui Gakkai). It seems that another aspect of the Lecture Circle's activities was Nijō's promotion of a collection of anthropological specimens, naming the room in which they were displayed the Dōda Anthropology Lab (Jinrui Gakushitsu), also known as the Dōda-bō Display Room (Chinretsukan). (Nijō derives from the name of a street in Kyoto, modeled on the Chinese capital.

Dōda-bō is a Chinese term referring to the area around this street.)

According to Sasaki, at least 248 items from the Tokugawa Yorisada donation can be confirmed as having been in this Dōda-bō collection. This is because the Tokugawa family inherited Nijō's Dōda-bō collection. Tokugawa Yorisada himself was completely devoted to music, and because of this plunged the Kishū Tokugawa family into bankruptcy; he had no interest whatsoever in anthropology. As Sasaki has deduced, it is clear that it was Tokugawa Yorimichi, Yorisada's father, who acquired the Dōda-bō collection and built the Kishū Tokugawa ethnological collection. The ethnological collection at Tōhaku now bears witness to the activities of an anthropological circle, centered on Tsuboi Shōgorō, at the very beginning of this century.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MINPAKU

1) The former materials of the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo

Minpaku currently holds ethnological materials amounting to some 225,000 items. They include several collections assembled within Japan prior to the establishment of Minpaku — in other words, collections that became the core around which Minpaku was established. The main ones are the materials formerly in the Anthropology Department in the School of Sciences at the University of Tokyo, the materials formerly in the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education (Monbushō Shiryōkan), and materials from the Japan International Exposition Commemorative Association, that is, some of the ethnological materials from around the world displayed at the Osaka Expo in 1970. I will provide an overview of these various collections, so tracing the path which led to the establishment of Minpaku.

Let me begin with the materials formerly in the Anthropology Department in the School of Sciences at the University of Tokyo. Anthropological research at the University of Tokyo began in 1877, with the appoinment of Edward Morse as Professor of Zoology in the Faculty of Biology of the School of Sciences. Morse discovered the Ōmori shell mound, beginning a series of excavations throughout the county, and the excavated materials were collected in the Department of Zoology at the University of Tokyo. The Ainu materials which Morse collected during his trip to Hokkaido were also stored in the department. Morse left Japan in Meiji 12 (1879), but in Meiji 17 (1884) the Tokyo Anthropological Society (originally known as the Anthropological Society) was formed by Tsuboi Shōgorō, then a student in the Faculty of Biology of the School of Sciences.

In Meiji 25 (1892), having studied in England, Tsuboi was invited to be the first professor of the Anthropology Department, set up as a branch of the Zoology Department. Torii Ryūzō was put in charge of the specimens held by the department. Tsuboi himself had little enthusiasm for collecting objects; Torii, on the other hand, was an energetic field researcher, subsequently conducting surveys in Taiwan, the Korean peninsula, south-west China, north-east China (Manchuria), Mongolia, Siberia, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, and collecting ethnological materials in each site. Torii is among the first in the world to have used photography in anthropological surveys. The majority of the materials which he collected until he left the university in Taishō 13 (1924) were stored in the Anthropology Department.

During this period, the Anthropology Department exhibited its materials in a "Sciences of Humankind" pavilion (Gakujutsu Jinruikan) outside the Fifth Domestic Exposition for the Promotion of Industry, held in Osaka's Tennōji Park in Meiji 36 (1903). Following Tsuboi's plan, a "Great Map of the Human Races" was set up in the pavilion with cut-out paper dolls of the 50 "races" (*shuzoku*) of the world, and an exhibit which "assembled the different races bordering on Japan, with the intention of showing in situ their customs, implements, and patterns of daily life... Living together within a fixed area patterned after their dwelling in their own country, they demonstrated their daily activities." Among the "different races," besides Ainu and Ryukyuans, there was also one person from "the island of Zanzibar" in Africa. Tsuboi had taken the idea from the outdoor display of native villages at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889, which he saw during his time studying abroad. The exhibits in the pavilion were protested on all sides, and generated substantial debate. Because of this, the Chinese exhibit was withdrawn before the opening, and those of the Koreans and Ryukyuans were terminated while the exposition was running.

