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





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Outline

- 1) The historical diversity of Japanese archipelago, and the uniqueness of Northern Japanese Culture.
- 2) The unresolved issues around archaeology in Hokkaido Island.
- Our challenge: Indigenous Archaeology in Hokkaido Island.
 What we can do with the Ainu people.

Three ethnic groups and three different cultural tradition in Japanese islands

> Ainu and Northern Cultural Complex

Ryukyu People and Ryukyu Culture

Main islander Japanese and Japanese Cultural Complex

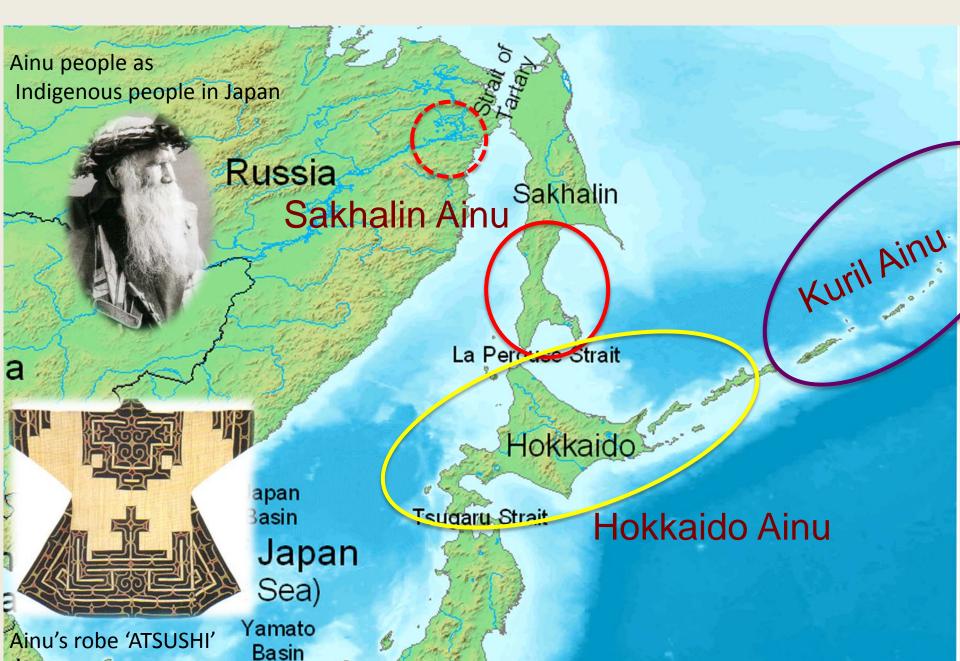
"Northern, Middle, and Southern Culture" T. Fujimoto 1988

The Difference of the Historical Dynamism between Honshu (main) island and Hokkaido (Northern) islands

In the Central part of Japanese Archipelago						
Jomon Culture	Yayoi Culture (BC5-AD3)		n Period -AD7)	Ancient (AD7-11 ce		Medieval State (12-16 century)
	from Agricultural Society to the State Formation The flow of linear time In Hokkaido Island					
				Satsumon Culture (7-13 century)		"Ainu" Culture (13- 19century)
			Ohotsk Culture (4-10 century)		Tobinitai Culture (11-13 century)	

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?

- 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

K. Komai 1952 "Shell midden of the Ainu", Fukumura shoten, Tokyo.H. Watanabe 1952 "Utilization of natural resources by the Saru Ainu", <u>Minzokugaku Kenkyu</u> 16 (3-4).

