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http://network.icma.museum/icmah/
icmahsecretary@gmail.com
Preventive Archaeology in France: Origins and evolution

Introduction

I would like to present the evolution of a specific practice of archaeology ("preventive archaeology") over the past decades: from the first cases of the rescue of archaeological heritage to the complete mastery of the system of "preventive archaeology".

Beyond this French experience, its legislative and regulatory framework, it seemed important to me to present to you the scientific, cultural and heritage interest of this practice.

Indeed, in France, the exploration, each year, of more than two thousand archaeological sites by my institute makes it possible to better understand our archaeological heritage but also to share the results of this research with the scientific community and, above all, a very large public.

A rich collaboration policy between Inrap (my institute) and the museums also makes it possible to schedule temporary regional, national or international exhibitions, and to enrich the permanent collections of these museums.

Thus, through the production of contextualized archaeological objects, Inrap and, more generally, preventive archaeology operators make it possible to "reconsider museums through this contemporary practice of archaeology".

From rescue archaeology to preventive archaeology

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Victor Hugo, scandalised by the demolition of several mediaeval monuments, called for change in a now famous article: "Guerre aux démolisseurs!". Hugo's appeal led to the creation of a service for protecting historic monuments.

Later one, Prosper Mérimée was named General Inspector of Historic Monuments. For the first time, French archaeology now benefited from the concerted attention of the public powers. However, the law did not cover the protection of non-monumental prehistoric and historic remains. Archaeological excavations were conducted by mutual agreement between the landowner and the excavator.

The Vichy regime enacted the first law on archaeological excavations, which was validated after the war. This law required State authorization to conduct excavations and made it obligatory to declare fortuitous discoveries. Nevertheless, archaeological interventions were still infrequent.
At the end of the sixties, two scandals set developers against heritage defenders over the Parvis Notre-Dame in Paris and the Place de la Bourse in Marseille. The scientific community, associations and municipalities were alerted, leading to significant citizen mobilization.

In 1973 was created creation of the French association for national archaeological excavations (Afan). Afan, had two main responsibilities: to manage the budget allocations received from the Ministry of Culture for research and rescue excavations; and to carry out prescribed archaeological operations. From the outset, Afan played the crucial role of an intermediary with the State. The system was based on negotiating the cost of excavations between the State, Afan and developers.

In the early eighties, the State mandated Afan to carry out the excavations at the Grand Louvre site (the Louvre Pyramid), which had long been considered as the first major preventive archaeology operation. The law introduced a tax designed to fund preventive archaeology evaluations and excavations. It also foresaw the creation of a public administrative body that would inherit the rights and obligations of Afan, which was dissolved. The National Institute de for Preventive Archaeology was established on February 2002.

The recent law on Creative Freedom, Architecture and Heritage (LCAP) of 2016 July 7 modified Book V of the Heritage Code devoted to archaeology. LCAP strengthens the role played by the State, which exercises scientific control over operations and provides real scientific, technical, administrative and financial supervision of the preventive archaeology system. The law also establishes a new unified system of ownership for archaeological material discovered following archaeological work or fortuitous discoveries, which are presumed to be the property of the State. This is an important point that facilitates the integration of archaeological objects into museum collections.

**Preventive archaeology today (implementation and results; Inrap)**

What is preventive archeology? The purpose of preventive archaeology is to detect and undertake the scientific study of archaeological remains (on land and under water) that might otherwise be destroyed by land development work. Following a decision made by the State, archaeologists from Inrap intervene on a site in order to safeguard its archaeological heritage.

Every year, hundreds of square kilometers are affected by land development projects (such as quarries, earthmoving, roads and railways, and private and public buildings) that may result in the destruction of the deposits hidden in the subsoil. Preventive archaeology, which analyses around 20% of this total area, preserves the soil archives by means of scientific study.

Over the past thirty or so years, thousands of sites have been excavated, investigated and compared in urban and rural areas across France. The sum of the information gleaned from these excavations has profoundly enriched our knowledge of the past.

These archaeological activities, known as “rescue archaeology” since they lacked a legal basis until 2001, are now defined as “preventive archaeology”.

The law on preventive archaeology of January 17, 2001 provides for advanced archaeological interventions on development sites for the purpose of evaluation and (if necessary) excavation. In other words, development work is no longer undertaken at the expense of the remains from the past; on the contrary, such work enables these vestiges to be studied in depth. Traces of the past can be found across Europe. On the proposed route of a TGV line, for example, there is an average of one site per kilometer. Preventive archaeology studies the soil archives, thereby promoting joined-up economic development that avoids destroying historical remains and the knowledge they provide.
Our approach to the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods, as well as the Metal Ages, has been revised as a result of the extent of the studied areas and the importance of the archaeological remains uncovered. The large amount of data now available, especially on the Romanization of Gaul and the early middle Ages, often serves as an invaluable complement to written records.

Preventive archaeology, which is closely related to regional planning, affects every developer, every elected representative and every citizen. It contextualizes both the particular and the general, together with local history and wider history, endeavoring to answer fundamental questions about humankind and our origins, history and values.

Preventive archaeology, which is both a human and social science, discloses the heterogeneity of the human groups that have populated France, the way they have shaped our landscape, and their ability to integrate and innovate. It also lays bare the common cultural substratum that is formed and transformed over time.

In addition, preventive archaeology sheds light on how space is managed, the evolution of town planning and the environment, as well as ethnic, cultural and religious differences.

**The “Inrap”: Missions and activities**

During the different phases of archaeological research, Inrap shares the results of its work with the public. It develops diverse resources that are widely diffused via the organization of site visits, colloquia and exhibitions, publications, audiovisual documentaries, radio programs and digital tools. Each year since 2009, under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture, Inrap organizes the French National Archaeology Days.

In the context of its diagnostic operations and excavations, Inrap collaborates each year with more than 700 private and public partners: property developers, motorway enterprises, quarry enterprises, regional councils, departmental councils, town-associations (*communautés de communes*), cities, public enterprises, public housing offices, etc.

**Aim of the Evaluation**

When land is developed for public or private purposes (to construct a road, for example, or a block of flats), it is inevitable that the ground will be disturbed.

Long before the building work begins, and to avoid work being interrupted in the event of a fortuitous discovery, an attempt is made to find out whether the land contains any traces of earlier human occupation: this is the archaeological evaluation. The process is designed to detect, characterize, plot and date any archaeological deposits by trenching 5% to 10% of the project’s surface area with a hydraulic digger.

**State Prescription**

Ahead of any major development work (such as a high-speed train line, motorway or quarry) or when planning permission is filed, the regional prefect and his or her archaeological service may decide that an archaeological evaluation is required. In this event, Inrap or the public services accredited by the State suggest an “operational project” (with the relevant human and technical resources — and methodology — based on the scientific prescription), which will be used to assess the land’s archaeological potential.
An agreement is then signed between Inrap and the public or private developer. This sets the deadlines and conditions for carrying out the evaluation and, if necessary, the technical resources that will be financed by the developer.

The Field Evaluation
The evaluation in most cases consists in opening trenches at regular intervals to determine whether there are any deposits. The size of the trenches varies depending on the terrain: as a general rule, they range from 1.3 m to 3 m wide (equal to the width of the bucket of the digger) and are of variable length. When deposits are uncovered, it is sometimes useful to slightly enlarge the trenches — known as “windows” — to ensure a better understanding of their topology (post holes forming a building, for example). The depth of the excavations depends on the level at which the deposits are buried: from 30 cm below the current surface level to over 4 m, particularly for the earliest periods.

When the evaluation is “positive”: deposits are discovered on all or part of the project footprint. If the State considers that they are of sufficient scientific interest and in a good enough state of conservation, it may decide to carry out an archaeological excavation or modify the development project.

The Excavation Process
Following the evaluation, the State may stipulate that a preventive excavation be undertaken ahead of development work. During this process, archaeologists collect all the data required for reconstructing the history of the site and its earlier human occupation.

When the evaluation confirms the presence of archaeological deposits worthy of scientific interest, and that they are adequately preserved, the State may prescribe a preventive excavation. This is the case in 20% of evaluations. The archaeological work forms the basis of a contract between the developer and the operator of its choice (Inrap or any other operator accredited by the State).

The field evaluation follows the sequence of the archaeological layers, each of which corresponds to a point in the history of the site. All the excavated deposits are recorded and documented (topographic surveys, drawings, photographs, plans and sections), and the archaeological material is transferred to the centre for archaeological research.

The scientific data collected in the field is then mined by the archaeologists so they can reconstruct the history of the site — its human occupation and evolution across the centuries. These findings are recorded in a report submitted by the operator to the State services.

Archaeological Material
When archaeological material is unearthed, it is marked with the details of where it was found — the site, zone and layer or structure number — before being transferred to the archaeological HQ to be cleaned. In some cases, it is necessary to consolidate the material in situ before it is removed.

The value of the data recorded about the archaeological material in its context (the stratigraphic position, drawings and in situ photographs) is often more important than the object itself.
Excavation Report: Reconstructing the Site’s History

This is followed by the report-writing stage, which consists of a written analysis of the evolution of the site supported by drawings and photographs of structures, objects or elements selected from the archaeological material. The results of the studies and analyses are incorporated into the text to inform our understanding of the site.

The final step is to draw up an inventory of all the collected material; these inventories are then transferred to the State services. The final excavation report may serve as the basis for a scientific publication.

Under French law, Inrap’s mission is to keep records of all the archaeological excavations carried out in the country.

Disseminating Results

Inrap’s mission is to contribute to the teaching, cultural dissemination and promotion of archaeology. Various means are used to ensure this mission is carried out among the scientific community and general public, such as through brochures, publications, exhibitions, and audio-visual and multimedia documents as well as on the radio and websites, and through open houses and educational workshops, etc.

Conclusions (Reconsidering Museum Versus Contemporary Archaeology: the challenges ahead)

Inrap coordinates the European NEACH program, supported by the European Commission. It aims to explore new scenarios for archaeology and heritage by strengthening the relationship between contemporary societies and our field of expertise.

In association with polling institute (Harris interactive), we have set up a survey at European level to find out what Europeans think about archaeology.

Europeans, who are quite interested in archaeology, consider it “a science that studies the past”. For 26 %, especially the youngest respondents, archaeology is a true profession.

While considered useful by the respondents, they spontaneously replied that above all it serves to teach us about our past (history, civilizations, human origins, etc.). Europeans do not identify all the economic values of archaeology, but nonetheless recognize other, more social values, which remain to be precisely defined.

The persons surveyed have a very broad vision of what archaeologists do. Their work is not seen as being limited to excavating. Europeans associate archaeologists with many activities: writing, teaching, organizing exhibits, etc.

When questioned about how they experience the archaeological domain, Europeans first mention television. In Greece, Italy and Spain there are particularly well developed activities within the archaeological domain, while in the UK and Netherlands, citizens devote less time to such activities. We observe a significant difference in terms of practices depending on gender and socio-professional categories of the respondents, with men and upper socio-professional categories reporting more intensive activities.

Europeans describe television as their primary source of information about archaeology, far more so than visiting sites and exhibitions, the press or social media. Very few people get information from conferences.
Europeans know little about the notion of preventive archaeology or development led archaeology. The Polish and Italians are the most familiar with the expression “preventive archaeology”. Once the principle of preventive archeology is explained, Europeans are unanimously in favor of it, particularly for protecting archaeological remains and preventing irreversible damage. Most Europeans think the management of ONLY preventive archaeology should be entrusted to the public sector to “avoid serving particular interests”; to “guarantee the same norms in all regions”; or “because only the national government can guarantee the preservation of heritage”.

Today, the main challenges related to preventive archaeology are:

- continue to explain how the "conservation by study" system works,
- share the results of field research (data and analyses) with the various social science actors,
- produce syntheses at the regional, national or international level,
- to enhance the value of collections managed in museums (permanent collections and exhibitions),
- multiply the means of knowledge sharing through different media and for all audiences.

**Web site:**

https://www.inrap.fr
http://archeologie.culture.fr/fr
http://www.nearch.eu/

**References**


Shahid Vawda – South Africa

Archie Mafeje Chair in Critical humanities and Decolonial Studies School of African and Gender Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics University of Cape Town, South Africa

Toward New Research and Exhibition Relationships in Museums: Engaging Archaeological and Historical Methods for Just Outcomes

Foreground

It has been pointed out many times that one of the consequences of colonialism is the creation of museums in the North and in the colonies whose collections of artefacts depicted, and continue to depict objects that (i) legitimizes the colonial conquest, (ii) casts the conquered in racially or ethnically stereotypical positions, iii) represented by the objects to infer degrees of inferiority based on flawed racialised sciences that legitimises unequal and unjust treatment while (iv) simultaneously binds and ‘others’ them to colonial power and other colonised people. Thus is a broad generalisation, and the specifics of colonialism’s culture needs to be historicised to the actual colony and its specific place and time, including the responses over the last two hundred years or so. Nevertheless, the broad generalisation enables us to situate the ‘civilising mission’, ‘white man’s burden’; ‘assimilation’ and modernisation as coloniality 1 or the Janus-face of modernity2. Museums, as an epitome of a modernity’s civilising mission, have ironically, or perhaps paradoxically, been adopted, along-side ideas such as democracy, ethics, secularism, progress, rationality, human rights, among others, in varying degrees all over the world.

Introduction

Recently I published an article where I argued that museums need to be more aware of the extant intricacies of the colonial encounter, specifically the unequal relationship of power and knowledge of the Other, ‘the epistemic frameworks that legitimate and enshrine the practices of domination’3. Epistemological or hermeneutical injustice arises from such situations of domination that disregard ‘a knower’ by ignoring, silencing, playing down, manipulating, or structurally obscuring their knowledge, conceptual tools, voices and actions, and importantly rendering some injustices inarticulate or invisible, and its perpetrators as ‘ignorant’. The ‘knower’ (sometimes also called ‘sub-knower’) in this situation are the colonised and their inheritors in the post-colonial period. The question that I wish to address is how in the post-colonial era do we recognise and

1 Coloniality should not be confused with colonialism. Colonialism refers to a historical period, whereas coloniality is about forms of power and control through “knowledge of the other” that persist from colonial times to the present. Coloniality in this sense is the other or under side of modernity.
2 Modernity’s reference point is Europe since the period of Enlightenment.
resolve such epistemological injustices within the cultural heritage sector, nothing the paradox and irony of such institutional contexts.

In this paper concerned with one of the ways the epistemologies of domination work through ‘consultation’ and ‘participatory methods’ in the interaction with knowledges that explicitly accords itself as universal, rational and the crucible of progress. For our purposes, it is, firstly, to acknowledge that very foundations of science, modernity and progress is intimately linked to colonisation, and secondly, the co-option and simultaneous denigration of the knowledge of the colonised, and its replacement by the superiority of western modes of analytical and conceptual thought as universally rational and progressive. Stark as this characterization is, it highlights the problematic relationship between those that have community, local or indigenous knowledge and those of the scientists.

Museum professionals trained in any scientific discipline usually cherry-pick the local or indigenous information to be absorbed into their scientific fields and re-present it as the scientific knowledge of experts. It is this purchase on the science model, the rational and modern way to knowledge, that has been the way most museum archeological and historical professionals enter into dialogue with their communities and publics, and which is I shall argue needs critical appraisal, or more simply as a question of how knowledge is co-produced and shared. Yet it is the terms of co-production and sharing that is unequal as it replicates the very idea of enlightenment and colonial rationality in the way knowledge is created. If museums are to produce knowledge that is beyond mere respect for ‘beliefs’ of and for its many publics, then the very basis of knowledge acquisition (and exhibition display) through the encounter with its diverse communities of interests with differing epistemological frameworks and unequal resources needs to be confronted. Specifically, I’m also thinking of the normative ideal where research and knowledge production through new forms of equal partnerships with communities leads to the construction of exhibitions that in turn inform multiple audiences providing new insights, discussion and reflection. It is this present reality, complex as it is, that I situate my discussion of how to approach the museological objectives of our disciplines, particularly archaeology and history (and ethnography).

The interaction between scientists and their publics is critical to the future of museums. This interaction has been labelled in many different ways; community and scholarly engagement; scholar’s reflexivity; ethical responsibility to people and environment; positionality; public engagement, public interest archaeology, history and anthropology, social responsibility, etc. It invokes images of social justice, equality, human rights, religious tolerance, racial, ethnic and class co-operation, nation and international sharing of knowledge (and exhibitions). Alongside this is the idea that while building knowledge banks, theories and exhibitions, there is also the re-investing into the community, giving back to the community in form of the results of years of data collection, analyses, contributing to exhibitions and other relevant projects. In some ways the museum-based archaeologists, historians and ethnographers have had to think of how to engage with such projects much more than their counter parts in universities and other research institutions. They have had to bridge that gap between their scientific needs and those of the community, and various vectors of sensitivities and sensibilities. Indeed, the very idea that scientific aims, needs and objectives can be pursued without reference to other research agendas, specifically arising from communities is no longer possible.

While such interaction draws attention to the multiple visions and conflicting meanings of heritage sites and spaces, and the ever more ways in which these conflicts may be resolved, I want to focus on a specific aspect of this phenomenon. Drawing from the literature on epistemological and hermeneutical injustice I want to explore more explicitly in the context of museum and universities engagements with the marginalized and oppressed communities their experience of their expressive and interpretive aspects of
their oppression, past and present. This hermeneutical injustice occurs when the communication of their marginal, hidden, unacknowledged and oppressive circumstances are undermined or underplayed, or even ignored when attempting to make know their conditions. This may happen as an outright blockage or obstacles are placed in the way of making themselves understood. How then do these appear?

I want to focus on the more specific contractual-legal-structural aspects, in particular that which sets up the terms and conditions for engagement through ethical procedures as determined by policy or law. These may be termed social contracts of research ethical procedures. Following the work of Mills and Pohlhaus who argue that much legal responsibilities and duties relied on today go back to contract theorists such as JS Mill, Rousseau, Hobbs among others. Charles Mills (2007) has recently argued that the foundations of contract theory are not only normative, abstract, idealistic and flawed, but contains implicitly a non-ideal Eurocentric and racialized binary view of the world: essentialized as white masters and black servants which represses or ignores the latter’s views. Such contract theory implies the possibility of testimonial and hermeneutical injustices being perpetrated. I will present three cases to explore what contractual obligations in terms of ethical codes are predisposed to hinder toward a fuller expression of hermeneutical justice.

A large part of being socially and ethically engaged with community interlocutors is driven by what research institutions, including museums and universities, call ‘research ethical clearance’ or adherence to professional codes of conduct as a condition of doing research. Although the general assumption of these ethical policies is to do no harm, my concern is how one conducts oneself in relation to people affected by the research, their descendants or associated constituents and other stakeholders. How does it establish a shared community of interests and hermeneutical meanings of the research agenda? Furthermore, even if most of the direction for research comes from museums and universities, particularly for those in the global south there is desperate need to redress the balance in terms of research into local knowledge, history and archaeology, not to mention similar knowledge generated by other scientific disciplines. In many cases, it means starting from where a people’s history and knowledge has been sidelined, if not obliterated by various forms of official history. In other cases, there may already be a long history of interaction between sites, local people and various kinds of research projects and researchers. This interaction has ranged from complete top-down, where experts give instructions to local indigenous, often quite often on a master-servant basis, to one where a much more negotiated relationship exists between experts and the people concerned that shapes the research agenda.

My exploration of this issue arises, in part, from my participation in four workshops and conferences between 2017 to 2019 on the repatriation of human remains; as an academic involved in land issues in which graves sites loom large as part of indigenous belief systems and land right; and as an academic observer in an attempt to conduct on the basis of fairness and equality with, and within a community in pursuit of research.

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4 This is not only about the obvious discrimination or prejudice, such as being ignored or disbelieved because one is a woman or black, or Muslim or ‘othered’ in some other stereotypical way. It is about the set of circumstances, such as I have alluded to in negotiating entry to conduct research at a site, place or community, where the ability to making a meaningful contribution through knowledge may be received as illegitimate testimony. Testimony here means here the act of someone relating something such as story or an incident, usually in the form of Inquirer/informant; speaker/hearer, but may be vocally denounced, sneered at, indicate incomprehension by blank facial expression, the rolling of eyes, laughter, etc, or more institutional measures such as misleading agendas, ignored or have obstacles placed that degrades the ability to communicate.

the results of which is co-produced research data; training of skilled field researchers; displays/exhibitions of the research; a number of scientific research papers, and the building of a public repository of rock art.

In pursuit of knowledge through the various disciplines – in this case history and archaeology, but also other disciplines such as anthropology, or biology, or genetics - we have inherited a crucial question that has become endemic at the turn of the century: whose knowledge is acknowledged and accepted, respected as valid and informing progressive human behavior? Embedded in this nexus of whose knowledge counts is a discursive field of human interaction that is pertinent to the research-exhibition complex. It is crucial to understanding this set of discursive practices beyond the notion embedded in various guidelines, policies or legislative frameworks entreating scientists to behavior in consultative and ethical ways.

Let me illustrate this with an example. In February 2017, the Iziko Museums of South Africa held the first of several workshops on the repatriation of human remains and the development of a common policy that will apply to all Southern Africa museums (and possibly also the Commonwealth).

"The workshop covered a number of topics, among others, human rights management in Southern African, international case studies, and the role of time and intention play in defining remains as ethically or unethically collected. Participants included a unique combination of indigenous community members, academics and government officials, as well as museum professionals. ...explored current efforts to develop policy and legislation within South Africa, highlighting the scientific value of research conducted on human remains and discussed the process of repatriation from an indigenous perspective."  

The workshop specifically invited community representatives of those identified as questionably acquired human remains. The story of those humans is not a pleasant one – stolen, illegally and unethically acquired human remains in the name of racial science from the late 19th century to about the middle of the 20th century. This workshop, although specifically about the human remains in museums in Southern Africa, was also against a backdrop of human remains found in an unmarked mass grave site named Prestwich, in Cape Town that raised contested issue of ownership, land and valorisation of such a marginalised historic community through an exhibition. I shall return to this question of grave sites shortly as it illustrates another aspect of my argument.

Without going into the details of the workshop, particularly that of racial science, one of the key moments was when there was a heated exchange between community representatives and researchers over the value of research on human remains – specifically the DNA testing to establish the validity of the identities of the human remains. Essentially the community leaders questioned the veracity of doing more research on bodies that were already violated. Some archaeologists argued that testing of the human skeletal remains would yield clues to the identities of the people from which they come from. Community activists and leaders rejected this argument, claiming that no amount of further research will change the fact that a ‘harm’ was done to individuals, families and communities on the basis of experiments on human bodies that were unethically acquired and collected. While the moral argument by the communities is undoubted, given the well documented ways in which such acquisition and atrocities were committed. The force of the researchers argument is that of producing knowledge that could contribute to knowing more about the human remains, unethically collected or not. The unstated premise was that only scientists only could produce this knowledge. I wish to focus my attention on this particular claim to the research- knowledge nexus as a non-negotiable scientific practice.

6 Black et al 2008: 318-19
The ‘normal’ accepted notion of scientific research is that it provides rational grounds for making decisions through the production of verifiable evidence. The grounds for research, to produce ‘knowledge’ as a ‘good’ in and of itself, are the methods, or more precisely the scientific methods. It also gives an inordinate amount of power to the scientist to produce the research data and to virtually dictate the decision to be adopted. Indeed, the evidence led decision making power within institutions, be they governments, or research organisations or places such as museums relies on the model of experts to effect ways of doing ‘things’ such as research and exhibitions. Would not a curator also want to make decisions on such grounds, perhaps adding ‘aesthetic’ to the decision-making rules encoded in the contract of scientific ethics and rules.

Turning to the ICOM definition of ‘Academic and Scientific Responsibilities’

8.4 Members of the museum profession should promote the investigation, preservation, and use of information inherent in collections. They should, therefore, refrain from any activity or circumstance that might result in the loss of such academic and scientific data. (p41)

This definition is consistent with the general aim and objectives of museums ‘to protect and promote this heritage’. But importantly ICOM states:

‘promote the sharing of knowledge, documentation and collections..., and develop partnerships with museums in countries or areas that have lost a significant part of their heritage should be explored (6.1. p33)

Such sharing and cooperation is through ‘informed and mutual consent without exploitation of the owner or informants’ where ‘respect for the wishes of the community involved should be paramount’.

The World Congress of Archaeology (WCA), according their Vermillion Accord of 1989, while it recognises that archaeologists have to respect, discuss and negotiate with indigenous, descendant and contemporary communities, also places scientific research as foremost

4. Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.

As part of its ethics the WCA asks archaeologies to ‘define who are the indigenous people, obtain their consent to do research with authorised persons and present their work with deference’, and ‘to acknowledge the importance of indigenous cultural heritage, including sites, places, objects, artefacts, human remains, to the survival of indigenous cultures’.

‘Indigenous people’ as both a descriptor and concept is difficult to define with precision. Also too, the question of who ‘the authorised representatives are can both ambiguous and difficult to define with precision’. This is because a concept such as indigenous is only possible when there is colonialism. It is the effect of taking over someone else’s land that gives definition to indigenous. Indigenous is not a concept that the original inhabitants would have to describe themselves. While I make this seemingly innocuous point, it suggests ambiguity of the ethics that we so easily accept as part our standard research operating ways in undertaking research and mounting exhibitions.

7 First Code of Ethics Adopted by WAC Council in 1990
While ethical guidelines provide what the basic structure of the relationship between academic or scientific research-based disciplines and the objects and communities relevant to the research should be, and to mitigate the former colonial power relationships, there are a series of assumptions that should be brought under scrutiny and questioned, and raise questions as what might be an new way in which relationships between museums and their many publics can be re-orientated towards a just solution.

Returning to the human remains workshop we see in contested actions or practices the retention of this dominance-subject hierarchy of knowers and sub-knowers create a systemic or institutional distortion that seeks to lessen or suppress the knowledge of and by the Others or sub-knowers. I call them sub-knowers because in this realm both in its institutional form and in terms of public understanding, research knowledge is seen as a priority over common sense, folk or indigenous knowledge, or even ethical arguments about ‘harms’ or ‘wrongs’ already committed.

If in an effort to be more inclusive and give greater voice to those that are the subject of research or their descendants, the normal social contract (giving a distribution of rights and responsibilities) between researcher and those affected by the research, may need to be re-considered.