Based on this experience, a more scholarly, though brief "Exhibition of Anthropological Specimens" was held in the Anthropology Department for three days in June of Meiji 37 (1904). The space was set up so that one first saw photographs, body ornaments and clothing, and various tools and implements of "Taiwanese natives," "South Seas natives," "New Guinea natives," and "Ainu natives," and then stone implements of "Japanese Stone Age People" and earthen figures and earthenware from the "Ancient Period of the Japanese Race". It was an exhibit deeply informed by the social evolutionary perspective on race popular at the time, layering the past of the Japanese people, in particular its earliest manifestation, over the present of various "races" [MATSUDA 1996].

Another important exhibit connected with the Anthropology Department, though somewhat later, was the Exposition of Native Customs in the South Seas, held in Showa 14 (1939), using Hijikata Hisakatsu's collection. Hijikata spent a total of 14 years on Palau and Satawal as an official in the South Seas Agency; besides teaching carpentry techniques to the indigenous peoples, he promoted painting and poetry, and collected ethnological materials of the area, leaving many ethnographies. After the exposition, Hijikata's collection was acquired by the Anthropology Department. In its subsequent research the department increased the emphasis on physical anthropology, and did not make any substantial collections of ethnological materials. The archeological materials in the holdings of the department — the latter had increased over time — were transferred to the University Museum of the University of Tokyo (Tokyo Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyu Shiryōkan, now the Tokyo

Table 2. The Former Materials of the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo
(The classification of Regions and peoples is as of the original registration.)

Regions and "Races"	No. of artefacts
Indonesia	347
Micronesia	826
Melanesia	491
Polynesia	69
Australia	75
Hokkaido Ainu	501
Kuril Ainu	81
Sakhalin Ainu	334
Ryukyu	389
Korea	295
Taiwan, general	1223
Taiwan, Tayal	198
Taiwan, Tsou	24
Taiwan, Bunun	51
Taiwan; Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai	95
Taiwan, Ami	35
Taiwan, Yami	201
Taiwan, Ping Pu	28
China	269
Siberia	84
French Indochina, Tibet, India	70
Caucasus, Lapland e.t.c.	18
Africa	6
Americas and Eskimo	162
Japan	216
indef.	1,093
Total	6,181

Daigaku Sōgō Kenkyū Hakubutsukan), when it was established in 1966. The remaining ethnological materials were transferred to Minpaku when it was established.

Table 2 shows the regional breakdown of these materials, totalling 6181 items. The large number of Taiwanese, Ainu, and Oceanic materials stands out, while there are very few materials from North and South America, Europe, and Africa. Other than the somewhat small number of Korean materials, the breakdown is almost the same as that of the ethnological materials held by Tōhaku. The number of items is also similar. The fact that they were both created in the same period is likely the main reason for this.

2) The Former Materials of the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education

The materials formerly in the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education (Monbushō Shiryōkan) and now held by Minpaku amount to some 21,000 items, comprising roughly ten percent of the latter's total collection. The origins of these materials can be found in the "Attic Museum" created by Shibusawa Keizō. In Taishō 10 (1921), Shibusawa brought together his natural history — that is, animal, plant, and mineral — specimens (*hakubutsu*) in a storeroom under the roof of his house in Mita, Tokyo; since it was a museum in an attic, that is what he called it. Once he had set up the museum, he collected tools used in everyday life from throughout Japan, beginning with traditional toys; he finally created a collection of some 10,000 items. During the process of collection and research, he also created the term *mingu* ("folk tools"), meaning tools used by the common people in their everyday life.

By the 1930s, the storage space was almost full to capacity. In Showa 10 (1935) Shibusawa and Shiratori Kurakichi came up with the idea of setting up an ethnological museum, but the idea did not come to fruition. Subsequently Shibusawa donated some land which he had acquired in Hōya, Tokyo, to the Japanese Society of Ethnology, and in 1938 the Ethnological Museum of Japan was established as part of the Society. The collection in the Attic Museum was transferred to this museum The majority of the collection at this time was *mingu* materials from within the country.

Subsequently, materials from Taiwan, China, Korea, Sakhalin, the Kuriles, and the Micronesian Mandate were added to the museum, as well as materials from within Japan. Mabuchi Tōichi, Furuno Kiyoto, and Oka Masao, all well-known anthropologists at the time, are among those who collected these materials. By about 1940, the majority of the collection was comprised of materials from overseas.

