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A milestone in the construction of the exhibits in National Museum of Ethnology, Japan : Japan World Exposition «Osaka 70 Expo» and its ethnographic collection

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A milestone in the construction of the exhibits in National Museum of Ethnology, Japan: Japan World Exposition «Osaka 70 Expo» and its ethnographic collection

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PAROLE CHIAVE: La Torre del Sole, missione etnologica Expo '70, collezione museale.

RIASSUNTO — L'istituzione del Museo Nazionale di Etnologia, Giappone, deriva da una diversità di background. Questo articolo descrive l'influenza del materiale etnografico presentato nel 1970 all'esposizione mondiale «Osaka 70 Expo» nel padiglione dedicato a Minpaku, e si concentra sul ruolo di Umesao Tadao, primo direttore di Minpaku. Umesao organizzò e contribuì alla raccolta di materiali per l'evento, ma non lavorò sull'allestimento. L'evento probabilmente incoraggiò Umesao a sviluppare un allestimento a Minpaku basato sulla ricerca etnografica e studi di teoria etnologica. Elementi importanti includono i metodi di raccolta dei materiali sul campo, così come la gestione delle informazioni sugli oggetti collezionati. In conclusione gli allestimenti attuali, che ci permettono di essere più vicini all'oggetto etnologico e di respirare la sua stessa aria, sono il patrimonio ereditato dall'esperienza di esporre a Expo '70 a Osaka e dall'attività di raccolta degli oggetti in tante zone diverse del mondo.

KEY WORDS: The tower of Sun, Expo '70 Ethnological Mission, museum collection.

SUMMARY — The establishment of the National Museum of Ethnology, Japan comes from a variety of backgrounds. This paper describes the influence of the ethnographic material displayed in the theme pavilion of the Osaka World Exposition in 1970 on the Minpaku exhibit, focusing on the involvement of Tadao Umesao, the first director of the Minpaku. Umesao organized and contributed to the collection of materials for the exhibition but did not work on the exhibition. It probably encouraged Umesao to develop a Minpaku exhibit based on ethnographic research, ethnological theory and study. Important elements include the methods of the researcher going to the site to collect the materials as well as the management of the information on collecting objects. Finally, the exposed exhibition, which allows us to get as close as possible to the object and to breathe the same air as the object, are the kind of assets inherited from the experience of exhibiting at Expo '70 in Osaka and the activity for collecting materials from all over the world.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this publication is to provide a short introduction

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to a certain collecting activity of ethnographic material that had a significant influence on the establishment of the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan (thereafter Minpaku). The collecting activity was called «Expo '70 Ethnological Mission» (thereafter EEM). The EEM was formed to collect ethnographic materials from all over the world for the Japan World Exposition, Osaka 1970 (thereafter Osaka 70 Expo.) theme pavilion. The theme pavilion is «The tower of Sun».

Minpaku was founded in 1974 and opened in 1977 on the site of Expo '70 in Senri, Osaka. Although Minpaku is the name of the museum, its academic and administrative organization was set up as a research institute called the Inter-University Research Institute. The result is that Minpaku has different attributes from the other museums. The main purpose of Minpaku is to make available to the public the findings and results of research in ethnology, cultural anthropology, and related fields. Therefore, Minpaku has collected research materials in the humanities, especially, that pertinent to ethnographic research and cultural anthropology. The mission of Minpaku is accomplished by using these materials for research, the publication of its results, and the exhibits. What is collected in Minpaku's research activities is mainly items related to food, clothing, housing and other daily necessities of the people of the world. Minpaku's collection also includes religious items and artifacts for manufacturing.

Despite the fact that the Minpaku collection is an academic collection, Umesao Tadao, the first director of the museum, used an ambiguous word to describe the material when the Minpaku opened. It was «Garakuta». The Japanese word «Garakuta» generally means miscellaneous items and tools that are no longer useful. On the other hand, the term also contain positive nuances. The word Garakuta is sometimes used as guessworks of kanji, meaning «I have a lot of fun». Umesao's odd words that Minpaku's collection is Garakuta shows Minpaku's uniqueness. Through these words, Umesao seemed to hope that Minpaku would be a space where people would create new values of thoughts. The author thinks that one of the reasons why Umesao came to use this term is because of his experience of the Osaka 70 Expo. Strictly speaking, it was the activities of the EEM organized by Tadao Umesao.

