International Symposium “Future of the Museum : An Anthropological Perspective”

Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology 45(1): 115–176 (2020)

Research Resource

International Symposium “Future of the Museum: An Anthropological Perspective”

国際シンポジウム「ミュージアムの未来──人類学的パースペクティヴ」

Introduction

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This is a record of the international symposium “Future of the Museum: An Anthropological Perspective,” with distinguished guest lecturer Professor James Clifford, held on September 28, 2018 at the Knowledge Theater, Grand Front Osaka.

The symposium opened with an address by the Deputy Director-General, Yuji Seki of the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku), who spoke about the history of ethnological museums. Ethnology originated in the era of colonialism and

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Key Words：ethnological museum, anthropology, indigenous peoples, source community, collaboration
キーワード：民族学博物館，人類学，先住民，ソース・コミュニティ，協働

was developed based on Western theories and concepts rooted in one-sided descriptions and analyses of other cultures and societies. Such West-centric attitudes and perspectives have been questioned since the 1980s, when criticism was raised at both ethnology as a discipline and the exhibitions at the ethnological museums. In some cases, demands were made by members of source communities for the return of items in the museums. In response to these objections from members of the source communities, the museums have made gradual adjustments through, for example, inviting people from the source communities to help plan and manage the exhibitions. The Info-Forum Museum, a flagship project in progress at Minpaku, is an example of such a collaborative research project, working with members of the source communities the artifacts in the collections originate from to improve the quality of database information, reflecting the results of research for both parties. Minpaku has been seeking actively to uncover new knowledge based on such collaborative projects with people from the source communities. To conclude his opening remarks, Seki introduced Clifford as a leading cultural critic and "post-modern" anthropologist whose work has challenged conventional academic norms and methods. It therefore contributed to postcolonial critiques of West-centric epistemologies.

The symposium consisted of two parts. In the first half, James Clifford gave a keynote lecture with the title "(Post) Ethnological Museums: People and Things in Motion." He began by describing the history of what is called the "art–artifact system." The role it played in maintaining cultural dichotomy during the imperial period, such as in "us/them," "civilized/primitive," and "dynamic/static." Then he explained why this classificatory regime had begun to disintegrate in recent decades, placing emphasis on the present as a moment of both crisis and opportunity. Clifford identified an increased mobility and diversity of museum audiences in former imperial centers as a critical factor of this change because of wider connectivity and travel links to distant places. Furthermore, resurgent indigenous groups and diasporic communities challenge ethnological museums' traditional functions of gathering, exhibiting, and interpreting other cultures. In our global society, objects and people constantly move among places. Their travels are never ending. Drawing on examples from several ethnological museums in Europe and North America, Clifford described the present situation as a volatile historical moment, paving the way for new narratives and altering our relation with ethnological museums and their collections.

In the second half of the symposium, Kenji Yoshida, the Director-General of Minpaku, facilitated a dialogue between Clifford and Minpaku research staff members, represented by two associate professors: Atsunori Ito and Reiko Saito. They discussed their respective collaborations, through museum activities, with the Hopi people of North America and the Ainu people of Japan. The points made by Clifford in his keynote lecture were shown to have been put into practice by the

work of Minpaku as they reconsider and reestablish their role in this age of globalism and in the turning point of human civilization. Reconsideration of their activities in the context of Clifford's proclamation was expected to clarify the relevance of Minpaku's role in the globalizing world and in the turning point of human civilization.

Ito, who supervises one of the Info-Forum Museum projects, titled "Documenting and Sharing Information on Ethnological Materials: Working with Native American Tribes," put together a team of museums, researchers, and source community members to ensure more comprehensive documentation of museum objects. The project specifically examined about 2,500 items owned by 14 museums and individuals in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom, as well as objects stored at Minpaku. For this project, the moments at which the source communities were reconnected with items from the museum collections were all video-recorded. These recordings also included stories and narratives related to certain items. However, in some cases, the communities requested that the museums holding particular objects refrain from showing them or their images at exhibitions or through other means of publication. In advancing the project, Ito reported that it created opportunities for the members of the source community to hand down their memory and experience to the next and future generations and to restore the cultural life force of museum collections. It is the source community that proposed a new usage of ethnological museums for mutual understanding between different cultures and societies.

Saito talked about the relationships between the Ainu people and museums. First, she explained the context of museums in Hokkaido that exhibit the Ainu materials. In the 1970s, many displays of old tools and other items were used to recreate traditional Ainu culture. Since the late 1980s, such exhibitions have been questioned and criticized, not only by the Ainu but also by researchers. In recent years, the Ainu have begun, increasingly, to examine, pass on, and promote their own culture. Saito went on to explain the history of the relationship between the Ainu people and Minpaku. In 1979, when Minpaku opened an exhibit of the Ainu culture with a reconstructed traditional house, *cise*, the Ainu people began celebrating what is known as the annual ceremony *kamuynomi.* Additionally, Minpaku has been accepting Ainu artisans as visiting researchers for training and further studies. When the exhibition on Ainu culture was reopened in 2016, Saito enlisted the help of young Ainu people to work together to plan, design, and supervise the exhibition. It was an opportunity for these young individuals to re-evaluate their Ainu heritage and modern life style and to think about what they want to tell visitors about their culture and themselves. In addition to their relationship with Minpaku, the Ainu are now actively involved in various other exhibitions of their culture.

In the following panel discussion, Yoshida, expanding on Clifford's definition of the ethnological museum as a contact zone, described the museum as a forum. It

was regarded as a space to accommodate objects, people, and information and create new knowledge for future generations through collaboration between the subjects, who are the ethnological researchers, and the objects of their research, which are the peoples, materials, cultures, etc. This collaboration is necessary and indispensable to ensure an active exchange of ideas with the people from source communities. Fortunately, Minpaku is initiating many projects, including Ito's and Saito's, under the umbrella of the Info-Forum Museum, whose aims to include collaborative documentation of museum materials with assistance from members of the source communities. Although we cannot assume that these communities are monolithic, Minpaku should undertake active efforts to overcome such difficulties as the many conflicting opinions and complexities to fulfill the museum's social role and to empower minorities through cultural matters.

During closing remarks, Professor Hiromu Shimizu, the former president of the Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology, sincerely praised Ito's and Saito's efforts on museum collections and exhibitions and their collaborative work with people from source communities. Their activities, Shimizu said, are also a response to criticisms of the neo-colonial hegemony and represent a perspective that is shared with some museums in the United States and Europe which Clifford described in his keynote lecture.

Part I
Keynote Lecture
(Post) Ethnological Museums: People and Things in Motion

James Clifford*

I will begin by recalling a moment of discovery that I discussed in my book, *Routes*. It was when I began to think of museums as "contact zones" (Clifford 1997: 188–219).

In 1989, in the basement storage area of the Portland, Oregon, Museum of Art, a group of museum professionals and anthropologists gathered to discuss a remarkable collection of Northwest Coast and Alaskan tribal artifacts. The collection, purchased by the museum, was the work of an amateur collector named Axel Rasmussen who, in the early 20th century, had acquired more than eight hundred objects, including masks, carvings, blankets, rattles, bowls, hats, most of which dated from the late 19th century.

What made the Portland meeting special was an invited delegation of Tlingit tribal members from southern Alaska. The indigenous group included knowledgeable Elders who were able to recall the days when the artifacts were new. They remembered who had made them.

To the museum curators and anthropologists, myself included, this seemed like an invaluable opportunity to complete our knowledge of the objects' traditional uses and meanings. How had they functioned in ceremonies and in everyday life? What was their traditional symbolism? What clans did they represent, with what systems of prestige and reciprocity? We wondered, too, what these tribal authorities might wish to say about the technical and aesthetic quality of the artifacts.

To our surprise, the Elders and their younger companions seemed to show only limited interest in the old objects once they had been unwrapped and laid on the table before them. Most of the time during the several days that they spent in the museum basement was devoted to telling stories and singing songs, all with elaborate attention to clan ownership and tribal protocols. The performances were accompanied by tears, by joking, and by reminiscing. Claims were made about tribal sovereignty: its loss in the past and renewal in the present, claims which implicated the museum in ongoing relations.

The Tlingit visitors to Portland had their own agenda. What was important for them was not the material objects and their past functions. The objects were *aides memoires* (tools for remembering) and provocations for fresh discourse. What mat-

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tered was their performativity: the stories, songs, and histories they released.

I describe this moment of encounter because it taught me the limitations of the ethnographic and aesthetic categories we commonly use to understand, to stabilize, and contain, unfamiliar cultural creations. The objects which came to life in the Portland Museum basement were neither cultural artifacts nor works of tribal art. They were something different, something for which we lacked adequate terms.

Today I will begin by briefly exploring the terms "art" and "artifact," ways of conceiving creative cultural productions: classifications that are increasingly problematic. For more than a century, they functioned to keep things and people separate in their proper times and places. Then, I will discuss the ways that people and things today are in motion, escaping and subverting the categories that have supported modernizing, Western-centered conceptions of historical reality and possibility.

The distinction between art and artifact, since the early 19th century, has organized practices of collecting and the creation of separate museums of art and of ethnology. However, in recent decades, this classificatory regime has begun to disintegrate. My emphasis today will be on ethnological museums and their successor institutions, particularly in Europe and North America. These are places where non-Western, especially tribal, "cultural artifacts" have long been stored. As ethnological institutions search for new social roles and audiences, alternative narratives, performances, and indeed, futures, are emerging for their collections. I just used the phrase "non-Western." My perspective today originates from Europe and North America. Important corrections and translations will be necessary to accommodate diverse Asian histories and practices. I hope you can help me with this.

As I discovered in the Portland Museum storage area, the careers, the life-histories, of tribal objects in Western places are unfinished. New communities have become interested in the collections scattered all over Europe, the US, and Canada. This brings important changes. At the Portland Museum, the objects acquired by Axel Rasmussen a century ago now anchor a large exhibition of traditional and contemporary Native American and Canadian works. A full-time indigenous curator has expanded the collection, collaborating actively with tribes in the region.

In a development that is beginning to be seen more widely, newly made art and artifacts are being acquired. The National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) has, of course, been a leader in this area: pursuing not merely the conservation, but simultaneously the transmission and renewal of heritage.

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How did the concepts "art" and "artifact" become separated? I will sketch a brief history, told from the perspective of "Western" institutions.

The British cultural theorist Raymond Williams has traced the emergence of a modern concept of "art" and its relation to social, economic, and cultural change. The relevant books, *Culture and Society* (1958) and *Keywords* (1976) focus on British developments, but the trends they describe are widespread. Williams observes

that, in the 18th century, the primary meaning of the word "art" was simply "skill." There was no fundamental difference between an artist and an artisan or craftsperson. During the 19th century, more specialized definitions of "art" and "artist" would emerge, as Williams puts it, "under the stress of events" (1958: 47).

By the early 1800s, industrialism, with its class and democratic revolutions, had undermined the aristocratic patronage systems which supported artistic and artisanal productivity. A new figure, the autonomous, creative "artist," was taking shape, associated with romantic rebelliousness and the idea of genius. A special aesthetic sensibility would be embodied in works of art. Art was regarded as a defense against anarchy, vulgarity and materialism, threats associated with mass society and the relentless disruptions of capitalism. The artist, now sharply distinct from the skilled artisan, would become a familiar figure of modernity.

By the end of the 19th century art had been institutionalized in national museums, inheritors of aristocratic or monarchical private collections. A commercialized art market was emerging. I need not trace this familiar story about which much has been written. Today I want to emphasize the growing separation of art from other forms of skilled work, its elevation to a higher, creative, spiritual, or rebellious, sensibility. In Europe, artisanal or utilitarian products would henceforth be understood and valued in museums of folklore or national heritage. A capacious, secular category, "artifact," accommodated objects from baskets and wagon wheels to clothing and weapons.

Similarly to "art," the word "artifact" was acquiring a more specialized sense. In the 18th century, it meant anything produced using human skill. In its modern uses it referred to everyday material objects and archaeological relics salvaged from the past. As "art" was acquiring more dynamic, creative and universal connotations, "artifact" became more mundane, object-like and inert.