After the closure of the museum during the Second World War, collections were added from the three teams which were dispatched to survey the culture of the rice-growing peoples of South-East Asia by the Japan Ethnological Association (Nihon Minzokugaku Kyōkai), the successor to the Japanese Society of Ethnology. Records survive of how the museum's exhibits were arranged in Showa 31 (1956). According to these, they were divided into two sections, one devoted to neighboring peoples in the first room, and one devoted to Japanese *mingu* in the second. In the first room were displayed materials from Greenland, obtained through an exchange with the National Museum of Denmark, a 1938 collection of materials relating to the Orokko and Gilyak, Korean materials from the Attic Museum collection, ethnological objects acquired in 1953 by a party climbing Mt. Manaslu, Shikano Tadao's collection of native Formosan objects, and items excavated in Peru and collected by Amano Yoshitaro. One can see that the display arranged materials not by region, but by collector, like early ethnological displays in the West. The museum was eventually overtaken by the increasingly dilapidated state of its facilities. In 1962 its materials were donated to the nation, in the hope that they might be donated to a future National Museum of Ethnology when that should be established; in the meantime they were stored in the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education (which became part of the National Institute of Japanese Literature when that was established). Finally, once Minpaku had been established, the collection was transferred there in 1975.

Table 3 shows the regional breakdown of the collection. Leaving aside the postwar increase in materials from South-East and South Asia, one can see the same pattern as in the Tohaku materials and the materials from the Tokyo University Anthropology Department, with large numbers of materials from China, Korea, the Ainu (Sakhalin), Oceania, and above all Taiwan, and extremely few from North and South America, Europe, and Africa. One has to recognize that these three ethnological collections in Japan created before World War II were inextricably tied to the development of Japanese colonial rule.

On the subject of ethnological collections in Japan created before the war, one

Table 3. The Former Materials of the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education (as of 1962)

Regions	No. of artefacts
Korean Peninsula	514
China	509
Taiwan	1,068
Mongolia, Siberia	8
Sakhalin	442
Southeast Asia	1,084
South Asia	618
Europe and Africa	172
Americas	108
Micronesia	391
Polynesia and Australia	60
Japan	12,171
Total	17,145

should not forget the existence of *mingei* (folk crafts). The *mingei* movement began in Taisho 15 (1926) with a prospectus for the establishment of a museum of Japanese folk crafts and arts, formulated by Yanagi Muneyoshi, Tomimoto Kenkichi, Kawai Kanjirō, and Hamada Shōji. The movement sought to discover the "healthy beauty" residing in articles used by people in their everyday life, to name the articles which provided this beauty "mingei," meaning "folk crafts," and to strive for their preservation and perpetuation. In its interest in the "folk" and attention to everyday implements, the movement shared something with the *mingugaku* (study of folk tools) advocated by Shibusawa Keizō and others. Also, with the development of the *mingei* movement, collecting activity spread from Korea, Taiwan, and China to South-East Asia, and even Africa. In Showa 11 (1936) Yanagi himself visited the Attic Museum, and went on a study trip with its members to a flower festival in Shitara district, Aichi prefecture [YANAGI 1981 (1938)]. After this, however, there are no records of any exchanges between the two "movements."

An interesting suggestion for thinking about the difference between *mingei* and *mingu* is provided by Shibusawa. In an essay titled "Achikku no Seicho" (The Development of the Attic), he notes: "When one calls these things [that is, *mingu*] *getemono* (humble, rustic objects), or *mingei* (folk crafts), one is after a beauty which belongs to the individual object. We at the Attic Museum, on the other hand, look at them as part of a whole way of life, trying to see into the hearts of the people who made them. In other words, the specimens in the Attic form a unique whole, inasmuch as they truly reveal the hearts of our ancestors; and in this one can perceive a singular beauty" [SHIBUSAWA 1978 (1933): 168]. Between *mingei* and *mingu*, in other words, there is a distinction between the beauty of an individual piece as against the beauty of an organic whole. In addition, as Kanetani Miwa has shown in her recent research, the "standard of beauty" for the *mingei* which Yanagi looked at was always Yanagi's own standard, never the standard of the "folk" themselves. *Mingei* did not reflect the aesthetic sense of the people who had actually made it. This was different from what was sought in the study of *mingu*, which tried to understand the daily life of the folk through their implements [KANETANI 1996: 82–83]. On the other hand, from Yanagi's perspective, in miscellaneous collections "the standard of aesthetic value is lost... One can no longer know the true nature of beauty" [YANAGI 1984 (1947): 184]. The pursuit of aesthetic value within the *mingei* movement subsequently led it away from Yanagi's own aims, inviting the commodification of *mingei* objects and widening the gap between it and the study of *mingu*. Even today, somewhat strangely, there is no exchange between the Japan Folk Craft Museum and Minpaku, which eventually acquired the Attic Museum materials.