Moving from the sphere of researcher-community to the area where law and policy can create such conditions that lead to epistemic dissonance between knowers and sub-knowers.

This second case, again from South Africa, involves the re-location of grave sites from land on which existing coal mining operations were to be extended. As a brief historical sketch, the area since the late 19th century is a coal mining area, east of city of Johannesburg. It attracted black migrants’ workers from all over Southern Africa who made their homes in small towns and villages around the original core of the mining operations. This is an area known as Witbank. In the post-Apartheid period these mining operations are to be extended in order to meet the growing demands of the economy, but precisely into the areas where the descendants of those early workers and their current settlements are found. In the post-apartheid period, given the democratic dispensation with a built-in human rights constitution, a slew of legislation was passed in which people, particularly black people had land rights and had to be consulted over their aspects that affected their lives from housing to heritage. I mention these three aspects, housing, land rights and heritage because they are critical issues to the way in which consultation was conducted, and illustrates the shortcomings of what I have termed the social contractual approach to heritage, whether this concerns housing or heritage. It also raises the critical political issue of land, or more especially ownership of land and what weight that is given in practice as a human right. There is a third issue which is more abstract, but nevertheless important: that is, how we conceptualise continuities in culture, heritage, tradition, etc over long periods of time in a context of rapid changes linked to ideas of modernity.

The issue on which the extension of mining by the large international private mining companies rests on two crucial issue: access and ownership of land and grave sites. Mining resources are owned by the state and there is legislation as how that land is ‘rented’ or alienated for mineral exploitation to mining companies to extract the mineral resources. The legislation was passed in order to effect the ownership of land in the name of the majority people of the country. This was to give effect to the constitutional obligations along the lines of the land and resources belonging to the people of the country and the nation state of South Africa. In effect, under the mining legislation these resources must meet certain technical and legal criteria for minerals to be extracted and which gave mining companies de facto exclusive control over the and. However, if there are people living on that land or there are sites of importance to people
and communities they have to be consulted, especially if there are settlements and heritage resources such as archaeological sites, religious or ritual sites of importance to people.

The current South African heritage legislation has application as well. While the heritage legislation does mention graves it relates only to those who died in the service of the country and to famous people. It does not mention the grave sites of ordinary working class people. And to be more specific those whose families have worked for mines of this area since the turn of the 20th century. Why is this fact of the graves important? It relates directly to two aspects: the first to ancestral claims of beliefs of ancestors has intermediaries between life and death, especially as to their well-being, and hence directly to their places of rest (i.e. the grave sites), and secondly, that claims on the land are directly related to showing belonging via lineage descendants. Here too, legislation to prove land claims as part of land restitution plays a role. Here too, while the land reform/restitution legislation does not mention specifically that grave sites are proof of a claim, it is a part of the claims made by land restitution claimants.

The point that I'm driving at here is the way various stakeholders and agents in this situation appears to manifest their interests or positions in use of the land, whether for well-being of the living or dead and to livelihoods of people employed in the mineral resource sector of the economy. Crucial for us as museum professionals, historians, ethnographers and archaeologists is the way these interests are structured through what I have called the social contract of consultation.

The mining companies as I indicated above wanted the land to mine the coal; the state or government wanted the mining to be extended, but subject to a consultation process in which grave sites were central. The heritage legislation directed the company and its consultants to find out to whom the grave sites belonged and how the process might be carried out towards removing the graves to another part of the land.

The mining companies carried out the archaeological/heritage investigation as directed by the legislation but undermined the individual families and the community by doing their own identification of the grave sites. In their consultation with the individual families and as a community, they undermined the families beliefs that to remove an ancestor required a particular way in which to communicate with ancestors, informing them of their intentions and reassuring them of their removal will be done in way as not to disturb them unduly and that they will be accommodated in a new resting place. This process was undermined by, firstly, thinking the grave removals could be done on a community wide mass basis, when as far as the families were concerned this was about interceding with individual ancestors of families, not community, village or town. Was the error of the mining company and its archaeological consultants the consideration of the village as homogenous community of tradition-bound believers in ancestors? Secondly, the ground where the graves were found are considered ‘scared’. However, the heritage legislation did not consider ordinary people’s graves as significant, as did the consultants and lawyers for the mining company: they had followed the letter of the law and could and did defend such a position. As far as the mining company was concerned the consultation process was followed. Yet for the individual families, this consultation through the archaeologists was disrespectful and undermined their understanding of what the process was meant to be. That is, they were willing to subject themselves to a negotiated settlement, but found the negotiations one-sided.

9 The Act mentions ancestral graves; royal graves and graves of traditional leaders; graves of victims of conflict; graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the Gazette; and historical graves and cemeteries, but does not give any priority to graves of working class people, particular as part of their culture, heritage or as historical evidence of place and being. See p14.
What was more disconcerting was that the government departments that should have protected the community and family rights under both the heritage legislation and mining and resources legislation succumbed to the arguments of the mining company. My real point here is to ask the question as to how and why do this outcome come about. In part it could be argued that the state/government did not want to delay the mining of new areas as it was critical to the well-being of the economy. But that is too simple an explanation. It seems to me the crucial aspect was the dismissal of the ‘other’ knowledge and beliefs that don’t follow the logic of capitalist market rationality. The effect is that it can create the world of ignorance; those that benefited, the mining company and the state remained ignorant of the injustice committed. And those that are unjustly treated may also not question their unjust status, accepting the outcome with resignation and defeat.

While this is not normally an area that museums get involved in, it is possible that museums hold an archive of objects and documents that have relevance to disputes that hinge on how heritage is used, particularly if the museum has an archaeological and historical-ethnographic department or division to its research and exhibition functions. Further, how will a museum construct an exhibition that highlights not just the contestation, but the deeper epistemological injustice issue?

The third example is one where a university initiated a research project on rock art in a rural area that may be considered remote and whose historical presence in consciousness of the people of the country is marginal10. This is the Matatiele area of the Southern Drakensburg, near the border with Lesotho. Although there is some farming in the area, many of the people migrate to bigger towns and cities to work. Here, unlike the cases above, there was a conscious attempt by the researchers to find out what the community, and its various constituents, thought about a university initiated research project on rock paintings. Without going into the details the following points should be noted:

The consultative process was extensive: involving local leaders, local villagers, traditional healers, farm workers, the farming and business communities, and others, seeking their views of rock paintings. The views ranged from non-committal interest to their value as a tourist attraction, and their use by healers. The research itself acknowledged all of the community, the roles they played and what they contributed to its interpretation and the archive of paintings. Crucial was the engagement in the local languages of the area.

While the rock paintings as an academic project formed part of ongoing research to document them, it also informed much scholarly debate about the origins, nature, and meanings of these paintings. Without going into detail, the project undertook to find out what local people knew and how they valued the rock paintings, with a focussed discussion on how they could train and employ local people as fieldworkers.

While the university trained scholars wanted to pursue their own research agendas they went to considerable lengths to take into account local views in all their diversity, and accommodated and assimilated into the project. It is a project that followed the ethical guidelines laid down by the university and the Vermillion accord, it sought to pay greater attention and interpret these in new ways.

Although there is ongoing research in the area, the most important elements are is that:

• There was a consultative process that sought to mitigate social knowledge deficiencies, rather than dismiss or exaggerate them.
• A shared understanding of the research project emerged even though the project assisted the local community in a very limited way through an eco-tourism project that was never going to solve their unemployment or other material hardships.
• There was heritage protection, albeit the meanings were diverse, sometimes even contested.

However limited the community contribution to the larger scholarly aims, it did not prevent a community of real knowers from impacting epistemically on the entire research project, while the researchers’ scientific objectives were both archived and enriched.

**Conclusions**

The issue I’m concerned with is not that these ethical standards and procedures are immaterial or inadequate or a rejection of modernity. On the contrary, they are the perfect starting point from which I wish to make my case, that the social contractual of ethical codes and policy are not an end point. They are the point of subversion to a larger epistemic project. I have placed a question mark over the ethical codes and legislation, not for legal deficiencies, but for the way they have been interpreted and not recognising ‘hidden’ assumptions that structure authoritative voices scientific or rational voices to know the interests of the native/ the subaltern/ the marginalised better than themselves.

This does not mean that research must stop, nor does it mean that by giving a voice to the voiceless (sub-knowers) a new sharing, balance and justice is reached. Rather there is a constant contestation where a necessary dissonance in discussion and debate, is given preference over rules, duties and responsibilities, and meet the following essential requirements:

1. Issue driven, debate-based forums into order to enter into discussion and negotiations and to agree on what forms these take. This is different to a contractual bargaining structure.
2. There should be broad representation in such forums or as a result of such forums. Such representation is not a given, and museum-based archaeologists and historians have to learn how to recognize and represent other people identities, social groups and interests without undermining their own integrity.
3. The discussion forums to be free of distorting pressures (such as intimidation, violence, threats; it may equally require the suspension, when necessary, the media, to sensitive discussions)
4. Toward just outcomes requires attention to testimonial and hermeneutical justice
   • Recognizing and learning the different categories of people, groups, stakeholders, from leaders to least empowered people,
   • Identifying real and potential schisms and conflicts; and collaborations
   • Allowing for and giving power (to speak, explain, articulate interest, offer insights etc.) to communities and groups and categories of people within them, while recognizing the possibility of different kinds of participation
   • Making sure that interventions do not deepen existing economic or resource disparities, by, for example, reinforcing or creating new elitist hierarchies
   • Making communities aware of what the museum can offer, especially in terms of expertise in archaeology-history-ethnography
   • The experts learning from the community itself such as knowledge of history, interesting sites, the divergent original and descendant lineages, clans, families, communities
References


As the role of museums have shifted over time, so too has the discipline of archaeology. Once the purview of academics conducting research archaeology in both universities and museums, when the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was established in the 1960s, archaeology in response to the NHPA slowly began to outpace research archaeology. In fact, it is estimated that today at least 80% of all archaeologists work in contract (cultural resources management) archaeology rather than in an academic positions (Speakman et al. 2018). Because of this shift, the amount of archaeology done in the United States has increased, bringing with it a concomitant increase in archaeological material for curation. While some museums may be able to accommodate these curation needs, many museums cannot act as repositories for the sometimes immense amount of material generated by regulatory projects. Yet even if a museum cannot meet curation needs, their involvement in contract work can take the form of partnerships that are beneficial for both the museum and the agencies or individuals conducting the contract work. These partnerships encourage the curator to keep current with archaeological trends and promote use of museum collections to meet research or regulatory needs. Partnerships can also bring awareness to the need for inclusion of funding for curatorial services during the budgeting process for contract work, an often overlooked aspect to the archaeological process. Involvement in local contract work through partnerships also has the added benefit of generating knowledge about the region in which the museum operates. The areas investigated as part of contract work are guided by project specifics, rather than by the research interests of the archaeologist. As such, the knowledge gained from these projects can be surprising or unexpected and add to local cultural narratives. Forming partnerships and developing local long-term programs that recognize the importance of contract work as well as pure research archaeology provides numerous avenues to obtain a deeper understanding of the past (Green and Doershuk 1988).

Archaeology in the United States
Although the introduction of the NHPA in 1966 ushered in an era of cultural resources management (CRM) work, American archaeology has its roots in contract work and partnerships with the federal government. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), which was part of the New Deal (1935-1943) introduced by President Franklin Delanor Roosevelt (FDR), focused on providing jobs that did not compete with “normal” business activities (Doelle and Phillips 2005). FDR was a supporter of heritage tourism and as such, part of the WPA funding supported local archaeological interests, as long as those local areas coincided with places where people needed jobs. While the majority of the
individuals hired under this program were not familiar with archaeological techniques, the projects were lead by archaeologists who worked in museums and universities, who quickly taught basic archaeological techniques to the workers. The projects focused mostly on excavating pre-contact Native American sites resulting in a large sample of Native American villages. The data collected from these projects helped to build basic regional cultural histories and increased overall knowledge about the many Native American occupations across the United States. Although numerous excavations occurred under the WPA, publications on the findings were few and inconsistent and there was no clear way to share information to a wider archaeological and/or general public. In part as a response to this gap in data sharing, a group of archaeologists founded the Society for American Archaeology in 1935. The journal published by this national society, American Antiquity, would run reports on the findings from the WPA work. This was the beginning of one of the largest professional archaeological networks in the United States, which is still in existence today.

While the WPA was the largest program of archaeology done at the bequest of the federal government up to that time, the profession of contract archaeology really began to emerge with the passage of the NHPA. This was significant as it created environmental infrastructure in federal agencies and mandated analysis of impacts to cultural resources on federal lands or by projects supported by the federal government. Established as part of the NHPA, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) is a list of the nation’s cultural resources significant enough to the country that they are afforded special protections. The NRHP established significance criteria to consider when evaluating a cultural resource for inclusion or eligibility on the list, creating the basis for much of the CRM work done today. Fostered by these new laws, over time archaeological work shifted from museums and university to private sector CRM archaeology (Doelle and Phillips 2005:102), where it is now estimated that 80% of archaeological work occurs (Speakman et al. 2018).

There have been long running debates about the difference between CRM and research archaeology that will not be addressed here. What can be said about CRM work is that “American archaeology is predominantly CRM archaeology” (Green and Doershuk 1988:121). Research archaeology is still extremely active in the United States and many archaeologists who work in CRM continue to conduct their own research. However, CRM projects occur on a daily basis in many regions around the United States, and this fact alone should highlight the need for museums with cultural collections to be involved in CRM work. CRM work encourages archaeologists “to probe the resource base in new and explicit ways for all possible dimensions of significance” (Goodyear et al. 1978:159), providing new data that can be meaningful for development of local museum programs and for expansion of knowledge about the local region. Museums that use data or material from regional contract work can help to encourage the view that museums must be considered part of the archaeological process, whether as a curatorial or public outreach partner (Buchanan 2019:2).

Agency Partnerships
A key relationship for museums involved in CRM work are with the agencies that implement the NHPA. Federal agencies, such as the National Park Service (NPS), the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), and the Forestry Service (FS), among others, have mandates to understand and protect the cultural resources located on the lands that they manage. This can be a daunting task as the lands that fall under their purview can be expansive and contain thousands of cultural resources. Unfortunately, funding to carrying out management and protection mandates can be limited, hindering the agency’s ability to effectively identify, record, and manage resources. The minimal funding provided for archaeological research is not limited to federal agencies. In the United States, we have seen levels of funding for basic archaeological research vary in the last few decades (Aitchison 2009). In fact, almost four decades ago, Casteel (1980) argued that the
necessary increase in contract archaeology since the enactment of the NHPA drew resources away from basic research funding.

While this funding issue is unfortunate, it does offer an opportunity for mutually beneficial partnerships. Museum archaeologists can work with agencies to design projects that meet federal management needs and align with the interests of the researcher. Through this partnership, the agency can provide support for the project and the researcher can collect data that helps to address their research questions and is necessary for federal land management needs. As an example, as Curator of Archaeology at the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County (NHM), I have formed a partnership with the Channel Islands National Park (CHIS) on a project that focuses on how processes like coastal erosion impact archaeological sites on the Northern Channel Islands, California. Much of my research focuses on these islands and this topic aligns with my research interests. For CHIS, they have a responsibility to monitor sites and protect them from damage where possible, making this project an important part of their land management responsibilities. As part of this partnership, the Park supports research in coastal regions, and I provide to them data to consider for management of sites vulnerable to erosional impacts. This gives the federal agency more capacity to meet their regulatory requirements and I benefit through access to the islands and research support. These types of relationships can also foster the recognition of museums and museum collections in the federal budgeting process. Museums can stress to federal agencies the importance of prioritizing “museums, repositories, and collections management in their budgeting processes and remind them that the value of museums is not simply their attraction to paying visitors” (Frieman and Janz 2018:266).

Professional Partnerships
While working with agencies is important, it is also integral to seek out professional relationships with the contracting firms that agencies or private developers hire to conduct the regulatory work. These companies have archaeologists who are on the ground, conducting surveys, recording sites, and excavating in the region. In California where there are strong state level regulations for environmental protection, along with the federal regulations, CRM work is pervasive. Contract archaeologists are responsible for the majority of the archaeology conducted in the state. Collaborating with these archaeologists is important for keeping current with local archaeological developments and for gaining knowledge about the region in which a museum operates. Curator or managers of cultural collections can also promote use of local museum collections that may be able to assist with background research on CRM projects. As part of the archaeological process, curators can also encourage CRM archaeologists to include in their budget process funds for proper curation of objects uncovered in the course of their work.

In Exposition Park where NHM is located, the material remains of the Park’s past have been uncovered each time there is a construction project inside the park boundaries. At NHM, we maintain relationships with the CRM companies that work regionally on archaeological compliance projects, and they keep us informed of archaeological discoveries that may be of interest to the museum for either public education or for accessioning into our collections. As a result, the archaeological material from the park that surrounds our museum is cared for within our archaeology collection, and helps us to tell the story of the evolution of the land on which our museum sits. With this material and the knowledge gathered from it, we can inform the public about the unique history below their feet.

Not all material collected from CRM projects will end up in museum collections. CRM projects can sometimes generate material that has little research value and in the “context of a museum with a mission to preserve research collections, it is poor practice to acquire collections having limited research potential” (Sullivan 1992:3). While it can be difficult to turn away material that needs to be curated, in order to be good stewards of
the collections that we do maintain, we must ensure that we have the proper resources to put towards their care. The sometimes scarce resources that can be dedicated to archaeological collections must be wisely used. This is particularly true when considering that collections research should be encouraged. “All too often, archaeologists have viewed curation as a process that manages, rather than investigates, archaeological collections” (Grizzle 2019:3). Curation and proper care of the material is imperative, but so too is the research and investigation that can occur on curated collections. As we move into an era where the curation crisis increases and many archaeological professionals are advocating for use of collections for archaeological research (inter alia Buchanan 2019; Frieman and Janz 2018; Goodyear et al. 1978; MacFarland and Vokes 2016; Voss 2012) rather than a default to excavation, we need to ensure that we can provide the proper resources for supporting research on museum collections. It is imperative for the broader archaeological community to view museum work as part of the archaeological process, rather than separate from it, and collections as valuable research tools (Buchanan 2019).

**Student Internships**

Museums are in a unique position to help to promote to a broad audience the importance of cultural collections through education. This can include education to the general public through programs and exhibits, but also to a more targeted audience: students with an interest in pursuing an archaeological career. While college and university archaeological programs differ in terms of their teaching focus, it is common to have limited curricula on museums and curation in the archaeological process. Museums were once a primary venue for archaeological study (Wiley and Saboff 1980), and this created a natural inclusion of museums into the archaeological research process. As academies began to supersede museums as centers for archaeological research, museum studies became its own branch of study (Teather 1991). While this separate branch that teaches students about museum activities, education, and the important role that museums hold in society is necessary, this separation did have the impact of removing museum courses from typical archaeological curriculum. This may have encouraged the notion that museum collections and the curation process are separate from the archaeological process (Frieman and Janz 2018) and enforced the widespread perception that archaeology is synonymous with fieldwork. As discussed above, fieldwork has been the basis for archaeological data collection for decades. These data have allowed for myriad interpretations of the past and have helped educate generations of people on the development of cultures and societies around the world. Field collection has resulted in important knowledge, but it has also created large collections in archaeological repositories and museums that remain understudied (Frieman and Janz 2018).

Unanalyzed or under-analyzed archaeological assemblages are problematic and point to the lack of societal investment in curation activities (Morrison et al. 2018), a situation that contributes to the curation crisis (Bawaya 2007; Bustard 2000). Analyses of existing collections can identify opportunities to deploy those materials to address novel questions (Morrison et al. 2018; Voss 2012), and archaeologists should design projects that include careful consideration and analysis of existing museum collections to inform on the necessity for new data collection. This approach should be included in the educational process for students of archaeology, and museums can play a key role in this process. Curators and collection managers of archaeological collections can provide student internships and volunteer programs that allow students to work with objects from their collections, become familiar with the curation process, and understand the research value of museum collections. Providing this education as a part of archaeological programs, will not only familiarize students with museums and the types of collections that they hold, but will also instill in them the notion that museums and the curation process are part of the archaeological process and should be considered for research projects and funding.

At NHM, we have an active intern and volunteer program, as well as a few students who are considered Graduate Students in Residence. This last category includes students who
are using the museum’s cultural collections as the primary data source for their graduate theses. These relationships were fostered though Anthropological curators and collection managers contacting local professors to provide suggestions for graduate work within the collections. These thesis projects are scaled to be appropriate for MA or PhD level research and include a documentation process that will assist the museum in meeting its curation goals for the collections. The Anthropology curator is an outside member of the student committee and provides supervision and mentorship to the student while at the museum.

The interns in our programs tend to be undergraduate Anthropology students who are interested in obtaining hands on experience in museum work. The volunteers tend to be people who are preparing to attend graduate school, or who are narrowing their focus for an undergraduate program. In all cases, we mentor the students on the importance of museums in the archaeological process and provide to them first-hand experience with archaeological collections and the curation process. The relationships that we build and the education we provide are integral to their future careers. We find that we stay connected with our students who graduate on to jobs in numerous fields, including archaeology, and they use us as a resource for years to come.

Community Outreach
All of the partnerships that museums form with contract archaeologists and students help introduce museums to a variety of different organizations and communities. Many museums, as part of their core mission, conduct public outreach and engage local communities in programs designed to educate on a wide variety of topics. This education and outreach enforces the idea that museums are not only a resource for viewing exhibits and gaining an education on our natural and cultural worlds, but also as a place for community gatherings, local information, and as potential partners for programs and events of interest among community members. For those museums with cultural collections, this engagement provides an opportunity to work within those communities to educate on the importance of cultural heritage protection. Museums are “powerful forces for the communication of archaeological information” (Barker 2010:294), and can use this force to help educate the public not only on the types of cultural resources that are in their local area, but also on the ways in which the public can be an advocate for cultural heritage protection. This community engagement can range from engaging with local schools about archaeology, to speaking at local avocational society events, to participating in "Archaeology Days" typically held in the month of October and designed to educate people of all ages and interests on the discipline of archaeology (https://www.archaeological.org/programs/public/archaeologyday/). These types of engagements allow museums the opportunity to communicate the importance of protecting cultural heritage and, importantly, provide information to the public on the ways they can help get involved. While this outreach may, at minimum, act to inform and educate the public about cultural heritage, it may also encourage those with a deeper interest to advocate for heritage protection. The regulations that govern CRM work provide opportunities for public comment and these laws are responsive to the community’s needs. By engaging with the community and providing opportunities for heritage education, museums can provide guidance on involvement in local protection efforts and excite the local community about ways in which they can be an active participant in helping to preserve their local cultural heritage.

Conclusions
Although the role of museums has shifted over time, one constant is that they are here to help educate the public and preserve objects from our natural and cultural worlds for future generations. This important mission can be a massive undertaking particularly when considering the amount of material that can be generated with contract archaeology. Although many archaeological collections cared for in museums may not be able to accommodate an influx of material from contact work, these collections and the individuals that care for them can still play a meaningful role in regulatory work and help
bring awareness to the importance of museums and cultural collections to cultural heritage protection efforts. By developing partnerships with the numerous communities and individuals involved in all aspects of the archaeological process we have an opportunity to help strengthen awareness of cultural heritage protection and show that museums continue to “function as important resources for science, heritage education, and the humanities” (Sullivan 1992:1).

References


Michael Habicht – Switzerland

Sarah Rebecca Schmid¹, Michael E. Habicht² ³, Patrick E. Eppenberger², Roger Seiler², Raji C. Steineck¹, Frank Rühli²

¹ Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies, University of Zurich
² Institute of Evolutionary Medicine, University of Zurich
³ Department of Archaeology, Flinders University

The Mummies of the Ōshū Fujiwara

Historical Background
The Fujiwara clan 藤原氏 Fujiwara-shi wielded the de-facto political power during the Heian period 平安時代 (794-1192) through successful intermarriage between the daughters of the Fujiwara clan and the Japanese emperors 天皇 Tennō. Towards the end of the Heian period, the influence of the Fujiwara started to decline.

During this time, the Ōshū Fujiwara 奥州藤原氏, a minor branch of the Fujiwara clan, established a de-facto independent rule in the Tōhoku region, centering around the seat of their rule. Hiraizumi 平泉, the seat of their rule, became both a cultural and religious centre. The Chuson-ji temple, devoted to pure land Buddhism, was one of its most important sites. becoming both a cultural and religious centre, with Chūson-ji 中尊寺 as one of its most important sites, associated with the Pure Land Buddhism that the Ōshū Fujiwara practiced.

Four generations of this northern branch of the Fujiwara ruled Hiraizumi until they too were conquered by Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 in 1189, and both Hiraizumi and Chūson-ji declined in importance. Despite the at least partial destruction of Hiraizumi, the temple as an institution did survive, and with it, the bodies of the Ōshū Fujiwara rulers that had been laid to rest there.

Konjiki-dō
The Konjiki-dō 金色堂 is a small building in the Chūson-ji temple that originally stood on the temple grounds uncovered, and is the last surviving original structure from the period of the Fujiwara rule, completed in 1124. It is almost entirely covered in gold leaf (hence the name), and also features mother-of-pearl inlays, precious woodwork, elaborate metalwork and laquerwork so thin and exquisite, that it is difficult to reproduce these crafts today. The Konjiki-dō has a basic square shape, each side measuring 5.5 meters. The total height of the building is 8 meters.

Even more unusual are the mummified bodies of the Ōshū Fujiwara rulers which have been placed beneath these three altars. Each altar contains one body, except for one, which contains a body and an additional mummified head. All three bodies are placed in
caskets that are aligned sideways (north-south) to the orientation of the Konjiki-dō itself, which is aligned east-west. The mummified head was placed in a separate wooden bucket with a lid. According to Yiengpruksawan (Yiengpruksawan, M. H., 1998, p. 131.), there are no mentions of the mummified bodies before the 17th century, but from 1624 onwards, the bodies have been exhumed at least four times before the first scientific investigation in 1950.

Chūson-ji and the Konjiki-dō are now a part of the Hiraizumi World Heritage Site, declared as such by the UNESCO in 2011. Additionally, the Konjiki-dō had been the first structure in Japan to be designated a National Treasure.

