Indigenous Archaeology of the Ainu: Shifting from Archaeological site to Native Property

KATO Hirofumi
CAIS Hokkaido University
Outline


2) The unresolved issues around archaeology in Hokkaido Island.

2) Our challenge: Indigenous Archaeology in Hokkaido Island. What we can do with the Ainu people.
Three ethnic groups and three different cultural traditions in Japanese islands.

Ryukyu People and Ryukyu Culture

Main islander Japanese and Japanese Cultural Complex

Ainu and Northern Cultural Complex

“Northern, Middle, and Southern Culture” T. Fujimoto 1988
The Difference of the Historical Dynamism between Honshu (main) island and Hokkaido (Northern) islands

In the Central part of Japanese Archipelago

from Agricultural Society to the State Formation
The flow of linear time

In Hokkaido Island

Sustainable Hunter-Gatherer Society (Society against the State)
The flow of cyclical time
The unresolved issues around archaeology in Hokkaido Island (1)
The unresolved issues around archaeology in Hokkaido Island (1)
- Ainu as Anthropological and Archaeological Past -

How Japanese Anthropology and Archaeology had been recognized the Ainu people?

1) As the descendants of Stone age in Japanese Archipelago:
   19-20 century

2) As catalogue for Anthropological and Archaeological studies on Hunter-Gatherer societies:
   ex. ‘The Ainu ecosystem’ by Dr. Hitoshi Watanabe (1977)

3) As successors of the Jomon Culture:
   * This perspective still now dominant in the academism.

4) As model of harmonious coexistence with the nature (wildness)
The position of the Ainu studies
アイヌ研究の位置づけ

■ As useful resources for reconstruction of Past

H. Watanabe 1952 “Utilization of natural resources by the Saru Ainu”,
Minzokugaku Kenkyu 16 (3-4).
H. Watanabe 1972 Ainu ecosystem, University of Tokyo Press.

*K. Kindaichi pointed out in his book “The research of the Ainu” (1924)

◆ The significance and aim of Ainu studies:
They have “special value as “living catalogue of primitive society”,
“Aborigine in Japanese territory”, and “Paleo-ethnos in Asia”.
( from Kindaichi 1924: 3–5 )

KINDAICHI Kyosuke (1881–1971)
“Ainu people are using shell (Margaritifera laevis) as the cuttling tool for millet, this method is similar with custom had been used rice ear cutting by Yayoi period.”

“The Emishi who come out in our literature, was the Ainu. Now the Ainu can only survive in several places in Hokkaido. The Ainu has been used our ancient living items still now, and through them we can know our ancient life style. It wil make sense the Ainu studies is important for us.”

from “Shell midden of the Ainu” 1952
The Significance and issues on Ainu archaeology:

① The Ainu culture is very useful resources for interpretation of Japanese prehistoric culture, because of the Ainu culture has strongly conveyed the Jomon tradition in Northeast Japan.

② The Ainu society is very important reference for human history, as a reason why the Ainu society has the most developed social organization in hunter-gatherers.

Evaluation of archaeological culture - influence of making image -

- **Yayoi culture**
  - rice-farming
  - metal using
  - domesticated animal (dog, pig, chicken)
  - estate
  - class society
  - transition to early state
  - craftman and specialization

- **Epi-Jomon culture**
  - hunting and fishing
  - non domestication (except for dog)
  - semi-sedentaly life style (especially late stage)
  - egalitarian society
  - small population size
  - reciprocal exchange
The practice of mainstream archaeology as ethnocentric and particular, colonizing, and in the service of the state.

It is based on, and generally perpetrates, the value of Western cultures.

Spatial bias is particularly severe in three variation: artefact density, artefact visibility, and intensity of ground modification.

It is time to move beyond the colonial strategy of reducing the significance of Indigenous places to archaeological sites and artefacts as a way of circumscribing and containing Indigenous interests.

based on H. M. Wobst et al. 2010
The unresolved issues around archaeology in Hokkaido Island

- Ainu studies have been done without ‘Native View’, most of studies depend on the description by non-native.

- Lack of multicultural perspective for Japanese history and culture.

- Inequality between archaeologists and Ainu people in the process of archaeological investigation and Heritage management.

- How we could solve this matter…. These are the problems which now confronts us.
Our challenge: Indigenous Archaeology in Hokkaido Island.

⇒ New concept and practice of Indigenous archaeology in order to solve the issues of current situation in Hokkaido Island.

Indigenous archaeology is a form of archaeology, and “research ‘about’ Indigenous peoples to focus on research that is conducted with, and for, Indigenous peoples.” (Wobst 2005)

The background of the emergence of Indigenous archeology, there are issues concerning the preservation and utilization of Indigenous cultural heritage as the follow:

1) Why excavate (the aim of archaeology) ?
   ⇒ Who benefits from archaeological research?
2) How to use archaeological resources?
   ⇒ Do archaeologist have a right to control the past of other?
3) Who own the past?
   ⇒ For whom the artifacts of archaeology are a living heritage?
Main targets for our project in Hokkaido island

1) participating Ainu people in the all of processes of Archaeological Investigation

2) collaboration with local community on the preservation and management for cultural heritage (Community-based archaeology)

3) the support and collaboration with local indigenous heritage-tour by Ainu.
地域考古学（協働型研究）の流れ
Working Flow of Collaborative research
(Community based Archaeology)

研究計画
Research Planning

研究の実施
Investigation

研究成果の還元
Resolving of results and Academic Information

Collaboration with local community / Indigenous people

Concern on research ethics

 Assessments and suggestions

Local community and Indigenous people
Indigenous archaeology in world heritage site “Shiretoko”

Organizing project

Center for Ainu and Indigenous studies

Hokkaido University

Center for Tourism studies

Comparative Studies Worldwide Collaboration

J. Watkins, Carol Ellick (University of Oklahoma)
Ulla Udagaard (SILLA, National Museum of Denmark)

The World Heritage

‘Shiretoko’

Ainu people

Local community

Researchers
Heritage Management in Shiretoko

1) Organizing field school for students. Instructors are different specialist from USA, Denmark and UK so on.