H. Watanabe 1972 Ainu ecosystem, University of Tokyo Press.

- T. Fujimoto 1984 "Issues of around the Ainu archaeology" Hokkaido Koukogaku 20.
- * 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)



Prof. Komai's point view in 1952 1952年、 駒井和愛博士の視点

駒井和愛(1905-1975)

"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

Prof. Fujimoto's point view in 1984 1984年、藤本強博士の視点



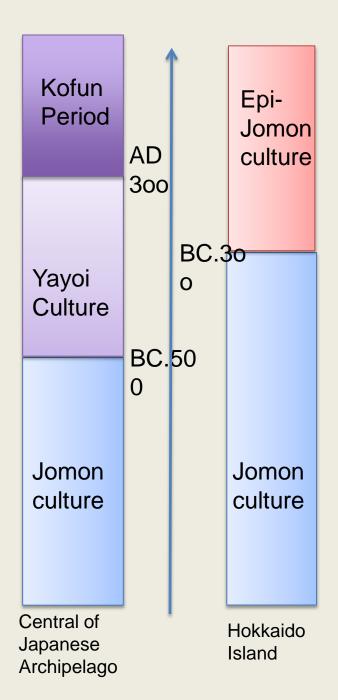
FUJIMOTO Tsuyoshi (1936-2010)

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.

from T. FUJIMOTO 1984 "Issues around the Ainu archaeology", *Hokkaido Koukogakuy* 20.



Evaluation of archaeological culture - influence of making image -

- Yayoj culture
- + rice-faming
- + 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

Archaeology and Colonialism



Picture from C. Gosden 2004 Archaeology and Colonialism

①The practice of mainstream archaeology as ethnocentric and particular, colonizing, and in the service of the state.

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

③Spacial bias is particularly severe in three variation: artefact density, artefact visibility, and intensity of ground modification.

(4) 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.

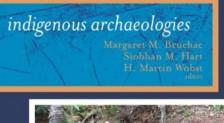
⇒ New concept and practice of Indigenous archaeology in order to solve the issues of current situation in Hokkaido Island.

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?
 - \Rightarrow Do archaeologist have a right to control the past of other?
 - 3) Who own the past?
 - \Rightarrow For whom the artifacts of archaeology are a living heritage?

Main targets for our project in Hokkaido island

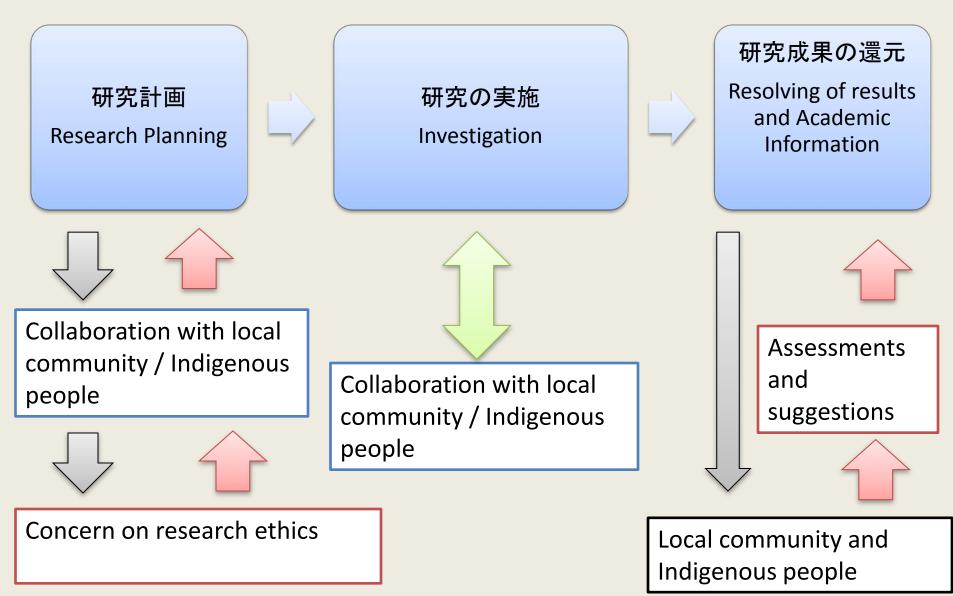
- 1) participating Ainu people in the all of processes of Archaeological Investigation
- 2) collaboration with local community on the preservation and management for cultural heritage (Community-based archaeology)
- 3) the support and collaboration with local indigenous heritage-tour by Ainu.