The ethnographic materials collected by the EEM (thereafter EEM collection) were displayed in the basement of The tower of Sun during Osaka 70 Expo, and then transferred to Minpaku after they were administered by the Japan World Exposition Commemorative Association. The author organized a special exhibition on the EEM

collection in 2018 (Nobayashi, 2018). The purpose of the exhibition was to restore and reflect on the collecting activities of EEM (Fig. 1 and 2). In preparing for the exhibition, the author combed the literature documenting EEM activities and the exhibition at the Expo. Up until now, EEM records were written in Japanese by one of its representatives, Umesao Tadao (Umesao, 1973), and some objects of the collections were introduced in a few books in Japanese (Okamoto *et al.*, 1970, The Asahi Shimbun 1970). This paper introduces the context in which the EEM collecting activity took place and considers how it led to the exhibition at Minpaku.



Fig. 1. Exhibition view of «Oceania» in the 40th Anniversary Special Exhibition of Minpaku «A «Tower of the Sun» Collection: Expo '70 Ethnological Mission» in 2018. (Photo by the author).



Fig. 2. Exhibition view of «Masks» in the 40th Anniversary Special Exhibition of Minpaku «A «Tower of the Sun» Collection: Expo '70 Ethnological Mission» in 2018. (Photo by the author).

THE PREDECESSOR MUSEUM OF MINPAKU

When we consider the background to the establishment of Minpaku, two important things need to be discussed. One was a request from the academic communities of Japan to establish an ethnological museum. The other was Osaka 70 Expo.

In fact, the present-day Minpaku had an ethnological museum predecessor. The previous ethnological museum was founded in 1938 in Hoya town, Tokyo (present-day Nishi-Tokyo city). The museum was managed by the Japanese Society of Ethnology and its gallery opened to public in 1939. The collection of the museum was donated to the Japanese Society of Ethnology by Sir Keizo Shibusawa (1896-1963).

Shibusawa was the grandson of Eichi Shibusawa (1840-1931), a prominent businessman known as the «father of Japanese capitalism». Keizo Shibusawa was himself an economist who served as Minister of Finance and Governor of the Bank of Japan. Besides being an economist he was also a researcher in ethnography.

Keizo Shibusawa was interested in the local cultures of Japan and especially engaged in ethnographic research on folk names of fish and fishing activities (Shibusawa 1993 [1936]). Shibusawa was also interested in material culture, especially tools for productive activity. Together with his friends, he collected tools and toys from all over Japan and established a private collection. To display the collected items, Shibusawa built an exhibition facility in part of his residence. Shibusawa created the «Attic *Museum* Society», an organization dedicated to these studies, and the exhibition facility became known as the «Attic *Museum*».

Later, Shibusawa donated his collection to the Japanese Society of Ethnology and provided financial support for the construction of a museum affiliated with the Society. The Museum of Ethnology, which opened in 1939, was closed for part of World War II. It reopened after the war, but the museum was then closed due to the age of the building and operational funding problems. The museum collections were taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1962 (Nakamura, 1984, 55).

The Japanese Society of Ethnology, the Anthropological Society of Nippon, the Japanese Archaeological Association, the Folklore Society of Japan, and the Japanese Association of Ethnology jointly submitted to the Minister of Education and other relevant authorities a request to establish a national ethnological research museum in 1964 (National Museum of Ethnology, 1984, 1-3). Bottom-up suggestions were also made by several academic organizations. Concrete plans for the new

museum, however, were never fleshed out at this point.

It was also a time when Japan was recovering from World War II. After 1950, overseas academic research resumed and anthropology and ethnography regained their vitality. The latter half of the 1950s, after Japan's international status was restored in 1952, saw a series of overseas academic surveys in the humanities and social sciences were planned. Initially, there were a number of systematic academic surveys that were conducted mainly by the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University. These surveys included Kyoto University Science Expedition at Karakoram and Hindukush in 1955 and 1956, the University of Tokyo's Iraq-Iran archaeological expedition in 1956 (Matsutani, 1997), the University of Tokyo's Andean Survey since 1958 (Onuki, 1997), and Kyoto University's African Ape Scientific Survey since 1961. Except for the expeditions organized by the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University, Equatorial Africa expedition by Waseda University, Patagonia expedition by Kobe University, Southeast Asia academic expedition by Osaka prefecture University, General survey on rice farming ethnic culture of Southeast Asia by the Japanese Association of Ethnology in 1957, Northwest Nepal expedition sponsored by the Japanese Association of Ethnology, Gorilla academic expedition by Japan monkey center in 1958 and Alaska academic expedition by Meiji university in 1960 (Iida, 2007, 245).

