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General Editor's Preface*

It may well seem strange that we should be meeting here in Japan, an island nation lying off the far eastern edge of Asia, to discuss warfare among East African herders. Before we begin this Symposium, therefore, I would like to comment briefly on the historical circumstances which may be regarded as having led up to it.

Historically, politically and culturally, Japan's relations with Africa have been tenuous, especially when compared with those which have existed between Europe and Africa since the time of the Roman Empire. What, moreover, do East African pastoralists and the Japanese have in common? The latter, living in the temperate monsoon zone, have been blessed with a mild climate and with abundant rainfall, and have subsisted for at least the last 2,000 years on the cultivation of rice. They have never adopted pastoralism, a way of life associated with harsh arid zones. Although they have kept cattle and horses since prehistoric times, they have never kept sheep, goats or camels and have traditionally made no use of milk or meat, and very little of fur and hides. Indeed, the pastoral elements within Japanese culture must be among the fewest of any culture in the world. Why then should Japanese scholars interest themselves in such a topic as warfare among East African pastoralists?

The Japanese have never been pastoralists themselves, nor have they had direct contact with pastoral societies. In this they contrast markedly with various European cultures which are not only richly endowed with pastoral elements but which have also, during the course of their history, experienced direct contact with neighbouring pastoralists. Despite this, however, the Japanese have been able, through the medium of Chinese history and literature, to gain an indirect knowledge of pastoral peoples. The first mention of Japan in historical documents occurs in the 1st century A.D., while her formation as a nation state is thought to have begun in the 4th century. Far Eastern civilisation had already begun to develop, in northern China, around 1500 B.C., when Japan was still a "primitive" society, far from the centre of Chinese cultural influence. This situation may perhaps be compared with the belated formation of Germanic nations on the periphery of the ancient Mediterranean civilisation.

As you know, Chinese civilisation produced a documentary record of unrivalled breadth and accuracy. This record, contained in a large number of historical books,

* This is a revised version of the speech with which Dr. Tadao Umesao, Director-General of the National Museum of Ethnology, opened the Symposium for which the papers published in this issue were first prepared.

which were repeatedly sifted and edited, became the basis of the cultural heritage of an intellectual elite. The same was true of Japan, which developed within the fold of this Far Eastern civilisation.

Anyone who considers the vast 4,000 year sweep of Chinese history is struck by the constant fighting that took place between sedentary agriculturalists and nomadic pastoralists. Both the Ch'in dynasty, which unified China for the first time in the 3rd century B.C., and the Han dynasty which followed it, had to contend with the repeated invasions, from the northern steppes, of a pastoral people called Hsiung-nu. The T'ang dynasty was equally unsuccessful in shaking off the harassment of the T'u-chüeh pastoralists, and this despite the fact that, in the 7th century, this dynasty controlled the largest territory on earth and was powerful enough to destroy the naval fleet of Japan off the South Korean Peninsula so completely that it was impossible for this emerging power of the East to regain her naval pre-eminence. In the 13th century, as is well known, the Mongol Empire was established. The whole of China came under the control of the Mongol Yüan dynasty and the military might of this colossal empire, created by pastoralists, was directed against Japan. By this time, however, the Japanese had created a militaristic fundal state and were able to repulse the Mongol forces, led by Kubilai Khan, whose Japanese expedition was a complete failure. This was the only occasion on which Japan felt the enormous military might of the pastoral peoples who originated in the arid steppes of Central Asia.

The history of this possibly inevitable conflict between the sedentary agricultural society of China and pastoral peoples invading from the Mongolian steppes, was shared by Japanese and other intellectuals of the Far East. They are well acquainted, for example, with the story of General Li Ling of the Han dynasty, who was captured after losing a battle against the Hsiung-Nu and who went through unbearable sufferings; or with that of the noblewoman Wang Chao-Chüing of the Han Court, who was given to a pastoralist chieftain in a marriage of political convenience.