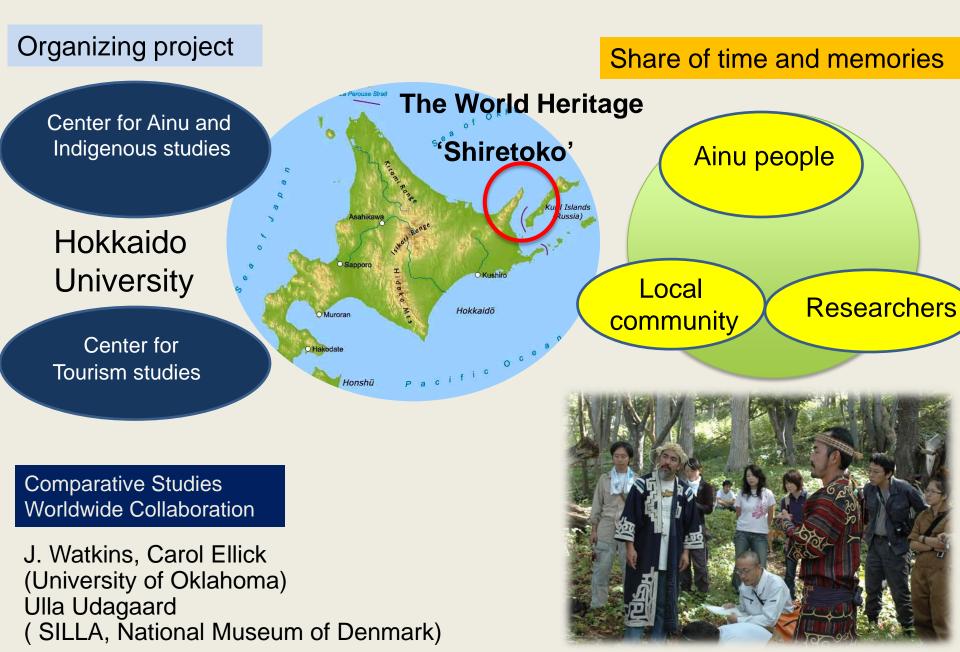




地域考古学(協働型研究)の流れ Working Flow of Collaborative research (Community based Archaeology)



Indigenous archaeology in world heritage site "Shiretoko"