3) The Ethnological Materials from the Japan International Exposition

The Japan International Exposition (hereafter Expo) was held in Senri, Osaka, in 1970. Visitors finally numbered 65 million, and Expo is still considered today a landmark in the history of international expositions. During the planning stage of the

Table 4. Ethnological Collection built by the Expo'70 Ethnological Mission (EEM)

Regions	No. of artefacts
North America	132
South America	229
Africa	499
Europe	304
India, the Middle and Near East	350
Southeast Asia (mainland)	177
Oceania	241
Taiwan	43
Korea	61
Japan	239
Total	2,275

Osaka Expo, Okamoto Tarō, the chief producer of the Theme Building, came up with a plan for displaying ethnological materials from throughout the world in the Theme Building, thus trying to present the past, present, and future of humankind. A group was then organized to collect these materials, centered around Izumi Seiichi and Umesao Tadao, and formally known as the *Nihon Bankoku Hakurankai Sekai Minzoku Shiryō Chōsa Shūshūdan* (Expo '70 Ethnological Mission, hereafter EEM). Under Izumi and Umesao, the total of 20 members, mainly young anthropological researchers, spent slightly less than a year, from autumn 1968 to summer 1969, flying across the world, each in their allotted region, collecting in all some 2600 items. Table 4 shows the regional breakdown of the collected materials.

Comparing this table to the tables of the three collections formed before the war, one can see that the number of materials collected in Taiwan and Korea is much reduced, in proportion to their limited geographical extent, and that materials were collected evenly from throughout the world, including North and South America and Africa, where there had not been previous collections. The ethnological collection assembled by the EEM can be ranked as the first collection in Japanese history which was global in scope.

According to Umesao, from the start of the EEM, there was a common understanding among its members that the materials they collected would be deposited in a national museum of ethnology, whenever and wherever that museum would be established. At the time, however, the idea of establishing of a museum of ethnology was no more than an aspiration, or a point of advocacy; there was as yet no sign of it ever being realized [UMESAO 1973: 9–10].

In Showa 39 (1964), the Japanese Society of Ethnology (now independent from the Japan Ethnological Association), together with the Anthropology Society of Nippon, the Japanese Archaeological Association, and the Folklore Society of Japan, submitted a written request to the Science Council of Japan and the Ministry of Education asking that an ethnological museum be established. The request was accepted, and the following year the Science Council of Japan issued a recommendation to the government that what it provisionally called a National Ethnology Research Museum be established. However, despite the recommendation, there was no prospect of any suitable site, and so establishing the museum was for all intents and purposes shelved. The Osaka Expo provided a breakthrough for this problem. As soon as the Expo opened, discussions began about how the Expo site might be used subsequently, and a plan emerged for setting up the National Ethnology Research Museum on the site.

4) The Birth of Minpaku

In 1973 (Showa 48) a preparatory committee was set up for the foundation of the National Museum of Ethnology; the museum itself was founded in 1974, with its passage into law. Umesao Tadao, the head of the preparatory committee, took office as the Director-General of the museum. In 1977 (Showa 52), the museum was opened on the site of the Osaka Expo, and its galleries were opened to the public. Together with the above-mentioned materials formerly in the Anthropology Department of the University of Tokyo, and the materials formerly in the Department of Historical Documents of the Ministry of Education, some of the materials from the EEM collections were also stored at the new museum, on deposit from the Expo Commemorative Association. Minpaku was clearly following the pattern of ethnological museums in the West, established on the site of an international exposition, using the exhibits of the exposition as a nucleus. However, the collection obtained from the Expo totalled only 642 items. The Expo Commemorative Association still holds the majority of the objects collected by the EEM.