The Mummies
The only in-depth examination of the mummies took place in 1950. One other examination was conducted by Kazuro Hanihara in 1994 (Hanihara, K., 1996.) and reassessed in 2017 (Tamura, A. et. al., 2017). However, no additional tests were made or additional measurements taken at that time. The current condition of the mummies is unknown, although they are still kept in the Konjiki-dō.

Fujiwara no Kiyohira
It is generally accepted that Fujiwara no Kiyohira 藤原清衡, the first generation of the Ōshū Fujiwara, was born to Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo 藤原経清 and a daughter of Abe no Yoritoki 阿部頼時 in 1056. Sources such as the Sonpi Bunmyaku 尊卑分脈, a genealogy first compiled in the 14th century, suggest that Fujiwara no Tsunekiyo was part of the local government of Mutsunokuni 須毛国 (Ōshū), as well as a descendant of Fujiwara no Hidesato 藤原秀郷, who had held the title Chinjufu Shogun 鎮守府将軍 (Defender of the North). However, his actual status and genealogy are not entirely clear. The clan of Tsunekiyo’s wife, the Abe clan 阿部氏, was a powerful local Emishi family that held power over the strategically important Kitakami basin in Ōshū.

Hiraizumi was chosen by the Oshu Fujiwara for its strategic location in the Kitakami river basin, on the border that historically separated ‘Emishi’ (non-aligned autochthone) and ‘Yamato’ (imperial Japanese) territory. Hiraizumi was connected to roads and waterways essential to the trade with the north, including the continent. Horses, gold and other goods that were in high demand in the capital were produced in the region.

Kiyohira started to build Hiraizumi, but also Chūson-ji, making the temple the centre and blueprint of his realm, as well as a representation of his beliefs and power. He died in 1128, making him 72 at the time of his death.

The Mummy
It is generally accepted that Fujiwara no Kiyohira is the one that was enshrined below the central altar (Asahi Shinbun (Ed.), 1950, pp. 70-71.).

The cephalic (length-breath) index of Kiyohira is 80.30: brachycephalic, but only slightly above mesocephalic (Also verified by Tamura, A. et. al., 2017, p. 690.). The sagittal suture is relatively clear, the lambdoid suture fine and convoluted (cloud-shaped), suture coronalis is visible on the left, but not on the right. Prominent exostosis projecting from the inion (external occipital protuberance) likely caused by strenuous use of the trapezius and semispinalis capitis muscles. No noteworthy alterations in the sulcus arteriae meningeae mediae or in the impressions of the diploic veins.

The alveolar process is atrophied and exposure of the dental roots is pronounced. Dental wear is pronounced on the mandible. The occlusal surfaces and the margins are flat or concave. This is most likely a sign of old age. Almost all the dental remnants in the mandible have cavities.
The lumbar spine has spondylosis deformans. The claviculae are short and thick, like that of a labourer (i.e. physical work; this concurs with Kiyohira’s life as warrior). It can be assumed that both claviculae have been broken at some point during his lifetime.

The rib cartilage shows signs of parasternal osseous healing, the episternum and corpus sterni also show signs of osseous healing. The right femur shows periosteal osseous deposits. There is evidence of left sided hemi lateral skeletal atrophy, including loss of volume, for the femur, tibia, fibula, humerus, radius and ulna. There are almost no signs of skeletal atrophy on the right side. The left ilium is also more affected by atrophy than its right side (Tamura, A. et. al., 2017, p. 690.).

Looking at the findings, it is likely that a lesion such as a cerebral haemorrhage or cerebral embolism developed that led to a hemiplegia on the left side, due to which atrophy of disuse developed. Diminished blood circulation on the paralyzed side may have additionally aggravated bone atrophy. It is possible that the cause of death was a cerebral haemorrhage or a similar disease. An external injury would be expected to affect both sides and lead to death before bone atrophy such as seen here can occur.

Judging from the x-rays, Kiyohira is likely the oldest among the four, estimated at over 70 years, which would fit with biographical data in historic records (Also verified by Tamura, A. et. al., 2017, p. 691.).

Fujiwara no Motohira
Kiyohira had several wives/consorts, and although his mother is sometimes listed as a member of the Taira clan, it is not clear whose child Fujiwara no Motohira 藤原基衡 was.
He was most likely born in 1105 as the second son of Kiyohira, with an age difference of approximately 15 years between him and his older half-brother Koretsune. According to the diary of Minamoto no Morotoki 源師時, the Chōshūki 長秋記, a conflict between Motohira and Koretsune broke out after Kiyohira’s death, a conflict which Motohira eventually won by killing his brother and his family. He became Kiyohira’s heir and continued the expansion of Hiraizumi and its territories. He saw to the expansion of Chūson-ji, as well as the building of Enryū-ji 圓隆寺 (located on the precincts of Mōtsū-ji 毛越寺), and the founding of Kanjizaiō-in 観自在王院 by his wife. Like his father, he continued with the management of estates for noblemen, but also expanded his territories and funnelled profits from noblemen’s estates into his own pockets, which brought him into conflict with the provincial government and the affected noblemen several times. Motohira suddenly died in 1157, which would make him approximately 52 years old at the time of his death, reportedly due to cerebral haemorrhage.

The Mummy
The north-western altar (the right podium) is considered to be the resting place of Fujiwara no Motohira. Since there are no records of the placement of the mummies or their identities, the identification that is commonly accepted today is the one that transmitted by the temple. For the time being, there is no clear evidence such as a DNA analysis etc. that could clarify remaining questions about identity.

The 1950 report made the following observations regarding the mummy of Fujiwara no Motohira (Asahi Shinbun (Ed.), 1950, pp. 71-73.).

The cranial index is 81.09% (brachycephalic). The lambdoid suture is partially fused and only intermittently distinguishable; the sagittal suture only appears as a straight line due to the angle of projection; the sutura coronalis is not visible.

The sulcus arteriae meningeae mediae and impressions of the diploic veins are very prominent.
Slight exostosis projecting from the inion (external occipital protuberance), likely caused by strenuous use of the trapezius and semispinalis capitis muscles possibly by being forced to remain in a rigid position for a long time, the use of a body armour, or the practice of swordsmanship and archery.

The mandible shows pronounced atrophy of the alveolar process, pronounced tooth root exposure and a general rarefaction of bone trabecula. The first and third molars on the left side of the mandible have fallen out during Motohira's lifetime, whereby the first molar seems to have fallen out relatively early in life. The second molar is still present. The root of this tooth is a single root. The occlusal surfaces and the marginal edges of almost all teeth of the left mandible are worn and flat or concave. These abrasions on the teeth as well as the alveolar bone atrophy are a sign of old age.

There is no evidence of the heart or the lungs in the thoracic cavity and almost no intestines in the thoracic cavity. The thoracic X-rays also show several fragments of human teeth and bones, as well as a patella. There are some fractures of the right ribs. Further, several man-made objects were discovered in the radiographs. Slightly to the right of the spinous processes of the fifth lumbar vertebra are signs of spina bifida (most likely spina bifida oculta). In the left and central parts of the pelvis, also, several man-made objects and bones were found.

The findings do not allow to narrow down possible causes of death. Judging from x-rays of the cranial suture, vertebral column, and mandible, this is the youngest of the three bodies, ranging between 50 and 60 years (Tamura, A. et. al., 2017, p. 691.).

**Fujiwara no Hidehira**

Unlike his two predecessors, no textual sources point towards a struggle of succession in the case of the third generation of Ōshū, Fujiwara no Hidehira. He was most likely born in 1122 to Motohira and a woman of the Abe clan. With Hidehira, the power and influence of the Ōshū Fujiwara reached its zenith. Hidehira was appointed Chinju Shogun in 1170 and governor of Mutsu (Ōshū) in 1181 and received the rank of junior fifth rank lower. Such an appointment and elevation of status would normally have been unthinkable for someone of Hidehira's origin and was received with disbelief by his contemporaries.

Probably, his promotion was motivated by power struggles between the Taira and the Minamoto, with the Taira seeking an ally in the north. Hidehira, however, did not align himself with the Taira. Instead, he allowed Minamoto no Yoshitsune, younger brother to the ultimately victorious Minamoto no Yoritomo, to move to Hiraizumi and supported him until the end of his life. Hidehira died on November 30th 1187, which would make him around 65 years old at the time of his death.

**The Mummy**

Following temple, Fujiwara no Hidehira laid to rest under the altar to the left (southeastern altar). The investigation of 1950 produced the following results (Asahi Shinbun (Ed.), 1950, pp. 73-75.).

The occipital bone features a separate interparietal bone and an external protrusion, below which there is an adjacent extra-cranial calcified structure. The occipital muscular insertions also partially ossified. It can be assumed that this is also a result of an excessive use of the cervical muscles. No abnormalities in the diploic veins of the sulcus arteriae meningeae mediae are visible.

The thorax cavity shows large protrusions on the outer side above and below the lateral borders of the scapula on both sides. This indicates that the adjoining muscles (teres major, teres minor, serratus anterior, musculus triceps brachii) were well developed, likely due to archery practice. The lungs cannot be distinguished in the thoracic cavity;
However, parts of the heart and the aorta are still present. Internal organs within the abdominal cavity cannot be identified. It is unclear whether these organs have been removed, but the left side of the abdomen is open. Several teeth and man-made objects could also be distinguished inside the body. Below the sixth thoracic vertebra, vertebral bodies including the entire lumbar spine are sclerotic, feature large osteophytes, and are partly fused by bony bridges. Further ossification of the anterior longitudinal ligament of the thoracic spine can be seen. These findings are typical for diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH). The calcaneus displays a beak-shaped protrusion on both sides, which is probably due to intensive strain on the Achilles tendons. The posterior edge of the femur, i.e. the linea aspera, is unusually prominent and unevenly protruded. The edge of the ischium shows a distinct spine-shaped protrusion. Such protrusions were likely caused by intensive use of the inserting adductor muscles, e.g., during horse-riding.

Hidehira suffered from degenerative alterations of the spine likely caused by old age and intense training of the martial arts. Trauma or the occurrence of osteomyelitis/spontylitis in combination with septic fever could have been the cause of his death. It is likely that Hidehira died younger than Kiyohira (Tamura, A. Et al., 2017, p. 692.).

**Fujiwara no Yasuhira**

Fujiwara no Yasuhira 藤原泰衡 was the last head of the Ōshū Fujiwara and is sometimes not counted by historians, making the lineage three generations instead of four. Yasuhira was born as the second son of Hidehira in 1155. He had an older brother, but while Yasuhira was born to Hidehira's legal wife, a daughter of Fujiwara no Motonari 藤原基成, his older brother was not. Most likely, Yasuhira was the successor for that very reason.

Yasuhira is primarily remembered as the man who was responsible for Minamoto no Yoshitsune's death, due to the popularity of Yoshitsune as a tragic hero in culture and fiction. Yasuhira’s father Hidehira had long been a patron of Yoshitsune, and reportedly requested Yasuhira to continue before his death. First, Yasuhira apparently, but eventually he folded to continued pressure by Yoritomo, who had come to see his half-brother and former ally as a threat. Yasuhira attacked and besieged Yoshitsune, which lead to Yoshitsune’s suicide.

When Yasuhira presented Yoshitsune’s severed head to Yoritomo, however, Yasuhira himself was sentenced to death by Yoritomo; he died on October 14th, 1189 after a very short rule over Hiraizumi around age 34. With his death, the end of the rule of the northern Fujiwara and the golden age at Hiraizumi had arrived.

**The Mummy**

Only the severed head of Yasuhira is preserved. Yasuhira is traditionally identified as his younger brother Tadahira by temple transmission. The researchers suggested the new identification in 1950 because the historical record states Yasuhira was beheaded and an iron nail was stuck through his head to hang it in a public place in Kamakura for punishment. The reported injuries on the preserved head are consistent with this report. A newer publication with the final reports on the mummies gives insights into the anthropology and pathology of the head, published by Chūson-ji in 1994 (Chūson-ji (Ed.), 1994, pp. 130-135.).

Yasuhira’s skull is classified to be brachycephalic (index 78.19). The sagittal suture is wave-shaped in the front. A gap in the lambdoid suture is particularly well visible, showing a filamentous suture. All three sutures show signs of incomplete fusion. The sutures look closer to that of a 25-year-old man; however, the weak cloud-shaped ossification of the surrounding bone, looks closer to that of a 35-year-old individual. Based on the state and growth of the teeth, the age is set to the early thirties.
The protrusion of the glabella is low and smooth, the concavity of the root of the nose is shallow, and the nasal bone low. The vascular groove for the middle meningeal artery is clearly visible.

The skull features four incisional wounds consistent with injuries from a sword. One wound of about 30mm depth on the lateral side of the right parietal bone is covered by soft tissue and cannot be seen from outside. Further up and closer to the centre a wound of the skin and underlying soft tissues is evident, likely caused by a blade during Hidehira’s lifetime. A detachment of bone (40mm in diameter) is seen in the right occipital region, and an elliptic hole (17 mm × 10 mm) is visible in the left occipital region, also associated to injury by a sword. Furthermore, a laceration is seen on the left mastoid process and the fourth cervical spine shows a sharp slanted cut. On the left side of the forehead a nearly round hole, measuring 16x18.5mm on the lamina externa and 22x21mm on the lamina interna, as well as another hole on the back of the head in direct line to the first one, measuring 11x13mm, where most, likely caused by a spike or a nail. Judging from these injuries, it is likely that Yasuhira was beheaded and his head later pierced by a nail as documented in the literature (Higuchi, K. 1998. Jpn. J. Radiol. Technol. 1998: 53:2-20.).

The specialists of the 1950 study disagreed on whether the mummification was natural or anthropogenic ( Asahi Shinbun (Ed.), 1950, Chūsonji (Ed.), 1994, Hanihara, K., 1996.). The mummies show damage accumulated over centuries, making it difficult to determine the original preservation. As mentioned before, the mummies were exhumed several times after the seventeenth century.

There is no historical record of mummification practices or the mummies of the Fujiwara. Furuhata cites sources from the early 19th century recounting that the Ainu of Sakhalin had a tradition of artificial mummification, where the dead were eviscerated and dried in the sun before burial, and concludes that the Fujiwara did the same. Hasebu rejects this, saying that the Ainu of Hokkaido, closer to Tohoku, did not have such a tradition, and it was therefore unlikely the Fujiwara knew of it.

Hasebu and others argued that it was a natural mummification: The corpse dried naturally, and subsequent damage by mice, flies, etc. was caused by the destruction of the Konjiki-dō during a storm, which left the mummies exposed to the elements. Suzuki argued that – although rare – there are examples of natural mummification in Japan. He saw the bulged abdomen of Motohira and Hidehira as evidence of the natural putrefaction of the viscera. On the other hand, Furuhata argued that the internal organs must have been intentionally removed after death. However, there is no evidence that any object replacing the intestines was inserted into the body.

The brains are also missing. Since none of the authors claim that the brains were intentionally removed, and they take longer to dissolve, Hanihara argues that the internal organs also putrefied organically; he infers that the bodies were in an environment not ideal for natural mummification, which slowed mummification and caused the internal organs to rot before the bodies had the chance to fully mummify. Accordingly, only the skin was left over. According to Hanihara, the condition of the skin is congruent with natural decomposition.

Hiraizumi has relatively low temperature but high humidity levels, which does not make it an ideal place for (natural) mummification. For that reason, Hanihara assumed that the drying of the bodies had been facilitated somehow. The Fujiwara possibly had knowledge of a custom called ‘mogari’ usually reserved for emperors, but in earlier times also practiced among nobility, a custom where the body of a deceased person is not immediately buried, but enshrined to mourn the loss of the person.

Yasuhira’s head looks more like a wax corpse than a mummy. According to Hanihara, this is the result of natural dehydration and saponification of the fat under the skin. The head
was likely placed in salt to prevent rotting of the flesh, and mummification occurred afterwards, through moisture absorption and drying.

The ideological background of the preservation of corpses was also discussed at the 1984 “Tohoku Culture Symposium in Hiraizumi”, but no clear conclusion could be found. The only known practice of mummification, sokushinbutsu, was transmitted from China to Japan in the 11th century. Ultimately, the method of mummification remains unclear.

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Hajar Alkhasova – Azerbaijan
Icherisheher Museum Center

Urban Archaeology in Icherisheher, Baku

About Icherisheher

Icherisheher-Old City is unique pearl of the Azerbaijan nation’s cultural heritage and source of pride of each Azeri citizen. This place, known as "Gala" or simply "Old City" among the people, is the most valuable pearl of Baku, as well as historical and architectural reserve. In 1977, the city was granted the status of historic-architectural reserve. In 1985 it was declared the Icheri Sheher State Historical-Architectural Reserve.

Icherisheher about which I am going to talk, stores DNA of cultural memory of the Azerbaijani people is a «Heart of Baku», visit card of our country. Here, in 22 hectares, there are over 500 historical and architectural monuments It is the living town with the population about 4000 people and over 1300 families. At present, historical monuments in Icheri Sheher are divided into three parts: universal, national and local significance. The famous architectural monuments of Icheri Sheher - Maiden Tower, Fortress walls, Shirvanshahs Palace Complex, Mohammed Mosque, Multania, Bukhara and Small Caravanserai, baths, museums have a special place in the pearl of human culture with its originality and incomparable beauty. These monuments bring people closer together, enriching them, leading to the mutual influence of national cultures, creating communication between different nations. From this point of view, the Icheri Sheher historical and architectural complex monuments are the cultural pearl of our nation since 2000, at the time that it has been added to the Universal Heritage List by the UNESCO organization and turned into a common asset of humanity. This city is a kind of urbanism and its self-sacrifice. The most part of the fortifications constructed in the XII century has survived up to now. Some cities were stuck in military and political positions, while some were hit by a strong tornado. Some of them have been destroyed by tyrannies,floods, and natural disasters, while others have fertile landscapes, favorable natural-climatic conditions, a strong economy, trade, and craftsmanship. This was how Medieval Baku city look likes. The most important measures taken in this direction were the Order of 16 August 2006, signed by the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan on restoration and preservation of historical architectural monuments in Baku. It was tasked to implement a series of measures to preserve the historical architectural monuments as a national cultural treasure. The main purpose was to strengthen its role the next generation and to ensure the proper promotion of the numerous foreign visitors to our country. Strengthening scientific research to maintain the archeological and historical architectural monuments under the conditions of urban development and construction,also has leading
roles in this area. This requires the use of modern technologies to carry out field exploration, analytic results, and systematic study.

In 2009 the presentation of the reconstruction project was carried out in Icherisheher. It is the important document which defined the further destiny of the town museum. This concept included renovation, restoration and preservation of the town generally and its monuments in particular. As result of the project, 98 % of the territory of the open-air town museum was supplied with electricity, 95 % of gas pipes and 85 % of sewer system were renovated, 90 % of roads was repaired and the asphalt was replaced with pavestones.

Based on old photographic materials, architectural elements of facades of buildings were restored, plastic was replaced with wood, cellars were drained and soft cleaning of houses was done.

Other significant monument in Icherisheher - the Shirvanshah Palace Complex constructed in the XII-XV centuries is a pearl of the architecture of the Middle Ages.

In March 2014, after its restoration, visitors can see there a new museum exposition with the multimedia guide. The complex includes premises (52 rooms), a mosque, a family crypt, a bath, Divankhana, the Bakuvi Mausoleum, East Gate, etc.

Expansion of foreign trade of Azerbaijan led to increase in the number of merchants in the country. In this context, caravanserais started to serve as buildings and palaces designed as guesthouses over trade roads. Azerbaijan’s strategic location on Great Silk Road added another value to these flourishing facilities. Caravans used to stop by in these buildings as people needed to rest before continuing further onto their way. These are Bultani, Buchara, Small and Khan caravanserais.

Construction of new-types of buildings-mosques, madrasahs, tombs and others got flourished after Arab conquest (VII century) and spread of Islam in Azerbaijan. Spread of
Islam in Azerbaijan led to the construction of numerous mosques in Icheri Sheher. "Mosque" is an Arabic word and means Muslim temple, God's house and the space of mass bowing of people to God. The most ancient mosque of the Islamic period in the territory of the Old city is the Mohammed mosque of 1078-1079 (XI century). In 2010, for the first time in Azerbaijan, the vacuum way of strengthening of the damaged stones was used during restoration and preservation of a monument. People call this mosque of world value "Synyg Gala". In 2011 one more monument of Icherisheher - the Chin Mosque of XIV century was museumficated. In the mosque, the numismatics exhibition is displayed. The most ancient coin of V century BC that was ever found in Azerbaijan was found out in the territory of the old town of Baku. The exhibition includes over 1000 coins of gold, silver, bronze and copper.

Modern archeological excavations in Icherisheher
Now I would like to speak about the symbol of Baku - Maiden Tower, which has been included into UNESCO has a very interesting history.

Artefacts discovered during the archaeological excavations at Asaf Zeynalli Street, which is the main street of Icherisheher are kept in the Maiden Tower exposition. I would also like to note that the Maiden Tower has been operating as a museum since 1964 and is now the first monument that attracts the attention of Baku visitors.

It dates back VII-VI BC. It consists of 8 floors; height of 30 meters, diameter of 16 meters, and thickness of walls is up to 5 meters. Maiden Tower is 28 metres high on its northern side and 31 meters high on its southern side. The walls are 5 metres thick. They are connected by steps built into the southeastern wall. The Maiden Tower does not hurry to open all of its centuries-old secrets. The interior has been divided into eight floors and each floor has a cupola ceiling built of hewed stones, with a round hole in the middle of the ceiling. There are slits in the south and southeastern section of the wall, which allow for observation of the sea and also ventilate the tower. The only entrance to the tower is in the western side and is two meters above ground level and 1.1 meters wide. The height of the ground floor is three meters and the average height of other floors is 2.5 meters. With the exception of the ground floor, the floors are linked by a stone stairway in the south-eastern wall. The only way to reach the first floor from the ground floor is via a ladder or rope though the central ceiling hole. There used to be wells just outside the door, but now they have been filled in and asphalated to make access to the tower easier. When the tower was first built, people had to negotiate their way around the wells, climb up to the door via a ladder or rope, pass through the door to the ground floor and then climb a ladder or rope to get to the other floors.
In 2011-2013, the monument was renovated. The project of restoration was carried out together with leading experts of a world scale the Remmers (Germany) and «Erich Pummer Atelier» (Austria) companies. For last centuries because of climatic changes the destructive loss was caused to a facade of the Maiden Tower, and strong winds, rains and humidity caused the erosion of stones. During restoration works, it was implemented one quite unusual project. The tower preserved the purpose of temple and its name till nowadays, and welcomes today those who are fascinated by the museum. The exposition of the museum puts forward some hypothesis on the purpose of the monument in a live and interesting manner through modern technology. Audience is acquainted with the museum and free directly to any speculation. It will be a question of live history of the stone chronicle - about swifts which during last 30-40 years have constructed about 250 nests in hole of the destroyed walls. Swifts, or Apus apus, are migrant birds who flight to Baku in April, get posterity, and in August go back to South Africa. For to preserve the nests it was decided to move swifts into a nearby building on facade of which was constructed an alternative housing of 500 artificial cells. An interesting point was that the most part of the Maiden Tower should be covered with a white fabric to move birds. The term "innovation" derived from the Latin meaning «in the direction of changes». Therefore, the present exhibition of the Maiden Tower is completely renovated and updated with use of high technologies. Specially prepared nests as a part of this initiative have been installed on the building in front of the monument. As for the castle, 150 nests were kept with no risk of damage to the castle.

The Maiden Tower won the award of “European Museum of the Year 2015” competition organized by the European Museum Forum held in Glasgow of Scotland attended by known museums of 21 countries of Europe in the category “For success in improving social significance of the museum”. It received the award for significant contribution to the improvement of museology.

Another significant monument, which relates with the topic, is a Khanagah.
It has interesting history and now functions as an open-air museum complexes. In 60 years of the last century, the colonnade with lancet arches was revealed near the Maiden Tower. Archaeologists committed in their report that besides the revealed part of the monument there were walls with equilateral arches in the southern part of it. In the eastern and western of the parts of the building, the initial places of two small doors have been preserved. These doors are to be open in the directions of the dawn and the dusk. This insure us, that probably, the history of the doors, leading into the temple were very low. People entering the temple, had to bend their head, in the way, bending their head to the Sun. During excavations, more than 50 graves were found out. Sacred burials include the vast historical period from idolatry to Islam. This place called Hanegakh where Sufi sheikhs lived and preached. The direction of the graves were different. Several graves were directed with their heads to the South. This fact, gives the reason for the following conclusion- graves, directed to the side of the Kaaba (south-west), are related to the Islamic period. In several graves, the burial was committed twice: the bones of the skeleton were gathered in the pile in one of the parts of the grave, and the new burial was done at the same place. Some graves were places one above another in different cultural layers. This is an evidence of the fact that the history of the monument dates back with its roots to the ancient times. This place was a holy place for burials for several millenniums. Some of the gravestones, revealed during the excavations, are related to the XIV-XV centuries, another part to the XVIII century.

During the excavations, there was revealed a big octahedral pillar, which was located a bit aside from the center on the four-stage balcony 1.31 m high, having 45 cm in diameter. In the upper side of the pillar, there was a small hole, which has preserved the traces of the fire, which can also be notices on the sides of the graves. It is very probably, that this is a fire worship. The excavations were made on the depth of 4.5 m. On the depth of 2.5 meters, the items of the material culture of the XII-XIII centuries were revealed. Exactly, these were the coins of shirvanshahs period. Summarizing above we may conclude, that the place, named “bazar yer” (The Bazaar place) has been the holy place during long milleniums, though there was a great number of religious and beliefs altering each other on the territory of Azerbaijan. In 2010, the monument of cult character was museumificated.

New found bath-house and a grave stone of 17th century
Bathhouses have always been a place of comfort, cleanliness, vitality, health, spiritual peace, relaxation, body renewal for people. Along with the sanitary-hygienic function, these buildings have become a resting place for the people of neighbourhood. Bathhouses got water from ovdan (reservoir) or water wells drilled in the city.