In 1962, the Ministry of Education's Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (commonly known as the «Kakenhi») established a category of «overseas academic research» and created an environment conducive to funding overseas field research. It was during this period in Japan that the importance of academic research with a global perspective was recognized in the humanities and social sciences, and this was supported by the insights of academic administration. The accumulation of these overseas research results also earned Japan credibility in the international academic community. In 1968 Japan successfully held the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (thereafter IUAES) World Congress in Japan.

OSAKA 70 EXPO AND THE WORLD EXPO. TASK FORCE

While the academic community was working to build a new ethnological museum, plans for Osaka 70 Expo were underway. Osaka 70 Expo was held for 183 days from March 15 to September 13, 1970, in Senri Hills in Suita, Osaka, where the National Museum of Ethnology is now located. It was the first time in Japan that the International Bureau

of Expositions approved the holding of a World Exposition under the Convention on International Expositions. It was also a symbolic international project of post-war reconstruction following the 1965 Tokyo Olympics. The main theme of the expo was «Human Progress and Harmony», with the participation of 77 governments including Japan, 4 international organizations, 10 government agencies such as states and cities, 2 non-Japanese companies and 32 Japanese companies and industry associations. The total attendance of 642,18770, stood as a record until the 2010 Shanghai World Expo (Suzuki, 2018, 13).

The 1960s, when the idea for the Osaka 70 Expo was first conceived and the preparations for it were underway, it was a time of great change in the world. African independence began in 1960 and the Cuban crisis of 1962, saw an unprecedented arms race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In 1965, the bombing of the North in the Vietnam War began, and under the war without justice, the world began to search for a new order and value system. During this period, developed countries enjoyed the material wealth of mass production and mass consumption under high economic growth. At the same time, the need to consider the impact of rapid economic growth on the environment on a global scale began to be questioned. It was also a time of explosive population growth, limited food production, resource depletion, increasing, overt environmental pollution. In Japan, the anti-authority struggle, as represented by the school dispute, began to wane, and people's consciousness and social structure were steered towards prioritizing economic efficiency.

The idea of setting up a theme pavilion at the Osaka 70 Expo took shape in April 1966. The construction of a central facility was called for to concretely demonstrate the general theme of the Expo, «Human Progress and Harmony». In July of the following year, the artist Taro Okamoto was chosen as the producer of the theme exhibition. Okamoto, who worked on the theme pavilion, studied ethnology at the University of Paris when he was young. He originally belonged to the philosophy department but moved to the ethnology department after being attracted to the Musée de l'Homme, built on the site of the 1937 Paris Expo. Okamoto later recalled that his university lectures were held at the museum, surrounded by exhibitions and vast collections of artifacts, and immersed in a dreamlike space where he immersed himself in the lectures of famous professors such as Marcel Mauss and Paul Revere (Umesao, 1978, 29). This experience seems to have imbued Okamoto's thinking with the idea of building a museum after the Expo.

Okamoto conceived the structure of the thematic exhibition as

underground-past, above-ground-present, and aerial-future, and his aim was for these three spaces to resonate with each other while remaining independent, and to exist as a cohesive whole. And Okamoto designed the Tower of the Sun as a space to make this space a reality (Fig. 3). Okamoto believed that the underground space represents the root of human life that sustains the ground and the air. Okamoto asked Sakyō Komatsu (1931-2011) to be a sub-producer to consider the contents of this underground exhibition.