The total number of ethnological materials (or, specimens) at Minpaku when it opened was 45,272 items, including 19,282 foreign materials and 25,990 domestic materials. Since, as I have already mentioned, the number of objects acquired from existing collections toatlled some 30,000 items, the remaining 15,000 items were collected by museum employees in the three years before the museum opened. On the other hand, the number of exhibits when the museum opened was some 5,000 items. Excluding Japanese exhibits, the majority of these comprised the objects collected in the three years between the museum's founding and its opening. The exhibit was put together so that by going through the galleries one could make a counter-clockwise tour of the world, from Oceania to America, Africa, West Asia, and East Asia, and by seeing the Japanese exhibits last, one could place Japanese culture within the cultures of the world. It was, quite literally, a global exhibition of peoples and their cultures. Subsequently annual collections were undertaken at home and abroad, with the total number of ethnological materials exceeding 100,000 items in 1982, and reaching 135,000 in 1994. In the galleries, too, after the museum opened, exhibits were added on the Ainu, Central and North Asia, China and Korea, and most recently South Asia; at the time of writing, in April 1998, the collection

Table 5. The Minpaku Collections as of March 1998

Regions	No. of artefacts
East Asia 1 (Japan)	84,718
East Asia 2 and 3	17,547
Central Asia	4,270
North Asia	1,408
Southeast Asia	17,292
South Asia	13,891
West Asia	3,241
Europe	9,285
Africa	18,137
Americas	34,089
Oceania	18,011
Total	221,889

totals some 220,000 items, with 135,000 foreign and 85,000 domestic materials, and 11,000 objects on display (Table 5). When compared to the size of the collections built between the Meiji period and the opening of Minpaku, the figures reconfirm how large a collection has been built in merely twenty years.

The Minpaku collection includes historical collections, such as the collection which it purchased focusing on Melanesia, assembled in the second half of the 19th century by George Brown, a missionary. However, the majority of the collection is contemporary, the objects having been made and used during the same period as when they were collected. The Minpaku collection is much smaller than those of the Ethnological Department of the British Museum, the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, or the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. However, it is the largest collection in the world of materials from the second half of the 20th century.

The exhibits in the Minpaku galleries are made up of regional exhibits, which introduce the culture of everyday life among various peoples in the world, and trans-cultural exhibits, based on special themes like language and music. The regional exhibits do not seek to reproduce individual cultures. Rather they adopt a technique known as "structural exhibition," whereby exhibits are arranged by cultural category, showing variations between similar kinds of tools; by combining these exhibits into a whole, visitors can form for themselves a general image of the culture of the region (Fig. 3). In choosing exhibits, a policy was established at the beginning to present both old and new, urban and rural objects; in practice, however, it was decided to fix the introduction of plastics as a cut-off date, and so make apparent the regional characteristics of tools used in everyday life. As a result, the exhibits emphasize the individual, separate nature of regional cultures and their own, unique values, embodying the cultural relativism advocated by cultural anthropology from the beginning of the 20th century. They also faithfully realize this ideal of cultural

Figure 3. The Japanese Gallery of the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) 1991

relativism by not being biased, like many ethnological museums in the West, toward exhibits only of "foreign cultures," but by actively placing an exhibit of Japan — "our culture" — in the midst of the whole composition, and further by including Europe as an object of exhibition. Minpaku probably realizes the principle of cultural relativism in exhibition more than any other ethnological museum in the world. However, this does mean that the exhibits in Minpaku are marked by the characteristics and problems that mark cultural relativism. One of the problems of the Minpaku collection is that by looking for characteristics specific to regional cultures, and so tending to collect artefacts used in "traditional" life, until very recently there have been no collections or exhibitions of contemporary objects, which have been created with advancing globalization. Especially in the permanent exhibition, created when Minpaku opened, this results in a portrayal of the cultures of the various peoples of the world as if they were unchanging and static. Another problem of the permanent exhibition is that it is largely one-sided, lacking any channel for the peoples being exhibited to represent themselves. Also, one has to acknowledge that because a large number of objects were collected in such a short period, much of the collection is made up of materials without detailed background information.

One of the characteristics of the Minpaku collection which is now remarked on is that from the initial stages, not only objects, but also images and sound were considered as important objects for collection. The introduction of the videotheque, that is, automatic systems for presenting video materials, has clearly brought about a revolution in exhibiting practices in the world's museums and art museums. Audio-visual materials, some 10,000 items when the museum opened, have now increased to 65,000 items. This shift, from collecting things to collecting information, has become especially noticeable in recent years. It deserves special mention as a characteristic of ethnological collections during the technological revolution of the late 20th century.