Heritage Management in Shiretoko







- 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





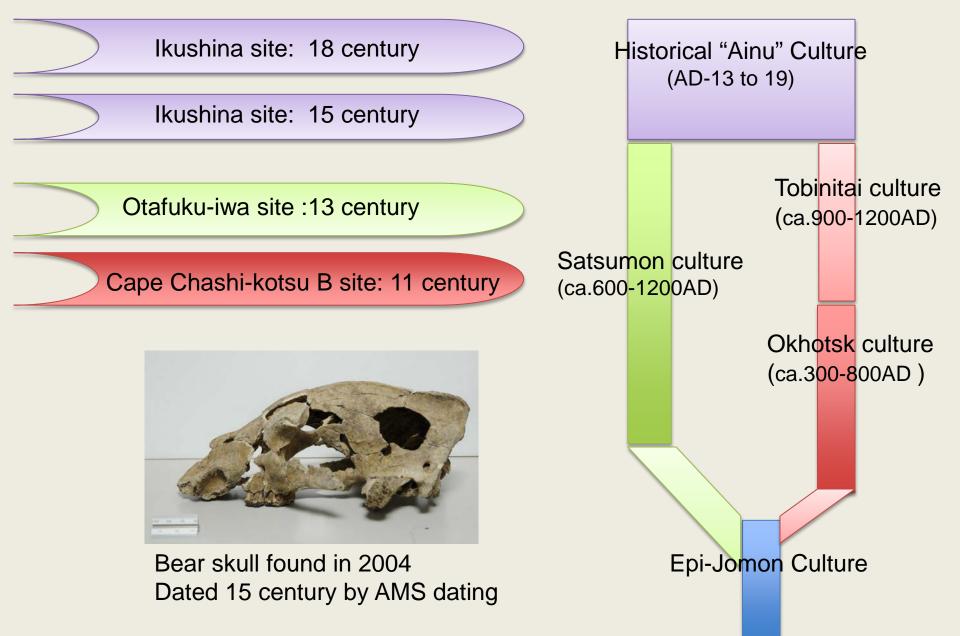
2009年 出土ヒグマ頭蓋骨

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

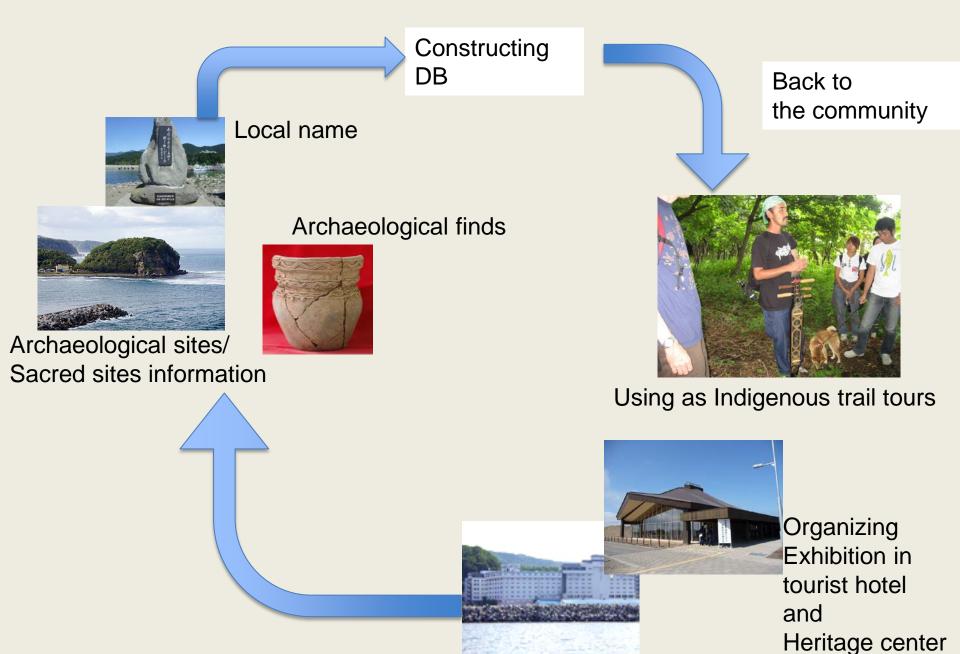
Pursuits of the origin of '1-o-man-te' in shiretoko



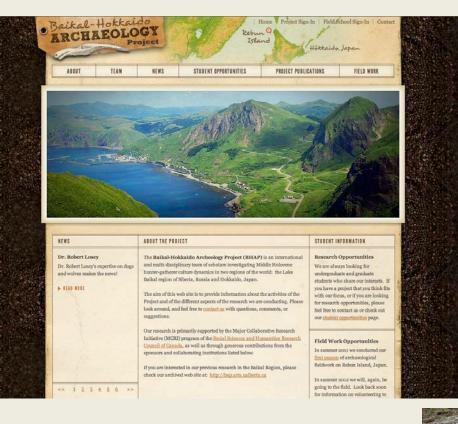
Heritage guide tour by Ainu youth



Heritage Management in Shiretoko



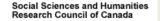
Baikal-Hokkaido Archaeology Project 2011-2017











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"Kamui-nomi" ceremony at archaeological site



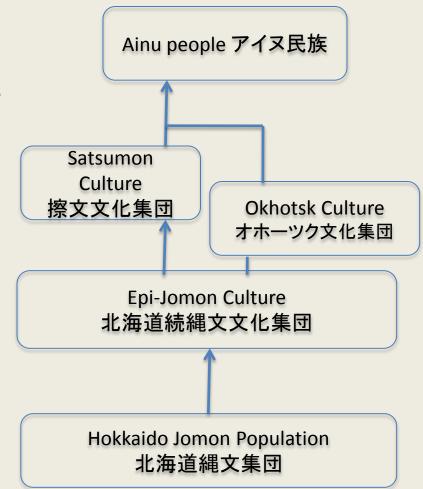
The formation process of Ainu people 北海道の先史集団とアイヌ民族集団の形成過程