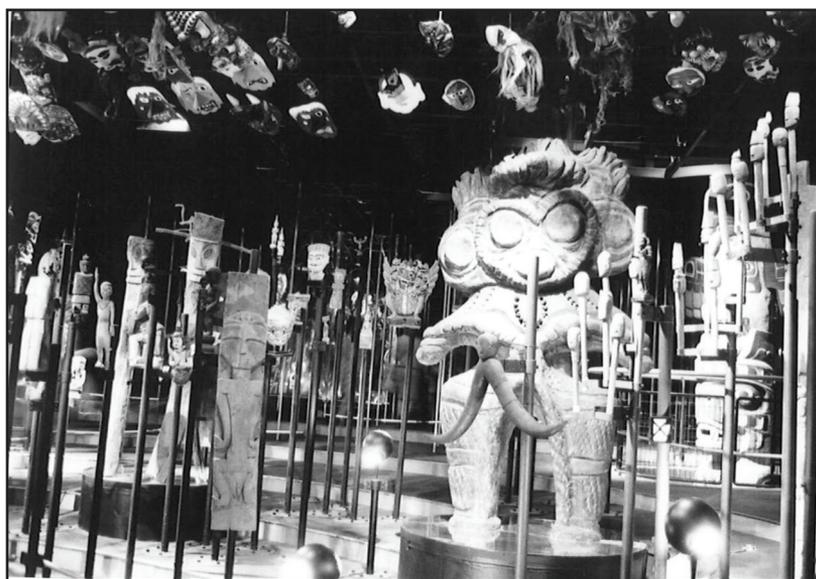


Fig. 3. *The exhibition of Masks and Statues of gods in the Tower of the Sun at the Osaka 70 Expo (Courtesy by Institute of Esthetic Research).*

Komatsu was an up-and-coming science fiction writer at the time. After graduating from Kyoto University, he did not have a regular job, but made a living by working part-time and writing. He began writing science fiction novels that appeared in newspapers around 1960. In 1962 he made his full-scale debut in a commercial magazine under the writer's name Sakyō Komatsu (2019, 4328-4329/4544). At that time, Komatsu was in charge of a series of articles in the monthly newspaper «Housou Asahi (Broadcast Asahi)», published by Osaka Asahi Broadcasting. It included not only critiques on broadcasting and mass media, but also discussions and essays on informative culture and civilization from a broad perspective. In fact, in 1963 Komatsu got acquainted with Tadao Umesao through his work at the magazine (Komatsu, 2019, 2717/4544). In 1964, Komatsu and Umesao, together with several other colleagues,

organized a private study group, «Bankokuhaku wo kangaeru kai» (The World Expo Task Force). They began to discuss the historical background of the birth of the World Expo, the form of the past Expo, and the significance of holding the world Expo in Japan (Komatsu, 2019, 2911-2717/4544). The Preparatory Committee for the International Exposition asked this private group for their opinions on the World Expo, and Komatsu and Umesao became involved in the Expo project.

«EXPO '70 ETHNOLOGICAL MISSION»

Before Okamoto was chosen as producer, Umesao and Komatsu drew up the following drafts for the sub-themes of the Expo; (1) Man (Life) Itself, (2) Man and Nature, (3) Man and Technology, (4) Man and Man, and corresponding to (1) more abundant life, (2) more abundant use of nature, (3) more desirable life design, (4) deeper mutual understanding. (Komatsu, 2019, 3489/4544). It is not yet clear to what extent Okamoto incorporated these aims into the design, but the completed underground exhibition space in the Tower of Sun was 44 meters long with a section on «Life», from the birth of life from materials on earth to the evolution of life, 50 meters long with a section on «People», where human history unfolds, and 100 meters long with a section on «Heart», where masks and statues from all over the world were displayed, ranging from tools of daily life to masks and statues. Okamoto left the following description about this exhibition.

«I want to put there the compelling and proud evidence of human culture. I wanted to bring to light the limpid realization of how human beings have come to appreciate life since they became «human». They once led to the whole world, but they have been destroyed by modern civilization and are now disappearing. In order to take advantage of the unique opportunity of the upcoming World Expo, I poured all my passion into planning for it from all over the world» (Okamoto *et al.*, 1970, 2).

Okamoto's words are quite rightly regarded as a social evolutionist idea that pays no attention to the cultural context of the local community. In fact, there is no record of Okamoto's logical explanation of what kind of exhibits are needed for this purpose. The author thinks that Okamoto wanted to show «what humans are and where they come from» through the exhibition of the basement of the theme pavilion. This is because Okamoto's experience of studying anthropology at the Musée de L'Homme during his young days has undeniably had an influence on Okamoto.

Okamoto also wanted visitors to feel a sense of the reality of the object, so he planned an exposed exhibition without using any cases. In other words, the goal was to create a space where things and people exist in the same air. Adopting this method of exhibition meant that they had to abandon the idea of borrowing materials from existing museums. Plans were made to collect materials from around the world to be used in the exhibit. Two anthropologists, Seiichi Izumi of the University of Tokyo and Tadao Umesao of Kyoto University, were commissioned to carry out this collection project.