Conflict between pastoralists and agriculturalists, and among pastoralists themselves, is thus an important thread in the tapestry of East Asian history. When we speak of war and peace among pastoralists—the theme of our Symposium—we are looking at inter-tribal relations among East African pastoralists in the light of the endless conflicts in which Far Eastern pastoralists have been involved.

With the establishment in East Asia of the Ch'ing dynasty in the 17th century, the political power of which depended upon a military alliance between the Tungus and the Mongols, the scale and frequency of raiding and warfare decreased and the pastoralists began to settle down to a more peaceful way of life. In some areas of East Africa, however, a similar change does not seem to have occurred and a kind of chain reaction of violence among pastoralists can be observed to this day. How can we account for this? What does fighting mean for these pastoralists? What do they fight for? What spurs them on to devote so much energy to fighting?

Up to now I have spoken of the role of pastoralism in the history of Far Eastern

civilisation, and of the awareness of pastoral society among Japanese intellectuals. I would now like to outline the history of research on pastoralists by Japanese scientists, especially anthropologists, in modern times.

In the 17th century Japan adopted a policy of isolation and forbade contact with foreign countries. As a consequence of this, Japanese scientists, especially geographers, concentrated their attention on their own country and also on its neighbouring northern Islands. By the middle of the 19th century the geographical exploration of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, the Kuriles and the Mamiya Straits had been completed. But clearly it was only after the 1868 revolution, and especially after the two wars fought by Japan on the Asian continent in the latter half of the 19th century, that there began to emerge in Japan an intellectual interest in the interior of Asia. These two wars were fought against China and Russia respectively and both resulted in military success for Japan. As a result of this, Japan made rapid military, political and economic advances into the Asian continent, and began the so-called "Continental Operations".

One of the moving forces behind this development was the South Manchurian Railroad Company (Mantetsu) which was established in 1906. Mantetsu was a licensed colonial company, much like Britain's East India Company. It had several research divisions which were responsible for a great deal of research in Manchuria and neighbouring areas. The results of this research were published in innumerable reports and it should be recognised how much the activities of Mantetsu's research divisions made possible the accurate understanding of Mongolia and of Mongolian pastoral society.

Purely scientific research on Inner Asia and its pastoral peoples, however, did not begin until the early years of this century, when two pioneers, Michiyo Naka and Kurakichi Shiratori, laid the foundations of historiographic research on Central Asia. Around this time there also appeared the first issue of one of today's leading journals of Oriental studies, *The Toyo Gakuho* (Reports of the Oriental Society).

Anthropology, and other disciplines which required fieldwork, also began to emerge around the start of this century. The first anthropological society in Japan, the Tokyo Anthropological Society, was founded in 1884. At that time prehistory, archaeology, ethnology and folklore were all included within anthropology, but each of these later came to have its own Society.

The first anthropologists actually to visit Central Asia and to carry out field studies of pastoral culture, were probably Ryozo Torii and his wife Kimiko. Torii was an anthropologist and archaeologist who had long been affiliated with the Department of Anthropology at Tokyo University, and whose research had covered a vast area stretching from Mongolia and Manchuria to the interior of southwestern China. From 1906 to 1908, accompanied by his wife and new-born baby, he conducted field surveys throughout eastern Mongolia, thereby laying the foundations of the archaeology and ethnology of Mongolia.

Archaeological research and excavation began in earnest in the 1930's. Beginning in 1931, several expeditions were despatched to the Mongolian area, mainly

under the auspices of the Toa Koko-Gakkai (the Far Eastern Archaeological Society). From about this time, history touches base with the present. Dr. Namio Egami who, as a young archaeologist, participated in the scientific investigations of Mongolia, organised by the above society, is now one of the doyens of Japanese anthropology and archaeology. He is also, incidentally, a member of the Board of Councillors of our National Museum of Ethnology.