- The "historical Ainu" culture was formed on 13century
- There are two different cultural lineages before Ainu Culture
- One of them is Satsumon Culture:
 - + inland territory
 - + cereal agriculture
 - + depend on hunting and fishing

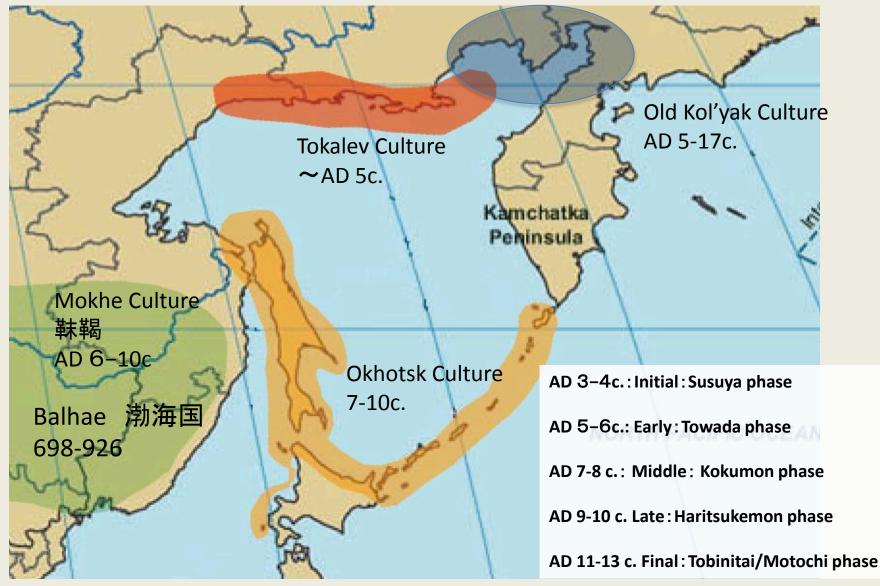
Another one is Okhotsk Culture:

- + coastal distribution
- + marine hunter-gatherers
- + bear cult
- + domestication of pig and dog

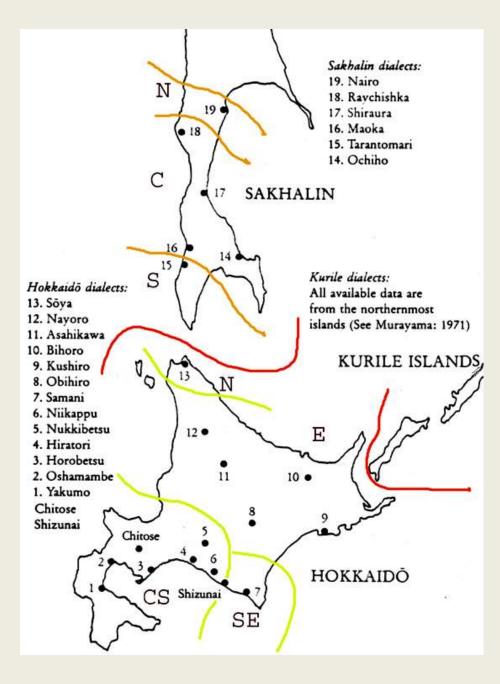
Both groups were active trader with neighboring area.



Distribution of Okhotsk Culture オホーツク文化の広がり







Linguistic diversities (dialects) in Ainu language

Indigenous identity and archaeology

- Now, Why need the perspective of Indigenous archaeology?
- 1) At heart, Archaeology is a colonialist endeavour (Smith & Wobst 2005).
- 1) Indigenous pasts are different from stories by archaeologists.
- 1) Archaeological stories impact on the Indigenous knowledge (Nicholas 2005)
- 1) 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.