Izumi and Umesao had been planning the collection plan for the exhibition in the basement of the Tower of the Sun since May 1968. They divided the world into Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Southeast Asia, India and the Middle East, East Africa, West Africa, Europe, North America, the Latin American Highlands, the Latin American Amazon, and Oceania, and asked young researchers with local knowledge of each region to go on collection trips. The fact that continental China and the Soviet Union were not included in the collection area is a true indication of the diplomatic situation at the time.

Izumi and Umesao were also members of the museum promotion committee of the Ethnological Society of Japan at that time. However, the collection of ethnographic materials for the Osaka 70 Expo and the construction of an ethnographic museum were two separate issues at the time. Okamoto also played an important role in the opportunity to tie these two issues together.

In the summer of 1968, the IUAES was held in Tokyo and Kyoto, Japan. On September 6, a party was organized by the Japan Association for World Expositions to hear from researchers from various countries about the possibilities and methods of collecting ethnic materials. A prominent anthropologist was invited to the party (Tab. 1), and the sender of the invitation was Taro Okamoto (Umesao, 1973, 18-19, Fig. 4.). Of course, Izumi and Umesao were also present at the party. A handout there stated the types of materials the EEM planned to collect and that an ethnographic museum would be built within a few years after the Expo and the materials would be housed there. Umesao interpreted this as explaining why the researchers who participated in the IUAES were invited to a meeting organized by the Japanese Association of World Expositions (Umesao, 1971, 20). As a result, this meeting had a significant impact on the EEM's collection activities, as in some cases collection activities relied on the attendees of this meeting and the method of exchange of museum materials proposed at the meeting.

Name	Affiliation
Shunichi Suzuki	Secretary General of the Association of Japan World Exposition
Yuji Hirai	Deputy Secretary General
Tomoo Hirose	Chief of Theme Section
Taro Okamoto	Theme Exhibition Director
Sakyo Komatsu	Vice-Director of Theme Exhibition
Shigeomi Hirano	General Manager of Institute of Esthetic Research
Seiichi Izumi	Professor of Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Yokyo
Tadao Umesao	Associate Professor of Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University
Junzo Kawada	Associate Professor of Saitama University
Tadahiko Hara	Research Associate of Institute for Asian and African Languages and Culture, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
Hiroko Hara	Associate Professor, Takushoku University
Tamotsu Aoki	Research Associate, Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo
Naomichi Ishige	Research Associate, Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University
Berndt, Ronald M.	Professor, University of Western Australia, Commonwealth of Australia
Reichel-Dolmatoff	Professor of Los Andes University, Republic of Colombia
Riviere, Georges	Ancient Directeur du Musée d'Arts et Traditions Populaires, French Republic
Lee, Duhyun	Professor, Seoul National University, Republic of Korea
Agblemagnon, Ferdinand	Director of National Institute of Sociology, Republic of Togo
Bromley, Yu V.	Director of Institute of Ethnography, Academy of Science, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Chard, Chester S.	Professor of University of Wisconsin, United States of America
Gunther, Erna	Professor of University of Alaska, United States of America