Interior of the bathhouses were usually divided into six places: a vestibule, a common undressing room, a common bathing room, a place to bath alone with two pools, a cleaning room, and a kulkhana (firebox). The reason why bathhouses are located slightly lower than ground surface is that it is warm in winter and cool in summer.

In Baku, bathhouses were almost the only place for women where they collectively met and contacted.

People brought their clothes and bath accessories to the bathhouse in a box. Here girls were wooed and all the latest news was discussed. Wedding ceremonies were held in the bathhouses. “Bride’s bath-house” or “Groom’s bath-house” ceremonies were accompanied by music, dancing and singing.
Recently found bathhouse relics had citing data on the existence of an underground structure in Icherisheher, in the palace complex of Baku khans. Because of the conducted investigations it was found that, there was a late medieval bathhouse in the southeastern part of Icherisheher (near Gosha Gala gates). Excavations were carried out in this area for revealing, conserving the bathhouse, and its future use for tourism purposes. Because of the excavations, the bathhouse located in the palace of Baku khans was fully explored and unique material and cultural samples were discovered in the area.

In the middle Ages, Icherisheher had two main access gates (Shamakhi and Salyan gates) opening to the land. And there were customs and bath house next to these gates. Caravans, which arrived in the city through the Silk Road, were sent to the bathhouse after passing the customs. They were allowed to enter the city only after they had been cleaned. And this shows that sanitary-hygienic rules were strictly followed in the medieval Baku. One of these bathhouses is the monument we are talking about.

Until the beginning of XIX century, the monument was used according to its purposes. After the occupation of Baku by the Russian in 1806, the bathhouse was closed to create a military unit in the area, its domes were demounted, and the rooms were filled with household wastes. As a result, the foundry soil layer was formed and the inside and cavities of the bathhouse were filled, and it got equal with the ground level.

Archaeological excavation works conducted for a year in the bathhouse area located at the Baku Khans’ Palace Complex were already completed. Archaeological excavation works were conducted at regular intervals during 2015-16. The area was inaccessible for a long time because the Russian military commandant was once located in that area.

As a result of the archaeological excavation works in the bath house in 2015, the main part of the bath house complex was cleared from soil and its architectural structure was designated.
The findings mainly consist of glass, pottery fragments and military dress buttons belonging to the 18th and 20th centuries. The functional designation of these rooms can be defined as the bathhouse boiler. As mentioned above, black oil-asphalt fragments are predominantly in these rooms.

As military supplies, two cannon balls, bullets from the “Neysler” device, ammunition, cap and coat button, as well as cockades, two wheels of military fleet ball, Russian-Christian (orthodox cross, icon) bronze icons were found from the excavation site.

During the excavations, a stone inscribed in ancient Arabic alphabet was found from the inside of the bathhouse (moulded to the wall of the window of the cell No. 10). At the same time, during the excavations, a stone with 6.5 cm thickness, 35-55 cm size, inscribed in ancient Arabic alphabet and decorated with refined ornaments was found from the inside of the bath house. This stone is currently displayed in the museum, and the reason why such a tombstone was found in the bathhouse area is still a subject of research.

The excavations also revealed the remains of buildings that were used for different purposes outside of bathhouse but needed to be researched.

Only the bast shoes, pottery fragments and copper coins found on the floor the bathhouse can be involved in determination of the period of the monument. Thus, taking into account the period of the above-mentioned best shoes, copper and silver coins, the construction and operation period of the bathhouse complex can be attributed to the end of the 17th century.

Taking into consideration that the architectural monuments are important in the country on the one hand, it is expedient to reinforce the bottom part of the bath-house using natural and local materials (clay, lime, and etc.) in the archaeological site. This would also make the result of the archaeological excavation effective, as well as lay the groundwork for future conservation and restoration works to be carried out on the top of the bathhouse to be effective.
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Public archaeology in archaeological site museum: a case study of the Emperor Qinshihuang’s Mausoleum site museum

Nowadays in China, the research on public archaeology has become an important topic in both archaeological and museological fields. In this context, Emperor Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum, the largest archaeological site museum in China, carried out a research project on public archaeology in archaeological site museums. This paper presents the preliminary research results from the project. Based on the results, we discuss the public archaeological practices of the museum to make archaeological findings from this world cultural heritage site more accessible to the public. Finally, we construct a public archaeological activity model for archaeological site museums in China.

Archaeology has always left a mysterious and obscure impression on the general public. The concept of public archaeology was first proposed by American archaeologist Charles McGimsey in his book *Public Archaeology* which was published in 1972. Therefore, the majority in the research community hold the belief that public archaeology is a western idea that originated in the West. Conversely, Menghe Gao, a famous professor of archaeology from Fudan University argues that Chinese public archaeology is a natural product of the development of archaeology in China, whose practice precedes the concept.

In the past ten years, the total quantity of academic literature in China and abroad on public archaeology has the tendency of rising with minor fluctuation, while its quantity is still less than those in other archaeological areas such as agricultural archaeology, technological archaeology, etc. The conclusion can be made that although the concept of public archaeology is popular and enjoys increasing attention from academia, the reality is that its theoretical exploration is far behind the practice, which may be closely related to the study object of public archaeology itself: It evolves with the dynamic between the populace and archaeology. Hence, the research of public archaeology has to be conducted on the basis of practice in an effort to grasp the future development of this subject.

As a result of this realization, we have devised the scheme below, combining the contributions from fellow researchers around the globe and the on-site archaeological work at Emperor Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum, in order to demystify the Terracotta Warriors and archaeology as well and to look into the meaning and development of public archaeology.

**Planned Activities by the Museum**
1. Archaeological site observation: Touring around the Terracotta Army and the site near Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum.

2. Archaeological seminar: This covers historical background, archaeological methodology, specific facts of archaeology in Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum, techniques for investigation and excavation, production of a terracotta figure, and composition of paint used then. A monthly grand archaeology seminar is held for student groups free-of-charge, with associate researcher from the archaeology department as speakers. An additional seminar is held on International Museum Day on every May 18th and World Heritage Day on every April 18th, respectively.

3. Mock archaeology: mock investigation into the proximal landscape and environment; modeling of important relics around the mausoleum; mock excavation, sketching, and photography; on-site mock organizing and repairing.

4. In-depth archaeological activities: This includes Friends of Archaeology event at the museum and Qin Dynasty cultural relics trip. Participants mainly comprise history and archaeology hobbyists, volunteers, and college students.

5. Public archaeology on campus: We plan to collaborate with the School of Cultural Heritage at Northwest University, Xi’an, China, so that a joint seminar on Qin Dynasty culture may be held for undergraduate students.

6. Social media activities: Our official social media account will be employed to recruit people interested in Qin Dynasty culture, disseminate information about our regularly hosted salon on archaeology, in hope that our research on Qin Dynasty culture might be advanced. Volunteers and visiting scholars are welcomed worldwide to experience the practical archaeology in our department.

Two Detailed Cases

1. A team of students attending a public archaeological event at the museum

On March 5th, 2019, seventh grade pupils from Chilechuan Experimental Middle School, Hohot, Inner Mongolia, paid a visit to the museum for an activity named See the Terracotta Warriors with Archaeologists.

Students who participated in the public archaeological activities in the museum

They first visited the excavation site located in Terracotta Army pit 1 and pit 2. Then, they participated in Q&A on Archaeology in Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum. The children were
engaged in the event actively, creating a lively atmosphere. The students and teachers both agreed that thanks to the event, their understanding of archaeology and history was greatly enhanced. In addition, the teachers expressed their wish of having this same activity for students next year.

Students exploring archaeological sites inside the Emperor Qin Shihuang’s Mausoleum complex

2. Public archaeological activities on campus

On May 28th, 2019, we collaborated with Museum’s Female Volunteers to hold events at Xiahecun Elementary School, Lintong, Xi’an. In the beginning, Museum’s Female Volunteers gave out books to the children for Children’s Day. Afterwards, a seminar titled Protection of National Treasure and Passing Down Culture—Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum Public Archaeology Knowledge Dissemination was given by associate researcher Lina Wu. Her fellow associate researcher led the activity Wear Qin Garments, Learn Qin Courtesy. We observed highly fervent participation and received good feedbacks from the staff and students. (figure3, 4)
Local school students wearing suits of Qin dynasty on campus

Students learning to restore the broken models of terra-cotta warriors

**Impact of the Aforementioned Events**

1. From the activities we held for visitors, we draw the public archaeology model of seminar + tour (including experts’ explanation) + interactive Q&A.

First of all, an archaeologist from our museum is invited to give a seminar which lasts around 20 minutes, the depth of its content adjusted in accordance with the age group of
the audience. The content aims at a general introduction of the time period, background, and historical meanings of the relics, stirring up the interest and curiosity of the audience.

Secondly, the visitors will be shown around the relics and exhibitions in our museum with their questions, imaginations, and speculations in mind. They are expected to compare the actual site with what they have understood and envisioned. They may turn out to be alike. However, the actual relics can also be completely different, which may totally renew their mindset.

Lastly, through interactive Q&A, we attempt to answer various questions people have after visiting the site. People tend to have similar perception, or rather subjective knowledge, of what they see, while they hold radically different historical cognition, or rather objective knowledge, from each other, which can be eye-opening. For instance, a basic fact about the Terracotta Warriors is that they are burial objects for the Emperor Qin Shihuang. The populace’s opinions differ on whether he was a despot or a great man with achievements. Such realizations help stimulate the audience’s interest in Qin Dynasty history or even all human history, which fulfills our goal in public archaeology. The purpose is to enrich people’s souls by letting them learn about the past of the humanity as well as entertaining them.

2. From the Public archaeological activities on campus, we draw the public archaeology model of seminar + the experience of ancient culture + interactive Q&A.

As for the feedback of the public archaeological activities held in campus, as many as 90% of participants said that they were very proud of the prosperity of history of our motherland when they learned more about the First Emperor and his Terracotta Warriors from the interesting lectures. The effects of public archaeological activities not only showed us the significance of popularizing archaeological knowledge, but also reminded us of the significance of utilizing diversified popularization methods: the interactive activities proved to be more attractive and had unexpected communication effects, which helped us a lot for our planning in the future.

When our public archaeological event is held on campus, one pupil told me that he didn't know much about the terra cotta warriors, but he learned a lot about them through the questions of his classmates, That, I think, is what interactive Q & A is all about, and what we didn't expect.

Activity feedback

After such public archaeological activities, we also conducted a questionnaire survey. From the valid questionnaires collected, we found that 80% of middle school students did not understand the concept of “public archaeology” until participating in our public archaeological activities, and only 20% of them said that he had learned about public archaeology through the media.

We also conducted a questionnaire survey on a class of grade seven that was guided by the teacher. The main purpose of the survey was the investigation on the choice of participating in the “public archaeological activities”. The results showed that nearly 80% of the middle school students preferred “simulate archaeology”, and the following choices were “expert guides” “volunteering at the museum”, and “attending archaeological lectures in turn, which indicates that the activities carried out by the museum should be based on “simulated archaeology” with the expert guides activities as supplementation, and public archaeological activities were held for museum volunteers regularly, while archaeological lectures also need to be held from time to time.

Most of the students who choose the "free visit" item are those with negative mentality who are unwilling to accept the teacher’s instructions. Therefore, this option does not correctly express the types of public archaeological activities that students choose to
participate in, but to a certain degree it also shows that some students are eager for free wishes.

**Conclusion**

Based on the public archaeological practices at Emperor Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum, we realized that: firstly, it’s necessary for the archaeological site museums to conduct the public archaeological plan, which not only help the visitors have a better understanding of the contents of the exhibitions and value of archaeological sites, but also help the public learn more about the archaeology itself through introducing the basic theories and methods of archaeology; secondly, it’s important that the public archaeological activities should be devised according to the characteristics of the museum and the archaeological sites; thirdly, based on the practices in our museum, we plan to carry out a comparison research on the public archaeological activities of different museums in order to find out a common model of public archaeological practice for the archaeological site museums in China.

Lina Wu Senior researcher of Emperor Qin shihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum, China.
In October 2013, the Palace Museum identified the establishment of a high-quality and open academic platform, namely the Palace Museum Research Academy, as a future objective. This was achieved by re-organizing its research resources and recruiting talented scholars interested in devoting their academic careers to the study of the Palace Museum. As a result, three institutes were established in the same year, one of these was the Institute of Archaeology of the Palace Museum (IAPM). This represents the first time that an archaeological institute was established inside the Forbidden City in the past 90 years.

As a modern museum, the Palace Museum was established in 1925, based on the existing palace complex and the imperial collection of the Chinese Ming and Qing Dynasties. The Palace Museum was declared a World Heritage Site in 1987 and is listed by UNESCO as the largest collection of preserved ancient wooden structures in the world.

Why do we need an Institute of Archaeology in the Palace Museum, a heritage-based museum the main objective of which is the protection of ancient buildings and antiquities? How can we balance archaeological excavations and the sustainable development of world-heritage? In order to evaluate these debates, this paper, therefore, outlines the establishment, main research activities, and the local and global developments and opportunities of IAPM, based on current works carried out by the Institute of Archaeology of the Palace Museum.

1. Introduction to Archaeological Research in IAPM

Currently, the staff of the IAPM consists mainly of specialists, such as archaeologists, conservators, ceramicists, art historians, and photographers, from other Palace Museum departments, such as the Department of Objects and Decorative Arts, the Department of Conservation Science and the Department of IT, Imaging, and Digital Media. Due to this situation, prior to early 2019, they had to work in the IAPM as part time staff. From 2013 to now, the current archaeological research of IAPM has three main focuses: (1) the Archaeology of the Forbidden City; (2) the Archaeology Imperial Remains in China; and (3) Research on Ceramic Trade in the Ancient World. These three priorities will be separately introduced in the following paragraphs:
The Palace Museum is housed in the Forbidden City which consists of preserved ancient wooden structures. In order to prevent and resist natural and man-made hazards, over many decades it has been unavoidable to carry out conservational and construction works. As a result, rescue archaeological missions within the Forbidden City were required in advance of these construction works. A long time before the establishment of the IAPM, these archaeological missions were documented in a partial and ad hoc way. For example: from 1990 to 1993, fire protection and trunk communication construction projects provided the Palace Museum with an opportunity to reveal archaeological stratigraphy inside the Forbidden City. During these construction projects, the trenches that were opened were recorded and photographed; in 1994, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of the structural subsurface foundations, BGI Engineering Consultants LTD conducted a survey at 27 different locations within the Palace Museum. In 2007, construction of storage for the Conservation Lab provided the Museum with an opportunity to explore the west area of the Forbidden City. Approved by the National Administration of Cultural Relics of China, this excavation revealed chronological changes in wooden palatial structures dating from the Ming Dynasty to the late Qing Dynasty. From May to November 2013, three excavations were conducted by the Beijing Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics at the Western Gate (西华门), the east area of the Western Canal (西河沿) and the site of the Imperial Household (内务府).

After the establishment of the IAPM in 2014, six archaeological rescue excavations and 18 archaeological investigation projects were complete, with the approval of the National Administration of Cultural Relics of China. The important archaeological outcomes from these activities can be summarized in three parts.

(i). The Foundations of the Forbidden City

Other than surveys in the 1990s, Archaeological research into the Forbidden City conducted by the IAPM has been entirely based on professional archaeological excavation and research methods. This project aims to explore the chronological and structural changes that occurred within the ancient palace complexes in different historical dynasties of China, by examining the archaeological and cultural phases revealed by excavations in the Forbidden City. For example, at the west area of the Longzong Gate (隆宗门), excavations revealed three stratigraphic layers relating to the Forbidden City’s foundations which date from the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. This, therefore, provides evidence that the Forbidden City dates back to the Yuan dynasty, and it is highly likely that this rammed earth foundation formed part of the Yuan Palace. Furthermore, excavations at the east area of the Palace of Benevolent Tranquility (慈宁宫) yielded rammed earth foundations constructed in the early Ming era, namely during the reign of the Yongle Emperor (永乐皇帝). This discovery not only allows us to reconstruct the layout of the foundations of a structure from the Ming Imperial Palace but also the building techniques used within the Forbidden City at an early stage. (Fig. 1)

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(ii) Imperial Ceramic Burial Pits in the Forbidden City

During work to implement a scheme of fire protection in the South Grand Storage area (南大库), many burial pits containing broken ceramic sherds were revealed. These sherds mainly date from the early Ming to late Qing periods, and have been identified as imperial high-quality porcelain wares. After the completion of the archaeological excavations and the conservation of the finds, it can be seen that the vessels from which these sherds originated were deliberately smashed and buried. This is very similar to archaeological discoveries at the Imperial Kilns of Jingdezhen City in Jiang Province (江西景德镇御窑厂) in south China, where all the imperial ceramics which did not meet strict quality controls were rejected, brought together, destroyed and buried. These imperial ceramic burial pits in the Palace Museum may, therefore, be seen as a parallel piece of archaeological evidence which has important implications for our understanding of the organization of ceramic manufacture during the Ming and Qing dynasties. It can be seen, therefore, that, the process of supplying the Imperial court in the Forbidden City with ceramics from the Jingdezhen Kilns was under strict official control from the production stage, right through to selection, rejection, and destruction.

(iii). Architectural Archaeology : “Archaeology of the Roof”

The Hall of High Heaven (大高玄殿) is an imperial Taoist temple of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. It is located in the northwest of the Shenwu Gate (神武门, the north gate) of the Palace Museum. In 2015, this complex of ancient wooden structures fell under the management of the Palace Museum and, as a result, a conservation project was initiated. This represents the first attempt to combine archaeological excavation concepts with the structural conservation techniques in China. The complex wooden structures of the temple roof are divided into different groups which can be conceived of as “archaeological sequences”. Each group is considered as an independent context, which represents a separate type of architectural building technique, a building phase, or both. Through the

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documentation of the relationships between these groups and contexts, therefore, it is possible to better understand the history of restoration and reconstruction of this complicated wooden structure. We, therefore, refer to this conservation project as 'the Archaeology of the Roof', which maximizes the “authenticity” and “integrity” of the Hall of High Heaven’s structural history.

(2) The Archaeology of Imperial Remains in China

The Forbidden City is far from alone as an Imperial palace complex of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Imperial daily life at that time was characterized by products of the highest and finest quality from throughout the Chinese Empire. Central power was therefore culturally and economically integrated into local authorities. Stemming from the archaeology of the Forbidden City, archaeological research on imperial remains located in provinces throughout China are a crucial research project of the IAPM. Typically, these take the form of collaborations with local archaeological institutes and museums.

For example, from 2013, continuous collaborations between the IAPM and the Jingdezhen Ceramic Archaeological Institute have resulted in many joint academic outputs. Archaeological excavations of the Imperial Ceramic Kiln sites in Jingdezhen, for example, revealed the workshops, kiln remains, burial pits containing rejected ceramics and imperial ceramics dating from the Yuan Dynasty to the Republic of China. Our understanding of Imperial ceramic history, ceramic manufacture techniques and imperial ceramic consumption have all been greatly improved through this research.

Another good example of research collaboration comes from work conducted in concert with the Hubei Provincial Archaeological Institute. This project focuses on the glazed roof tile kiln sites (琉璃窑) in Danjiangkou Reservoir (丹江口水库), which is located in an area close to the famous complex of wooden structures of the Taoist temples of Wudang Mountain (武当山). This complex of ancient buildings reached its apogee during the Ming dynasty, following a major building campaign undertaken by Emperor Zhu Di to align his imperial regime with Taoism. According to the archaeological finds, this Glazed Roof Tile kiln supplied building materials for the construction of these Taoist temples. It can be inferred, therefore, that the construction of these temples required a large quantity of ceramic roof tiles or decorative ceramics when they were constructed in the Ming dynasty and most of these building materials were sourced nearby from local suppliers.

In 2018, the IAPM and the Anhui Provincial Institute of Archaeology signed a collaborative framework, in order to explore the Middle Capital (明中都), the hometown of Emperor Hongwu (洪武皇帝), in Fengyang County (凤阳). The Middle Capital was constructed from the second to the eighth year of the Hongwu reign (1369-1375), and was the first capital to be built after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty. It was designed and built following the concepts laid out in "Construction Regulations of Capital Cities (京师之制)", which greatly influenced the construction of other Chinese cities in the centuries which followed. It, therefore, enhances our understanding of the layouts of cities such as Nanjing and Beijing during the Ming Dynasty.

(3) Research on Ceramic Trade in the Ancient World

It is well known that the Palace Museum has a long tradition in the study of Chinese ceramics and ceramic archaeology. We can also say, however, that the ‘One Belt One Road initiative’ has stimulated recent academic outcomes in the study of Chinese trade ceramics outside China, particularly in the Indian Ocean. Based on the ceramic collections housed in the Palace Museum, over 320,000 pieces of ancient Chinese ceramic wares and sherds provide an important reference collection for these studies. MoUs supporting academic collaborations between the IAPM and the Kerala Council for Historical Research (India), the German Archaeological Institute (Germany), Durham University (UK), the Department of Antiquities and Museums of the Government of Ras al-Khaimah (UAE), and Kisii University (Kenya) have been signed. In 2014, the IAPM
conducted a survey at the Kollam port and Pattanam site in Kerala, southern India, during which systematic and scientific research on the Chinese ceramics and coins which had been unearthed was carried out. From 2017 to 2018, with the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, the IAPM carried out an archaeological survey at the sites of Kush, Julfar and the Old City of Ras al-Khaimah in Ras al-Khaimah, and studied Chinese ceramic finds housed in the National Museum of Ras al-Khaimah. These Chinese ceramics were unearthed during the excavation of Julfar in the 1990s. In January 2019, the IAPM and the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, conducted an excavation at the site of al-Nudud at Julfar, Ras al-Khaimah, with the aim of exploring the consumption of Chinese ceramics in the Persian Gulf and the historical development of Ras al-Khaimah. These three examples of ongoing archaeological projects being carried out by IAPM all relate back to the study of the ancient architectural heritage of the Palace Museum and support the existing academic research of the museum.

2. Discussion

(1). Some key reasons for the Establishment of IAPM

It is clear from the archaeological excavations and research mentioned above that archaeological research on the Palace Museum was already being carried out long before the establishment of the IAPM. It can also be seen that there has been a significant development in how archaeological research on the Palace Museum has been undertaken, from rescue archaeological works made necessary by construction or conservation to systematic and well-designed archaeological exploration.

On the one hand, this development in the way in which archaeological research is conducted is closely related to the academic and conservational demands of the Palace Museum as both an ancient palace complex and a world heritage site. In order to better understand the historical chronology of the site and the form and construction of the ancient wooden structures of the Forbidden City, it is fundamental to carry out archaeological surveys as well as investigate records and documentation. At the same time, the great quantities of historical and archaeological material held in the collections of the Palace Museum provide another theme around which to develop archaeological research.14

Within the collections of the Palace Museum are over 1.8 million pieces and about 85% of these belonging to the imperial collections of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. A large portion of the remainder relate to archaeological works undertaken throughout China. In particular, between 1949 and 1959, before the establishment of the National Museum of China, the Palace Museum was responsible for the management and storage of important archaeological finds from excavations across the whole China. There are, therefore, many excellent examples demonstrating the close connection between these collections as both museum artefacts/pieces of heritage and, at the same time, objects of active archaeological research. The study of jades and ceramics provide two extraordinary case studies:

(i) Over 30,000 pieces of jade are housed in the Palace Museum almost all of which come from the Imperial Collection of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Inscriptions are found on many of these artefacts which were owned by the Qianlong emperor of the Qing Dynasty (乾隆皇帝, 1736-1796 AD). As this case demonstrates, an improved understanding of these jades offers an enhanced knowledge of their dating and identification. These inscribed jades originated in the Neolithic era but they incorporate a whole range of cultural, historical and archaeological contexts because of the later Imperial Inscriptions. This means that they are not only associated with Chinese pre-historical cultures, such as

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Hongshan (红山文化) and Liangzhu (良渚文化), but also join a long tradition of Chinese Imperial calligraphy through the addition of the inscriptions and seals - which are almost as impressive as the jades themselves.

(ii) Among over 320,000 pieces of ceramics housed in the Palace Museum, more than 30,000 pieces were acquired through auction purchases or donations. There are also a great number of archaeological ceramic samples that were collected by early ceramicists who worked for the Palace Museum, such as Professor Feng Xianming (冯先铭), Professor Ye Zhemin (叶喆民) and Professor Li Huibing (李辉柄), who applied archaeological methods to their academic research, and personally visited over 150 archaeological kiln sites spread throughout 17 provinces of China. This tradition can be traced back to 1928, when Professor Chen Wanli (陈万里), a curator of the Palace museum during the period of the Republic of China, conducted the first archaeological surveys of the Longquan Kiln Sites (龙泉窑). The collections acquired through these archaeological surveys were put on display in a permanent exhibition in 2005, providing the public and professional researchers with a great opportunity to understand and explore the history and archaeology of Chinese ceramics.15 (Fig. 2)

![Fig.2 Exhibition in the Gallery of ceramic sherds from surveys](image)

Similar examples can also be seen in research on steles, stone rubbings, Tibetan Buddhist Antiquities, and Chinese calligraphy in the Palace Museum. In fact, research and exhibitions focusing on these examples can commonly be seen in other Chinese museums and archaeological institutes. This probably relates to long-held traditions of the Chinese archaeological discipline and Chinese academia more generally. In the 1920s, Chinese archaeology developed from geology and other natural sciences. After nearly a century of development, Chinese archaeologists generally accept that Chinese archaeology is "the scientific study of social history in association with material remains relating to the human past"16. The establishment of Chinese museology and

archaeology can therefore also be traced back to the same period in the 1920s. In 1928, the Institute of History and Philosophy, Academia Sinica (中央研究院历史语言研究所), began to excavate the Yinxu ruins in Anyang (安阳殷墟). In order to support these archaeological excavations of remains relating to early Chinese civilisation, Professor Fu Sinian (傅斯年), Professor Li Ji (李济), and other scholars all contributed to the establishment of the National Museum of the Republic of China in 1934.

From 1949, the close relationship between archaeology and museum studies was developed further. In provinces and cities with rich resources of cultural heritage, such as Beijing, Henan, Hebei and Shanxi, there are independent archaeological institutions under the management of local governments working in parallel to local museum institutions. There are also some large and well-known museums, such as the National Museum of China, Nanjing Museum, and Shanghai Museum, which set up their own archaeological departments within these institutions that are well developed today.