In the 1930's and 1940's several scientific expeditions were sent to Mongolia, mainly by Tokyo, Keijo, and Kyoto Imperial Universities, and serious research on Mongol pastoral society began. In 1943 a scientific research centre, called Seihoku Kenkyusho (Research Institute for the Northwestern Region), was established at Kalgan and began organised scientific research on Inner Asia. In 1945, however, with the end of the war and the repatriation of Japanese from Mongolia, the work of this Centre, of which I was a member, was brought to a halt.

I am afraid I may have been boring my predominantly Africanist audience with this account of Japanese research in Central Asia, but I believe that an understanding of the activities of Japanese scholars in Asia is a necessary prerequisite to understanding their interest in Africa.

One of the first things you notice, on opening up a map of the world, is that a huge arid belt stretches diagonally across the Eurasian Continent, from North-East to South-West and, passing through West Asia, reaches Africa in the west. As you all know, pastoral societies are found throughout this arid zone and on its fringes, whether in steppes, oases, deserts or savannahs. As I have noted, research on pastoral societies by Japanese anthropologists began at the eastern edge of this vast arid zone. With the defeat of Japan, however, Japanese anthropologists lost access to this research field. After the postwar confusion had subsided in the 1950's, Japanese anthropologists began tackling this vast arid area from the west, circumventing the southern end of the Eurasian continent. The first move in this direction came in 1955 with the Kyoto University scientific expedition to the Karakoram-Hindukush, in which I participated.

This expedition, which covered Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran, was led by Dr. Hitoshi Kihara, a professor of plant genetics, and was made up of specialists in a number of disciplines, including botany, geology, anthropology, linguistics and archaeology. The anthropology team worked mainly in Afghanistan, its purpose being the study of the Moghol, who were thought to be descendants of the Mongol Army of the Il-Khanids, a 13th century Mongolian dynasty in Iran. There was an obvious connection, then, between this anthropological study in Afghanistan and previous work in Mongolia. Japanese research in this part of West Asia has remained active to this day. Among the many research teams which have been sent to the area, Kyoto University has sent several archaeological expeditions to Afghanistan and Pakistan to excavate Buddhist sites.

To understand the more recent activities of Japanese anthropologists we must turn our attention towards the western edge of this arid zone, namely to the savannah regions of East Africa, for it is here that they resumed their study of pastoral

society. For Japanese anthropologists then, research on East African pastoralists is an extension of their work on East Asian pastoralists. Although seemingly discontinuous in time and space, there is an evident continuity in this research.

Here I must mention an eminent anthropologist who played the leading role in founding Japanese anthropological research in Africa and who has greatly influenced the later development of this research—Dr. Kinji Imanishi, Professor Emeritus of Kyoto University and a member of the Board of Councillors of this Museum. Dr. Imanishi is widely recognised for his achievements in both physical and social anthropology. After the war, when Japanese anthropologists lost their overseas research field, and were confined to their own small country, Dr. Imanishi conducted field studies of the social structure of the Japanese monkey (*Macaca fuscata*) in its mountain habitat, thereby making an important contribution to the theory of the social evolution of primates.

When Japan regained an independent position in the international community and overseas fieldwork by Japanese scientists again became possible, Dr. Imanishi began, in 1958, his research on African chimpanzees and gorillas, as an extension of his study of the Japanese monkey. A base camp was established on Lake Tanganyika to which research teams have since been sent on an annual basis. In the English speaking world Dr. Jane Goodall's work with African chimpanzees, under the leadership of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey in Nairobi, is well known. But similar research was begun by Japanese scientists, about the same time, and has made an important contribution in its own right.

Dr. Imanishi was the first Professor in the Laboratory of Physical Anthropology in the Faculty of Science at Kyoto University. The Primate Research Institute was established at Kyoto University with its facilities open to various universities. The Institute has since become a world-wide centre for primatological research. Research on anthropoids in their natural habitat in Africa is now carried on by Associate Professor Junichiro Itani of Kyoto University, who is attending this Symposium. The journal *Primates*, which is published, in various European languages, through the Primate Research Institute, contains extensive information on chimpanzees.