Tab. 1. *Attendants of the meeting.*

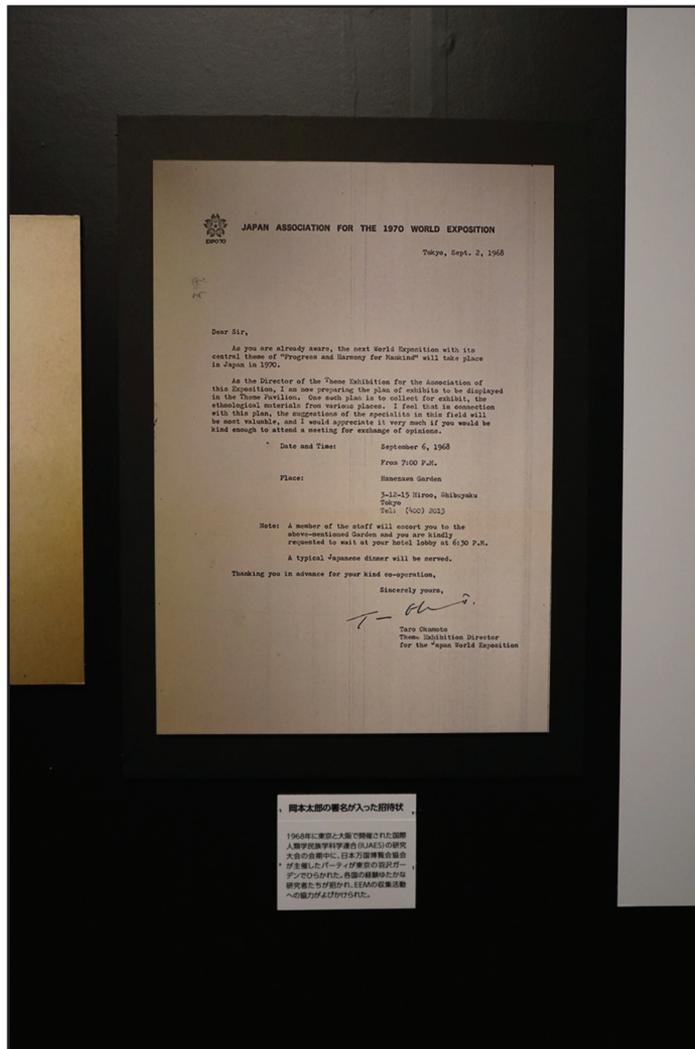


Fig. 4. Invitations to researchers to attend the meeting
(Umesao Archives No. Ume_EEM_1_028_001_001_f copy, photo by the author).

Those involved in the Osaka Expo came to see the EEM materials and the Ethnological Museum as a combined matter, while the academic community did not necessarily share the same view. Umesao gives several reasons why he was unable to bring the idea of combining EEM's activities with museum construction to the academic community.

One is that, cooperating with the Expo to carry out the collecting project did not guarantee that a museum would be built. Umesao and Izumi were well aware that the construction of the museum was a state

project and had no direct relationship to the project of the Osaka 70 Expo. The second reason was that the budget for EEM collection was too small. Although the cost of purchasing and transporting the materials was barely sufficient and the cost of transportation and lodging for the collectors had to be severely budgeted. There was not enough money to pay the salaries of collectors and they had to work on a volunteer basis. For this reason, Izumi and Umesao could only ask their closest researchers to help them. The third reason was the circumstances of the time in which the collection was planned.

During this period, conflicts arising from the student movement were very common at universities across Japan. The University of Tokyo, where Izumi taught, cancelled the entrance examination in March 1969 due to a school dispute. Some scholars in the academy objected to the holding of the World Expo and criticized the collection of ethnographic material from all over the world as an act of colonialist plunder. Some researchers Izumi commissioned resigned. As a result, it was decided that Umesao would be responsible for selecting the members who would engage in collecting the materials of the vacant areas. Later on, these problems seem to have had no small influence on the organization of the National Museum of Ethnology. Of the 15 members who were essentially tasked with collecting overseas materials and serving as the secretariat, seven were later hired as museum members at the start of Minpaku.

EEM COLLECTION AND THE EXHIBITION IN THE THEME PAVILION

Eighteen people were eventually involved in collecting the materials. They had an average age of about 30 years and included university teachers, graduate students, newspaper reporters and engineers. The total budget for the project was 6,000,000 Japanese yen, which included not only the purchase of the materials, but also the cost of transportation, travel expenses and accommodation for the collectors.

The author will leave a detailed description of the collection activities of each EEM member for a future paper and just show the number of objects of collection and its original place according to the record (Umesao, 1973; Nobayashi, 2018). The number of objects was 2,497 from 51 countries and areas. Its breakdown is as follows; Japan; 266, Korea; 133, Taiwan; 119, Indonesia; 58, Cambodia; 21, Thailand; 105, Burma; 6, Philippines; 30, Vietnam; 1, Borneo; 1, Malaysia; 48, Afghanistan; 51, Iran; 59, India; 196, Ceylon; 4, Nepal; 30, Pakistan; 51, Lebanon; 12, Uganda; 65, Ethiopia; 15, Somalia; 2, Tanzania; 60, Madagascar; 7,

Malawi; 4, Africa (anonymous); 27, Upper Volta; 1, Ghana; 73, Cameroon; 19, Ivory coast; 33, Central Africa; 23, Nigeria; 2, Mali; 3, Italy; 58, Spain; 1, Hungary; 17, Bulgaria; 56, Yugoslavia; 81, Romania; 94, Guatemala; 2, Columbia; 147, Mexico; 94, U.S.A.; 124, Australia; 30, Samoa; 13, Tahiti; 6, New Guinea; 6, New Hebrides; 12, Micronesia; 18.