The concept was also reserved for exotic, non-Western things. Over three centuries of trade, colonization, and empire, countless objects arrived in Europe, brought by explorers, traders, scientists, and missionaries. These collections of "treasures," "curiosities," "specimens," or "antiquities," found initial homes in aristocratic or royal "cabinets of curiosity." In the mid-18th century, the many followers of Linnaeus were amassing private scientific collections, precursors of the next century's great public museums of natural history, based on evolutionary principles. Exotic, non-Western objects such as weapons, tools, adornments, and religious paraphernalia ("idols" or "fetishes") found their way into ethnological institutions. These museums, of *Volkerkunde,* of Ethnography, of the Tropics, of Man, were presided over by the emerging science of anthropology. Their purview was the non-West. The French historian Benoît de L'Estoile has called them simply "musées des autres": museums of the others (de L'Estoile 2007: 11).

The art–artifact system, with its separate art and ethnology museums, functioned to separate "us" from "them." 19th century museums of anthropology

understood their role as preserving the remnants of "barbaric," "primitive," or "savage" societies. In the more relativist 20th century, these same objects would be renamed, more neutrally, as "cultural artifacts," specimens representing a very wide range of social and cultural functions. Until recently, however, they were not regarded as art, at least not art in the advanced, Western sense.

There were exceptions to the denial of "art" status to non-western creations. Works from the so-called "civilizations" of Asia or of Mediterranean and Levantine "antiquity" were sometimes included in major art collections. Nevertheless, such treasures were confined to the past, as witnesses to the faded glory of lost civilizations, or at best, precursors of a more advanced Occident.

The "savage" or "tribal" objects housed in ethnological collections shared this assumed lack of a future. They too were going nowhere in history. Colonial collecting, over three centuries, proceeded under Euro-centric assumptions of historical inevitability. Small indigenous societies, especially, were destined to disappear. Only the West was dynamic.

In fact, many small societies did disappear in the face of imperial conquest and especially the devastating epidemics that accompanied culture contacts. However, others survived, inventively responding to bad situations, preserving what they could from their heritage. It has become clear that cultural transformation should not be equated with cultural death.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, tribal societies on several continents were experiencing a time of acute disruption and demographic emergency. Some of the most extensive collections of tribal material culture were amassed during this period. For many scientific and amateur collectors, if the last remnants of tribal material cultures were to be preserved, the time was *now or never*.

This "salvage collecting" would be understood as a kind of sacred duty, the preservation of a common patrimony. The acquired artifacts would find their appropriate final resting places in Western museums. Here they could be valued, understood, and cared for by knowledgeable curators. The collections contributed to a universal human patrimony. In this spirit, Clifford Geertz once defined the fundamental task of anthropology as creating "the consultable record of what man has said" (Geertz 1973: 30).

In 2018, all of this still sounds familiar, but dated. For indigenous peoples did not disappear. They changed. Furthermore, today they are alive, politically active, and seeking access to the works from their tradition which have been preserved in Western museums. In changing times, the life-course of tribal artifacts is not finished. They have new roles to play as treasures of a recovered heritage and inspirations for contemporary tribal art.

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The 20th century has seen occasional challenges to the art–artifact distinction, challenges that have accelerated in recent decades. The first and most famous

breach occurred in 1907 when Pablo Picasso visited the Trocadero Ethnographic Museum in Paris, just as he was completing his iconic proto-cubist masterpiece "Les Demoiselles d'Avignon." The African masks he encountered at the Trocadero were, he recalled, a shock, and a revelation. "I realized what painting is all about." Picasso affixed mask-inspired heads to two of the five figures in his painting. He would henceforth become an avid collector of African carvings, as seen in photographs of his studios, over the years. They were, he said, constant "witnesses" to his developing art (Photo 1).

The recognition of non-western artifacts as art was the work of a generation of avant-garde artists and writers. André Derain, Maurice de Vlaminck and Henri Matisse had begun collecting African objects before Picasso's epiphany in the ethnographic museum. By the 1920s, the surrealists' interest in Native American, Oceanian, and Arctic works was well established (Photo 2). Andre Breton's apart-

Photo 1 Pablo Picasso in his studio, 1908. Photo by Gelette Burgess. (Unless otherwise specified, all photos are by the author.)

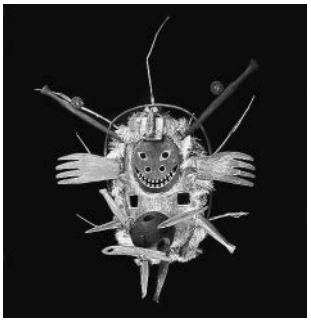

Photo 2 Tribal "art" that inspired the Surrealists. A Yup'ik mask, from the Berlin Ethnologisches Museum, destined for the new Humboldt Forum.

Photo 3　Reconstruction of André Breton's apartment, in the Paris Musée d'Art Moderne.

ment was filled with non-Western artifacts, in promiscuous company with European artworks (Photo 3).

The 1920s vogue for *l'art nègre* was an important breach in the ideological and institutional walls that kept "primitive" creations separate from "fine art." But the opening was limited and ethno-centric. European modernism tended to recognize its own preconceptions and desires, showing little interest in the complexities of cultural translation or in the existence of divergent aesthetic systems. For many years, the "modernist primitivism" of Picasso and his generation would remain a circumscribed, avant-garde phenomenon.

It was not until the early 1980s that African and Oceanian galleries opened at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, and it would be two more decades before France followed suit. The *Pavilion des Sessions*, at the Louvre, relentlessly formalist, still locates its "masterpieces" firmly in the past. As the former artifacts from ethnological collections gain entry to major museums, it is often on terms dictated by the dominant category: art.

A full deconstruction of the art–artifact distinction requires more than elite recognition or changes in art connoisseurship. It is rooted in profound political and cultural shifts after 1945. I am referring to decolonization, an unevenly developing, unfinished historical process, always accompanied by neo-colonial forms of containment and reaction.

Decolonization, from the national liberation movements of the 1950s to the proliferating indigenous social movements today, is a contradictory process. On every continent today, we encounter both neo-colonial hegemony and post-colonial emergence. Neo-liberal forms of government support, and are subverted by, the volatile politics of identity and heritage. These dialectical forces, in struggle and synergy, are active in contemporary museums of ethnology and art, challenging the taxonomic systems they embody.

The two museums art and ethnology are still with us. However, their difference is less absolute: the coming and going between them is more frequent. It is no lon-

ger surprising to find contemporary art on display in ethnography museums, or tribal objects in institutions such as the Louvre.

An illuminating essay in the *MINPAKU Anthropology Newsletter* by Yukiya Kawaguchi (2013) reveals both the subversion and the persistence of the art–artifact distinction. The essay discusses an exhibition of works by the Nigerian artist El Anatsui, who has become prominent in the world of global arts. Resistance to showing such work in an ethnological museum came primarily from the "art" side of the classificatory boundary. Significantly, non-Western creators seeking recognition as "artists" were part of the resistance. While understanding the historical justification for this ambition, Kawaguchi rejects what is increasingly a false choice. He makes a convincing case for crossing the art–artifact borderline, making possible more complex, multilayered contextualizations.

Crucially, works from the non-West can no longer be confined to a vanished past: a condition of non-modernity. As I learned in the Portland Museum basement, the stories carried by these traveling objects are being retold, curated anew, by diverse authorities in new circumstances.

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My remaining comments will evoke sites of struggle and creativity in the new spaces that are opening up between art and artifact, between the West and its "others." I'll report on recent research, visits and conversations I've been conducting in European and North American museums, institutions that can be called, with appropriate hesitation, "post-ethnological."

"Post" does not mean "after," not a whole new stage or development. Rather it suggests "following from," evoking something new that we do not yet have a name for. Of course, the changes that are underway reflect particular articulations of local, national, and global power. In places such as Canada, the United States, and also New Zealand, Australia, and Alaska, post-ethnological museums are located where native communities can exert direct pressure. Museums in Europe are more distant, and therefore more insulated. However, in a globally connected world, distance is not what it used to be. More than a few European museums, I've discovered to my surprise, are responding to the pressures and possibilities created by indigenous dynamism.

Post-ethnological museums throughout Europe find themselves challenged to do something new with the collections that complex and often violent histories have deposited in their storage areas. Many aspire to transcend colonial pasts, to become post-colonial: a necessary, but ambivalent and perhaps impossible task. Given material and ideological constraints, well-meaning curators have limited room to maneuver.

Funding is a constant struggle, except in a few prominent, state-supported cases. Ethnology museums today must justify their existence in ways that proliferating art museums need not. Neo-liberal accountability, rigid demands for a

quantifiable “return on investment,” threats of reducing curating to marketing, and the search for crowd-pleasing projects: to these structural pressures we can add a widespread climate of hostility to multiculturalism and so-called “political correctness.” As renewed forms of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and racism gain ground (and not only on the extreme Right) cultural diversity is under suspicion. Yet what can ethnology museums be about, if not cultural diversity?

I have participated in discussions with museum managers who argue that we have gone too far with cultural differences and should be communicating universalist, unifying messages. This might mean returning to museums of humankind, or of national culture. Diversity, yes, but with a clear understanding that underneath we’re all alike. This is the reassuring message the public wants to hear.

Confronting these new arguments for universalism, which often reflect nostalgic desires for a simpler time of humanistic or national unity, I’ve concluded that post-ethnological museums cannot give up on diversity. However, they must reconceive cultural differences radically, abandoning the essentializing strategies of older displays. The cultures of the world, both distant and proximate, can be grasped as historical productions. Diversity, never pre-given, arises from specific relationships and dialogues. It is not a quality of taxonomic otherness but a product of exchange and translation.

Given limited time, I will pursue just one area of translation and exchange: the new relations and forms of knowledge being created in Western museums through engagement with indigenous societies.

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Recently, I encountered a surprising sculpture in the Amsterdam Tropenmuseum, standing on a stairway between exhibit levels: a work by the Dutch artist Roy Villevoye.

A black man wears shorts and a t-shirt. Life-sized and hyper-real, he is gently holding a white baby. The title, “Madonna (Omomá and Céline),” commemorates a visit to Amsterdam from West Papua (New Guinea) and the friendship which developed between Omomá and the artist, whose daughter he cradles in his hands. It is a work designed to provoke questions: about Dutch colonial histories in Papua and their post-colonial aftermath, about inter-cultural contacts today, about immigration and otherness, and about breaking down dichotomies of us and them (Photo 4).

The fact of indigenous dynamism, and pressure, is inescapable in nations such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand/Aotearoa, where today no museum can represent aboriginal or First Nations arts and cultures without serious collaboration and shared authority. I was surprised to find the new indigenous presence and pressure in European museums, where native communities are not next-door. Airplane travel and the internet have changed the map which sustained the “permanence” of their collections.

The Pitt Rivers Museum, at Oxford University, is an iconic 19th-century

Photo 4 "Madonna." Sculpture by Roy Villevoye, in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

museum. Its founder, General Pitt Rivers, was an influential figure in archaeology and evolutionary anthropology. He organized a vast collection of artifacts in a typological manner designed to show progressive development. The museum has not changed its name or abandoned its idiosyncratic style of display. It has become a kind of historical artifact (Photo 5). The result is not, however, immobility. Unobtrusive, but significant modifications have been made in the traditional displays (Photo 6). Moreover, a research annex has been added. The staff have encouraged visits, consultations and ritual performances, by Blackfoot Indians from Canada, whose old painted shirts, still of great spiritual power, are preserved there. Responding to the tribe's request, conservators recently took a deep breath and loaned two of the very fragile shirts for use in a ceremony. In Oxford, visitors now look differently at the Blackfoot shirts, aware of their past, present and future significance (Peers and Brown 2015) (Photo 7).

Photo 5 Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Photo 6 Pitt Rivers Museum, traditional display, modified with t-shirt.

Photo 7　Pitt Rivers Museum: Blackfoot painted shirts.

A few more examples of collaboration: the Cambridge University Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology encourages ongoing contacts with Australian Aboriginal groups: consultations that are becoming increasingly routine. At the Leiden Volkenkunde Museum in the Netherlands, ongoing cooperative relationships are being developed with indigenous East Greenland and Surinam. Furthermore, at the Musée du Quai Branly Jacques Chirac in Paris a Wayana delegation from French Guiana recently spent a month in Paris as part of an ongoing collaboration. The young and old visitors worked with many heritage artifacts from the museum's storage. For a conservative institution, this was a significant first step (Photos 8, 9).

Photo 8　Wayana delegation at Quai Branly, Elders.

Photo 9　Wayana at Quai Branly, Young tribal members.