In short, the establishment of the IAPM took place as a direct result of the nature of Chinese cultural heritage, the requirements for research into the museum collections of China, and the close relationship between Chinese museums and archaeology.

(2). The Relationship between IAPM and the Palace Museum

The work of the IAPM has enhanced the development of the Palace Museum as a museum and world heritage site while an awareness of issues related to world heritage and museums provide lessons which benefit archaeologists.

Firstly, the IAPM plays a crucial role in communicating recent academic discoveries in archaeology and artefact studies to the general public. The case of the collaboration between the IAPM and the Jingdezhen Ceramic Archaeological Institute is a particularly good example which relates to the Jingdezhen Imperial Kiln Site. As one of the Imperial workshops during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, accords well with the research and curatorial priorities of both the Palace Museum and the Jingdezhen Ceramic Archaeological Institute. As such, both sides worked together to carry out excavations and organize public exhibitions. To date, five exhibitions have followed on the theme of Ming Dynasty Imperial Porcelains, based on the excavations in Jingdezhen. These exhibitions adopt a comparative perspective, which means that the collections on display are compared chronologically and typologically against existing collections and archaeological finds from both museums. While different from most previous exhibitions in the Palace Museum, these comparative exhibitions not only showcase the imperial ceramic collections of the Palace Museum, they also provide a platform to educate the public on the ceramic archaeology of Jingdezhen and China. Furthermore, these exhibitions close the distance between audiences and the displayed objects. VR technology used in the exhibitions allows the audience to go back to the historical context of the ceramic kiln sites, providing an enriched understanding of the story behind these archaeological excavations and ceramic collections. The history of the Imperial Ceramics and the archaeological research which revealed this knowledge can, therefore, be more easily understood by the public.

Secondly, displays of archaeological material and excavations at heritage sites can enrich the public's experience of touring a site. Unlike the VR technology mentioned above, archaeological excavations as open, visible areas at heritage sites provides a direct experience to visitors allowing them to 'touch' the archaeology, heritage and history of a site, and sometimes altering the traditional way in which people interact with museum exhibits. For example, archaeological excavations inside the Palace Museum revealed a different angle of the Forbidden City to visitors. In order to display the excavation site at the Palace of Benevolent Tranquility to the public, a temporary floor and information panels for visitors was set up. During the excavation work, visitors had a chance to see and explore the process of archaeological excavation and the resulting academic discoveries. The archaeological equipment, rammed foundations of early palace
buildings, and different arrangements of bricks on the site of the Palace Museum therefore played the role of communicating the history of the Forbidden City. It should be noted that all these displays were, by their nature, only temporary exhibitions, which were randomly selected. This is in order to, as much as possible, protect the historic environment and relics of the Palace Museum. All these excavation projects inside the Forbidden City were limited in how long they could continue and what areas were selected for excavation. They were carried out under the principle of 'stop digging when the evidence is seen' but, in spite of this, it can clearly be seen that the display of ongoing archaeological research in the Palace Museum played an important role in presenting the historical and archaeological chronological changes of the Forbidden City and Beijing to the visiting public.

Lastly, in terms of the career development of professional archaeologists and curators, the IAPM provides a first-grade platform in terms of both Chinese and global archaeological scholarship. As mentioned above, the development of Chinese museums and archaeology inseparably supported each other. Including the Palace Museum, many Chinese museums play host to a great number of curators with a background in archaeology. The establishment of the IAPM therefore aims to ensure the stable development of Chinese archaeological projects, by providing archaeological placements and fieldwork experience to young archaeologists and equipping these young scholars with knowledge of the most recent techniques in archaeological science. For example, from 2017 to 2019, the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, UK and the Palace Museum jointly held the public ‘Palace Museum and Durham University Lecture Series’ and the ‘Conference on Studies in Chinese and World Archaeology’, which provide the public, students and scholars from the Palace Museum, key universities from across China and the UK with a professional and open academic platform for exchanging archaeological and museological research, methodologies and outcomes.

(3). Challenging the future

The establishment of the IAPM is based on the re-organization of the existing research resources of the Palace Museum, which is forced to balance the practical challenges of archaeological fieldwork with the main functions and priorities of a large public museum. As mentioned above, the IAPM staff are mostly part-time researchers who belong to different departments of the Palace Museum. Obviously, they face a challenge to balance their own departmental research with the archaeological projects of IAPM. Although in early 2019, the IAPM was expanded through the appointment of eight full-time scholars, effectively optimizing the research priorities of IAPM within the greater whole of the Palace Museum will be the key to the development of the archaeological research institute in the future.

3 Conclusions:

Since the 1980s, contemporary archaeology has become increasingly specialized, with more and more scientific methodologies (e.g. GIS, isotope, A-DNA and so forth). However, there is no doubt that traditional archaeology and artifact studies retain great potential in terms of methodological and research potential and this is particularly the case in China. In the past five years, the IAPM has successfully demonstrated how the development of archaeological research and museums can provide mutually beneficial learning experiences. The experience of the IAPM so far firmly shows that archaeology as a discipline and historic museums have common goals to research, reconstruct and recreate the history of the human past and communicate this history to the public. This common objective should also be an important criterion for balancing future archaeological work, museum conservation, research, and exhibitions.
1 Introduction

This paper was written based on my experience of working in an archaeological institution and teaching museum studies at Okayama University. The objective is to explore how archaeological institutions are integrated into the field of museum studies.

At present, I am in charge of the Course for Prospective Museum Workers in the Faculty of Letters at the university. I teach courses, which are required to be taken to qualify as a curator. In Japan, a person who receives a degree and earns 19 specified credits at the university can become qualified as a curator. In 2019, 304 out of about 770 universities in Japan offer such a course. Before my current post, I worked at the Archaeological Research Center or the Maizo-bunkazai Chosa kenkyu Center at the same university as an assistant professor for 12 years. The center was established in 1987 (the former research organization established in 1983) to manage the rescue excavation of archaeological sites under the university’s ground before new institutions are built on the sites. I experienced the activities, from the excavation to the museum exhibition and education at the Center. The center’s English translation is not necessarily accurate because Maizo-bunkazai means “Buried Cultural Properties.” So, the literal translation of the name is the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center.

To contextualize, the term “archaeological institution” refers to an institution that specializes in the protection and use of Buried Cultural Properties, as categorized under the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties. “Archaeological institution” includes several types of institutions, such as public institutions, incorporated foundations, and non-government organizations. Its representative institution is the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center managed by public institution or incorporated foundation. According to the Agency for Cultural Affairs, there were more than 5,000 professionals in Japan who worked in the administration of protecting Buried Cultural Properties in 2018 (Bunkacho Bunkazai Dai-II-ka 2019). The curator course mentioned in the previous paragraph is usually a requisite to work in the field of protecting Buried Cultural Properties, and professionals usually work at archaeological institutions and sometimes museums.

This paper examines the archaeological institutions in museum studies, and discusses the issues affecting them and the resolutions thereof.
2 Archaeological institutions in museum studies

2.1 Museum studies textbooks and bibliography

After becoming a teacher for the Course for Prospective Museum Workers in 2012, I set to work to create contents for five courses on museum studies: Introduction to Museums, Museum Collections, Preservation of Museum Collections, Museum Exhibitions, and Museum Information and Media.

In reading some useful textbooks about Japanese museum studies, the challenge of finding information about the practice of archaeological institutions in them emerge. To illustrate, one of the textbooks I read is comprehensive and corresponds to most of the classes for the Course for Prospective Museum Workers (Zenkoku Daigaku Hakubutsukan-gaku-koza Kyogikai Nishi-nihon Bukai ed. 2012). Buried Cultural Properties are referred to along with the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties; however, archaeological institutions that handle Buried Cultural Properties are not mentioned, while archaeological and history museums are discussed. In that respect, I became aware that I had to change my way of thinking as soon as possible, and teach activities not limited to archaeological institutions, but also museums.

In the bibliography of museum studies published in 2018 (Zenkoku Daigaku Hakubutsukan-gaku-koza Kyogikai ed. 2018), a total of 21,122 papers about museum studies in Japan were listed. The bibliography is a valuable resource that shows the development of museum studies in Japan over the years. However, when searching for the word “Maizobunkazai,” that is, “Buried Cultural Properties,” in the title of each paper, there are only 24 of 21,122 papers. While there may be papers related to Buried Cultural Properties left unrepresented, I believe that the term “Buried Cultural Properties” is not commonly used in museum studies literature.

2.2 Relationship between archaeological institutions and museum studies

The relationship between archaeological institutions and museum studies remains unexplored, which explains the difference between archaeological institutions and museums. Kazuo Komami (1993), whose paper is one of the 24 papers listed in the aforementioned bibliography, examined the issues surrounding the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center through its exhibition activity. It can be characterized as follows: First, the center was established mainly to focus on research for Buried Cultural Properties; as such, exhibition activity became secondary. Second, the museum and the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center differ regarding collections. While the former collects archaeological materials that are consistent with its mission, the latter houses huge amounts of Buried Cultural Properties derived from rescue excavations. Third, the purpose of exhibitions for the research center is to educate both knowledge and activity regarding Buried Cultural Properties, not lifelong learning, which is the normal focus for history.
museums collections. Lastly, the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center’s location is not as central as those of museums. This means it is usually positioned as an investigative and storage organization for Buried Cultural Properties.

Komami’s opinion is useful for understanding the following general characterization of the Buried Cultural Properties Research Center: the center’s practices are focused on archaeology and not museum studies. The problem is that activities, from excavation to exhibitions, regarding archaeological materials do not adequately reflect museum studies. Generally speaking, museums do not excavate archaeological sites in Japan but collect archaeological materials through buying, accepting contributions, and deposing, all of which are vital to the museum. On the other hand, the center carries out archaeological activities that correspond to the museums’ activities, which includes collecting, preserving, researching, exhibiting, and educating, even if they might be often like enlightenment activity regarding Buried Cultural Properties. To illustrate, the Archaeological Research Center at Okayama University, my former place of work, has carried out exhibitions every year, sometimes beyond the enlightenment activity not only in the university but also in the Okayama Digital Museum (the Okayama City Museum since 2012), which is connected directly to the Okayama Station. Around 2000, the Center held a simple exhibition of recent excavations in the small exhibition room to show people the importance of the archaeological sites under the university's ground. At first, the exhibition activities were not necessarily encouraged in the university because our main job was the excavation. However, that situation gradually changed for two reasons: one is regional contribution, and the other is collaboration between the humanities and natural sciences departments. These factors eventually were deemed important by the university. Since both qualities are inherent in archaeology and the university found interest on them, our exhibition themes became more academic, and the activities were moved to the larger exhibition room. As a result, “Dialogue between LIVES: Human and nature” in 2007 (Fig. 1) and “Environmental History: Water and human” in 2009 were showcased as special exhibitions based on the collaboration between the humanities and natural sciences. These focused on the archaeological sites managed by the university in the Okayama Digital Museum. I argue that the reason these activities, such as the university museum and archaeological site museum, were possible is that we had excavated the archaeological sites ourselves.

3 How can museum studies and archaeological institutions converge?

When I began teaching classes for the Course for Prospective Museum Workers, I tried not to refer to Buried Cultural Properties. Because of the course for Introduction to Museums which covers the history of museums, that no longer holds true.

The history of museums in modern Japan is built on two pillars: the protection of Cultural Properties being lost during modernization, and the exploration of museums as learned from the West and ICOM. The exposition by Ministry of Education, which is known as the origin of the Tokyo National Museum, Japan's first museum, was built on both pillars in 1872 during modernization. The collections were based on the first institutional framework for the protection of Cultural Properties, Edict for the Preservation of Antiquities and Old Items, in 1871 (Seki 2005, 31-34). Moreover, the Law for the Preservation of Old Shrines and Temples in 1929 also promoted a museum category of Shrines and Temples Museums in Japan (Okada 2012). The institutional frameworks eventually led to the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1950, which included the idea of Buried Cultural Properties (Wada 2015, 21). In 1973, the first Buried Cultural Properties Research Center was established in the former Nara National Research Center.
Institute for Cultural Properties, as a national center for Buried Cultural Properties research. At the same time, the Research Center for Buried Cultural Properties was created by the local governments to correspond with land development.

As the Tokyo National Museum and the Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties now both belong to the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, I consider that protection of Buried Cultural Properties derives from the first pillar related to the formation of museums during modernization. In other words, I argue that archaeological institutions and museums should be more comprehensively covered in museum studies.

4 Conclusion

Existing museum studies do not incorporate archaeological institutions sufficiently. However, it is clear that museum activities related to archaeology include those done not only by museums but also archaeological institutions. Therefore, the field of museum studies should recognize the archaeological practices related to museums and examine the framework that promotes the idea of a museum serving as a hub for several types of archaeological practices.

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Pattayarach Thamwongsa – Thailand

National Discovery Museum Institute (Museum Siam)

Amidst the Sherds and Fragments, how can we bring them to life?

The Museum Siam (Formerly the area of the Ministry of Commerce) is situated an area with a rich history, especially from the Late Ayutthaya period, the beginning of the Ratanakosin period to the Reign of King Rama VI of Thailand.

From the Written evidence and the Archaeological evidence, this area was the location of Bangkok Fort which was built by French in the Late Ayutthaya period.

King Rama I established the Royal Gran Palace and the Royal Temple in Bangkok, and restored Wat Pho, which was renamed Chetuphon. At that time, a triangular piece of land at the back of the temple was formed. In the reign of King Rama III, the land at the back of the temple was used for palaces for five members of the royal family, until the reign of King Rama V. The former Ministry of Commerce covered the area of four palaces.

A group of 4 palaces in this area were called “Wang Tai Wat Phra Chetupon” or the palaces behind the Chetupon temple. All the palaces belonged to 4 Sons of King Rama III. Each palace owned by many Princes as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palace</th>
<th>King Rama III</th>
<th>King Rama IV</th>
<th>King Rama V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number 1</td>
<td>Krom Meun Chedhathiben</td>
<td></td>
<td>Krom Luang adisornudomdej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number 2</td>
<td>Krom Meun Amarenthrabodin</td>
<td>Phra Ong Jao Lamyong</td>
<td>Krom Meun Tevakornwongprawat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number 3</td>
<td>Phra Ong Jao Ngonrot</td>
<td>Phra Ong Jao Piek</td>
<td>Krom Luang Bodinthrapaisarnsopon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number 4</td>
<td>Krom Meun Phuminthrapakdee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Krom Meun = Prince of the first class/ Krom Luang = Prince of the third class /Phra Ong Jao = Royal Prince

Palace number 1 located in the North part faced to Sanam Chai Road. This palace owned by 2 Princes named “Krom Meun Chedhathiben” (Rama III – IV) and “Krom Luang adisornudomdej” (King Rama V) who worked as Inspector in Horse-Cavalry Soldier Department. The Palace number 2 faced to Maharaj Road, owned by 3 Princes named “Krom Meun Amarenthrabodin” (Rama III), “Phra Ong Jao Lamyong” (Rama IV) and “Krom Meun Tevakornwongprawat” (Rama V). The First owner, Krom Meun

17 National Discovery Museum Institute, 2009, pp.058
Amarenthrebodin was the head of Craftsman Department of Mother of Pearl Inlaid Department. The Palace number 3 faced to Sanam Chai Road owned by 3 Princes named “Phra Ong Jao Ngonrot” (Rama III), “Phra Ong Jao Piek” (Rama IV) and “Krom Luang Bodinthrapaisarnsopon” (Rama V). And the Palace number 4 faced to Maharat Road owned by only 1 Prince from the Reign of King Rama III - V named “Krom Meun Phuminthrapakdee” who was the head of the Department of Ten Thai Traditional Crafts.

Significant changes began during the reign of King Rama VI, with the establishment of the Ministry of Commerce in 1920. The triangle land was used as the Ministry’s offices until recently when the Ministry of Commerce moved to new offices, and the former office was renovated to become the Museum Siam\(^ {18}\).

On 2005, The Conservation and Developing the Building of the Ministry of Commerce Project to establish the National Discovery Museum Institute, conducted by Sivakorn Private Archaeological Company. The main purpose of this project aimed to prepare the main building to be a museum. They did 12 Test Pit with 1-meter depth around the building. From the result, they found the foundation of former palaces in this area together with artifacts such as sherds, horseshoes, architectural structures and ornaments eg. Roof tiles, glass, animal bones, shells.

Later, on 2006 – 2007, before developing the landscape to Museum Siam, archaeological excavations were undertaken as a part of the working process, providing valuable information on the land-use history. The 1\(^{st}\) excavation was conducted by the Faculty of Archaeology, Silpakorn University, Thailand. Significant artifacts found in this area include: Many types of Oyster Shells were found, especially in the north part of the site. The shells are assumed to be leftover from the process of decorating works of Mother of Pearl Inlaid. A horse skeleton was found in good condition and assumed to be the horse of a trooper or royal page. Besides, some of the horseshoes were also found in this site. There was probably a stable in the palace complex, as many artifacts were found to support this theory\(^ {19}\).

The artifacts were found from both Test Pits and archaeological excavation separated to 2 groups. Some artifacts were collected at the Faculty of Archaeology and artifact remains were collected at Storage Room and Laboratory of National Discovery Museum Institute, Bangkok, Thailand. The percentages of artifacts are Sherds 75%, Animal bones 10%, Architectural structure and ornaments 5%, Bottles and Glass 3 % and other Utensils 2%.

Among the 75% of Sherds were imported ceramics which can be classified in 4 groups – Chinaware, Japanese ware, European ware and Domestic ware. The Storage Room and Laboratory of NDMI have a long project to work with them.

\(^{18}\) National Discovery Museum Institute, 2009, pp.058

\(^{19}\) National Discovery Museum Institute, 2009, pp.072
We began to enter the information by doing registration and cataloging of the artifacts to Museum database System, using 3D Scanning and publish some important objects in the Collection Online via Museum Siam website. We create Museum database System by FileMaker Pro and followed ObjectID Standards from ICOM (International Council of Museums) and work with 3D Scanning by Qlone Application which is free and handy.
We also work with contexts and details by researching with Art History Method (Classification, Comparative Analysis and Social History of Art). From the research, we found some resources which can be related to the history of the area. The shells are assumed to be leftover from the process of decorating works of Mother of Pearl Inlaid. As below information about the palace owner who was the head of Craft man of mother of pearl inlaid Department. These shells found in his palace area and were used to decorate many utensils and temples at that time.

For an abundance of sherds, we found, there is a big group of Chinaware in the site, one pattern consisted of the City wall and gate with name and a man standing under the gate. This city wall surrounded by river and mountain. This pattern is about Zhangjiang (章江门), Gate of Nanchang City, Jiangxi or 7 gates in Ming Dynasty. From the evidence, in Nanchang folk songs described “the official government meets the Zhangjiangmen” or “blows and beats the Jiangmenmen”. Because the ancient officials who traveled to Nanchang in ancient times usually boarded or landed outside Zhangjiangmen. Another similar pattern is Tengwang Pavilion and Zhang Jiangmen.20

In the storage, we also collected 2 pieces of Ikan China, (Ikan means fish in Malaysia and Indonesia) an export ware from Scotland to Southeast Asia and Thailand (between the reign of King Rama IV - VI). These series of pattern made for export to Southeast Asia only by J & M P Bell & Co. It’s so-called Bell Plates. The pottery of J. & M.P. Bell & Co was based in Glasgow and was Scotland’s largest industrial pottery in the 19th century. One of the most common patterns on Scottish export ceramics is the dragon, which appeared

20 (Chuanxu n.d.).
on Bell pottery in different styles, one is a goldfish-like dragon against a background of stylized clouds above the water, in the *Ikan China* pattern\textsuperscript{21}.

*Picture 4: Ikan China pattern (Courtesy by NDMI)*

Furthermore, we do the interpretation to tell to public via small exhibitions in the Collection Storage Room, publish the articles in our Newsletter (both printed and online PDF) and prepare for the education programmes and e-learning which will distribute the knowledge to students. For example, the Education Programme which we have ever tried in one previous temporary exhibition by giving a paper dish for kids and ceramic bowl for adults. They learned about the meaning of patterns and chose one design they want to present in the plate and bowl and the result was very good from visitors.

Recently, we arranged the Horseshoes Conservation Collaboration Project with Faculty of Science, Silpakorn University, Thailand, 3 Methods applied on the horseshoes 1) Study on the texture and Chemical Composition with Science Technique *SEM/EDS* 2) Rust Removal by Electrolysis Method and 3) Mechanical scratch Method, Dry cleaning and coating are applied for Rust Proof. At present, 3 horseshoes still preserve in a Vacuum desiccator to preserve moisture-sensitivity item from humidity.

In this coming year, we are planning to do the project on restoration on sherds which we will study on the appropriate adhesives and consolidants together with methods for mending, direct fills, detachable restoration, casting, gap filling and retouching on sherds.

\textsuperscript{21} (Huang 2018)
Amidst the sherds and fragments, we can work with these small objects by many procedures and connect with history of this site. We can apply digital technologies as a tool to support the work to be more accessible and illustrate more clearly such as 3D Scanning and Animation. All the resources bring to interpretation and apply the digital technologies can create pictures of Palace life in the past that can make people more understanding on this part of history.

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For ordinary audiences, due to the professionalism of archaeology and the monogamy of archaeologists' academic pursuit, archaeological excavation and its achievements seem mysterious, obscure and difficult to access. With the prosperity of material life, people have more and more demands for spiritual life and cultural pursuit, and the public archaeology has become a trend.

At present, majority scholars consider that the conception of “public archaeology” was proposed by Charles Robert McGimsey III, an American scholar, in his Public Archeology for the first time in 1972. However as early as 1950, Su Bingqi, a famous Chinese archaeologist, had already put forward that "archaeology is the cause of the people". He pointed out that the new direction of archaeology given by the current social situation today is the public direction and the new task is to serve the people. He drew a diagram to illustrate the relationship among the archaeological work, museum work and historical research. The archaeological work provides materials to museums. The museums support technical conditions to achieve dissemination and popularization.

In the 1950s, Archaeological findings and researches started to spread through museum exhibitions in China. In 1958, the Ban Po museum was completed and opened. It is the earliest archaeological site museum in China.

Since then, China has held a series of archaeological exhibitions to build bridge between archaeology and the public. Such as The archaeological findings recent 20 years in China and The archaeological excavations at the royal tomb of Hai hunhong kingdom in Han Dynasty.

In 2002, The seminar named "Certificate awarding and academic discussion conference for the top ten archaeological discoveries in China" was held in Hangzhou city of China, with the theme of "archaeology and the public -- the popularization of archaeological knowledge". The assembly explicitly proposed the establishment of public archaeology. In 2007, State Administration of Cultural Heritage announced to the public: "Qualified archaeological sites will be opened to the public". It marks that the popularization of Chinese archaeology had entered the stage of public participation and archaeological practice.

23 SU Bingqi. How to turn archaeology into the cause of the whole people. Su Bingqi's anthology on archaeology, 1950, P277.
There are narrow sense and broad sense about public archaeology. The narrow sense of public archaeology is that the public participates in archaeological excavation directly. The broad sense of public archaeology can be extended to the dissemination of public archaeology, it means to promote the socialization of archaeological resources through archaeological parks, exhibition of archaeological achievements, media dissemination, publication of popular science books and related social activities. Among them, the exhibition has become an important way to realize the professionalization and popularization of archaeological achievements.

1. Research on the archaeological achievements of "Li San GU Dui" Chu tomb
Academic research is the foundation of a good exhibition. The exhibition of "Li San GU Dui" Chu tomb will be planned on the basis of the national social science foundation of China which named "material collation and comprehensive research on 'Li San GU Dui Chu' tomb".

1.1. The existing research results

1.1.1 The discovery of the tomb of the emperor "Chu You Wang (237B.C.-228B.C.)"
In 1933, we discovered the tomb in Shou county of Anhui province after robbed. In 1938, it was robbed again. Because of the discovery a large number of bronze vessels with inscriptions of the late warring States period, the owner of the tomb considered to have the royal background of Chu State. The majority scholars consider the tomb owner is the emperor "Chu You Wang". The tomb unearthed a large number of bronzes, which contains more than 70 bronzes with inscriptions. These bronzes were cast with strict operation and fine workmanship. Although there is no dense and delicate decoration and hollowed-out parts on the bronze wares, Chu state still had the momentum of a great power.

1.1.2 Burial form and structure
The direction of tomb: Toward the east.
The top opening of the tomb:
It is 41.2 meters long and 40.2 meters wide.
The bottom of the tomb:
It is 20.3 meters long, 18.2 meters wide and 10 meters deep.

The tomb passage:
It is 22.4 meters long

The stages: 9

The outer coffins: 9 rooms, it is 13 meters long, 12 meters wide and 4 meters high.

1.1.3 The preliminary collation of artifacts of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb which are collected by Anhui museum.

Anhui museum collects 806 artifacts of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, the main categories include bronze wares (more than 70 bronze ware with inscriptions), stone wares and iron wares. This bronze group is very complete and unique in the late warring States period. In the bronze vessels, the largest single bronze round Ding of spring and autumn period and warring States period is from this tomb. At present, scholars' research on the unearthed artifacts of this tomb mainly focuses on the combination of artifacts, inscriptions, types, patterns and other aspects.

1.2. The problems we will solve

It was nearly ninety years since “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb discovered. Although many scholars have done various researches. But all most referred the classification of vessels, shapes of vessels, Decoration of vessels, translation of inscriptions, there is no agreement on the burial environment of tomb researches and the identity of occupant of the tomb. So far, no people studied the foundry technology of bronze vessels about “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb. We intend to conduct an all-round, multi-angle and in-depth study on “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, excavated artifacts, and the relationship between the tomb and Shouxian city site though field archaeology and scientific and technological archaeology.

From 2012 to 2016, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage "had held the first national survey of movable cultural relics". Anhui museum had sorted out unearthed culture relics of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb based on this survey. We counted 806 vessels totally. In addition, in order to present the cultural appearance of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, Anhui museum will collect and study the materials of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb at home and abroad, such as the Palace Museum, national museum, Tianjin history museum, Shanghai museum, Taiwan academia sinica, Tokyo national museum, Japan tianli reference museum and so on.