Since the purpose of the collection was to collect masks and statues of gods from different parts of the world, the proportion of masks and statues of gods in the collection was understandably high. Some of the statues of the gods and masks had already been produced as Souvenirs. Meanwhile, a variety of materials were collected by the EEM, including musical instruments, artefacts, furniture and clothing.

The collected materials were displayed in the basement of the Tower of the Sun, the theme Pavilion of Osaka 70 Expo. It was Okamoto Taro and sub-producer Komatsu Sakyo who was responsible for the exhibition and no members of the EEM, including Izumi and Umesao, were involved in the exhibition. Umesao was an invited guest at the opening ceremony of the Expo and had the opportunity to see the basement exhibition of the Tower of the Sun. Umesao said the following about the impressions he received from the exhibit at that time.

«An exhibition at the World Expo is not an academic exhibition in itself, as it is done from a unique standpoint in accordance with the theme and under the technical conditions of the exhibition. However, the materials themselves can be used as materials for academic exhibitions in museums if they are displayed in a different way» (Umesao, 1970,10).

In a sense, we can think of Umesao as expressing his disappointment with the exhibition at the Expo. Umesao continued to read the letters from EEM members who had been dispatched to various parts of the world, describing their experiences in the field. Through the eyes and writings of the EEM members, Umesao was able to see the social conditions in which the collected materials existed and the people who made and used them. For Umesao, the exhibition that did not refer to any of the various cultural and social situations related to the objects at the Expo must have been something that he could not evaluate as academic. It is not surprising that Umesao had the desire to create an academic exhibition at the museum using the same materials as the Expo.

«GARAKUTA» IN THE SOLITARY AMUSEMENT: CRUX OF THE MATTER IN THE
MINPAKU

The first time Umesao used the word Garakuta to describe the Minpaku materials was in a conversation with Sakyo Komatsu. The contents of this interview were published in the first issue of *Monthly Minpaku*, a public relations magazine that was published before the museum opened. Komatsu was chosen as Umesao's first interlocutor.

At the beginning of the interview, Komatsu asked Umesao how the idea of establishing the Minpaku was born. Komatsu asked Umesao if he had a plan to make the museum unique and different from the existing Japanese museums. Umesao responded to this question as follows;

«The plan to create an ethnological museum itself is more than 40 years old. In the beginning of the project, it was called the Museum of Ethnological Research. The plan was developed in response to a very strong request from researchers. And so, consistently from the beginning, the Minpaku was a research institute in nature. [...] We conduct ethnographic research and to collect, store, and exhibit ethnographic materials for public viewing. [...] Legally, Minpaku was established as one of the national inter-university research institute. Seven national inter-university research institutes have been built to date, but they are research facilities within the framework of a broadly defined national university. Most people think that museums are under the jurisdiction of the Agency for Cultural Affairs or the Social Education Bureau of the Ministry of Education, but Minpaku is under the jurisdiction of the Science and International Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Education.

The materials collected and displayed by Minpaku are also different in nature from those in other museums. People generally think of a museum as an institution for the protection of cultural properties. The three national museums in Tokyo, Kyoto and Nara are all affiliated with the Agency for Cultural Affairs and have a clear legal commitment to the protection of cultural properties. However, the materials collected and exhibited at the National Museum of Ethnology are not cultural properties. If it wasn't a cultural property, I wouldn't want to be asked what it was, but I'd have to answer, Well, it's 'Garakuta'. In fact, to be precise, it's an academic research resource. That is the nature of what you will see when you come to the Ethnology Museum. It's not a treasure by any means» (translated by the author, Umesao, 1978, 6).

After some of exchanges with Komatsu, Umesao said the museum

collection policy and function as follows;

«If they are left, they will be burned to the ground by people. We collect them before they are burned. This is our purpose. We shall collect those things that are most closely related to the daily lives of ordinary people» (translated by the author, Umesao, 1978, 7).

Umesao also pointed out the important difference between exhibitions in Expo exhibition and a museum.