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Another prominent institution, the Berlin Ethnologische Museum, is embarked on an exciting, but also troubling, post-ethnological path (Photo 10).

In 1997, Yup'ik Eskimo Elders and activists arrived at the Museum to spend several weeks with objects from their tradition collected in the 19th century (Photo

Photo 10 Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum.

Photo 11 Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, storage.

11). Anne Fienup-Riordan, an anthropologist who facilitated the visit along with the Berlin museum's curator, Peter Bolz, calls the Yup'ik experience, indigenous research at First World institutions, "fieldwork turned on its head." Published accounts of the visit record encounters and performances similar to those I described in Portland (Fienup-Riordan 2005).

With the new millennium, the Ethnologische Museum received an offer it could not refuse. Its location in a remote suburb had long been a severe liability. Few made the journey. Now a large portion of its unvisited collection might move to a grandiose new exhibition and research center on the "museum island" at the very center of Berlin.

The Humboldt Forum opens soon on the site of the old Hohenzollern city hall from the 1890s (familiarly called the "schloss"), a large baroque structure destroyed in World War Two. In appearance, the new Forum evokes a return of lost grandeur (Photo 12). Its name recalls the cosmopolitan science of the Humboldt brothers.

Photo 12　Humboldt Forum under construction.

Contrasted to the horrors of the 20th century, the imperial 19th century seems almost innocent. To counteract any suspicions of reactionary nationalism, the new Forum's guiding theme is "Germany in the world." The whole project is anchored by the ethnology and Asian collections from the Ethnologische Museum.

The project raises important questions: What kind of cosmopolitanism is being imagined? How is it entangled with contemporary globalization? Will "Germany in the World" be just another way to collect the world's cultures? A new kind of centering? The Humboldt Forum will, of course, be a major tourist destination. A complex commercial and scientific operation, it is planned to include, also, a research center (a "laboratory"). Research for whom? Can there be real participation from outside Europe, at a time when borders are increasingly policed?

The Ethnologische Museum, a venerable, but marginal, underfunded institution, will be given new life. However, rebirth will come at a cost. Only the "best" objects are to be moved to the Museum Island. There are plans to renovate the old museum building and storage area as a "research campus." But there is no funding yet. For now, the objects that do not travel to central Berlin will be mostly sealed in storage, with some pre-selected for potential visits from source communities. Time will tell how this critical aspect of the post-ethnological museum's work can be supported. There is certainly no guarantee. The Humboldt Forum, by giving new life and centrality to the Ethnology Museum might amount to its destruction.

In May 2018, I encountered African sculptures that were *en route* from the Ethnology Museum to the Museum Island. Entering the world of "art," they were temporarily cohabiting with medieval religious art, an original translation experiment, given the more common practice of comparing African forms with European modernism (Photo 13).

In a contradictory development from Berlin: during the past several years, the question of "provenance" for the Humboldt Forum collection, connected necessarily to "repatriation," has emerged in the public debate. Benedicte Savoie, a

Photo 13 African sculptures temporarily at the Bode Museum, Berlin.

Photo 14 Welt Museum Wein Attaching the logo.

distinguished French scholar caused a stir by resigning from the Forum advisory board to protest its neglect of provenance research. She is now an advisor to the French president, Emmanuel Macron, who has publicly promised the restitution of African collections from French museums. Such discussions would have been unthinkable in Europe, even five years ago.

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October 2017 in Vienna, the venerable *Völkerkunde* museum, now a "world-museum" (*Weltmuseum Wein*) re-opened after extensive renovations. Its overarching theme is Vienna in the world: a broad purview including imperial history, collections reflexivity, and current art interventions (Photo 14). The museum holds precious Amazonian artifacts from the early 19th century. Relationships with Brazilian institutions and long-term collaborations with relevant Indian groups have begun and will certainly remain a part of the collection's future. Indigenous curators have visited the museum and worked with staff on an exhibition. How far, one

wonders, can innovations such as this go to create genuinely post-colonial relationships? It's an important question, with no definitive answer. Some African critics have already dismissed the widespread turn to "world arts and cultures," seeing only a new way of appropriating otherness in a globalized environment. A process of re-centering, not de-centering the West. There is certainly force to their argument.

But I am more inclined to keep an open mind in an ambiguous, post/neo-colonial reality, where changes are underway for which outcomes cannot be presumed in advance. In practice, the opening up of European collections, to the extent it occurs, will be a result of small shifts and the making of new relationships.

Just one quick example of what is becoming possible in the former exoticist ethnology museums: One of the first special exhibitions at the Vienna World Cultures Museum was called "Out of the Box" (Antonio et al. 2018) (Photo 15). Members of Vienna's diasporic populations (Indonesians, Filipinos, American Indians, Chinese, Mexicans, Iranians, and others) were invited to discover objects in the collection that spoke to them about their heritage. A page from the catalogue

Photo 15　"Out of the Box" catalogue.

Photo 16　"Out of the Box" catalogue: Two Viennese women, originally from Romania and Slovakia.

is presented above (Photo 16).

The objects were literally taken out of the box in which they had been stored, but also out of their classificatory "boxes." By extension, the museum itself was moving outside the box of its own history. The project's participants discussed their choices and wrote interesting, sometimes moving reflections. These expressed not nostalgia for a homeland, but how the museum's displaced objects helped them to be Viennese, with a difference.

Objects that had formerly been associated with "others" and "elsewhere" were now resources for being diasporically "here," in Vienna, a city of crossing histories. They were objects and people in motion.

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The contacts I have been reviewing challenge not only the concept of "cultural artifact," but also that of "primitive art." I will conclude with an exemplary partnership that now links two formerly distant museums: The Chateau Musée in Boulogne sur Mer (a small French city on the English Channel) and the Native-administered Alutiiq Museum (on Kodiak Island, Alaska).

When I last spoke at Minpaku, in 2010, I told the story of this alliance (Clifford 2013: 261–314). In the 1870s, a unique collection of old Alutiiq masks found its way to a provincial French museum in Boulogne sur Mer, donated by a young French scholar-adventurer named Alphonse Pinart. Pinart acquired the masks just as the indigenous society on Kodiak was passing through a period of acute crisis. Without his "salvage collecting," there would be hardly any well-preserved old masks left. After 1870, the craft of mask-carving disappeared for several generations. It is now being revived. The Pinart collection, long ignored, became a destination for Alutiiq activists and artists. Over the past two decades, a series of visits and negotiations brought a large selection of the Pinart masks home on a return visit to Kodiak.

Ongoing cooperation between the two small museums is redefining the Pinart Collection of Kodiak materials as an unfinished "shared heritage." In the process, both partners loosen absolute, all-or-nothing, concepts of ownership and repatriation. Old collections have the power to inspire new arts and rituals, becoming integral to a living culture. In 2016, the Chateau Musée displayed new works from Alaska in an exhibition that was co-curated with Alutiiq artists (Ramio 2016) (Photo 17). The French museum has now begun an acquisitions program for contemporary Alaska Native art, a project that had to overcome resistance from the national museum authorities. Just last month, I learned from the Alutiiq Museum's newsletter that more masks and regalia from the Pinart Collection had arrived in Kodiak, part of the ongoing program of loans and exchanges (Photos 18, 19, 20, 21).

It is becoming increasingly common for curators to think of their work as not only conserving and interpreting artifacts from the past, but also as encouraging cultural transmission and renewal.

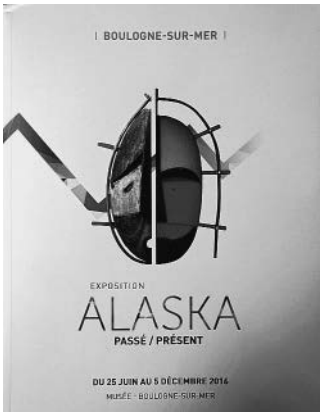

Photo 17　*Alaska Passé/Présent* catalogue cover, 2016.

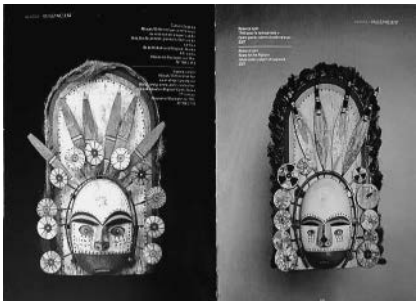

Photo 18　*Alaska Passé/Présent* catalogue page: old and new masks.

Photo 19　19th century mask from the Pinart Collection.

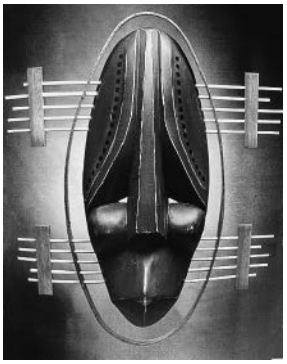

Photo 20 Contemporary carving by Alutiiq artist Perry Eaton.

Photo 21 Neither "art" nor "artifact:" a mask inspired by the Pinart Collection worn in a Kodiak ceremony.

The Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC has permanently relocated a portion of its Alaska collection to a new wing of the Anchorage Museum. The installation is designed to facilitate Native visits and hands-on consultations. Here and at several European post-ethnological establishments, curators, tribal Elders, artists and activists are participating in what might be called "collaborative conservation" (a phrase I first heard at the Leiden Volkenkunde Museum). Interacting with patience and listening with respect, they are discovering considerable common ground between the priorities of science and heritage renewal.

These are just a few cases of the decolonizing work going on in post-ethnological museums. Of course, progress can be slow. Old attitudes die hard.

Communication is not always easy in the emerging contact zones. Suspicion and unequal power subvert reciprocity. Many museums today continue to regard collaboration as a threat to their mission, with access to collections remaining

severely limited. Demands for physical repatriation, whether made by tribes or nation-states, can be intransigent.

We are not in an age of post-colonial innocence. However, little by little, through the development of long-term relationships, historical legacies of mistrust, by both natives and curators, can be overcome. Post-ethnological museums are becoming places for the co-creation of new knowledge, sites of negotiated, collaborative conservation. The objects in their care are in motion. Some return, permanently or on loan, to their societies of origin. Others remain in the former colonial capitals, where they tell new stories.

The times are changing: the conceptual and institutional spaces once occupied by non-Western "artifacts" and "artworks" are more volatile and more interesting. The art–artifact distinction no longer functions as it did in the 19th century and for much of the twentieth. It cannot support an autonomous realm of sensibility and expression, whether this belongs to artists distinct from craft-makers, or to advanced westerners holding primitive others at a distance. The categories are moving, along with the people and things in museums.

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Part II
Panel Discussion (1)

Kenji Yoshida*, Atsunori Ito*, Reiko Saito*, and James Clifford**

Yoshida: Hello, everyone. I am Kenji Yoshida, Director-General of the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku). I will serve as the facilitator for today's panel discussion. Today, we were able to hear the terrific presentation on "post-ethnological museums" by Professor James Clifford at the outset. Again, thank you very much for the wonderful lecture. I believe that we were able to gain many new insights into the ongoing moves at museums in the United States and Europe, with specific examination of their relationships with indigenous peoples in particular. Of particular note is that what consistently formed an undercurrent of Prof. Clifford's lecture was the deep-rooted distinction between art and artifact, which has been around for half a century. He described the background in front of which this distinction has been institutionalized and has led to that between art museums and ethnological museums. I assume that this issue is more deep-rooted in Japan than in either Europe or the U.S. The Japanese purposely translated the single English word "museum" into two terms: *bijutsukan* (art museum) and *hakubutsukan* (cultural or historical museum). In the case of a cup or a china bowl, for instance, it is called a piece of art if it is in a *bijutsukan* and an artifact if it is in a *hakubutsukan*. The same object is handled differently at museums of two types. This difference, I presume shows that neither *bijutsukan* nor *hakubutsukan* necessarily provides an objective knowledge of a thing but approaches it from their respective standpoints. Furthermore, as I have just described, the distinction between *bijutsukan* and *hakubutsukan* only pertains to a distinction between one approach and another to an object. *Hakubutsukan* tries to speak about the background culture and history which produced the object. As opposed to this, *bijutsukan* leads a person to confront directly or at least come into contact with the object by placing the culture and history which produced the object as the background. In other words, the direction of the relation between an object and its background culture or history for *bijutsukan* is simply the opposite of that for *hakubutsukan*.