Dr. Imanishi was also interested in hunting and gathering and nomadic pastoral peoples. Research in this area began in 1962 with the study of the pastoral Datoga, and hunting and gathering Hadza on Lake Eyasi, in northern Tanzania. Dr. Imanishi's work in this area has been carried on by Professor Morimichi Tomikawa (who is also present at this Symposium) of the Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Other anthropologists have developed these early studies in many different directions. The geographical area of their research, starting with Tanzania, has widened to include Kenya, Ethiopia, Libya, Mali, the Upper Volta, Botswana, the Cameroons and Zaire. The people studied has expanded to include hunter-gatherers, such as the Hadza and Bushmen, pastoralists like the Datoga, Bedouin, Bodi and Rendille, part-agricultural and part-pastoral peoples like the Iraqw and, finally, several groups of Bantu agriculturalists.

Most of the Japanese researchers gathered here today have been trained through the African studies projects initiated by Dr. Imanishi. These include Associate Professor Toshinao Yoneyama of Kyoto University, who works among mountain peoples in Zaire; Associate Professor Shun'ya Hino of the Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, who has recently changed from studying Bantu peoples in Tanzania to research in northern Cameroons; Associate Professor Jiro Tanaka of Kyoto University's Primate Research Institute, who has worked on Bushmen in the Kalahari Desert in South Africa, and who has recently been studying camel herders in Kenya; Associate Professor Nobuyuki Hata of the National Museum of Ethnology, who has worked on the fishing-cum-farming peoples of Tanzania and moved subsequently to the Mali Federation and the Cameroons; Associate Professor Katsuyoshi Fukui of the National Museum, who has turned from the study of the part-agricultural and part-pastoral Iraqw of Tanzania to the investigation of the pastoral Bodi of Ethiopia; and finally, Associate Professor Shohei Wada, also of the National Museum, who has moved his field from the Iraqw of Tanzania to the Banyarua of Zaire.

There is here a further connecting thread between the study of Asiatic and East African pastoral society. For Dr. Imanishi, who pioneered research by Japanese anthropologists on African societies, was, as director of Seihoku Kenkyusho, the research centre set up at Kalgan in Mongolia, also the leading influence on the study of Mongol pastoral society in the arid lands of East Asia. The fact that Japanese anthropological studies in both Africa and East Asia were inaugurated by one and the same person symbolises the continuity of these studies, especially of pastoral societies, from East Asia to Africa.

The number of Japanese anthropologists specialising in Africa has gradually increased so that, today, Africanists from Tokyo University and other schools participate in the Japanese Association for African Studies. Those at Kyoto University, who were trained by Dr. Imanishi, have published *Kyoto University African Studies*, with mainly anthropological contributions. After the publication of ten issues, funds for publication were terminated, as was originally agreed with the Ministry of Education. *Senri Ethnological Studies*, will be published as an organ of the National Museum of Ethnology and I hope that at least one issue a year will be devoted to African studies, thereby carrying on the work of *Kyoto University African Studies*. Apart from these publications, early results of the Imanishi expeditions are reported in *Ahurika Syakai no Kenkyū* (Studies in African Societies: Report of the Kyoto University African Scientific Expedition, 1962-68).

Japanese anthropological research on Africa, therefore, has a history of only 20 years which contrasts sharply with the nearly 100 year history of African studies in Europe. We have much to learn from European and American scholars and this is one reason why we have invited you to this Symposium.

There is another reason, however. European and American anthropologists have worked mainly among Hamitic pastoralists in West Asia and North Africa, building up a considerable amount of knowledge. We, on the other hand, began

our study of pastoralists within the orbit of East Asian civilisation. A good deal of difference can therefore be expected between us in the conceptualisation of problems and in modes of interpretation. It should be an exciting experience to compare our material and to discuss our differing approaches. I sincerely hope, therefore, that, during the coming week, each one of you, regardless of nationality, will share this excitement and also the pleasure of exploring a common scholarly interest.

TADAO UMESAO
Director-General