4. TŌHAKU AND MINPAKU IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATIONS

In this essay, I have traced the process through which the collections and exhibits of Tōhaku and Minpaku were formed. I would like to conclude this essay by considering the place of these two museums, from a somewhat broad, comparative perspective.

As we saw above, Tōhaku — the first museum in Japan — sought in its early years to create a comprehensive collection, from the perspective of "promoting industry," irrespective of whether the objects were naturally or artificially produced, old or new. One might say that the 200 years which had been required in Europe to move from collections of curiosities to the establishment of museums was compressed in Japan into the eleven short years between the *bussankai* of Meiji 4 (1871) and the opening of the new museum in Ueno in Meiji 15 (1882), with zoo and botanical garden attached. However, only five years after the completion of the new museum in Ueno — what one can call the actual opening of the museum — Tōhaku was planning a major change in direction. This was the choice, as the museum of the Imperial Household, to specialize as a "museum of Oriental art and antiquities." On the completion of the new main building after the Great Kanto Earthquake, Taki Seiichi, an advisor at the time, commented on this development: "whether or not they are inferior in comparison to the Louvre, our splendid facilities for art and antiquities are a massive achievement, without parallel in the Orient" [TŌHAKU 1973: 535]. One might understand this process as a differentiation within museums, from a comprehensive museum — a *hakubutsukan*, literally a hall for the comprensive survey of things — to an art museum — a *bijutsukan*. But, in contrast to the Louvre, whose opening signified the transformation of the royal collections into the nation's collections, Tōhaku followed precisely the opposite path, incorporating at a single stroke collections built up by the people into the assets of the Imperial Household. Although the museum was called imperial, the decision to do so originated in the political situation of Japan at the time, wherein the Imperial Household itself was extremely weak. Nevertheless, it is a unique case in the modern history of the institution of the museum. The fact that Tōhaku was the only national museum in

Japan for as long as it was — from the beginning of the Meiji period until defeat in the Second World War — meant that the idea of transferring museums to the public was considered radical. If today the Japanese people are not committed to the idea that museums and art museums are their own property, one of the underlying reasons for this can be sought in the development of Tōhaku.

Moreover, Tōhaku's specialization as a "museum of Oriental art and antiquities" has to this day thrown a large shadow over the Japanese people's sense of values and their image of their own culture. It seems as if many Japanese people are wedded to the idea that "art is itself the essence of a country's culture." This is also connected to the minimal interest in or appreciation of various objects outside the arts. It may be the case that initially, the latent values of the Japanese people prompted these choices at Tōhaku, rather than this tendency being something created by Tohaku. However, it is undeniable that these values were reinforced as a result of these choices at Tōhaku.

Again, the origin of the large gap between the view of Japanese art overseas, and the view held by Japanese, is perhaps also due to the trend toward art and antiquities at Tōhaku. When one visits museums abroad, the first thing one notices is that in most cases, Japanese art is represented by netsuke, swords, and ukiyo-e. On the other hand, ukiyo-e are no more than a small part of the history of Japanese art as imagined by Japanese, and discussions of netsuke are rare. The Meiji government, from the standpoint of "promoting industry," actively encouraged the export of those craft objects which were highly valued overseas. As already mentioned, the collecting of old objects during the early years of Tōhaku is regarded as having been connected to this endeavor. Subsequently, however, Tōhaku edited the history of Japanese art, focusing on the art related to the Imperial House and the ruling elite. The history of Japanese art which many Japanese have learnt is precisely the history of Japanese art as created by Tōhaku. On the other hand, even after this, the export of crafts continued to be actively promoted by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. The inevitable result was that the image of Japanese art which was formed overseas, based on large quantities of crafts capable of "promoting industry," differed substantially from the image of Japanese art history within Japan, woven from "imperial treasures" [Satō 1996: 218].

Tōhaku's early specialization as an art museum also meant that the creation of a comprehensive collection in Japan was left in an inadequate state. As a result, no large-scale, comprehensive collection was formed in Japan. Even when one considers the individual fields which split off from universal natural history (*hakubutsugaku*), no truly global collections were formed. Even the collection of the National Science Museum, which has the longest history as a natural history museum, is far from global in scope. We had to wait for the opening of Minpaku in 1977 for the appearance of a collection of global scope, albeit only in the field of ethnology.

The Minpaku collection can be considered the first collection formed in Japan which is global in scope. The opportunity for this was created by the Osaka Expo —

the first opportunity in Japan for contact with "other cultures" on a massive scale.