I assume that no way of distinguishing objects exists, per se, between the museums of two types. Having said that, however, yet another odd distinction has begun hanging over the distinction, i.e., between art and artifact, between art history and anthropology, between Western and non-Western. In addition, between

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** Professor Emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz

oneself and the other. In other words, whereas you would want to house objects that belong to your own culture in an art museum, you would want to house those belonging to others' culture in an ethnological museum in particular. As a result of these moves, while one is in either one of them, i.e., an art museum or an ethnological museum, I have always wondered if you are seeing only half of the world. With these thoughts in mind, I have planned a good number of exhibitions over the past 20 years or more. One exhibition in the earliest years was an attempt entitled "Image of Other Cultures: Re-viewing Ethnographic Collections of the British Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka" which was organized at Minpaku to look back on the operations of ethnological museums through their collections as the initial step. This exhibition was later brought to a museum of art called the Setagaya Art Museum, in Tokyo. As the next step, I organized an exhibition entitled "Self And Other: Portraits From Asia And Europe" from 2008–2009. This was an adventurous attempt of holding exhibitions simultaneously at two venues: an art museum and an ethnological or historical museum under the same title. Our most recent attempt was to exhibit Minpaku's collection at the National Art Center, Tokyo, an art museum, with the title "The Power of Images: The National Museum of Ethnology Collection." The whole set of objects was then transferred back to Minpaku, and exhibited there. Through these attempts, I tried to highlight the issue of distinction between art museums and ethnological museums so that the distinction per se or the "yoke," as it were, that it possesses might be somehow eliminated. With this point in mind, I have been working toward this goal up until now. In Prof. Clifford's presentation today, he noted that this distinction has been blurring gradually nowadays and what prompted such a trend was "indigenous dynamism": the term that he used. In other words, the relation between indigenous peoples and museums was one of the main factors, of the change of museums in general. What Prof. Clifford described in his lecture was linked directly with our Museum's activities. In response to the key note, two researchers of Minpaku are going to report on their respective activities.

First Dr. Atsunori Ito, who is raising his hand now, has been engaged in anthropological field work targeting the Native American communities in North America. He is a researcher who launched a pioneering pilot project called the Info-Forum Museum, which is a flagship project that Minpaku is currently conducting, as Deputy Director-General Seki described in his opening address. I assume that Dr. Ito is going to report on his activities in relation to the collections housed in Minpaku and other museums of ethnology of the world in cooperation with Hopi and Zuni peoples.

Dr. Ito's presentation will be followed by another presentation by Ms. Reiko Saito entitled "Ethnography and Agency: Collaboration with the Ainu People in

Museums." Ms. Saito has conducted ethnological studies of the Ainu and other peoples in northern Asia and America over many years. I understand that she will report on her collaborative work with Ainu people among others. Based on these two activities which Minpaku has been carrying out, we would like to continue our discussion with Prof. Clifford. Now, I would like Dr. Ito to take the podium and give a presentation.

Report 1
Reconnecting Source Communities with Museum Collections: Perspective and Challenges on the Info-Forum Museum Project

Atsunori Ito*

Since its founding in 1974, the National Museum of Ethnology (hereinafter Minpaku, opened to the public in 1977) has been working to support understanding of different cultures and to support promotion of the understanding of cultural diversity and multicultural coexistence through collection, exhibition, and analysis of ethnographic objects. At the symposium *How Can We Represent Other Cultures?: Anthropology, and Ethnographic Museums in the 21st Century* held in 1994 to commemorate twenty years following the foundation of Minpaku, Kenji Yoshida introduced the concept of the "Museum as a Forum," which was advocated originally by Duncan Cameron in 1971, to Japan for the first time (Yoshida 1995; 2013: 2; 2017: 18). Since the 2000s, it has been incorporated gradually into the Minpaku system in the form of forums exchanging opinions of three parties of "the exhibitor," "the exhibited," and "the audience," each related to exhibition of ethnographic material, as an ideal foundation for promoting the understanding of cultural diversity and multicultural coexistence (Yoshida 1999). Subsequently, although the concept of the "Museum as a Forum" tended to be discussed as being specialized to museum activity in the form of exhibitions (Ito 2015), it encountered a new phase in 2014, forty years after foundation.

A new international collaborative project designated as the Info-Forum Museum was launched in which the concept of "Museum as a Forum" is expanded in museum activities other than exhibition such as accumulation, documentation, management, and transmission of information related to all material possessed, and ethics and consideration related to research activities handling ethnographic artifacts (objects of material culture), stories, songs, and other "data." The objective is, briefly, to form international collaborative research teams consisting of Minpaku, ethnology museums and research institutes worldwide, and representatives of the source community: those people who created materials or used them and their descendants (Peers and Brown 2003: 2). With the efforts of those teams, one can simultaneously achieve (1) advanced sophistication of ethnographic data (additional information related to materials) and (2) establishment of a collaborative environment for information disclosure and sharing access with the source communities as the primary users (Kishigami 2015; Sudo 2016; Ito 2018, 2020a, 2020b; Hays-

* National Museum of Ethnology

Gilpin, Ito, and Breunig 2020). Under this framework, as of September 2018, eighteen individual projects have already begun.[1)]

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I had an opportunity to represent one project among them. The individual project "Documenting and Sharing Information on Ethnological Materials: Working with Native American Tribes" continued from June 2014 through March 2018 is designated as a "Reconnecting Project" for this presentation. This project emphasized the meaning of reconnection with the objects collected in the past and now possessed by the museum in the form of ethnographic material and the representatives of the source community meeting again, as intermediated by the task of collections review. "Reconnection" in this context means participation in a research-directed collection review by presenting comments while ethnographic object related to one's own culture are examined: 1) tradition inherited by a local community, 2) experiences and memory of individual reviewer, and 3) item documentation held by institutions checked by handling. Today, I will present a digital archive developed as the "Reconnecting Project." The database named "RECONNECTING Source Communities with Museum Collections (http://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/)" is currently neither complete nor sophisticated. However, based on the experiences our teammates gained from this project, I explore the possibilities of an ethnological museum and develop anew a vision of how it should be in the future.

The source community we chose as our teammate is the Hopi, a Native American Tribe of the Southwestern United States. With a population of about 12,000, the Hopi are agricultural people who live in a high desert near the Grand Canyon, a World Heritage site. They are well known for arts and crafts. Japan particularly is a major importer of their silver jewelry (Ito 2005). Carved wooden dolls modeled after supernatural beings called "katsina" influenced artists, such as dadaists, cubists, and surrealists, in the first half of the 20th century. Religious ceremonies that feature *katsina* and other spiritual beings have not become a tourist attraction. Recording them on camera or videotape is prohibited.

A total of 14 museums in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom have joined the project as teammates (Table 1). The digital archive covers some 2,450 objects curated by museums, including art museums, in the various places described above and a private collection, such as silver jewelry and *katsina* dolls labeled "made by Hopi."

Table 1　Teammate Institutions participating in our “Reconnecting Project” (as of June, 2020)

Location	Holding Institutions	Subject of Reconnection	Implementation period (review)
Osaka, Japan	National Museum of Ethnology	281 “Hopi” carvings 186 “Hopi” arts and crafts 17 Mimbres inspired arts and crafts	Oct. 2014 and Apr. 2015 Apr. and Nov. 2015 Nov. 2018, June 2019
Aichi, Japan	Little World Museum of Man	97 “Hopi” arts and crafts	Nov. 2015
Nara, Japan	Tenri University Sankokan Museum	24 “Hopi” arts and crafts	Nov. 2015
Hiroshima, Japan	Matsunaga Footwear Museum	324 “Hopi” carvings	Apr. and Oct. 2016
Japan	Private Collection	537 “Hopi” jewelry	Nov. 2015 and June 2017
Arizona, USA	Museum of Northern Arizona	446 “Hopi” jewelry 9 Mimbres pots 95 “Hopi” jewelry owned by the Hopi Guild	July and Dec. 2015, Nov. 2018 Oct. 2017 Nov. 2018
Colorado, USA	Denver Art Museum	34 “Hopi” jewelry	Jan. 2017
Colorado, USA	Denver Museum of Nature & Science	38 “Hopi” jewelry	Jan. 2017
Colorado, USA	History Colorado	17 “Hopi” jewelry	Jan. 2017
Washington DC, USA	National Museum of the American Indian	150 “Hopi” jewelry	May and June 2017
Edinburgh, Scotland, UK	National Museum of Scotland	1 “Hopi” jewelry	June 2017
Oregon, USA	Portland Art Museum	1 “Hopi” jewelry	June 2017
New Mexico, USA	New Mexico State University Museum	15 Mimbres pots	Aug. 2017
New Mexico, USA	Geronimo Springs Museum	22 Mimbres pots	Sep. 2017
Washington DC, USA	National Museum of Natural History	26 “Hopi” jewelry	Dec. 2017
USA	Private Collection	145 “Hopi” jewelry owned by the Hopi Guild	June 2019 (photographed)
Total	14 institutions and 2 private collections	2,465 items	90 days

Now I will explain how the project has been conducted. “Input” was gathered through a collections review. Collections review, a technical term used by museums, refers to the process of observing materials by examining them in person and

comparing them with information written by the museum for close examination. Fundamentally, we invited people from the source community to the museums in the various places (Photo 1), but if they were unable to leave home because of religious activities, farming, health condition, or some other reason, I visited the museum myself or with my colleagues to do photography and to measure every object at the storage, and later conducted the collection review digitally by projecting the images of those objects on a monitor installed at an artist's studio in the Hopi reservation (Photo 2).

A total of 22 participants from the Hopi community have taken part in collections reviews, including physical reviews at eight museums including Minpaku, and digital review for five museums in the US and one in Scotland. After spending much time confirming the materials, they presented an explanation of each object.

Photo 1 "Physical review" on the item number G45298 and G45299 of the Matsunaga Footwear Museum. At the Matsunaga Footwear Museum, Hiroshima, Japan on April 24, 2016. (Unless otherwise specified, all photos are by the author.)

Photo 2 "Digital review" on the item number 25/7672 of the National Museum of the American Indians. At Lomaventema's studio in the Hopi Reservation, Arizona, USA on May 29, 2017.

It took several minutes to one hour for one reviewer to do so. All reviewers talked about the objects. What the collection review participants from the source community say about the objects varies depending on their gender, age, how much they were involved in the production processes, how often they used them, and place of residence as well as the environment in which they were raised. Major comments included methods to procure materials, points to note during production, design interpretations, the way materials and end product were called in the local language, the personality of the makers and their surviving family members, and the past and present of the community.

For example, a reviewer Mr. Ramson Lomatewama from the village of *Hotevilla* described his impressions when reviewing a *katsina* doll (H0115028 of Minpaku), making comments on whether the descriptions of doll production were correct or wrong, and the diversity of the styles of the *katsina* among the three mesas of the Hopi reservation (Photo 3).

> This is a doll carving that was carved by Leonard Poola. I'm not familiar with the carver or where they're from. But, this is a cricket, that's what is labeled on the documentation. But, the Cricket *katsina* that I'm familiar with is very different from this one. So, this might be the way it appears in another village but not in the Third Mesa area. This one has a yellow head with the black dots for the eyes and the mouth. It's kind of what it looks like over at Third Mesa area as well, but everything else is different. For example, the antennas here on this doll are carved; they're painted black. The fuzz that's coming off the side of the head is commercial black yarn that's been frayed. It's wearing, again, yarn around the neck. It has a black yarn for the armbands and for the wrists and for the knees. Over at our village it looks different. It does have a yellow head. It does have the two eyes and mouth like this. But, on top of each eye, are small dots, four at the bottom; then three on top and then two and then finally one. So, it kind of has this triangular shape up here; the dots make like a triangular shape. They use a grass mate-

Photo 3　Hopi reviewer Ramson Lomatewama reviewing a doll (H0115028 of Minpaku) at Minpaku on April 21, 2015.

rial for the antenna, *songòosivu* [*songòotala*]. And, this would be white. As I recall, they have a *qaa'ö*, the woven cotton corn from the wedding robe: that's here. Then the tassels of the corn are the ones which come down like this. At *Hoatvela* I've seen them with yellow, all yellow, all over. But, over there I've seen them with leather fringed armbands with, sometimes it got shells on there, on both upper arms. They've got a black yarn bandolier that goes all the way around the back and then coming back under here. I believe they have the two scratch marks, kind of like an "X," a double "X" on both forearms as well as the legs. However, they do not wear this, *sakwavitkuna*, over in our village. They wear *kwikwilhoya*, or the checkered kilt for the kilt. And, the *hopikwewa* coming down across like this and down. I do not recall if they have a fox pelt hanging down the back. So, I'm not too sure. I do not quite remember that small detail. But, they do have the yarn anklets. When they danced, when I saw them, they wore bells on both legs. They were barefoot like this. But, they also had the fringed leather anklet down here on both legs. They did not have a rattle or they didn't have anything in either hand, just didn't have anything in their hands. That's this doll." (Ito (ed.) 2017: 1243–1244)

One piece of silver jewelry was described as "Maker: unknown" in the information of the museum catalog, but its maker was estimated by confirming its style and signature or comparing it with information related to the material held by other institutions whose maker was documented (p048 of private collection and E5440 of Museum of Northern Arizona). In another case, the reviewer was a bereaved relative of the maker's family (Photo 4). By handling a piece of silver jewelry made by her late grandfather, Ms. Clinessia Lucas, the reviewer from the village of *Musangnuvi*, who had not been able to see her grandfather when he was alive, felt closeness with her grandfather and found how unique her grandfather's techniques

Photo 4 Hopi reviewer Clinessia Lucas (left) is holding a silver bracelet made by her late grandfather Glenn B. Lucas (E11060 of Museum of Northern Arizona). At the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Arizona, USA on July 22, 2015.

and design capabilities were. She swore that she would become an excellent silversmith like her grandfather (E11060 of Museum of Northern Arizona).