In terms of scientific and technological testing, the research group will conduct material science research. It includes reliable spectral quantitative analysis and metallographic analysis, and makes composition observation and basic data extraction of bronzes of different shapes as comprehensively as possible, to form a composition analysis database of bronzes unearthed from “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, and to study the casting process of this batch of bronzes. If necessary, we can use X-ray imaging or industrial CT scanning to reveal the internal structure of the vessel and identify the casting connection relationship, welding relationship, mud core structure, gasket distribution, etc. The non-destructive micro-mark analysis method will be used to collect use marks of bronze vessels after casting, reveal the relationship between vessel repair and vessel casting, and explore the function of vessel. Through the methods, we hope to fill the gap in the detection and research of this burial technology.
2. Audience research

A famous Japanese museologist Tsuruta Souichirou once said: "the audience, like the collection and exhibition, is an indispensable basic factor for a museum. The audience is not only the service object of the museum, but also the social foundation on which the museum depends for survival. "Museums should cherish and treat their visitors like cultural relics." At the beginning of 1980s, academic achievements of museum "audience research" introduced to China from abroad, and "audience research" began to be included into the research scope of China's museum field. In Anhui museum, we often take audience investigation before the exhibition. We will still determine the target audience of the exhibition "Li San GU Dui" Chu tomb through pre-exhibition questionnaire survey to evaluate the audience's knowledge level related to “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, the Chu State and the culture of Chu. After that, we will design an exhibition to build a bridge between the archaeological achievements and the audience, hope to achieve an effective connection.

2.1. Determine the target audience of the exhibition

We designed "Anhui museum audience questionnaire" to investigate the audience for two months. Set the audience gender, age, education level, occupation and other background information topics. List three different types of exhibitions that will hold in Anhui museum. The exhibition of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb will be included in it. Through data analysis, summarize the categories of audience who want to visit the “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, so as to determine the target audience of the exhibition.

The questionnaire sample as follows:

Mark "√" in the answer of your choice

1. Your background
   ① Gender: A. Male    B. Female
   ② Your age:
      A. 12 to 18      B.19 to 25   C. 26 to 30       D.31 to 40
      E. 41 to 50      F.51 to 60    G. Above 61
   ③ Educational level:
      A. High school students
      B. Undergraduate
      C. Master    D. Dr.
   ④ Occupation:
      A. Government / Non-profit Organization / Research unit/ Public Institution
      B. Business or Enterprise C. Self-employed
      D. Student       E. Peasant
      F. Soldier        G Retired personnel

Which exhibition do you want to visit?

Please rank the three exhibitions we will hold next year according to your preference:
Xin’an school painting pioneer - Jian Jiang painting works exhibition

The Xin’an school painting was formed in the Ming and Qing dynasties. It was a group of painters whose activities centered on the Xin’an river basin and whose paintings were based on Huangshan and Huizhou landscape. Jian Jiang (1610-1644) was one of the founders of the Xin’an school of painting. He was good at painting mountains and waters, and his painting techniques came from the song and yuan dynasties. His most works took Huangshan mountain as painting objects, the composition is simple. The rocks are painted as geometry, the peaks are steep, the pines hang upside down, the scene is grand. In 2020, in the 410th anniversary of Jian Jiang's birth, Anhui museum plans to display selected paintings of Jian Jiang to give back to the audience.

2.1.1. Stabilize the country——“Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb

In 1933, “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb was discovered in Shouxian county, Anhui province. It is the highest extant one in Chu tombs of China, and the rich burial unearthed articles are amazing. The main categories of excavated tomb artifacts include bronze ware (more than 70 bronze wares with inscriptions), stone tools and iron ware. This bronze group is quite complete and unique in the late warring States period. In the bronze vessels, the largest single bronze round Ding of spring and autumn period and warring States period is from this tomb. The exhibition of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb will be planned on the basis of the national social science foundation of China which named “material collation and comprehensive research on ‘Li San GU Dui Chu’ tomb”. By telling who the emperor “You Wang” of Chu State was and what happened to him in history, the exhibition will show the shape, structure and the exquisite bronzes, stone tools and iron tools unearthed from the tomb, so as to show the ritual system of Zhou dynasty and the life of the royal family of Chu and reproduce the grand momentum of Chu.

2.1.2. Anhui ancient clean government culture exhibition

As a strong cultural province, Anhui has a long history of clean government culture. The exhibition is divided into three units: "the thought of clean government, the way of inheritance"; "Anti-corruption initiatives", "Independent government story" to inherit Jiang huai clean government wind.

A①②③ B ①③② C ②③① D ①②③ E ①②③ F ③②①

2.2. Assess the audiences’ knowledge background

We are planning the exhibition according to the needs of the target audience. Firstly, the outline framework of exhibition text. Secondly, the audience questionnaire before the exhibition is used to understand the target audience's understanding of “Li San GU” Chu tomb, the Chu State and the Chu culture. Then survey what they want to know about Chu culture, the Chu State and “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb. Finally, according to the audience survey, modify and adjust the exhibition outline, determine the exhibition content design, form design, social education, and promotion programs.

2.3. Interpretation of exhibits

A good exhibition need the support of the academic research. The study of the collection is the most important cornerstone of exhibition planning. In order to design a successful exhibition, one of the most important tasks of a competent exhibition planner is to have a thorough understanding of the exhibits. Only in this way, the stories of the exhibits can be told to the audience in a scientific, vivid and interesting way.

Take “Chu Da Ding”, the heaviest round tripod unearthed in “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, as an example. “Chu Da Ding” also named “Zhu Ke Da Ding”, it is the biggest tripod in the eastern Zhou dynasty. It is 113-centimeter high, 87 centimeters in diameter, 52 centimeters deep in abdomen, 36.5 centimeters high in ears, 67 centimeters high in feet.
and weighs 400 kilograms. The shape of the tripod is round mouth, square lip, belly bulge, round bottom and two ears attached. The upper part of the ear is curving outward and the three feet are hoof-shaped. The upper belly of the tripod decorated with a round hoop and molded feather and wing patterns. The outer wall of both ears and neck are decorated imprinted variant bird and beast pattern.

The first level of the drawing of three levels of I-Chu Da Dingi

The second level of the drawing of three levels of I-Chu Da Dingi
The beast face pattern is the main pattern of bronze ware, which is most popular in the Shang dynasty and often used as the main position of the body as the theme pattern. The beast face shape often has huge eyes, big mouth and tusk with a ferocious deterrent aesthetic feeling.

In the late eastern Zhou dynasty, the beast face pattern lost its authority and was reduced to the subsidiary position (such as the foot of Ding or Gui). The cloud animal face pattern at the root of the leg of the tripod is peaceful and honest, which indicates that the ideology of the society at the end of the warring states period had entered a new period of rationalism, and the rulers can no longer rule and control people's minds with primitive and irrational ferocity and mystery. This tripod is not only famous for its magnificence, but also famous for its ears and feet are made of casting and welding technology, which represents the advanced copper casting technology level at that time.

"An Bang" is inscribed on the front foot and the outer wall of the left abdomen. There are twelve carved words on the flat edge of the "... Zhu ke wei ji...lv". Many bronze wares in the "Li San GU Dui" Chu tomb bear the inscription "Zhu Ke". According to custom, the tripod named "Zhu Ke". The inscription "caster" means caster, a copper caster hired from abroad, not from their own state. This shows that the status of craftsmen in the warring states period was relatively free. This tripod is a symbol of royal power with magnificent and ancient shape, and is an important ritual vessel for the state of Chu.

According to the basic view of cognitive psychology theory, human beings' understanding of things follows the rule: From shallow to deep, from the surface to the inside. According to this conclusion, I divided the Chu Da Ding's information into three levels and deconstructed the exhibits in the manner of "peel Onions", then reconstructed them in the exhibition, and integrated the contents of these three levels into the appropriate form design carrier.

The first level of content is the most superficial information of "Chu Da Ding", which can be observed by the audience through their eyes. It is including the size, material, shape, and inscription of "Chu Da Ding"; The second level of content is to further study the content directly related to "Chu Da Ding", including function of "Chu Da Ding", using method, text interpretation content, casting technology; The third level is the extended content related to "Chu Da Ding", including Chu's economic system, Chu's ritual system and so on.
3. Exhibition of archaeological achievements

I believe that the transformation process from archaeology to exhibition is the process of deconstructing the archaeological achievements and then reconstructing the exhibition story. The logic of the discovery and research of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb is the logic of time. This is the process of extrapolating tomb specifications, tomb owners' identities, excavated objects’ combinations, inscriptions, artistic achievements, development level of foundry industry, and its historical changes in the late period of the State of Chu. Then, the changes of the late history of Chu State deduced. The construction of the exhibition can disrupt this logic by adding new materials, rearranging the logic lines and transforming them into richer and more vivid stories.

The poster of the I-Li San Gu Guii-Chu Tomb

3.1. The structure of the exhibition

At the beginning of the exhibition, the location and historical environment of the late Chu State will be to show the historical background of the period of emperor “You Wang” of Chu State, so that the audience can have a comprehensive understanding of Chu State and Chu culture at that time. From death to life, this paper takes king Chu you as the center and combines with literature materials to describe king Chu you himself, and then recovers the tomb shape and system, and presents the contrast between the tomb and the palace where he lived.

The second part of the exhibition will focus on the “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb. From death to life, combined with the literature materials to describe emperor “You Wang” Chu State, restore the structure of the tomb, and take a comparative display between the tomb and the palace where emperor “You Wang” Chu State lived. Through the study and display of the rich and varied funerary objects, implements combination and bronze inscriptions, discuss the funeral system of the late chu State. In order to introduce Zhou dynasty's funeral concept of "treating death as life" into the sacrifice, feast and war life of emperor “You Wang” of Chu State.

The third part will show the bronze wares unearthed from the “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb in terms of artistic style and expressive force. The exhibition will discuss and compare
the change of bronze wares in shape and decoration in the later period of Chu State and their relations with the economy of Chu State.

The fourth part is the display of the new research results of the tomb of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb, showing the bronze casting technology of the tomb through drawing, three-dimensional modeling and other technologies.

**The framework of the exhibition:**

**The theme of the exhibition:** Administer State affairs well and ensure national security: The exhibition of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb.

**Unit 1:** The last residence of Chu people: Move to Jianghuai area.
- Group 1: Just entered the Jianghuai area
- Group 2: Move the capital to Shouchun
- Group 3: The fall of Chu State

**Unit 2:** Treat a person's death as if he were alive: “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb.
- Group 1: The emperor of “You Wang” Chu State
- Group 2: The shape of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb.
- Group 3: The main objects unearthed

**Unit 3:** Thick and majestic: The art style of bronze ware in the late Chu State
- Group 1: Shapes of Vessels
- Group 2: Decorations of Vessels
- Group 3: The art of inscriptions

**Unit 4:** The craftsman: Bronze ware casting technology of “Li San GU Dui” Chu tomb.

**4. The other Conclusion**

Exhibition is the way to realize the effective dissemination of archaeological results, and the curator is the key to the success of the exhibition. In order to plan exhibitions that audiences like. A curator of archaeological achievements needs to have a solid knowledge of archaeology, a deep understanding of the audience, and conduct focus research on the audience so as to provide focus services. The curator need have the ability to deconstruct the archaeological achievements and reconstruct the exhibition according to the needs of the audience.

Through this exhibition, I hope that Anhui audience can trace the origin of national culture and find the sense of belonging. The museum can realize the role as the culture hub to appease.
Introduction

Museums as cultural gatekeepers are playing an essential role in sharing knowledge, and developing the sense of identity. They are providing a unique source for formal and informal learning at all levels, as well as an exceptional experience to their visitors. As an adaptive medium, the shape, and function of museums have been evolved over time following the development of the culture of the society. Due to the constant development of the digital means of communication and entertainment, the public view of the museum world has changed. After all, they are themselves a technology sort, and a medium of communication.

In addition, the communication technology continues to inform and support the purpose and practice of the museum world. Moreover, the advances in the interactive and digital exhibition techniques can have a substantial impact on the museum settings as it can enrich the visual aspect of an exhibition. Consequently, the museum professionals had to face a great challenge in order to make collections and exhibitions still relevant nowadays, and meet the visitor’s aspirations. Therefore, it was essential to develop the means of communication between the visitors and the collections by adapting new scenarios of interaction and digital exhibition techniques, through which the visitors will actively influence the construction of museum knowledge, and structuring a new paradigm for the museum-visitor relationship (1).

Among the different types of museums, archaeological museums are the type where the past meets the present. They are concerned with disclosing the archaeology of the unobserved world, as well as interpreting our legacy of the past in the present time. They are considered virtual ones, where they interpret things repeatedly (2). They extract the artefacts from its original environment and transfer it to another one, or apply some changes on the exhibition design or techniques, which consequently recreate the relationship between the artefacts, the environment, and time (3). Archaeological museums are playing an active role in both preserving and shaping the public’s view of the past; through achieving a dynamic balance between the demands of developing, documenting, and preserving objects in addition to the share of cultures and lifestyles (4). This paper focuses on exploiting the digital exhibition techniques in archaeological museums, the way it communicates the history in an educational and entertaining manner, in order to enhance the visitors’ experience.
Method

This paper is a part of a major qualitative research that is carried out under supervision of Faculty of Engineering, Ain Shams University in Cairo to investigate the influence of utilizing the digital exhibition techniques on the visitors' experience. The paper is based on analytical studies for the reviewed archival data, and observation for multiple museums around the world, where the researchers were acting as participant observers with the aim of observing the latest technologies that were utilized for museum exhibition from 2017 to 2019. The results were presented in a design concept that combines different immersive exhibition techniques in a mixed reality museum.

Museum Exhibitions as Means of Communication

The definition of a museum has evolved correspondingly to the changes of the society and in consistent with the realities of the worldwide. Globally, the term museum refers to the non-profit organization that acquires, conserves, researches, communicates, and exhibits objects for the purpose of study, and enjoyment of artefacts in the service of society. The role of museums is not limited to preserve and store artefacts of national treasures, but it provides also a holistic view towards all way of life (5).

The main function of the museums is to communicate the information through a variety of media that offers a transformative visitors’ experience. Exhibition is the place where the visitors get to meet the artefacts one to one, accordingly, the museum exhibitions are judged as a communication device, through which the exhibitions’ core messages and ideas are communicated. The museum exhibition communicates to the visitors’ mind and feeling, which lead the visitors to think about what they see and search for the meanings attached to it (6). In the meaning making process, the museum is exhibiting a certain cultural message displayed in a visual statement between the collection shown in the objects & archives, and knowledge represented in the facts & stories (7). This visual statement is displayed a certain exhibition method that is tailored using the discursive technique, and following one of the main exhibition approaches, as shown in figure (1).

Figure (1) Exhibition Method
The Digitalization of Exhibition Techniques

In the digital age, the exhibition techniques are not limited to texts, pictures and passive modelling, but displaying and exhibiting new immersive and interactive exhibits are being utilized in many museums to bring heritage back to life. This is achieved through a combination between technologies to enhance the public's experience (1). Digital Interactive exhibits and multi-touch screens have offered a greater exposure to social sharing of information with an easy access tool, in addition to providing an interactive learning experience for several users, as shown in figure (2).

Figure (2) The Cooper Hewitt Smithsonian Design Museum Interactive Exhibition, NY, USA
Source: www.cooperhewitt.org/new-experience/

The immersive exhibition or installation represents a loss of this subject/object spacing by using the language of the multi-sensory as opposed to the language of vision. It gives the visitors the opportunity to disconnect from the world and reconnect differently (10). The concept behind the immersive exhibition is to it embraces all the senses to provide an immersive experience, where no limits are existing between the visitor, the object and the environment. The visitor enters the museum in order to leave the museum behind and enter the work. The objects are transformed into the environment, and the whole museum is pushed behind the scenes and the visitor into the heart of knowledge in order to participate in the reproduction of information (3).

These displays give the visitors the possibility to interact actively with the exhibited objects, in addition to rediscovering the tangible and intangible heritage as sensory experience (10) (19), as shown in figure (3).

![Exhibition Method Diagram](image)

Figure (3) The museum exhibition design Factors & Methods
The immersive exhibition have adopted the technology of virtual and augmented realities along with the hologram with the purpose of producing digital story-telling and 3D multimedia exhibits using digital devices such as smartphones, tablets, and 3D projectors, as follows:

**A. Virtual Reality (VR)**

Virtual Reality (VR) is the use of computer technology to create a simulated environment that is unlike traditional user interfaces. In VR, the users are placed inside an experience, immersed and able to interact with 3D worlds, instead of viewing screens in front of them. The VR is depending on simulating the users’ senses, such as vision, hearing, touch, and even smell.

In museums, VR technology is an excellent tool to preserve cultural heritage, and bring it into life again in an artistic and interactive way. It is considered as a digital archive for the archaeological and historical artifacts with natural colors and in 3D. The VR technology is creating new narratives of engagement through which the visitors are able to experience the total immersion, by providing the virtual environment as an alternative to the real-world (physical) environment (11). The VR installation requires stimulation of all of the user’s senses in a fully immersive virtual experience, to the level that the brain accepts the virtual environment as a real environment. It requires professional devices such as 3D laser scanners, modelers, headsets, controllers and sensors to provide the visitors the greatest level of immersion. The only limits to near-real VR experiences in museums are the availability of content and cheap computing power.

The VR technology is extending further beyond the museum physical environment as the people can share it on the internet, which means that many people can learn about the exhibits online. A number of museums around the world are have begun to experiment with the potentials offered by VR such as the National Museum of Finland, who are using VR technology as a time machine, as shown in figure (4).

![Figure (4) The National Museum of Finland, painting (The Opening of the Diet 1863 by Alexander II) VR by Zoan. Source: zoan.fi/vr-studio/](image)

**B. Augmented Reality (AR)**

Augmented Reality is another tool that can communicate knowledge in a digital way. It is about visualizing what is not there. It is the process of using technology to layering aspect of the virtual world such as images, text, or sounds on top of what the user sees in the real world using smartphone or tablet to alter the existing picture, via an application that is accessible and has potential to reach a huge number of users (13). It is closer to the real environment, as opposed to virtual environments, in the field of reality technologies. The users of the augmented reality remain in the real world while they are experiencing enhanced virtually created visuals, aural, and feelings. It is also used to put scenes into context and highlight contrasts with the current reality.

In museums, AR gives the opportunity to add a third dimension to the display and bringing the whole scene to life. The AR is useful for annotating scenes and providing extra
information about the exhibits that can help the visitors to understand new concepts. The AR installation uses technology to deliver a learning experience, through providing a way to engage the visitors in the dialogue rather than distracting them. The AR can even help in contextualize the history and illustrates the historical scenes superimposed onto modern way by blending the old and the new, and capture the visitors’ attention and keep them focus on exhibitions. Many museums have utilized the AR technology in exhibition such as The National Museum of Singapore, and The Detroit Institute of Arts, as shown in figure (5).

Figure (5) Augmented reality to see inside a mummy x-ray view, The Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA) Lumin
Source: www.guidigo.com/ar?lg=en and www.dia.org/lumin

C. Holograms

Holograms technology or the glass free viewing technology is a field of waves that is able to record and reconstruct objects that propagates through space by using interferences and diffraction phenomenon. The holograms technology has the ability to turn a museum into a time capsule through digitizing the history in a way that provides the visitors with an immersive experience (16). It is possible that exhibits could be more interactive using hologram exhibits, which allows the visitors to be engaged in the exhibition, in order to gain a richer and more detailed experience. It is possible to scan the objects and exhibit it on the display alongside the actual artefact. The use of an animated hologram to provide visitors an in-depth look at artefacts, in addition to producing depict bodies in motion at exhibits, as in Tampa Bay History Centre, the museum “Treasure Seekers” has holographic pirates walking among a life-sized pirate sloop and giving instructions to visitors. It can also serve the archival and educational purpose through producing what is called Holographic people, who can tell the visitors real stories about a certain time, like the “Survivor Stories Experience” exhibit as holograms in the Illinois Holocaust Museum in USA. In the “Survivor Stories Experience” exhibition, the visitors can ask questions to the hologram, and it respond as if the survivor is actually on the stage, as shown in figure (6).

Figure (6) Survivor Stories Experience Exhibition, Illinois Holocaust Museum, USA
Source: www.ilholocaustmuseum.org/pages/learn/holocaust-history/survivor-reflections/
**D. Digital Networking Exhibition**

A virtual museum (VM) is a digital networking exhibition that act as a cloud for network sharing of cultural heritage. It draws on the characteristics of a museum, in order to complement, enhance, or augment the museum through personalization, interactivity, and richness of the content. Virtual museums are designed for remote visitors, who are free to search, combine, and re-contextualize the information they need online according to their own interests, through the museum website or applications. It could be designed around specific objects or can consist of online exhibitions that are created from primary or secondary resources digital representations of its collections or exhibits, as shown in figure (7).

*Figure (7) Smithsonian museum virtual tour. Source: [naturalhistory2.si.edu/vt3/list-3-past.html]*

**Exhibiting Archaeology**

Archaeological exhibition is representing a kind of an interpretation to the past, which represents the logical part of the historical progression in how the tangible objects of the past are used in constructing epistemological frameworks (21). In archaeological museums, the discursive technique of exhibition is generally applied, where artefacts, specimens and other objects are grouped together to form one comprehension in a thematic or contextual relationship (22). In the discursive exhibition, the objects are transformed into evidence, disperse in the environment that they occupy; attached to each other's and to the texts and images, which encourage the visitors to discover the meaning displayed within the exhibition. The visitors are engaged in the process of making relationship, studying the graphics and labels besides connecting, and comparing between the objects (23), as shown in figure (8).

*Figure (8) Protohistory Hall, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid, Spain Source: Taken By Researchers*
The Archaeological Mixed Reality

Mixed reality (MR) refers to the combination of different realities in a single interface, ranging from physical to virtual environment to achieve different functions and degree of interactions, as shown in figure (9).

Figure (9) Mixed Reality range.

In archaeological museums, the MR could be utilized to achieve a kind of duplication and/or extension of the physical artefacts and its environment in a digital format. It is considered as a new tool to preserve, document, and display the cultural heritage objects in an interpretive way that could be experienced by a number of visitor around the world in case it is exhibited in different museums or displayed online. This could be achieved through using the 3D laser scanners, graphic design software to produce new narratives of engagement that is virtual, where the visitor can experience the virtual objects as physical ones. The virtual world is very powerful, so the visitor is able to navigate easily through it and examine all the objects in more details than the naked eye could see in high resolution and in an interactive interface that is able to visitors from different ages to use it, as shown in figure (10).

Figure (10) Virtual & Augmented Reality in Museums.

Accordingly, the museums are transferred into physical and virtual windows on a mixed reality world, as shown in figure (11). Because of that, the Mixed Reality Museum (MRM) is emerged as a new type of exhibition spaces, where the visitor can find different types of objects, the physical and the virtual ones are exhibited in the same space.
Conclusion

Nowadays, Museums are realized not only as place for preserving the cultural heritage but also as an innovative hub, a place of experimentation, and research. With the emergence of the digital technologies in the museums field, the exhibition techniques have been evolved as means of communication between the contents of the museums and their visitors. In archaeological museums, as a place to display archaeological artefacts, there is a need to develop its discursive exhibition techniques. That could be achieved through harnessing the power of technology to utilize immersive and interactive exhibition techniques, which are able to bring heritage back to life. The new immersive exhibition techniques comprise digital story telling like the holograms, massive data browsers such as virtual reality and augmented reality exhibitions, in addition to interactive multimedia exhibits, which improve the visitors’ engagement in the meaning making process to amplify the visitor’s experience. As a result of that, a new type of exhibition spaces is emerged, which is the Mixed Reality Museum, a physical window on a virtual window, and an online virtual window on the museum world that allow hundreds of people to experience and share it around the world through the museum website and social media.

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1. Introduction

Since the first archaeological site museum was built at the Zhoukoudian Site in 1953, constructing a museum on important archaeological site has become an increasingly common conservation practice in China. With the great social changes in the past six decades in China, the exhibitions of the archaeological site museums transformed gradually in terms of exhibition concepts, thinking, activities and the composition of content. This article aims to outline the history of Chinese archaeological site museums, analyzing the characteristics of presentation of archaeological sites during different periods through case study of the representative archaeological site museums with a focus on the narrative turn of exhibition in archaeological site museums in contemporary China.

2. Development of exhibitions of archaeological site museums in China

2.1 1950-1979: “Shelters” for sites

From 1950s to 1970s was the start-up period of the archaeological site museums in China. By 1979 a total of nine archaeological site museums had been established: Zhoukoudian Site Museum (1953), Xi’an Banpo Museum (1958), Dingling Mausoleum Museum (1959), Qianling Mausoleum Museum (1977), Zengpiyan Site Museum (1978), Zhaoling Mausoleum Museum (1978), Yangzhou City of Tang Dynasty Site Museum (1979), Emperor Qinshihuang’s Terracotta Army Museum (1979)\(^{24}\), and Maoling Mausoleum Museum (1979). Some of them were built on the excavated archaeological sites such as the Zhoukoudian Site Museum, Banpo Neolithic Museum, Dingling Mausoleum Museum, Zengpiyan Site Museum, and the Emperor Qinshihuang’s Terracotta Army Museum, while some of them were established on the site without excavation such as the Maoling Mausoleum Museum, the Zhaoling Mausoleum Museum, and the Qianling Mausoleum Museum. The establishments of these site museums were attributed to accident discoveries of sites of great value, while most of sites in this period were usually backfilled after excavation had been completed and the objects unearthed from the sites were transferred to the local museums instead of building an on-site museum to preserve and display them, showing that the concept of conservation in situ had not been widely practiced.

\(^{24}\) In 2009 the Emperor Qinshihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum was established on the base of the Empeer Qinshihuang’ Terracotta Army Museum.
The first archeological site museum was the Zhoukoudian Site Museum built in 1953. The museum was based on the Peking Man Site, situated about 50km to the southwest of the urban district of Beijing, which is a cave system excavated evidence of human occupation about half a million years ago. The museum was titled as the Exhibition Hall of Chinese Homo erectus at that time. The exhibition of the museum consisted of three parts: birth of humankind, labor created the human being, research on the ancient vertebrates and Homo erectus in China, which obviously paid much attention to the objects excavated from the site, not to the site itself.