«Of course, there are differences between an exposition and a museum in the way they are displayed. The differences I have in mind are as following. For example, there are many different plants. We are going to collect a flower for each one and make them into a magnificent flower arrangement. The audience is astonished. It is an exposition. On the other hand, we break up the flowers into individuals, and grouped the same plants into a botanical system, or arranged by region, so that the plants of the world and their distribution can be better understood. Or arrange them in such a way that the evolution and phylogeny of plants can be better understood. It is a museum exhibit» (translated by the author, Umesao, 1978, 14).

Umesao also said that the exposition was characterized by «astonishment» and that it was a festival of civilization that required a certain kind of excitement, and on the other hand, the museum was not a festival for people to enjoy together but a solitary amusement in which people were confronted with the exhibits and themselves (Umesao, 1978, 16).

The structural arrangement of the materials described by Umesao was called «a structural exhibition» and was the basic concept of the first Minpaku exhibition. This holistic view that tries to capture the whole system and structure of culture may have originated from Umesao's background as a specialist in natural science, especially in ecology. Cultural diversity is a popular term, but Umesao's perspective was focused on the variations in civilization (Umesao, 1998 [1957]). Umesao was wondering if he could explain the variations in civilization that human populations, as a group of the same species, have created through their historical activities by using the biological approach of ecology.

These ideas of Umesao were reflected not only in the specific methods of exhibitions, but also in the methods of organizing the facilities and collections of the Minpaku. At the time of its founding, Minpaku signed a contract with Yale University and became an official member of the HRAF. HRAF is the common name for the Human Relations Area Files, an inter-university organization started in 1949 with a grant from the

Carnegie Foundation. The headquarters are located at Yale University in the United States. The Minpaku has adopted the OCM (Outline of Cultural Materials) and OWC (Outline of World cultures), classification systems for cultural subjects and ethnic populations developed by the HRAF project, for its collections and library materials. It would be an insightful indiscretion to encode the cultural context of a material culture that is somewhat subject to descriptive research. Especially in today's world where the IT environment for big data analysis is easily accessible, the structural organization of the materials that Umesao introduced can be considered as a great legacy of Minpaku.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Nearly half a century has passed since the symbolic term «the museum as a forum» was first introduced to the world. Duncan Cameron, a museum researcher, published a paper aimed at the museum world in 1971 with the provocative title «The Museum: temple or forum?» (Duncan, 1971). Since then, this phrase still seems to have a strong influence on people involved in museum studies and museums themselves. However, it cannot be denied that the repeated translations and interpretations of this paper have led to a tendency to emphasize a forum feature. In fact, Duncan himself has not stated that he wants to turn museums into social clubs or funfairs. While acknowledging the museum as a temple, he said it needs to be reformed to make it better and more effective (Duncan, 1971, 17).

The forum can be thought of as basically a space for people to come together. It is interesting to note that Umesao, who envisioned the construction of a new museum at the same time, described the realized museum as an amusement of solitude. It can be understood as Umesao's criticism of the museum as a product of civilization. It is a question if the museum can be seen a space for people to come together and feel empathy as a group is really a justified entity. The author thinks that Umesao placed great importance on an individual's intellectual curiosity and the ability to think. It was expressed as the term amusement of solitude. Umesao came up with this idea because he experienced a big gap between the collection of EEM and the exhibition using the collected materials for the Osaka 70 Expo. Umesao may have felt that the large number of visitors to the exhibition did not gain anything by looking at the ethnographic materials, which were arranged without any explanation or theoretical rules, as if the visitors were just going through the motions.

The exhibition at the Theme Pavilion at the Osaka Expo fostered Umesao's ideas about the methods of displaying ethnographic materials. Umesao's impression of the exhibition in Osaka 70 Expo, which can be seen as a disappointment, suggests that Umesao felt that ethnographic materials could be a resource for intellectual production or useless «Garakuta», depending on how they are treated. While Umesao thought that museum exhibits should be viewed by individuals, the materials should be viewed collectively according to certain rules. It might be in stark contrast to an art museum, where a large number of visitors view a single high-value piece of art. For Umesao, the museum was an ecological environment where things were interconnected with each other, including the exhibition space. Ethnographic material, which is a single «piece of junk», becomes useful as an ecological environment for understanding different cultures when it is reconstructed according to some explainable theory.

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