> "Holding this, it is really an honor. I never got to meet my grandfather, but they (his daughters) always talk about him a lot. I'm glad to be here actually to hold this piece. Makes me want to cry. But, it's an honor. I like his matting. I like his cutting. The designs he used in there are different. I wonder what it represented to him. I wish I got to know him a little bit more. This is really nice. I like the way he soldered. I just wish he would be still here so I could be next to him also doing the same thing with his kids, my aunts. This is cool. Sometimes when I go there too, we talk about his jewelry; then their jewelry, and how they wish they can pass it down. I know that it takes money and time. So I'm glad that I got this chance too, being in this class with Gerald, or I would not be here right now. It's cool. I just wish I could hear the story on that one. Probably be repeating it to these guys. Cool, we almost have the same initials (GL and CL)." (Ito, Dougherty, and Hays-Gilpin (eds.) 2020: 421–422)

Another reviewer Mr. Ed Kabotie from the village of *Songòopavi*, who reviewed his father's and great uncle's pieces, reminisced the days he spent with those individuals. He offers his gratitude to be part of this Reconnecting Project (Photo 5).

> "I just wanted to say *kwakwháy* to the Minpaku Museum and to Ito-san, and for all of those that were involved with the Hopi project. I had the opportunity to review certain pieces of overlay from the collections with Ito-san. And, among these pieces I was able to look at my father's (Michael Kabotie, 1942/9/3–2009/10/23) piece also. Also something that's always curious to me is to look at older pieces and particularly my grandmother's (Alice, 1909–1994/6/24) brother who is Paul Saufkie (1904–1998). Which is also… it's very touching because when you're looking at these pieces, you're

Photo 5 Hopi reviewer Ed Kabotie is holding a silver bracelet made by his late father Michael Kabotie (E11596 of Museum of Northern Arizona) at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Arizona, USA on July 24, 2015.

> reminded of the time that you spent with these individuals. For myself like Paul *taaha*, my grandmother's brother, he was often at our house as we were growing up. He would come by to visit. And, sometimes our breakfast would last like three hours because our grandmother was up making breakfast for all the relatives. But, these are the type of things that you… that you think about when you're looking at these pieces. When I look at my father's pieces, I always like to try to guess the time that they came from because I remember as a child the different stages that he was going through in his work. For me, I came to jewelry very late. I do not really consider myself an accomplished silversmith. But, I really do enjoy the process. And, it was so much a part of my childhood that it's very important to me to be able to continue to learn about the process. When I was young, we would often go to the Arts and Crafts Guild. And, my sister and I would get a *Fresca* from the soda machine. And, then we would be peeking through the window to watch all the artists. And, a lot of times I remember Sidney Sekakuku (Jr.) and Eugene Secakuku were in the Guild at that time. Myron (Secakuku) as well. I remember they would motion to us to come in and oftentimes we would just stand there, smell the smells, the sulfur; then listen to the rhythm and watch them work. Like I say I came to jewelry late. I… during the last few years of my father's life I had the opportunity to work with him at a few of his workshops in Crow Canyon (Crow Canyon Archaeological Center), Colorado, and then also at Idyllwild (Idyllwild Arts Academy) in California, the School of the Arts. And, when I was there, I was really learning for the first time. Actually I did try to learn when I was a child, but I remember breaking a bunch of saw blades and my dad was getting mad. So I said "I'll let you do that." But when I learned in the class, what came back to me in my memory about sawing silver was the sound. Not so much the way that it was done but just the sound. Because I remember when I was a child, going to the Guild and how the saws sounded. Just a very, very rhythmic sound when they would saw. So those are the things that I remember when I look at these pieces and their review. Also, I guess I hope that somehow maybe their creative spirit I can catch a little bit. But, also when I'm looking at it trying to learn techniques, I'm a very basic silversmith compared to most of my people who are really working at it quite a bit. But, I'm very grateful to be able to be part of the review. Because to me it's something that was begun in my grandfather's generation, with my grandfather, with my grandmother's brother, and then my father. Now I get to look back on that history, be blessed by it and also be a part of it. So again, like I said at the beginning of the video, I just want to really express my gratefulness to be able to be part of this project. *Kwakwháy*." (Ito, Dougherty, and Hays-Gilpin (eds.) 2020: 65–66)

The emotional stories told about the objects at the reconnection site differed greatly from the information from the museum catalog. The information possessed by museums is usually related to ethnic groups, materials, production methods, dimensions, and descriptions as well as when the materials were obtained, where,

who, from whom, and how much. In the “Reconnecting Project,” however, reviewers from the source community gave heartwarming, lively accounts based mainly on their memory and customs using the local language, expressions, and gestures. These are irreplaceable stories that reveal the close relationships between people and things. Although coded scientific items present the advantage of allowing easy comparison between materials, they lack a human touch.

As they repeatedly visited museums in various places and experienced reconnection, the Hopi people came to learn about and became accustomed to the way the museums classified materials and the style in which they described them. When their comments were recorded, however, they always considered this experience as an opportunity to talk about whatever was related to their culture in their own words according to their own judgment standards. One example was an occasion in which they emphasized the necessity of devoting consideration to cultural sensitivities. At the beginning of this presentation, I described that the Hopi ceremonies and knowledge have not become a tourist attraction and that recording them is prohibited (Photo 6). Following the local practice of not revealing their religious knowledge to non-Hopi people and especially to Hopi children who have not initiated to the religious Society, the Hopi people told teammate museums about the necessity of giving special consideration, saying, “This should kind of be like put aside to not to give that information out to the public. This is a doll that should be highly respected. That’s how much information I can give you (N-006–0010 of Little World),” “Please refrain from using this material for exhibitions or releasing it to the general public online so that Hopi children do not see this (H0115042 of Minpaku),” or “Please separate this material from others in the storage (H0074835 of Minpaku).” Through the sharing of this traditional knowledge called “sensitivity training,” we, the museum professionals, were able to understand the profundity of other cultures and learn the necessity of giving consideration so that many cultures can coexist (Photo 7).

Because the collections were reviewed and comments were recorded without a script, reviewers sometimes inadvertently spoke about highly confidential traditional knowledge during recording. Many Hopi reviewers requested that recorded comments be confirmed without fail before their comments were released to the general public. Therefore, we performed collaborative editorial work of turning all recorded comments into text and confirming whether those comments could be released to the general public while comparing the comments with the filmed movies. This work took an overwhelmingly longer time than other processes. Therefore, the largest amount of honorarium was allocated to this work for compensation. This work required much labor and money, but we undertook it seriously because it was an extremely important process to ensure that information was handed down to posterity in a way that was desired by people from the source community.

Photo 6 Sign board at the entrance of a Hopi village. Photograph by Merle Namoki on December 24, 2011.

Photo 7 Hopi reviewer Merle Namoki requests to the holding museum not to publicize the specific item or its image to the general public (H0075677 of Minpaku) at Minpaku on April 14, 2015.

The Hopi participants assumed that ordinary viewers, such as visitors to the museums, would listen to what they talked about, but the listeners to whom they were most conscious about were members of their community who were not present at the reconnection site and their brethren several generations later, including the grandchildren of their grandchildren, with whom they were unable to meet directly. Their recorded comments and behavior were not limited to the reconnection site but might be reproduced in the future so that their descendants would be able to experience for themselves what the reviewers had gone through. With that in mind, the collections reviewers strove to make comments in a more accurate yet congenial way using culturally safer expressions. Documentation of these communications reflected a complex, diverse, and changing knowledge of the museum

objects. The full collection review was recorded by digital video; the documentation will be curated by the museum. Their style of talking, which could be described as "placing the greatest emphasis on the local community when explaining objects," seemed to indicate that the source community has proposed and put into practice a new way of using an ethnological museum, which is located in places far away from their homes.

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Next, I will explain the "output," the second pillar of the project. This process involves turning knowledge obtained through reconnection into a reproducible form and releasing it to the general public through digital archives and other media. What we aimed at is not a database that merely looks nice. We strove to create a digital archive of the reconnection that is particularly user-friendly to members of the source community, which underscored the significance of the project planned by the ethnological museum, and which demonstrated the concept of the "Reconnecting Project" to the full (Photos 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15). To that end, we secured opportunities to confirm the concept with our teammates and collected their opinions on what they wanted to take over and where they wanted to use it effectively. For that reason, the reconnection process and collaborative editorial work were performed before creation of the digital archive.

As a result, we decided to adopt an approach that differed from the traditional one in which we learn description on the objects by reading words that correspond to coded items. Some collections reviewers, particularly those with a strong personality, said that through their gestures, expressions, local language and dialect, and humorous stories, they hoped that the objects themselves, comments by a community member, and the Hopi world views would be "watched," "listened to," "enjoyed," and "understood," especially by next generations. This opinion is characteristic of people who did not have a written language and who emphasize oral traditions. Because the way they drew or made descriptions showed their characteristic traits, the memos taken and sketches made during collections review were also scanned and were added to the database.

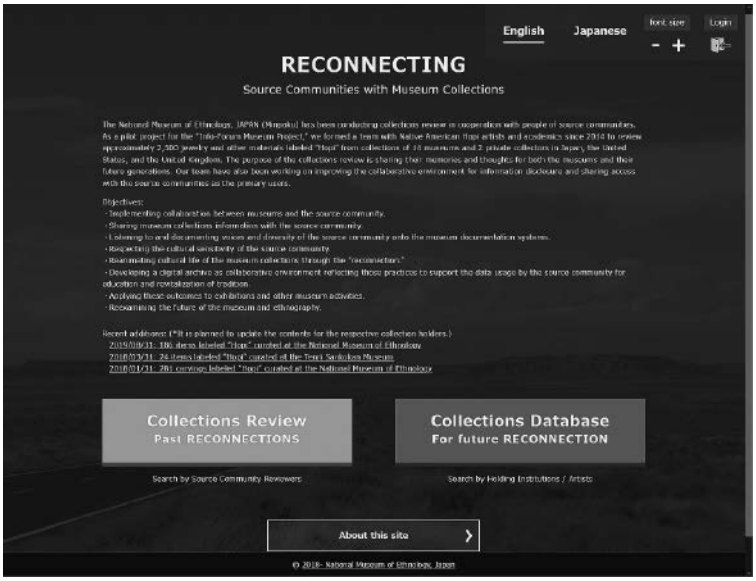

Photo 8 Top page of the digital archive: “Reconnecting Source Communities with Museum Collections” (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/).