Xi’an Banpo Museum, open to the public in 1958, is the first museum of Neolithic settlements in China. The Banpo site was discovered in 1953. Five large-scale excavations conducted from 1954 to 1957 unraveled an area of 10,000 square meters of the site, excavating houses, kilns, cellars, tombs, and over 10000 artifacts. The exhibition hall of the museum covered part of the site of 3000 square meters, exhibiting an excavated ditch-enclosed village originally with some panels and images set around the site to interpret the representative remains of the site.

The Emperor Qinshihuang’s Terracotta Army Museum was located 1.5 kilometers east to the Mausoleum of the First Emperor of China. The mausoleum of Emperor Qin Shihuang is unparalleled among the Chinese imperial tombs in terms of its size and magnificence. The mausoleum complex covers an area of 56.25 square kilometers. To date, more than five hundred ancillary tombs and pits, including tombs of labourers and the ruins of buildings that were built above the surface, have been found in and around the mausoleum complex. More than 50,000 cultural relics have been excavated from these sites. In December 1987, UNESCO added the mausoleum of the First Emperor to the list of World Heritages. Three ancillary pits containing a terracotta army were discovered from 1974 to 1976. They were designated Pit One, Pit Two and Pit Three respectively in the order of their discovery. The three pits cover an area of over 20,000 square meters and contain approximately 8,000 life-sized terra-cotta warriors and horses. The museum was established in 1979 to preserve and display the Pit One of 12,700 square meters. The basic interpretation of Pit One was conducted in 1986, which consisted of five light boxes and eleven panels around the pit introducing the major findings of the pit such as ruins of well, floor, partitions, doorways, chariots, pillars, weapons, construction of pit, and art of terracotta figures.

The initiation of construction of a huge exhibition hall in Banpo Museum and Emperor Qinshihuang’s Terracotta Army Museum to preserve the excavated sites exerted a far-reaching influence on the design of site museums later. However, the main purpose of the museum in this preliminary phrase was to preserve the sites, lacking of necessary facilities and methods to interpret the sites and finds due to the limitation of exhibition concept and technology.

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26 Shen Zhiru, He Zhoude, The Exhibitions of Banpo Museum in the Past 40 Years. See Prehistoric Research, 1998
27 The exhibition hall of Pit Three and Pit Two were opened to the public in 1989 and 1994 respectively.
2.2 1980-1999: cabinets of treasures

From 1980 onward, with the revival and development of economy in China, the museum industry was recovered gradually. The central government promulgated a series of policies to encourage and support the development of museums including The Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage issued in 1982\textsuperscript{29}, Regulations for Revolutionary Memorial Museum issued in 1985, Regulations for Museum Security in 1985, Measures for Management of Museum Collections formulated in 1986, etc.

The acceleration of infrastructure construction promoted the archaeological excavations. Archaeological sites of great significance were discovered constantly, laying a solid foundation for the establishment of museum on site. From 1980 to 1999, about seventy archaeological site museums were established in over twenty provinces or municipalities. Besides the museums built on the prehistoric settlement sites or the ancient mausoleum before 1980, this period witnessed some new types of site museums, e.g.: Tonglvshan Ancient Copper Mine Site Museum in Daye Hubei, Museum of Guan Kiln of Song Dynasty in Hangzhou, City Wall Museum of Liao and Jin in Beijing, showing that constructing a museum on important archaeological site of different types has become an increasingly common conservation practice in China.

The contents and methods of presentation of sites have undergone changes. An exhibition mode was adopted widely that the exhibition of site museum consisted of two parts: one or several protective halls or coverings to preserve the site, and an exhibition hall displaying typical objects unearthed from the site.

The Museum of the Nanyue King of Western Han Dynasty was opened in 1988, which housed the 2,000-year-old tomb of the Nanyue King Zhao Mo in Guangzhou discovered

\textsuperscript{29} Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage was promulgated and implemented in 1982, and has been revised several times since then. The current version was revised in 2017,
in 1983. The museum complex consisted of the mausoleum itself and the exhibition hall displaying burial artifacts unearthed from the mausoleum. The exhibition titled “Treasures from the Mausoleum of Nanyue King” composed of six parts as following: King Wen of Nanyue, jades, weapons and chariots, tools, vessels and imperial banqueting, focusing on exhibiting the exquisite craftsmanship and artistic value of these artifacts.

The Sanxingdui Museum in Ganghan, Sichuan province opened in 1997 housed the archaeological finds from the Sanxingdui site 3000-5000 years ago, which had been identified as the ancient kingdom of Shu. The permanent exhibition of the Sanxingdui museum “Ancient City, Ancient State and Ancient Shu Culture” focused on the key artifacts from the site. It consisted of two galleries: one is entitled “Brilliant ancient Shu civilization” and the other is “Mysterious bronze kingdom”. The gallery one contained six units as following: history of ancient shu, agriculture and business of Sanxingdui, pottery artifacts, jades, metallurgy, and bronze tree; while the gallery two included units such as masks, bronze figures, sacrifice ceremony, bronze statue, ritual artifacts, and excavation of Sanxingdui site.

Various technologies of sound, light and electricity began to be adopted in the exhibitions. Reconstruction and restoration became the popular methods of interpreting site in many museums. Not only dioramas of different sizes were installed for the permanent exhibitions of museums, but also there’re reconstructions of huge ancient buildings on the site as their original shapes and sizes, helping the visitors to have a better understanding of the site.

The Xinle Site discovered in Shenyang in 1973 was a typical Neolithic settlement in Northeast China. The Xinle Site Museum was opened to the public in 1984. The exhibition of the museum consisted of two parts: presentation area of site and exhibition hall displaying the objects excavated from the site. The area of site contained over forty semi-subterranean houses presented in different ways: the ruins of House 2 was displayed in a special exhibition hall; the ruins of House 1, 3,4,6,11,17 were covered by conservative cases; House 12, 13,25 and 18 left to be excavated were labeled; while ruins of House 7 and 8 were reconstructed with life-sized models of prehistoric human activities of cooking and discussing issues set inside the houses. 30

![Figure 2. Different presentation of sites in the Xinle Museum](image_url)

Hemudu Site Museum opened in 1993 exhibited relics from the Hemudu Neolithic Site about 7000 years ago. In 1999 an area of excavation site was opened to the public, which was centered by reconstruction of two excavation sites four meters above the original sites: the first excavation site of 800 square meters was excavated from Nov 1973 to Jan 1974, while the second excavation site of 2000 square meters was excavated from Oct 1977 to Jan 1978. In these areas the ruins of Ganlan wooden houses were restored, exhibited with reconstructed houses with sculptures imitating the life scene of Hemudu people when they hunted wild animals, cultivated rice and fished in the rivers and lakes.

![Figure 3. Reconstruction of excavated site of Hemudu Museum](image)

The progress of protective presentation of the site during this period was fully reflected in the Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum. The archaeological exhibition hall for the Outer Burial Pits of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of Han Dynasty in the museum attracted many visitors due to the innovation of presenting the site. The 7,850 square meters protective building built on the 10 ancillary pits northwest of the Emperor Jing’s mausoleum was the first complete underground site museum in China applied to the advanced conservation technology. The museum installed automatically heated glass walls to separate the relics and visitors into two areas of different temperature and humidity. The method is aimed to protect the site while allowing visitors to view the site at different angles within a short distance in the original environment. In the theatre of the museum there was a historical play with spectra vision technology showing the historical events of Han Dynasty, helping the visitors to understand the history behind the site.

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2.3. 2000-2019: diversified storytelling

The century saw a flourishing of archaeological site museums. The central government demonstrated its strong desire to promote the development of museums as an important part of national public cultural services system. In 2003 the policy of Santiejin was announced that museums should be “close to the reality, to the public, to the real life”. As a response to this new policy, in 2008 the government adopted free-museum entry policy that all national museums and memorial halls except for the historic buildings and site museums were opened to the public free of charge. In 2017 the Public Cultural Service Guarantee Law was implemented to strengthen the construction of public cultural service facilities including museums of different levels.

The protection for the archaeological sites was strengthened at the national level. In 2005 the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) issued the “Measures for the Administration of Special Funds for the Protection of Large-scale Archaeological Sites” to launch the project of protecting the large-scale archaeological sites. In the same year, the Xi’an Declaration was issued by 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS held in Xi’an, which emphasized the importance of conservation of the setting of heritage structures, sites and areas. As a response to the above policies, in 2009 National Archaeological Park Management Measures (Trial) was issued by SACH and in 2010 a list of 12 national archaeological parks and 23 national archaeological parks to be planned was declared.33

33 The first established 12 national archaeological parks included the Summer Palace Archaeological Site Park and Zhokoudian Archaeological Site Park in Beijing, Gaogouli Archaeological Site Park in Jilin, Hongshan Archaeological Site Park in Wuxi, Liangzhu Archaeological Site Park in Hangzhou, Yinxu Archaeological Site Park in Anyang, Luoyang City of Sui and Tang Dynasties Archaeological Site Park in Luoyang, Sanxingdui Archaeological Site Park in Guanghan, Jinsha Archaeological Site Park in Chengdu, Yangling of Han Dynasty in Xianyang, Emperor Qinshihuang’s Mausoleum Archaeological Site Park and Daming Palace Archaeological Site Park in Xi’an.
By 2018 there have been 36 national archaeological parks and 67 archaeological parks under planning.\textsuperscript{34} Most of the archaeological parks were established on the base of existing archaeological site museums with an expansion of exhibition area inside the museum to the surroundings around the site.

The local governments took effective measures to support the development of archaeological site museums including formulating preservation plans, investing a large amount of funds on the preservation plans and renovation projects of the existing archaeological museums to improve the exhibitions or surrounding environment of the museums or build totally new museums, which injected new vitality to the sustainable development of archaeological site museums. Hence in this period there has been a significant change of archaeological site museums in terms of scale of museums, methods of preservation, presentation and interpretation of the sites.

Many existing archaeological site museums built during 1980s and 1990s carried out renovation project featured by construction of new museum buildings or reimplementation of existing permanent exhibitions. The new exhibition hall of Zhoukoudian Site Museum was opened in 2014, which is eight times the area of the former exhibition hall and implemented some new facilities adopting modern display strategies including VR equipment, a 4D museum cinema, preservation center, interactive experience house and special room for kids education activity.

New types of archaeological site museums appeared with the progress of Chinese archaeology and conservative technology. In 2009, as valued results of Chinese underwater archaeology, Baiheliang Underwater Museum in Fuling Chongqing and Museum of Maritime Silk Road of Guangdong in Yangjiang were opened to the public. The presentations of underwater archaeological site brought the visitors unique experiences.

Traditionally most of the archaeological site museums were far from the center of cities or populated areas due to the location of the sites. With the acceleration of urban construction, a large number of ancient ruins located in the downtown of cities were unearthed, and some urban archaeological sites were well preserved for construction of museum in situ, which reflected the wisdom of local government to deal with the balance of development of local economy and preservation of cultural heritages. In 1996 a Paleolithic site was discovered on the site of Beijing Oriental Plaza in the very center of business district of Beijing. A salvage excavation project lasted eight months unearthed over 2000 Paleolithic objects. In order to present this valued archeological site to the public, with the joint efforts of local government and the investor, an on-site museum located under the building of Oriental Plaza was opened to the public in 2001. The Jinsha Archaeogical Site Museum in Chengdu was also a successful example of urban archaeological site museum. The Jinsha site was discovered in Chengdu city in 2001 during estate construction. The local government took quick action in stopping the construction, bought land back from the estate company and took a loan to construct the Jinsha Museum. The museum was established in 2007. Besides adopting modern exhibiting methods of interpretation and presentation, the museum hold vivid cultural activities such as the Jinsha Sun Festival during every Spring Festival attracting both tourists and local communities, hence the museum has been a must-see of Chengdu city.

Various exhibiting methods were adopted in the interpretation of the archaeological sites to facilitate understanding and appreciation of sites, making sites more accessible to the public. The Nanyue Palace Museum located in the downtown of Guangzhou city housed the ruins of the palace of ancient Nanyue kingdom two thousands years ago. The original excavation site of the royal garden including the Crooked Stone Stream of 180 m long

\textsuperscript{34} The State Administration of Cultural Heritage, The report on the development of National Archaeological Parks, 2018
(quliushiqiu) was exhibited on the ground floor of the exhibition hall, while on the rooftop of the building a reconstructed garden imitating the Crooked Stone Stream as its original shape and size was opened to the public, which featured by sharp bends of stream, a crescent shaped pond and barriers to create different waterscape, reproducing vividly the beautiful scene of ancient royal garden in the Nanyue Palace.

Figure 5. Reconstructed crooked stone stream site on the rooftop of building in the Nanyue Palace Museum

Narrative as an effective exhibiting strategy is increasingly widely practiced in archaeological site museums. There have been many exhibitions in the site museums telling different stories targeting overall interpretation of the site, certain exhibition unit or a piece of special exhibit, showing a strong desire to communicate with visitors. These narratives try to provide sufficient connection between the site and its finds, interpret the cultural sequence and contexts of the site, explore the certain history reflected by the site and tell the story behind the site to the public. The Oriental Metropolitan Museum in Nanjing was built on the ruins of Jiankang city, the ancient capital of six dynasties from the early 3rd century to the end of 6th century. The exhibition hall “The Capital of Six Dynasties” in the museum housed a section of city wall of ancient Jiankang city, which was 25 meters long and 12 meters high. The narrative of exhibition was not a linear chronological one, but was based on the ruins of city wall to expand a thematic narrative consisted of two units: city and life, the first unit focused on the construction of city during Six Dynasties through exhibiting ruins of rammed city wall, drainage facility, bricks and tiles etc., while the second unit paid more attention to the life of people through displaying houses, furniture, city planning, religion and social communication, food, clothes, transportation and economy in the Six Dynasties. Different from the common practices of many historical museums, this exhibition shifted from narrating grand national history to the local history.

3. Conclusion

In retrospect, the transformation of exhibitions in Chinese archaeological site museums was influenced by the social environment greatly, which mainly included the policies of government, tendency of international museums, transformation of concept of cultural heritages, etc. While inside the archaeological site museum, the development of exhibition mainly depends on the progress of research on the site and the improvement of preservation technology. The transformation of exhibitions in the past over six decades focused on the following three aspects:

- The structure of exhibitions in the archaeological site museum changed from protecting the site itself simply at the beginning to preserving the site as well as exhibiting the typical objects excavated from the site, and then to the comprehensive presentation and interpretation of the site, its surroundings and objects, establishing a relatively complete displaying system.
- The concept of exhibitions shifted from the static presentation of site and its objects, which emphasized the historical, aesthetic and scientific value of the objects, to paying more attention to the understanding, participation and experiencing of the visitors, showing a tendency from the object-oriented exhibition to the visitor-oriented exhibition.
- The narrative of exhibitions became diversified. The common single theme of narrating the grand national history was enriched by various themes of narrating the local history, telling the story of site, objects, and local people’s life associated with the site, which reflected the in-depth research on the site. In the process of telling various stories, the site itself was not merely representing the history, but as a means to construct local identity and create new local memories and culture.

The exhibition is the most intuitive expression of the museum and also is the most direct means of communication between the museum and the public. The transformation of exhibition during the past over half a century reflects the great changes of the role of museums in China. As the archaeological site museums are more actively involved in the social development, the presentation and interpretation of sites will be more diversified, thus attracting a wider range of public to enter the museum, to understand the site, and to protect the site.

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Christina Naess – Norway

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Museum bodies - prehistoric and postmodern

The matter of postmodern museum bodies.

Balancing a range of ontological borderlines, hyper-realistic “reconstructions” of prehistoric hominins, modelled in wax or silicone after authentic skeletons and bog bodies, have conquered archaeological exhibition space. These figures, normally busts or life size, have become immensely popular with museum audiences, and the museums continue to commission them in spite of persistent skepticism from the scientific community.36 “Depicting an individual’s facial appearance for museum display provides the museum visitor with an immediate and personal communication about the past (...),” physical anthropologist Susan Hayes observes, “(...) and as such is thought to offer the non-specialist a more familiar and understandable view of human remains, (...).”37 Reconstructing the dead remains into a figure with a recognizable human surface and the all-important face and eyes, figuratively turns the light back on in the vacated bodies, reestablishing a personality for the visitor to encounter. The reconstructions humanize the lifeless, uncommunicative remains on display and conjure up the living human being behind them, giving visitors an easily accessible, time-transcending personal encounter with an individual of the deep past.

Such bodies, henceforth referred to as “reconstructions” or “artefactual bodies”, are welcome guests in the 21st century archaeological museum. Even if objects and matter are said to have “returned” once again as central subjects in the social and human sciences, the human being is very much the focal point of museum archaeology. As Bjørnar Olsen famously observed of the post-processual paradigm, “(...) the material was only a means to reach something else, something more important – cultures and societies: the lives of past peoples, the Indian behind the artefact.”38 The same still goes for archaeology as practiced in the museum; most directors and educators would be adamant that their work is primarily about people; the objects deemed secondary aids to telling stories of people, for people. A quote from a museum flyer is a case in point; «The most exciting thing archaeological research has discovered after 2,5 million years of

37 Hayes, op. cit., p. 1.
human evolution, is me. The “Indian” always lurks behind his artefact and it is he – or rather oneself – that the audience hopes to find.

Based on examples from data collected during visits to 10 contemporary Northern-European archaeological exhibitions, I will consider the material as well as ontological properties of hyper-realistic reconstructions; the “artefactual bodies” – what are they – and thereupon, what agency do they have in the exhibition; what do they do? I will consider them as materializations of prehistoric hominins; material entities that have brought abstract, absent ancestors into the tangible realm of the here and now. I build my consideration of these bodies on new materialist thought as expressed by scholars such as Jane Bennett, Karen Barad, Diana Coole and others who, whilst differing on certain points, all share a profound interest in the stuff that makes up the world we inhabit and the way in which it acts. I propose that a materialist approach to museum exhibitions can shed new light on all the objects that reside there and allow us to “know them, to think them, in new and unexpected ways”. It is with such an attunement to the material aspects of exhibitions that I come face to face with the artefactual museum bodies and to understand what these most peculiar of museum objects are, and how they work.

Postmodern hyper-realism with prehistoric looks.

In the middle of one of the grand exhibition halls at the State Museum of Prehistory in Halle, Germany, one of these silicone figures sits on a rock. His right fist supports his head, making his posture reminiscent of Auguste Rodin’s 1880 bronze sculpture The Thinker, yet this man’s torso is straight, and his gaze is directed upwards, whereas The Thinker is stooped in introvert contemplation. The man has a broad nose, broad, full lips; a dense, dark head of hair and beard encircles a face with a low forehead and a thoughtful yet confident expression. The light-skinned body coated with dark, downy hair is life-like down to the individual pore; except for the absolute stillness of his body, there is nothing in the material qualities of this man which suggests he would not be able to get up from that stone at any moment to stretch his legs. The silicone ante-Neanderthal, colloquially the “Archaic man” or “Early human”, is a sculpture of a human from the period of transition from Homo erectus to Homo sapiens neanderthalensis; an ancestor to the Neanderthal. He is 100% inauthentic in that no one molecule in him was around in the Paleolithic (at least not in this precise physical configuration). Yet his shape and surface correspond so perfectly with that of the archetypical archaic human and he looks so seductively animate that he comes across with all the scientific authority of an authentically prehistoric body as well as the force and charisma of a live one. The Archaic man was manufactured in 2002 by the atelier of Elizabeth Daynès, based on not one but two original bodies – a skull from the Petralona cave in Greece and a skeleton from the La Ferrassie cave in France. Archaic man is a hybrid creature; a fusion of two individuals of the same human species, same gender and approximately the same age, living roughly 200 000 years ago, “re”constructed into one entirely novel being. His label presents him as a “sculpture (...) reconstructed using the most recent anthropological science and methods of forensic identification”.

Moesgaard Museum outside of Aarhus also harbors a fugitive survivor of times past; she is a shaman from the Bronze Age. This life-size body, half naked and with a snake coiled around her outstretched right arm, features a striking hairdo; her dark hair is long at the

40 Olsen, op. cit., pp. 23–34.
back, but much shorter on the top; some of it tousled and pointing in all directions, some of it forming an untidy fringe. She is dressed in a brown, braided skirt, and a fur cape hangs from her left shoulder, revealing her torso, which is decorated with red “tattoos” in the shape of a stylized sun and horse-like creature. Her face is suggestive of an emotional state; her lips are parted, her eyes gazing into the dark, her right hand – the one wielding the snake – is palm up in a communicative gesture, as if showing to something or posing a question. The Magleþøj woman was reconstructed not from her physical remains – hers was a cremation burial, leaving only burnt bone – but from her belongings. The contents of a tin found next to her in the mound – three small rocks, miscellaneous animal bones including one horse tooth and snake vertebrae, one charred human bone and two pieces of iron pyrite amongst other objects – were interpreted as ritual objects, thus casting the woman as a shaman. And it is as such she has regained a three-dimensional form in the Moesgaard exhibition by the hands of sculptor Oscar Nilsson, based on an illustration by Tom Kristensen. The materiality of her wax body is thus only loosely connected to authentic remains, and in a sense, she is a two-stage reconstruction; after 3000 years in the mound, she was materialized first as a two-dimensional body, then as a three-dimensional one. Regardless, it is a most captivating materiality; somewhat peculiar but undeniably beautiful, and, as the Archaic man, intensely real in all its artificiality.

A related set of bodies is that of hyper realistic artworks; life size figures that have no connection with actual physical remains and are not reconstructions, but possess a materiality similar to the reconstructions, thus obscuring their own status. These might be considered educational or illustrative sculptures by the museum, yet the public will readily identify their hyper realistic surface as related to the reconstructions and read them as scientifically sound. Examples include a family of silicone Neanderthals residing next door to Archaic man in Halle, and the wax busts in the “Meet the Vikings” exhibition at the National Museum of Denmark in Copenhagen. Visitors to the Copenhagen exhibition have reported being unsure of what is fact and what is fiction, suggesting that the visual characteristics of the busts harbor confusion. On the one hand, their extreme level of detail, visual kinship with scientifically reconstructed faces and placement within a reputable scientific institution, lends them considerable scientific gravitas and implies that their materiality has some resonance in facts. On the other hand, their “hipster hairdos” and “absurd beards” instill doubt. In cases like these, it is questionable whether the hyper-real faces facilitate illuminating and educational face-to-face encounters with the past, or simply cause confusion.

Hominins “reconstructed”.

In everyday vocabulary, a “reconstruction” is something that has been “established or assembled again”; “subjected to surgery to re-form its structure or correct a defect”, or built up mentally.

“Reconstruction” in this context is a term that refers to a specific set of practices within anthropology, archaeology and forensics aiming to “re-assemble” the likenesses of deceased individuals based on actual remains – for purposes of research, dissemination or identification. In the words of John Gurche, it is a research process that “involves the use of anatomical clues preserved in a fossil to re-create a fleshed-out form”. This differentiates reconstructions from other representations of human figures such as casts, anatomical models and mannequins, which are crafted with a specific form.

45 Varberg, op. cit.
46 Ravn Nielsen, Marie; Edstrøm, Linnea, ”Publikums dom: Jim Lyngvilds vikinger er flotte – men er det fiktion eller fakta?”, in DR (2018.11.27.)
and surface in mind. The reconstruction is ide\ally a process with no preconceived visual goal; it is to grow from the skull, guided by the material traces and the skill of its maker.

Tracing its scientific roots back to the 1895 reconstruction attempt on the skull of Johann Sebastian Bach, undertaken by anatomist Wilhelm His and sculptor Carl Seffner, facial reconstructions are today a prominent feature of many museum exhibitions of archaeology. A 2011 study by Kari Anderson identified 192 hominin reconstructions in a sampling of 55 European and Australian museums.\(^50\) Their increased popularity in the last two decades can to a large extent be explained by steady media publicity on facial reconstructions, such as in documentaries and criminal forensics series.\(^51\) It must also, however, be linked to the aforementioned turn within archaeology towards the human actors of the past and the subsequent boom in pictorial representations of hominins in archaeological exhibitions. Hyper-realistic figures seem to be a natural continuation of the tendency to fill the past with living, relatable human actors – not only inanimate ceramic vessels and flint tools.

Techniques differ, yet all facial reconstruction techniques share the principle of “relating the skeletal structure to the overlying soft tissue”.\(^52\) A plaster copy of the skull serves as a starting point upon which layer upon layer of “muscle” and “flesh” is molded according to charts of average soft tissue thickness.\(^53\) The reconstructed face can then be cast in wax and silicone, before being coloured and given individualizing trimmings such as hair, eyebrows, facial expressions and the all-important eyes. Each new layer and feature brings the face into focus - whilst at the same arguably moving it further away from scientific exactness, edging towards the realm of art. Paleoanthropologist Ian Tattersall gives emphasis to the fact that “[reconstructions] require lots of decisions that science can’t answer”, highlighting the dubious dependability of the finished reconstructions.\(^54\) The process from skull to face involves a range of decisions on the artist’s part with which the material remnants are of little aid, such as eye colour, shape of nose, lips and ears, hair texture, colour and style. Were it not for these decisions resting on visual conventions and subjective interpretations, any individualizing characteristics would be missing, and the reconstructions would lack personality and presence. The artistic finish on these “raw” bodies is what gives them distinctiveness and character – makes them appear animate and capable of “presentifying” prehistoric human beings to contemporary museum goers. It is also worth noting the distinct “styles” of the individual paleo artists or sculptors; there is a palpable visual kinship between reconstructions made by the same artist – even between bodies of different human species – and there is staggering difference between reconstructions of the same remains executed by different artists.\(^55\) The surface “finish”, it seems, is a most subjective matter – and it is the surface that invites the eyes of the visitors. The “reconstruction”, then, is in actual fact a construction, even if some degree of likeness – unverifiable in the case of prehistoric individuals – is achieved.

Reconstructions producing the real.