2) Archaeological field practice for local community members

3) Heritage Management in archaeological sites (Eco and heritage tour using archaeological sites)
Working with Ainu people in the field
The remain of the Bear ceremony which dated AD 11 century

The Concentration of the arms and legs bone of bear with Pottery and arrow heads by obsidian
Dates of Bear’s skulls supported by AMS 14C dating

2009年 出土ヒグマ頭蓋骨
Bear skull found in 2009
Dated 17-20 century by AMS dating

2004年 出土ヒグマ頭蓋骨
Bear skull found in 2004
Dated 15 century by AMS dating
Pursuits of the origin of ‘I-o-man-te’ in shiretoko

Historical “Ainu” Culture (AD-13 to 19)

Satsumon culture (ca.600-1200AD)

Okhotsk culture (ca.300-800AD)

Tobinitai culture (ca.900-1200AD)

Ikushina site: 18 century
Ikushina site: 15 century
Otafuku-iwa site: 13 century
Cape Chashi-kotsu B site: 11 century

Bear skull found in 2004
Dated 15 century by AMS dating
Heritage guide tour by Ainu youth
Heritage Management in Shiretoko

Using as Indigenous trail tours

Archaeological finds

Local name

Organizing Exhibition in tourist hotel and Heritage center

Back to the community

Constructing DB

Archaeological sites/ Sacred sites information
The Baikal-Hokkaido Archaeology Project is an international and multi-disciplinary team of scholars investigating Middle Paleolithic and Mesolithic occupation in the regions of the world that include the Arctic region of Siberia, Russia, and Hokkaido, Japan.

The aim of this website is to provide information about the activities of the Project and other ongoing aspects of the research we are conducting. Please check back and feel free to contact us with questions, comments, or suggestions.

Our research is primarily supported by the Major Collaborative Research Initiatives (MCRIs) program of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, as well as through generous contributions from the sponsors and outsourcing organizations listed below.

Researchers interested in our previous research in the Arctic region, please access our archived website at: [http://archaeology.nyu.edu](http://archaeology.nyu.edu)

**Research Opportunities**

We are always looking for under-graduate and graduate students who share our interests. If you have a project that you think fits with our team, or have a book idea, please feel free to contact us to discuss our [student opportunities](http://archaeology.nyu.edu).

**Field Work Opportunities**

In summer 2016 we conducted our 1st season of archaeological fieldwork on Kuman Island, Japan. In summer 2017 we will again be going to the field. Look back here for information on volunteering.
“Kamui-nomi” ceremony at archaeological site
The formation process of Ainu people
北海道の先史集団とアイヌ民族集団の形成過程

The "historical Ainu" culture was formed on 13th century

There are two different cultural lineages before Ainu Culture

One of them is Satsumon Culture:
+ inland territory
+ cereal agriculture
+ depend on hunting and fishing

Another one is Okhotsk Culture:
+ coastal distribution
+ marine hunter-gatherers
+ bear cult
+ domestication of pig and dog

Both groups were active trader with neighboring area.
Distribution of Okhotsk Culture

Distribution of Okhotsk Culture

Tokalev Culture
～AD 5c.

Old Kol’yak Culture
AD 5-17c.

Mokhe Culture
靺鞨
AD 6–10c

Balhae 渤海国
698-926

Okhotsk Culture
7-10c.

AD 3–4c.: Initial: Susuya phase
AD 5–6c.: Early: Towada phase
AD 7-8 c.: Middle: Kokumon phase
AD 9-10 c. Late: Haritsukemon phase
AD 11-13 c. Final: Tobinitai/Motochi phase
Linguistic diversities (dialects) in Ainu language
Indigenous identity and archaeology

- Why need the perspective of Indigenous archaeology?

1. At heart, Archaeology is a colonialist endeavour (Smith & Wobst 2005).

2. Indigenous pasts are different from stories by archaeologists.


4. Without Indigenous knowledge, context, and interesting with descendants, we can not recognize the of particular meaning of unmodified land and its social values.
Indigenous identity and archaeology

Indigenous archaeology argues that it is necessary to participate Indigenous peoples to the archaeological practice.

The reason why:

1) Archaeological past is not only for archaeologists, but also it is the public property.

2) There is the right to participate in the discussion over the preservation and management of cultural heritage for all stakeholders.
Indigenous identity and archaeology

◆ The meaning of the land and place is an significant factor in Indigenous cultural context and worldview.

◆ Archaeological practice, which can be shared place and time as an experience, plays an important role as re-production process of culture and history.

In this context,

Archaeology is a powerful tool in the creation of cultural identities.
Thank you for your kind attention.