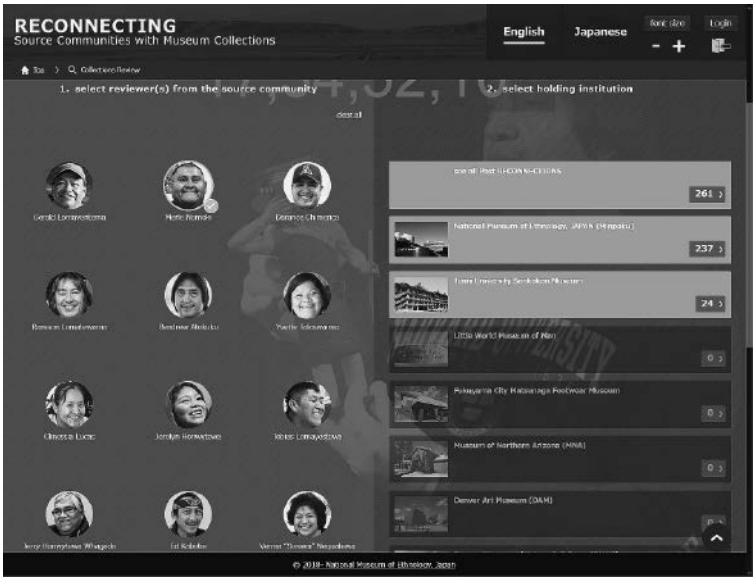

Photo 9 Page for researching past Reconnections (collections reviews). Here, users can select a combination of reviewers and holding museums (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/review.html).

Photo 10　Reviewer's comment on the item (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/reviewDetail.html#id=143).

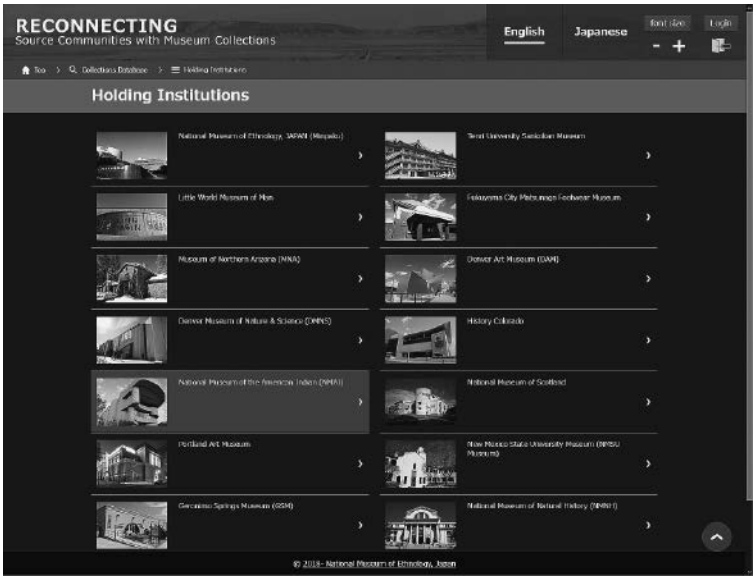

Photo 11　List of the holding institutions related to this project (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/holdingInstitution.html).

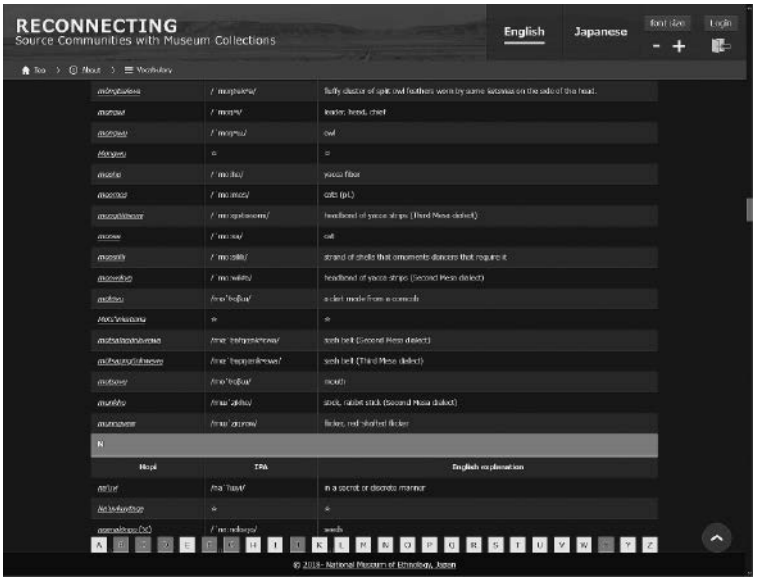

Photo 12 Index of the Hopi words described in the past collection reviews (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/vocabulary.html).

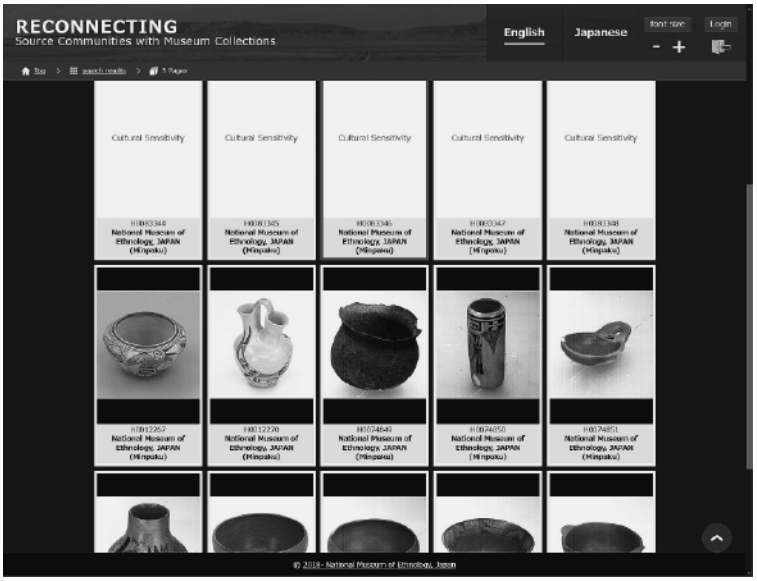

Photo 13 List of items (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/searchResult.html#holdingInstitutionCode=1&page=12).

Photo 14　Users can go directly to the page of the past collection review from the object reference page (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/objectDetail.html#id=H0268574).

Photo 15　Some parts of review comments have been deleted at the request of the reviewers (https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hopi/reviewDetail.html#id=62).

As described earlier, one design challenge was to incorporate considerations of cultural sensitivities into the database system skillfully. For example, we refrained from releasing to the general public the images of particular items designated by Hopi reviewers. One field in the database had an index in which the International Phonetic Alphabet spelling was attached to a Hopi word uttered during the reconnecting process. Later, some of the phonetic versions of the words were deleted so that it could not be viewed because we received a comment from a collections reviewer of the source community, who remarked that the pronunciation of the names of *katsina* should be removed from the list. Furthermore, we received another request that concerned not only the "Reconnecting Project," but also the continuity of Minpaku and other teammate museums' operations. The collections reviewers opined that since the degree of experience that had provided the basis for explanations about ethnographic objects would change according to the situation that would surround them and with the passage of time, they wanted Minpaku and other museums to provide opportunities to confirm the experiences and make additional comments. In other words, they wanted Minpaku and teammate museums to continue such reconnection process for the same objects, offering second and third rounds of reconnection. We, the teammate museums, take this opinion seriously because we understand the necessity and possibility of considering information related to the objects we possess in motion rather than regarding it as fixed, and of handing it down to future generations as such. Database records should therefore be living documents: never final.

The current database, which has been improved repeatedly to meet these various requests, can be summarized as follows: an information-generating revisable digital visual archive on ethnographic objects that respects the presence of the source community and represents an aggregate of its members' memory. Of course, similarly to ordinary museum collection databases, this one has the function of allowing users to conduct searches using object ID numbers and keywords. Nonetheless, one distinctive feature of this database is that it is a digital archive reflecting collaborative ethnography based on museum activities.

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Finally, I will explore the possibilities of ethnological museum and propose a vision of how it should be in the future. This project clarified that the objects which are collected and then catalogued as ethnographic objects are usually separated from their source communities. For that reason, the objects' cultural vitality declines. One of the greatest contributions our team made is that we demonstrated, using specific methods, that such ethnographic objects can be reanimated culturally to a certain degree by encouraging reconnection with their source communities. As art museums do, ethnological museums take physical measures to extend the life of objects from the standpoint of conservation science. Simultaneously we have come to believe that it is also important to reanimate ethnographic collection by perform-

ing the reconnection process with source communities continuously and periodically, listening to community members, and incorporating the results of these efforts into the management of objects.

Aside from Info-Forum Museum project, there are many examples of museums that specifically examine reconnection and object narratives. In the United States, approximately 30 years ago, federal laws (The National Museum of the American Indian Act 1989, and The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act 1990) mandated repatriation of Native American human remains, funerary objects, objects of cultural patrimony, and sacred objects, which required a reconnection process involving consultations between museums and source communities (descendant communities). As a result of such consultations, major institutions have redefined their missions (Colwell 2017). In other words, they are no longer institutions that simply store things. They are evolving into institutions that consider important and diverse stories told by source communities about things, and which hand down stories to future generations.

In addition, indigenous community museums such as the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center (Zuni Museum) conducted a project under which their personnel took the initiative of visiting ethnological museums worldwide, reviewing the objects curated by them, and putting forward their opinions or developing a database named *Amidolanne* (http://ashiwi-museum.org/collaborations/amidolanne/). The Zuni Museum, located in the American state of New Mexico, has worked with the Indian Arts Research Center (IARC), a division of the School for Advanced Research (SAR) based in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and other institutions to lead an attempt for collaborative ethnography based on ethnological museums. Its specific method is currently being applied to the management of information related to materials at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian. It has also exerted a tremendous influence on our "Reconnecting Project." For this reason, when we launched the project in 2014, we invited Mr. Jim Enote, former Executive Director of the Zuni Museum, and Dr. Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Assistant Director for Collections at the National Museum of the American Indian (former director of IARC in Santa Fe), to Minpaku (Photos 16, 17). The purpose of this invitation was to ask them to tell the Hopi people, who would be chosen as new collections reviewers, about their experiences and attitudes they should adopt for review of collections (Chavez Lamar and Enote 2020).

*

The experiences and documentations of reconnection, which are full of emotion and which involve not only things known as ethnographical materials but also their mutual relationships and those with other people, are displaying that they have the power of gathering people. Our project recorded over 680 hour of reconnection on digital media with comments amounting to some 20,000 pages. For this pilot project, we collaborated with museums in various places and members of the

Photo 16 Jim Enote (center), former executive director of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center, shares his knowledge and experiences on the museum collections review with Hopis at Minpaku on October 7, 2014.

Photo 17 Dr. Cynthia Chavez Lamar (left), assistant director for collections at the National Museum of the American Indian, shares her knowledge and experiences on the museum collections review with Hopis at Minpaku, Japan on October 7, 2014.

source communities for rapid establishment of a method of collecting and accumulating a huge amount of invaluable new human touch stories about the things we possess as academic resources, even some time after they were collected. What is more important is that we are managing, releasing to the general public, and taking over records of reconnection in a way that is culturally desired by, and satisfies, members of the source communities. As described above, gaining functions that are rare even by world standards, we, the teammates, are taking on the challenge of exploring greater possibilities of (ethnological) museums by improving this collaborative environment further and sharing access with the source communities as primary users.

Note

1） As of June 2020, there are 24 projects.

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Panel Discussion (2)

Yoshida: Thank you very much, Dr. Ito. As Dr. Ito described at the outset, a total of 18 projects (As of June 2020, there are 24 projects.) related to the Info-Forum Museum are underway at Minpaku. Aside from this one related to North America, the projects encompass nearly all regions across the globe. We are in the process of moving our work forward so that you might ultimately be able to add to all Minpaku databases in the form of the Info-Forum Museum at any time. One might be able not only to record objects of our museum's collection but also to form an aggregate or bank of memories of the peoples in the world. Ms. Saito, who is going to give a presentation next, is also working on an Info-Forum Museum project related to Ainu people and has been collaborating or working with people in the Ainu communities in many other different ways to date. Our museum's collaborative projects with Ainu people include not only those she launched on her own: quite a few of those that have continued since Minpaku was established in 1974. Ms. Saito, could you please start your presentation?

Photo 1 Panel discussion. Left to right: Yoshida, Clifford, Ito and Saito (©2020 National Museum of Ethnology).

Report 2
Ethnography and Agency: Collaboration with the Ainu People in Museums

Reiko Saito*

Relationships between the Ainu people and museums have undergone major changes during the past two to three decades. First, I would like to discuss that history briefly.