In various ways, the character of Minpaku's ethnological collection provides a contrast to that of the Tōhaku collection. Not only is one limited to the "Orient," while the other takes the whole world as its object. In contrast to Tōhaku's specialization in art, Minpaku focuses on tools used in everyday life. As regards exhibition technique, Tōhaku displays all its exhibits in glass cases, while the basic principle at Minpaku is open exhibition, premised on the visitor touching the exhibits. From the founding of Minpaku, Umesao has consciously called its collection not "treasures" but "trash," to be used, even abused, thus clarifying the distinction between the two museums. In this sense, one can perhaps say that Minpaku's collection and exhibits were created as the opposite of those at Tōhaku. Umesao also called Minpaku an avant-garde museum [UMESAO 1984: 604]. The founding of Minpaku was an attempt to challenge the system and apparatus of museums in Japan, built around Tōhaku.

In some respects, the attempt has met a considerable degree of success. It is highly significant, as Umesao's keynote address suggested, that in Japan any everyday utensil can become an object in a museum collection. Certainly, museums have continued to appear in various fields. However, these developments have in no way disturbed Tōhaku's position.

Rather, the distinction between works of art and ethnological materials, between art museums and ethnological museums, seems to be becoming ever more entrenched. In art museums, the name of the artist and the date of production is always written beside the work of art; in contrast, in the ethnological museum the individual is ignored, and only the name of the people or area which produced the object is mentioned. We narrate the development of Japanese art, but not the historical development of the everyday tools of Africa. One has to think that this is due to the influence of a deep-rooted differentiation between an open self and a closed other, that is, a schema in which the self is complex and ungeneralizable, while by contrast the other is simple and generalizable. For Minpaku truly to be the avant-garde, it must seek to question this distinction between works of art and ethnological materials, art museums and ethnological museums. "Images of Other Cultures," the special exhibition held in 1997 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the museum, was at least a first step in that direction [YOSHIDA and MACK (eds.) 1997].

One should also note that both museums are faced by similar problems, Minpaku in the field of Japanese ethnology and Tōhaku in the field of Japanese art. As we have already seen, the fact of its being the only national museum in Japan resulted in Tōhaku determining the framework for Japanese art history. Minpaku, too, still the only national ethnological museum in Japan, is in fact beginning to establish the framework for the recognition of "other cultures," through its exhibitions in Japan. As long as only Minpaku continues to undertake large-scale ethnological exhibitions, this problem will always dog Minpaku. There is no obvious solution other than Minpaku itself striving to open up ways of displaying various images of "other cultures," among which one might choose.

As I have already mentioned, Minpaku has built the largest collection of ethnological materials in the world in the second half of the 20th century. The majority of ethnological museums in the West, established in the late 19th century, cannot but be burdened by galleries structured on the principles of social evolutionism current at the time; their collections, too, rely heavily on legacies from the colonial period. In contrast, although Minpaku did acquire materials from the colonial period, over 90 percent of the materials it holds have been collected since the museum was fournded; its exhibits in particular were composed beginning with a blank slate. The exhibits that were created came as a result to embody the cultural relativism which was one of the conclusions of anthropology in the late 20th century. However, as we have already seen, the fact is that Minpaku incorporated the problems inherent in cultural relativism. For better or worse Minpaku is the largest ethnological museum created by 20th century civilization.

Recently, there has been a growing awareness of "our own culture" and "our own history" on the part of various peoples in the world who, until now, have been the object of exhibition; there have also been a number of statements, throughout the world, against the existing, one-sided methods of collecting and exhibiting people's culture. Through this, collection, research, and exhibition practice are all being modified through repeated trial and error. One example of this is the museum in Basel, Switzerland, which has abolished the name "museum of ethnology" (Museum für Völkerkunde) and renamed itself a "multicultural museum" (Museum der Kulturen). It would be premature, however, to imagine that the ethnological museum has no further role to play. Rather one can surmise that it is precisely now, when various peoples around the world, who in the past have endured in silence as the objects of one-sided collection and exhibition, have begun to speak out, that the ethnological museum stands for the first time at a point where it can begin to be an institution for the practice of mutual understanding between "cultures." Whether or not Minpaku will be in the museum avant-garde as we enter the 21st century is related to whether or not it can in good faith propose a new way for museums to operate in this post-colonial situation.

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