In Japan, the number of newly established museums started to increase from the 1970s. This happened in Hokkaido, too. Many of the museums that owned and exhibited Ainu collections opened in the 1970s or thereafter. In those days, curators and experts, such as founding committee members, decided what and how to exhibit. Most of the museums reproduced traditional Ainu culture by displaying old utensils and other items. To have visitors understand the uniqueness of Ainu culture, it was necessary to emphasize the differences between the Ainu and *wajin*, the majority people living in Japan. In other words, major exhibits included hunting and fishing equipment, clothes and wood-carvings featuring characteristic patterns, and ritual tools typified by *iomante*, a rite to send a bear's soul to a heavenly world. Successors of Ainu culture were partly involved in preparatory work, such as the production of exhibits, but did not participate in the planning of the entire exhibition of Ainu culture.

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Under these circumstances, in 1972, Mr. Shigeru Kayano, an Ainu man born in Nibutani, Biratori Town, offered a tract of land he owned and cultural objects he had collected, called for donations, and opened the former *Nibutani Ainu Bunka Shiryokan* (currently Kayano Shigeru Nibutani Ainu Museum) as a project of the Utari Association of Hokkaido (currently the Ainu Association of Hokkaido) (Photos 1, 2). Incidentally, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido established in 1946 is the largest organization of the Ainu people. After seeing researchers visiting Biratori purchase many of the treasured ritual tools and other items that had been handed down from Ainu ancestors and take them when researchers left, Mr. Kayano started to collect ancestral items to prevent their outflow. He also concentrated on recording the Ainu language of Elders who grew up with Ainu as their mother tongue, before they passed away. This was an unprecedented attempt. In 1994, he was the first Ainu to become a member of the Diet (a Councilor). He contributed to the establishment of the Act on the Promotion of Ainu Culture, and Dissemination and Enlightenment of Knowledge about Ainu Tradition, etc. (commonly known as the Ainu Culture Promotion Act), which came into force in 1997 (Kayano 2008).

* National Museum of Ethnology

Photo 1　Kayano Shigeru Nibutani Ainu Museum in September 2015.
(Unless otherwise specified, all photos are by the author.)

Photo 2　Outdoor exhibition at Kayano Shigeru Nibutani Ainu Museum in March 2017.

In the 1960s, the number of visitors to Hokkaido started to grow rapidly. The tourism boom peaked in the 1970s. Traffic volume also increased as the national highway running through Nibutani became connected to the trunk road (popularly known as the Nissho Road that links Sapporo and Obihiro) that went into operation in 1965. Several years later, drive-ins and souvenir shops were built. Nibutani was transformed into a well-known tourist spot. It was during this period that the *Nibutani Ainu Bunka Shiryokan* (Kayano Shigeru Nibutani Ainu Museum) was opened. In other tourist spots, however, the Ainu people were treated as a promotional tool, *wajin* conducted business by impersonating Ainu people. Incorrect explanations were given about Ainu culture. Because these and other problems arose, there were critical comments and calls for improvement inside and outside Ainu society.

In the early 1980s, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido achieved major aims in its economic and welfare activities, such as supporting employment and improving

the housing environment, and started to concentrate on cultural restoration. During this period, a growing movement of the Ainu people occurred as they strove to correct misunderstandings about Ainu culture attributable to the tourism boom and to investigate, take over, and disseminate their culture on their own initiative. In 1984, traditional Ainu dance was designated by the national government as an important intangible folk cultural property. In 1987, an Ainu language class initiated by Mr. Kayano in Nibutani started to receive subsidies from the Hokkaido and National government as a project of the Ainu association of Hokkaido. Later, an increasing number of similar classes were held throughout Hokkaido. In 1989, the Ainu Association of Hokkaido began to promote the Cultural festival of Ainu People. It was marked its 30th festival in 2017.

In 1984, when traditional Ainu dance was designated as an important intangible folk cultural asset, the Ainu Museum, which was operated mainly by the Ainu people, was opened in Shiraoi Town. In 1967, its predecessor, the Shiraoi Folk Museum, was opened. In 1976, a foundation was established to take over the museum, which was later rebuilt and called the Ainu Museum in 1984. The Ainu Museum has nurtured the Ainu culture keepers, curators, and other human resources. It was closed in spring of 2018 because of a plan to open the National Ainu Museum in that location in 2020. The Ainu Museum foundation and the Foundation for Research and Promotion of Ainu Culture has been merged under the name the Foundation for Ainu Culture in 2018. The foundation will operate and manage Symbolic Space for Ethnic Harmony" called as popular name "Upopoy", which includes the National Ainu Museum and Park. Foundation personnel are making preparations for the opening in 2020.

Subsequently, we were affected to some degree by discussions held in such regions as North America in the 1980s about how an exhibition of indigenous peoples should be. The Ainu people, but also researchers in Japan and abroad, came to question or criticize the mode of exhibition which emphasized the old Ainu lifestyle rather than the contemporary one. In the 1990s, research in and studies of exhibitions of Ainu culture were started. An increasing number of theses on this subject were presented, which is a trend that has continued to the present day (Niessen 1994; Ohtsuka 1996; Shimizu 1996; Yoshida 1998; Honda and Hazuki 2007).

After the Ainu Culture Promotion Act came into force in 1997, a traveling exhibition was held as a project based on that act each year. Ainu curators, researchers, craftspeople, and other experts participated in its planning committee. This provided greater opportunities not only for Ainu curators who had theretofore been involved in exhibitions at museums in limited areas but also Ainu people from various regions and in various positions to work with *wajin* curators, researchers, and other experts.

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The National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku) opened in 1977. Two years

later, in 1979, it opened its exhibition gallery of Ainu culture to the public. Minpaku possessed old Ainu objects transferred from other institutions, but because they were insufficient, it asked the Ainu people who were knowledgeable of traditional manufacturing techniques to manufacture folk utensils; thereupon it purchased them and completed the Ainu exhibition gallery (Ohtsuka 1996; 2014). At that time, Minpaku relied particularly on Mr. Kayano. It invited Mr. Kayano and other people in Nibutani to come to the museum to build the traditional house called "*cise*." Before *cise* was built and after it was completed, *kamuynomi* was held with Mr. Kayano as the priest (Photo 3). In the Ainu's view, all things have a spirit or soul. Particularly, the spirit or soul of things closely related to human beings that have strong power are called "*kamuy*." *Kamuynomi* means praying to *kamuy* (deity) in Ainu language. It ranges from daily prayers by individuals or families when they eat the first fruit, fish, etc. of the season or before they enter a forest to gather some edible wild plants, to group prayers when they build a new house or boat, or other ceremonial occasions in their life events. Even after "*cise*" was reproduced in the Ainu exhibition gallery, Minpaku, which wishes that all collections be conserved safely and be handed over to posterity properly, invited Mr. and Mrs. Kayano and several people from Nibutani each year to held *kamuynomi* at the traditional house. Minpaku personnel also attended the ritual, worked with them to prepare traditional dishes and eat them, thereby promoting exchange with the Ainu culture keepers. *Kamuynomi* at the Ainu exhibition gallery continued until 2006, the year when Mr. Kayano passed away.

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In 2007, Minpaku entered into an agreement with the Ainu Association of Hokkaido. Since then, has invited one of the latter's regional groups to held *kamuynomi* at the museum each year. Before that year, the rite had been administered on a day when the museum was closed on Wednesday with only museum personnel attending. However, since 2007, the ritual has been opened to the public,

Photo 3 Groundbreaking ceremony for reconstruction of the traditional Ainu house at Minpaku in 1979 (U-100216_011, Minpaku collection).

with a temporary sunken hearth and an altar built in the front garden. Traditional dance has been performed at the front garden plaza, allowing more museum personnel and visitors to enjoy the performance (Photos 4, 5, 6). During the past ten years or so, Ainu people from various regions such as Chitose, Kushiro, Shizunai, Tomakomai, Shiraoi, Mukawa, Akan and Yakumo, have visited Minpaku. These visits have provided an important opportunity not only to have people in Osaka and its vicinities gain a deeper understanding of the Ainu culture through the ritual but also to connect the Ainu people in various regions of Hokkaido and Minpaku (Saito 2014).

Regarding Minpaku's relationships with the Ainu Association of Hokkaido, it has received craftspeople and artisans sent by the Association as visiting researchers since 2000. Mainly they have investigated old Ainu objects of museum's collection, heard explanations from experts about the arts and crafts of overseas indigenous people, and visited other museums in the Kansai region for research and studies (Photo 7). These craftspeople train themselves to use what they have

Photo 4 *Kamuynomi* (rite) at Minpaku on November 30, 2017.

Photo 5 Traditional dance performed during *kamuynomi* at Minpaku on November 12, 2015.

Photo 6　*Kamuynomi*, which wishes that all collections are conserved safely, in front of the museum storage on November 12, 2015.

Photo 7　Hosting the craftspeople sent by the Ainu Association as visiting researchers on November 14, 2018.

learned for creative activities. Not only for these craftspeople, Minpaku's researchers and staff members learn many things by investigating materials together with them.

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Since 2008, Minpaku started to renew the exhibition rooms of its Main Exhibition Building in turn. In the spring of 2016, it opened a renewed exhibit of Ainu culture to the public (Photo 8). Three years before the renewal opening, we asked some younger and some older Ainu people to join the renewal project as joint researchers. Then they worked with museum personnel in all processes from exhibition planning to design and supervision. Specifically, the occupations of these people with an Ainu identity, aged in their 30s to 60s, varied; they included curators, members of the secretariat of the Ainu Association, craftspeople, editors, and

Photo 8 *Kamuynomi* for new Ainu gallery in Minpaku on June 16, 2016.

researchers. Two outside researchers and five Minpaku researchers joined them in a series of discussions of how they should understand the traditions and the current state of the Ainu and what they should convey to visitors through the exhibits. Consequently, they created a renewed exhibit of Ainu culture together with clerical workers of Minpaku, designers, engineers, and experts on display. Plenary meetings were held twice or three times a year. On other occasions, Minpaku sought the opinions of individual Ainu people in each subject and asked them for supervision.

In the first meeting, all members of the project pointed out both excellent and unsatisfactory points of the old exhibits while looking at them. We discussed what should be maintained and what should be added. The proposals included installation of panel presentations on the history of the Ainu, providing examples of how materials had been collected, creating areas in which to experience the Ainu language and music first-hand, and presenting contemporary Ainu culture. All these were realized even though each newly added presentation was of small scale.

One specific proposal was to maintain *cise* despite the limited exhibition space and budget, and turn it into an exhibit that would make visitors feel signs of daily activities. Therefore, the members decided to put mannequins in the traditional house. The old exhibit included a one-tenth scale model house and garden in the early 20th century beside *cise*. As a result of that proposal, they decided to remove the model. They moved the altar for the ritual, which had been on display at a far-away place, to the area where the model house had stood because the altar should originally be positioned outside the window of *cise* opposite its entrance. A mannequin making a gesture likened to offering a prayer has been placed in front of the altar. Because the window facing the altar is a sacred one through which *kamuy* enter and exit, its bounds are fixed so that nobody can enter it. The space behind them becomes inaccessible if the bounds of the sacred place are fixed. Nevertheless, the members agreed that the understanding of visitors should be sought by placing a panel explaining that it is a sacred place for the Ainu (Photo 9) (Saito et al. 2016).

Photo 9　Altar facing the ritual window of the reconstructed house in June, 2020.

Photo 10　Two small video displays used by craftspeople to explain their works in October, 2019.

We were not able to give shape to all opinions and ideas they had put forward. To make up for that, Minpaku has held events such as demonstrations and explanations even after the exhibits were opened to the public. It has concentrated its greatest energies on showing edited videos of comments made about the exhibited works by their creators. Since 2018 spring, the two small monitors installed on a table at the center of the Ainu culture gallery have allowed visitors to listen to the comments of creators as they explain their works in their own words (Photo 10).

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What can be exhibited at a museum is limited. A museum cannot exhibit one entire culture in as exhaustive a way as writing its ethnography. Minpaku has intended to prepare exhibits with consideration of the Ainu's perspective and its own perspective of what to examine specifically and how to arrange the exhibit, and anticipating what visitors want to know and see. Going forward, it will listen to widely diverse people who view its exhibits, thereby making its exhibits even more advanced and innovative.

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Panel Discussion (3)

Yoshida: Thank you very much, Ms. Saito. The *kamuynomi* ritual that she introduced is held annually in the fall, around November. For the ritual, utensils that indigenous Ainu people used to or made for use, which are normally stored in Minpaku's storage, are brought out and actually used. It is quite unusual to use a museum's objects in the museum community. It is true that some objections to their use were raised at Minpaku in the past. However, I personally have felt tangibly the moment at which life is breathed into Minpaku's collection or into Minpaku per se over the years by participating in *kamuynomi* every year. Additionally, we have organized a training program for craftspeople, which is timed to coincide with the ritual, as Ms. Saito has described earlier in her presentation. Trainees are given access to the storage area, where they can carefully inspect objects that their ancestors have actually created. Some trainees conducted inspections in detail and published books; others have taken an in-depth look at objects their ancestors made and have built replicas of the objects during their stay, returning home only after acquiring the necessary techniques. As a matter of fact, one starting point when we came up with the idea of the Info-Forum Museum associated with Minpaku's artifacts was this association with Ainu people. Today, we were able to listen to presentations on activities of two types at Minpaku: reports on two ethnic groups. First, I would like Prof. Clifford to make a comment on the two presentations. I assume that a great deal of parallelism must have been identified.

Photo 1 Kenji Yoshida and James Clifford (©2020 National Museum of Ethnology).

Clifford: Thank you for these two very rich presentations. There's a lot to absorb and also to think about: one aspect of the current moment that we are in; and one that I think has not been described explicitly, but it's implicit and quite visible in both presentations is the institutional element, or we might say an inter-institutional dimension. In both in each of the cases, tribal museums, i.e., museums administered by indigenous communities, play a central role. Of course the word

"community" is a word that hides as much as it reveals. We know that all communities, including indigenous communities, are sociologically and politically complex. They do not always agree among themselves. Therefore, we just have to bear that in mind.

The emergence of indigenous museums within such communities is, I think, an extremely important dimension of the new tribal landscape. Furthermore, it's made collaborations of certain kinds, and also repatriation, much more possible. Returning artifacts, and sound recordings of language or ritual, is complex. They were often collected not from tribes as we now know them. In many cases, the institution of the tribe, which was a colonial imposition, did not exist. What existed at the time of collection were clans: kinship-based political structures. Furthermore, often the right to display objects or to sing a song or tell a story was owned by a clan, with certain individuals speaking for the clan and making decisions. Now in the intervening hundred years or so between the moment of collection in the late 19th to the early 20th century, a lot has changed in the sociology of tribal life and in the interconnection of tribal communities with national contexts and with globalized forms. We cannot imagine the extended consultations we just heard about without the internet. Globalization is a complicated thing, both in terms of capitalist imposition and local appropriation, with connectivity at many levels and in many forms.

Tribal life today uses Facebook. It depends on travel, which means that it depends on airplanes. We're no longer in the period when we took boats to travel from Zuni to Osaka. The relationships we're discussing today are part of modernity, which includes technology and capitalism: globalization in its excessive and ambiguous forms. What I sometimes call 'the world of museums' is part of that. For me, that phrase is a sort of troping, a turning, of what we used to call "the museum world" which referred to the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan Museum in New York where I grew up. It meant the British Museum and the Louvre. We're in different moment now, a world of museums, meaning the incredible dissemination of the museum form globally, from Africa to Dubai. Recently, China was opening a new museum every day of the year! Tribal museums are part of this unprecedented development. The process of localizing and translating the museum form is taking place within changing tribal societies, and also within national and international contexts. Who will fund these new institutions? What are the political force fields which make possible, for example, a new National Ainu Museum?

I just want to remind us that the circulation of culture, objects, and knowledge, in the networked world of museums, where Minpaku plays a leading role, is part of a larger set of structures and systems, power relations, and social relations. Globalization of the museum form is creating not a universal template, but something hybrid and inventive: something simultaneously local, regional and global

(Tribal museums are also cultural centers). The situation of the Ainu, which I've been learning about on this trip, is a good example. I like the way I hear people say, "Ainu people," instead of "the Ainu." The phrase avoids essentializing tribal nationhood or identity. It keeps the process of re-identification open.

A new Ainu museum will open soon, larger than more locally based institutions such as the museum in Nibutani. Not a replacement, but Ainu "peoplehood" performed at a new scale (UPOPOY: National Ainu Museum and Park opened in the Hokkaido town of Shiraoi on July 12, 2020.). I'm not sure whether to call this scale "national." The museum will, no doubt, have a regional and an international profile as a part of tourist networks. Renewed tribal lives, re-articulations of peoplehood, are complexly interconnected at more than one scale. Twenty years ago, I could not have imagined this world: The idea, the very idea of a tribal museum, was unheard of. To me that's good news because it opens things up to innovation as well as to restoration.

Yoshida: Thank you very much. As you described, whether Ainu people or Hopi people or indigenous peoples, it would never be monolithic so I believe that the two researchers' activities in the field must be a challenge fraught with a great deal of difficulty, including their relationships with people. As Prof. Clifford described, a situation has arisen in which local museums have been built at an explosive pace in China. You said that in China, more than 365 museums are constructed in a year? One museum every day? Moves to create community-based museums have been gaining momentum not only in China but in other parts of the world as well, however. In Zambia, where I have continued my fieldwork over the years, a race by ethnic groups to build museums has taken place during the past dozen years. I believe that you are right in saying that the world of museums is apparently changing. Regarding this comment, do you have anything to say, Dr. Ito?

Ito: Thank you very much. I completely agree with the view that the museum is being redefined. It has not been long since I started to work in the world of museums, but I feel it from time to time. I think that the situation has been changing in many different aspects not only from the inside but from outside as well; in other words, there is an influence from an outside local museum or a tribe-level museum, or a situation in which you are impressed or influenced by their ways of thinking, or their voices have come to be heard. Now is as good a time as any to say something. At the School for Advanced Research (SAR) seminar co-hosted by Dr. Clifford and Dr. George Marcus in Santa Fe in 1984, we suffered the "Santa Fe shock" because of the phrase "Writing Culture": that is, representing a different culture or culturally others contributed to the spread of the term "Santa Fe shock." For instance, a survey by the Zuni museum or the Zuni people was conducted in collaboration with an institute called the Indian Art Research Center, which

belonged to the same SAR, where Dr. Clifford had that seminar. Therefore, it noted how people of the tribal museum would write their own culture or their own culture controlled by others and hand it down about 30 years after the seminar on "Writing Culture" was held, which impacted me in a big way similarly to a "Second Santa Fe shock," so to speak. The impact is actually reflected in some of the Info-Forum Museum projects that we have described today.

Yoshida: Do you have any comments, Ms. Saito?

Saito: Yes, I do. Dr. Clifford said that the number of museums controlled by various indigenous peoples is increasing. When it comes to the Ainu people, although the number of small museums in each region has been decreasing as towns and villages merge or the number of curators declines, the large national museum has been building, contributing to a widening of the gap separating the two. Additionally, they can create an exhibition in collaboration with the local Ainu people at a local museum, but if it is a Hokkaido prefectural or national museum, who should be the partner has persisted as a long-standing and difficult issue. Right now, a national museum is being built in Shiraoi and needless to say, people in Shiraoi are actively involved as staff. However, many of people in areas other than Shiraoi are expressing concern that everything might be going to Shiraoi, wondering if people will not visit any more places, such as Nibutani, Akan or Asahikawa, after visiting Shiraoi. I am a council member of the foundation which manages and operates the new museum. Many members have expressed similar views and opinions at the council. This really puts to the test the abilities of the staff who will start work, I think. In fact, I myself worked for a small prefectural museum in Hokkaido and had been debating about the matter of with whom we should partner to hold an exhibition. Since joining the national museum in Osaka, I have felt as if we were everybody's friend. We invite people in many different places in Hokkaido

Photo 2 Atsunori Ito and Reiko Saito (©2020 Taku Iida).

to come and hold the *kamuynomi* ritual. We also ask craftspeople in various regions to create pieces of art and exhibit them. Through these efforts, I feel that we are now starting to provide people with opportunities to see widely various Ainu cultures in various regions little by little.

Clifford: Ms. Saito, that was a very illuminating comment about the reality of working in these contact zones which enact different fields of force and which open up different possibilities. I myself particularly love small museums. I confess I do not really like big museums, even Minpaku. I sometimes wish I could break them up into many small displays, which can be grasped more easily. However, I would still like to affirm the role of Minpaku as a destination for diverse visitors and researchers. I'm thinking of Ainu people who can come here to enact and study their culture. This differs from performing it in Hokkaido. We all know that local, family pressures can be limiting for artists and cultural activists. Different kinds of study and reflection might be possible away from home, in Osaka. I'm not saying it is somehow better than performing culture, or renewing traditions at home, but it's different and potentially creative. A place such as Minpaku, as a node in a large network, has a very important role to play in the world of museums I was evoking just now. It offers a more international, more public, scale at which culture-work can be done. So I am merely reinforcing the very interesting comments you made about tensions and differences, different places and different investments in Ainu institutions.

Yoshida: Thank you very much. It is unfortunate that we were unable to allocate sufficient time for the panel discussion. I must wrap things up in a minute. Although Prof. Clifford does not like big museums including Minpaku, there is a task that should be tackled by large museums as Minpaku, I should say. Prof. Clifford has pointed out that diverse activities involving large museums or small local community ones must have been happening as part of a power relationship. I completely agree with that view. Armed with an awareness of such a power rela-

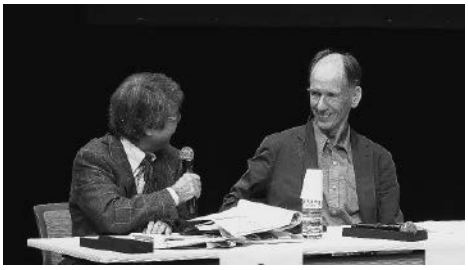

Photo 3　Kenji Yoshida and James Clifford (©2020 National Museum of Ethnology).

tionship, I think that it is necessary for each museum to strive to perform in its own role. Given that museums originated under colonialism, it would never be able to escape from being a certain type of power apparatus. However, nowadays people throughout the world keep on building one museum after another as a place where their culture is inherited or where they can be proud of their culture. With so many museums sprouting all over the world, there must be ways to make use of the apparatuses more positively and productively. I presume that those involved in museums throughout the world are working on exploring them or taking up the challenge to respond to those moves.

The direction that Minpaku came up with was the forum. In the 1970s, an art historian named Duncan Cameron said that there were two alternative roles for museums: one is a museum as a temple; the other a museum as a forum. A museum as a temple is a place like a shrine, which people visit to admire treasures for which the value is fixed. A museum as a forum: a place where people get together, discuss, and start a new challenge. Already a quarter of a century had passed since I introduced Cameron's argument at a symposium to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of Minpaku in 1974. At that time, I said that museums would strengthen their role as forums increasingly down the road. I can say now that museums have actually been enhancing their role as forums throughout the world.

Minpaku declared its aim at becoming a museum that assumes the role of a "forum," where various people meet and mutually interact and work together. As a part of this challenge, we are now carrying out a project called the "Info-Forum Museum." The project is to share and enrich the information of our museum's collection, both object and audio-visual, not only with museum audiences and researchers, but also with people from the source communities of the collection, and to develop new joint research or exhibition projects and community activities. If the materials are photographs, then the images are to be shared with the people of the communities where the photographs were taken in the form of albums. Newly acquired information, including not only the identification of the places and individuals, but also memories of people about the objects are added to the database. Through the "Info-Forum Museum" project, the concept of the museum as a forum has been driven home from the mode of exhibition to the way we are accumulating and sharing information of our collection, and to the way we are carrying out anthropological fieldwork in various corners of the globe.

With regard to this forum concept that we are contemplating, Prof. Clifford called it the contact zone, I presume. Whereas those involved in museums worldwide are working toward re-imagining and re-creating (both phonetically *sai souzou* in Japanese) this apparatus called a museum, I believe that the notion of a forum or contact zone serves as the key concept. There was a great deal of parallel-

Photo 4　Panelists in discussion (©2020 Taku Iida).

ism between recent trends in museums in Europe and North America that Prof. Clifford described today and the attempts being made by Minpaku, with one closely matching the other. I think that this is not that one emulated the other. I believe that an inevitable development is now happening as to how academic institutions should be after the paradigm shift in the 1980s, when it came to be understood that any knowledge is produced through the interactions of people and societies. The future state of museums of ethnology is an extension of the development. Thank you very much for your time today. I would like to close the panel discussion. Again, thank you very much, Prof. Clifford, Dr. Ito, and Ms. Saito.