There can be no doubt that archaeological knowledge of prehistoric people, and the techniques that render them visible to us, have experienced tremendous growth and refinement. At the same time, the level of detail in the visual interpretations of the past

\(^50\) Anderson, Kari (2012), Hominin representations in museum displays: their role in forming public understanding through non-verbal communication of science.
\(^51\) Anderson, op. cit., p. 39.
\(^53\) For an in-depth description of the process and its individual steps according to the Manchester school of facial reconstruction, refer to Prag, John; Neave, Richard (1997), Making Faces. Using Forensic and Archaeological Evidence.
\(^55\) See for instance the reconstructions of the Australopithecus afarensis named Lucy created by paleo artists Elizabeth Daynès, John Gurche and Adrie and Alfons Kennis respectively.
has increased expeditiously. It seems the more we can claim to know about the past, the more we desire to know, always leaving a gap between what is communicated in visual media and what can actually be substantiated. The race towards an ever more detailed past, of which the reconstructions only represent one lane, forces movie makers, writers, artists – and curators – to say more than is known. This means that much of the visual statements in exhibitions – reconstructions among them – are hypotheses, not conclusions. But a picture – and a figure – comes without qualificatory footnotes, and the lacunae in our knowledge of the looks of prehistory are not mirrored in blank, white sections in the image.\[^{56}\] The reconstruction talks of certainties, maybes and complete unknowns in the same voice. Still, they represent an assertive claim on the makeup of reality.\[^{57}\] The reality-making effect of photographic images was famously described by Susan Sontag in *On photography*; “\[^{58}\] The image is conclusive, and the reality depicted seems inevitable. Images of prehistory – although not silver bromide imprints of light reflected from actual hominins – have the same effect; they make pasts that might never have happened, and science has very poor means of contradicting them.\[^{59}\] Images can illustrate and make theoretical facts understandable – yet they can also imply things that texts omit. The Archaic Man has no label explicitly stating that ante-Neanderthals were hairy, nude and quick-witted, but his materiality conveys these traits nonetheless. Material evidence shows that “Danish” women in the Bronze Age covered their upper bodies; nevertheless, The Moesgaard Shaman has bare breasts. Anderson concludes that hominin representations – reconstructions being one of them – communicate three kinds of information; *factual*, which is directly related to skeletal evidence; *well-considered current scientific knowledge* – which may be hypothetical and change over time – and lastly, *supplementary information*, which may be highly prejudicial and inaccurate.\[^{60}\] The supplementary information is what makes the representations “readable” to the viewer. It is the finishing touches; the body posture, the facial expression and the look in the eyes; the clothes, the props and the way they “interact” with other representations. These details are memorable yet debatable. Although hominin representations “project an aura of scientific facticity as a result of their display in an authenticating institution such as a museum”, Anderson argues, “they contain layers of interpretive information supplied by the artist, scientists and display designers”.\[^{61}\] As these interpretations shift and sometimes even shatter with time, the reconstructions on display tend to stay the same and stay in place, communicating scientifically outdated interpretations as well as pure speculation.\[^{62}\]

We might conclude, then, that the visualizations of prehistoric man are not only *illustrations* aiding in the explanation of scientific facts about the creatures of the deep past; not simply contextualizing aids in the dissemination of prehistoric artefacts. They possess the power to *create* the very same creatures in our minds, and in the process, they *add* bits about which science says nothing, and *subtract* pieces that are scientifically backed but might not be deemed aesthetically appealing or that contradict earlier depiction practices.

**Reconstructions as simulacra.**

Artefactual bodies can come across as *more* real than the real itself; as, if you will, hyper-real bodies, lifelike to the point of concealing their own factitiousness. In this, their materiality is key. “Wax always seems to go too far”, claims Georges Didi-Huberman; “the resemblance it produces is so radical, so unmediated, that the “real” of the image

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\[^{56}\] Anderson, op. cit., p. 353.
\[^{60}\] Anderson, op. cit., p. 413.
\[^{61}\] Anderson, op. cit., p. 414.
obfuscates everything else, pushing the “symbol” (...) into the background”. On the surface, the wax figure lacks any distance between its own materiality and that of the subject it depicts; a distance that is essential for its referential function. The realness of wax makes it an ideal mimetic material – yet the radical resemblance of wax can also, ironically, hinder the ability of the wax figure to function as a sign; the wax body points to nothing but itself. With that, its ability to direct viewer attention towards – and to ease understanding of – authentic human remains, is considerably lessened.

Hyperrealism and the ensuing order of simulacra have been dealt with by Jean Baudrillard, who famously diagnosed the postmodern age as an “era of simulation” in which the images that used to represent reality have gradually liquidated their own referents. The result, Baudrillard claims, is a world in which the reality behind the signs has been lost or rather murdered off, where it “(...) is no longer a question of a false representation of reality (ideology) but of concealing the fact that the real is no longer real, (...).” Disneyland is one such simulacrum; neither true nor false, it is a machine installed to fortify the illusion of the real still subsisting outside its walls. It is instructive to place the reconstructions into this model. The Archaic man is, like the simulacrum, a copy without an original. He is made up of bone material from several individuals and “resurrected” through an uneasy marriage between science and imagination, yet his very physical presence in a trustworthy scientific institution seems to guarantee the (former) existence of a contemplative man just like him. More troubling still, the (fictitious) original, the referent, is in effect completely redundant to the exhibit. He may or may not have wandered the plains of Saxony 200 000 years ago; it does not matter. The Thinker has forcibly liquidated him; the incontestable existence of the copy makes the possible previous existence of the prehistoric original unimportant. Or rather; the reconstruction is a machine that first guarantees this former existence; fortifies the illusions of a past reality encompassing a man just like him, and then banishes the very same man from the scene. The reconstruction is verifiably real and tangible, whereas any “real” Archaic Man remains a hypothesis; an untouchable fantasy. Thus considered, the reconstructions are problematic because they direct attention away from the museal object.

Presupposing that the three-dimensional image has similar reality-producing effects as the flat image, the display of these unfalsifiable statements of “truth” within the museum is equally troublesome. The reconstructions materialize at an intersection between scientific uncertainty and artistic overconfidence; their materiality blends fact and fiction in an alluring, fulfilling and immediate visual surface. Their wax and silicone bodies are materializations of people that never were; yet that come to life and live on in the minds and memories of modern museum visitors. In a sense, the reconstructions convey nothing of ancient hominins, all the more of our own interpretation of them; once more, they refer only to themselves. All this seems to suggest the potential of these crowd-pleasing tools in the museal dissemination of archaeology having questionable side effects. The reconstructions undeniably act on their audience - they have real, desirable effects on actual museum-goers by virtue of their enticing surface. Could they nonetheless be harmful to the overall museum scheme?

Anatomies of the future.

In modern archaeological exhibitions, the bodies of museum-goers come face to face with a diverse crew of artefactual bodies. These reconstructions deliver a vivid, personified picture of the past and allow for a personal encounter with the “Indian behind the artefact” across a time-span of tens of thousands of years. Even so, I have suggested that the artefactual bodies are two-faced. They are effective visual media and connect with the audience in a way skeletal remains cannot - at the same time conveying

debatable truths in an institution dedicated to knowledge. Furthermore, I would argue, the reconstructions could be detrimental to the overall museum proficiency of the audience. They are easy-to-use, raise no questions, leave nothing to be pondered upon or imagined; their visual appeal is instant and satiating. In the name of lowering the intellectual threshold and adapting to visitor desires, the museum could be in danger of moving too far in the direction of “Instagrammifying” their content instead of teaching the public how to engage in meaningful exchanges with the collections. The State Museum of Archaeology in Chemnitz has reconstructed their Neanderthal in see-through glass; exposing the skeleton and only vaguely implying the form of his body. Might this rather more cautious approach have some merit; providing some visual guidelines without numbing the curiosity with an immaculate, complete surface? Materializing uncertainty instead of materializing uncertain details certainly lowers the risk of deception. Whether the artefactual bodies are to be considered detrimental or beneficial to the museal project, seems to depend on which role they are assigned. Are they aids for the contextualization of artefacts, or are they autonomous artefacts or artworks? If the former is true, their function should be one of steering the viewer’s attention towards the artefacts, not one of attracting attention to themselves. In the latter understanding, their allure is unproblematic, supporting the communicative effect of the exhibition media as a whole. However, one can also consciously look away from the distinctions between museum object and didactics, authentic and fake; body and thing, or even consider the lack of such clear divisions beneficial in itself. Jane Bennett invites us to consider where thinghood and human being overlap; “(...) the extent to which the us and the it slip-slide into each other.” And Tim Ingold straightforwardly concludes that “(...) people are things too.” Should we simply disregard the ingrained dichotomy between human and thing, between authentic and inauthentic, and consider the reconstructions hybrids or crossings, acknowledging that the artefactual bodies have crucial bonds to the realm of the authentic? This leap of faith would allow us to disregard their ontological status and instead embrace their variegated materialities and whichever effect they might have on the museum visitor. Engaging certain crossings, Bennett claims, “revivifies your wonder at life, (...) and their flexibility stretches your moral sense of the possible.” In this understanding, then, it is precisely the fact that the reconstructions cannot be pinned down, cannot be unambiguously and definitively defined, that fosters their ability to enchant. Being subjected to and enchanted by such crossings, according to Bennett, might convert dormant moral codes into ethical behavior, as ones sense of the morally admissible is strained, fostering generosity towards bodies transgressing such borders. In a world of expanding bodily diversity, encouraging generosity towards transgressive bodies could very well be an unintended added benefit to the display of reconstructed hominins.

In the end, then, the question of what the reconstructions do in exhibitions and whether their agency is beneficial, relates intimately to the more fundamental question of the mission of archaeological exhibitions. Are they media for the transmission of scientific facts about the past – in which case reconstructions are dubious because of their questionable relationship to such facts – or are they media for the imaginative exploration of different hypothetical pasts and different forms of humanity both past and present – in which case reconstructions certainly could defend their spot. Also; whether hyper-realistic hominins represent a departure towards matter or yet another spin in the anthropocentric roundabout, remains an open question. As for mapping their agency on the visiting bodies, thorough visitor studies would be the next step. The reconstructions are materializations of a desire to portray our far-removed ancestors with an

69 Bennett, op. cit., p. 32.
70 Bennett, op. cit., p. 31.
71 Bennett, op. cit., p. 32.
unprecedented level of detail; of an appetite for knowledge about the human species and our place within it. As such, they are most definitely at home within a museum archaeology that favours the discovery of "me". Nevertheless, the very fact that the archaeological museums choose to let this “human-centeredness” manifest in physical bodies, tells of a persistent trust in the ability of physical objects to convey knowledge and spark enthusiasm.

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I. The role and positioning of the National Museum of History

Founded in 1955, the National Museum of History (hereafter NMH) was the first public museum set up by the Chinese Nationalist government after it relocated to Taiwan. The museum was housed in a Japanese-style building inside the Taipei Botanical Garden that was used to display products by the Industry Promotion Bureau under the Government-General of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period. When the NMH was set up, renovation work on the building began in 1958, and by 1971 the building had been transformed into its current appearance - a traditional Chinese-style building with red walls and green tiles.
The NMH collection originally consisted of artifacts from the Honan Museum handed over in 1956 by the Ministry of Education, and of relics recovered from the Japanese after the Second World War. Later on, government hand-overs, donations, acquisitions, and custodial agreements led to further expansion of the museum collection. Currently the NMH houses nearly 60,000 items, five of which have been designated national treasures and 46 significant antiquities. The collection is divided into 19 categories, including Chinese painting, calligraphy, Western painting, jade and stones, pottery, and porcelain. The items include pre-historical painted pottery, oracle bones from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, bronzeware, Tang dynasty tri-colored pottery, stone Buddhist statues, jade artifacts, furniture from the early Republican era, and contemporary calligraphy and paintings. The collection is diverse and includes objects from both ancient and modern times, many of them reflecting the lives of ordinary people.

Since the establishment of the NMH more than 60 years ago and its growth until today, museology and the museum scene in Taiwan have undergone important developments. Statistics indicate that in the last 63 years, the NMH has received 25 million visitors, put on more than 1,900 exhibitions, made 1,000 publications, cooperated with over 30 countries for exhibitions, and formed sister-museum relationships with 39 museums in 24 countries. In addition, NMH publications won recognition for six years running from the Outstanding Government Publication Award. In the 30 years after the Second World War, the NMH has indeed been the country’s window on culture and a platform on which to foster innovative art.

II. Opportunities and challenges for the National Museum of History

After being in operation for more than half a century, the NMH’s current facilities and space are no longer sufficient to support the development of a modern, national museum. The lack of facilities places practical constraints on displays, so the NMH urgently needs remodeling in order to enhance operational efficiency and be able to compete in an increasingly crowded museum sector.

In light of this situation, in 2017 the Executive Yuan of Taiwan (the cabinet) approved a development project to remodel the NMH. The comprehensive project includes improvement of facilities, services, operations, and management, and comes with two sub-projects: the renovation and re-use of the NMH and the construction of a new museum storage. Before this development project could be carried out, the NMH had to undertake its most daunting challenge since its founding: taking inventory of all artifacts in the exhibition halls and storage and making them ready for relocation in order to vacate the museum.
Thus, the NMH drew up plans for artifact relocation, including strategies and methods to ensure that artifacts would be properly protected during relocation. Packaging, the primary phase, began on December 2017, and the secondary phase, transportation, began in May 2018. By December 2018, all 53,001 artifacts had been safely relocated to other museums.

Artifact relocation was supervised and coordinated by the Ministry of Culture. Specific artifacts were sent to suitable museums: flat artifacts to the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts, calligraphic works and paintings by masters Chang Dai-chien and Pu Xin-yu to the National Palace Museum in Taipei and antiquities to its Southern Branch, and bronzeware and jade artifacts unearthed in Honan to the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica.

It took 310 working days, or 10275 man-hours, to package the artifacts, which filled 418 crates that were transported over 25 trips, a total distance of 3,813 km. This massive operation relocating a huge quantity of artifacts had to be completed in an extremely short time frame before the new storage for cultural artifacts was ready for use. The operation was an important milestone as it was the first such massive relocation to be undertaken by a museum in Taiwan.

III. Artifact relocation and new cooperation

The NMH’s massive artifact relocation was captured in a documentary film, Far Away from Home, that details every step of the preparation and execution. The NMH produced this documentary in order to share with the general public and museum professionals the inner details of the first such relocation in Taiwan. It is hoped that this unprecedented experience will provide a useful point of reference and a model for other museums undertaking similar projects in the future.

The NMH’s artifact relocation as a whole was not simply about moving the collection elsewhere, but was also aimed at facilitating the exchange of information and spreading
knowledge about the artifacts. One part of the project was to make digital records of the artifacts in their current state. The relocation itself also led to resource-sharing. By collaborating with other museums and research institutions, the NMH has made its collection more accessible, which benefits all parties involved.

1. 120th anniversary of master artist Chang Dai-chien’s birth

Over 100 calligraphic works and paintings by Chang Dai-chien are among the most important artifacts in the NMH collection. Many of these works were created when Chang lived in Europe, and they show the transition of his artistic style from a mature impressionistic style to the splashed ink and color style. While the NMH houses Chang’s middle-period works, the National Palace Museum has in its collection dozens of Chang’s replicas of Buddhist mural paintings at Dunhuang and works from his later years after he settled in Taiwan. Chang’s works collected by the two museums provide a comprehensive overview of his artistic career and the progression of his artistic style through early, middle, and late periods of his life.

As the works of Chang in the NMH collection were to be entrusted to the National Palace Museum, when the NMH began planning the relocation, the National Palace Museum invited the NMH to jointly organize a 2019 exhibition to commemorate the 120th anniversary of Chang’s birth in 1899. Entitled “Silhouette of a Great Master: A Retrospective of Chang Dai-chien’s Art on the 120th Anniversary of His Birth,” the exhibition brought together both museums’ collections of the finest works from every period of Chang’s career, and ran from April to June at the National Palace Museum. The exhibition showed visitors very clearly the influence on the artist of his mother, teachers, and friends, his stylistic transition from the copying of ancient paintings to a new style of splashed ink and colors, and his majestic large-scale paintings.
Chang’s calligraphic works and paintings, commemorate this legendary artist, and admire his artistic achievement.

**2. A Window on Eastern Chou: The confident “Hsin-tien” Style**

Another important set of artifacts in the NMH collection are the Spring and Autumn Period bronzeware and jade artifacts unearthed at archaeological sites in Hsin-cheng and Hui County in Honan. These artifacts were found together with the bronzeware from Hui County and Chi County now in the collection of the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica during the archaeological excavation of a group of tombs belonging to the noble class in the Central Plains of China during the Eastern Chou dynasty. Together, they form a temporal continuum that shows the evolution of bronzeware manufacturing techniques from the mid-Spring and Autumn Period to the early Warring States Period (600–400 BCE) and the development of the “Hsin-tien Style” bronzeware, characterized by full volume and balanced proportion to reflect an optimistic outlook on life.

The relocation of the Honan bronzeware and jade artifacts from the NMH to the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica provided the perfect opportunity for archaeological finds from the same area to be displayed side by side, and this drew great attention from museum professionals and archaeologists because of its significance for academic research. The exhibition, entitled “A Window to Eastern Chou: Eastern Chou Relics Excavated from Honan”, was jointly organized by the NMH and the institute, and showcases the exquisite beauty of the artifacts while at the same time providing a comprehensive overview of the artifacts excavated from the tombs, thus opening a window on the material culture of burial practices among the nobility in the Eastern Chou dynasty. The NMH’s massive artifact relocation facilitated the display of these national treasures and significant antiquities from the NMH collection at the Museum of the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica. By comparing the ritual square wine vessel, water basin, bell, and other artifacts that came from the same area, visitors can gain insights on the evolution of bronzeware manufacturing techniques and the characteristics of the firm and balanced Hsin-tien Style.

The NMH’s artifact relocation meant entrusting the museum’s collections to cooperating institutions. In the process, the NMH has been proactive in sharing its resources and creating opportunities for its collection to be seen and appreciated. These efforts have
made the project about not only the relocation, but also a chance to give the artifacts a new lease on life.

**IV. The mutual benefits of resource sharing**

The jointly organized exhibitions that followed the relocation of NMH artifacts are superb examples of mutually beneficial resource-sharing. The NMH is working closely with the museums and research institutes that received its artifacts, and this collaboration has created a new model for resource sharing that is bringing enhanced services to the general public.

The year 2019 marks the 120th anniversary of Chang Dai-chien’s birth, and to commemorate the occasion, the NMH and National Palace Museum joined forces to bring together the artist’s best works from both museums for the exhibition “Silhouette of a Great Master: A Retrospective of Chang Dai-chien’s Art on the 120th Anniversary of His Birth.” The best of Chang’s works from the two museums showcase the development of the artist’s splashed ink and color style from nascence to maturity, and the exhibition drew over one million visitors from home and abroad.

Another important set of artifacts in the NMH collection are the bronzeware and jade artifacts unearthed at archaeological sites in Honan, China. These artifacts have been temporarily relocated to the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica due to major renovation of the NMH. The relocation made possible a comprehensive examination of the artifacts, which will help advance academic research. In addition, during the closure of the NMH, the artifacts, which include a number of national treasures and significant antiquities, are being displayed together with other items excavated from the same sites and which are currently housed in the Museum of the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica. Each of these collaborations has led to resource sharing and the creation of high quality, large scale exhibitions that reach out to a wider public.

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The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo

The National Museum of Sports, Nice

The sports body: Two complementary approaches.

Since its opening in Nice in 2014, the National Sports Museum has been committed to proposing a varied exhibition policy through themes that allow it to question today's society on its history, sometimes the most distant. In 2018, the school proposed a central subject not only for sport but also for our contemporary reality: the body.

It seemed interesting to us to present to you here the same theme: "the sports body" treated on the one hand by a museum of Western society and on the other hand by a museum of the Far East.

1) Vision of the MNS of Nice

A tool of perfection since Antiquity, the body is symbolically the reflection of an ideal seeking to fill our failures, our natural weaknesses.

The body fascinates. Fat, skinny, tall, short, young or old, male or female, healthy or sick, it is now the subject of most of the debates in our society. Body-pleasure, body-
work, body-picture, body-sick... It is the temple of appearance, it preserves and reflects every imprint of life. The particularity of the homo sportivus is to evaluate its adaptive capacities, its performances... which are above all a response to a demand whether it is sporting, social, political or economic.

The cult of the body reflects this social and physical norm of society. The body itself symbolizes what makes it concrete to see and think: the flesh and blood man. All artistic forms have logically taken over the subject. That's what we tried to show at the Museum.

The body competition precedes the one that takes place in front of the public, whether it is an Olympic event broadcast by cameras around the world or the Sunday game with the encouragement of a few friends or family. Whatever his level, the athlete tries to bring his body to performative limits, often blurring the line between sporting action, scientific performance and the fight against the possible, the humanly attainable. States also illustrated by artist Marina Abramovic, who chooses performances to push the boundaries of physical and mental potential.

The body can also become the object of another battle, a machine that mechanical assemblies or chemicals try to push towards the exploits of an apparatus. Elite sport, through performance improvement, seeks a schematic improvement (adaptation, selection, progression) where doping can then appear as a logical component. Sport, and in particular high-level sport, then becomes an experimental laboratory of human performance that illustrates in this sense a heritage of the Enlightenment, of which the 19th century, with the birth of modern sport, by calibrating human strength and movement, becomes the turning point. Finally, the new technologies of the 20th and 21st centuries are appropriating sport as an extension of the mind, trying at all costs to robotize performance, to reduce to nothing the uncertainty of a competition subject to a challenge that often goes beyond, if not systematically, the simple sporting framework.

Sport connects. Athletes practice "bodybuilding" by showing their bulky muscles because medicine and technology are currently on board. The bodies are directly dimensioned: cyclists, speed skaters with thighs with adapted muscles, like the series of athletes photographed, composed by Howard Schatz. Today, naked bodies are visible at any time, anywhere on modern media, advertising, newspapers, magazines or calendars such as the stadium gods.

Finally, the question of the body cannot be addressed without echoing the diversification of practices, their evolution and the objects of sport that have accompanied, inspired and developed them.

To design an exhibition around the sports body means offering visitors a set of objects, illuminating as much as varied, on the way in which this same body is represented, evaluated and experienced: instruments, books, engravings, photos, sculptures, posters, clothing, control or evaluation devices, piloting or exploration devices. It also means considering, and reminding us, that in each sporting era there is a body culture of its own, which requires us to show its originality as visually as possible.

It is also about distinguishing periods, each one having specific characteristics and technical or technological tools in line with the possibilities offered at the moment. But turning the sports body into an exhibition means, above all, telling an exciting story, with as much rigour and clarity as possible, in order to transform the simple scientific discourse into a journey through time, into a fun and educational experience that is necessarily accessible to all, in order to meet the expectations of visitors to the National Sports Museum.
2) Vision of the NMWA, Tokyo

During the summer of 2020, the National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, (NMWA) will hold the “Sports and the Human Body (proposed title)” exhibition to coincide with the Tokyo 2020 Olympics. While the NMWA collection includes very few archaeological items, this temporary exhibition will consider how archaeology and social history—in this case the history of sports—can be combined with the history of art. This report will show how this exhibition is an experiment for a Japanese art museum and how museums cut across disciplinary boundaries in their exhibition planning.

The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo

The NMWA was founded in 1959 on the basis of the Kojiro Matsukata Collection of primarily 19th century French and English art which was given to the Japanese people by the French government after its sequestration toward the end of the World War II. Hence, the Museum's ongoing aim is to make Western art all the more accessible to Japanese audiences. Since then the Museum has developed as Japan's only national museum dedicated to Western art as a whole. In addition to its exhibition activities, the Museum also collects Western artworks and related materials, conducts surveys and studies, carries out conservation and restoration work, educational activities and publishes a variety of materials.

The Collection Galleries are located in the Main Building designed by Le Corbusier, which was recognized as a World Heritage site in 2016, and in the New Wing designed by Kunio Maekawa, who apprenticed under Le Corbusier. A selection of works from the Matsukata Collection, along with those acquired since the Museum's founding, are presented throughout the year in these galleries. The Special Exhibitions Wing is used to present special exhibitions approximately three times a year, drawn primarily from works loaned by museums in America and Europe, and focusing on introducing various aspects of Western art.

The NMWA has primarily acquired works dating from the late medieval period through the early 20th century. With the exception of the “Cycladic Sculpture” donated by the painter Ryûzaburô Umehara and the ancient rings included in the ring collection donated by Kanjirô Hashimoto, there are almost no items in the collection that fall within the purview of archeology. However, several exhibitions of ancient art have been held at the Museum under the guidance of NMWA curators who specialize in ancient Greek art. For example, in 2011 the NMWA held “The Body Beautiful in Ancient Greece from the British Museum” exhibition, followed in 2015–2016 with “The Golden Legend” exhibition, which presented gold masterpieces from ancient Mediterranean civilizations along with paintings on the theme of gold. The “Sports and the Human Body” exhibition to be held in 2020 similarly includes content related to both archaeology and art history. In commemoration of the Tokyo Olympic Games, which will be held at the same time, this exhibition will consider the history of sports as one element of social and cultural history.

An exhibition on “sports bodies”

What do sports mean for people. This exhibition will use numerous paintings and sculptures to depict how the aims and forms of sports have changed over the years. This exhibition focuses on Ancient Greece, with a second section on the modern era focusing on the 19th century. This pairing will explore how sports and images of the human body have been handled in Western art over the course of history.

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72 The exhibition is organized by the NMWA, Nikkei Shimbun, NHK, NHK Promotions, and curated by Takashi Ilzuka (Ancient Greece) and Hiroyo Hakamata (Modern era).
The exhibition rightly begins with Ancient Greece, the birthplace of the Olympic Games. The Ancient Greeks believed it was essential to achieve excellence and honor. The cultivation of the right appearance and superb athletic ability were part of the pursuit of excellence, and this meant that victory in athletic events was particularly honored. Sports provided an ideal opportunity for realizing these goals, given that citizens could become victorious athletes by training their bodies. Thus the human body and sports were inextricably linked in Ancient Greece. The first section will present close to 100 Ancient Greek sculptures and vase paintings which depict these themes as it explores Ancient Greek thought as seen in artwork imagery.

The second section shifts the focus to modern Europe and America, where competitive sports were established and sports came to be enjoyed by the general populace. Each person, whether male or female, controls their own body; it is not controlled by the gods. Thus humans became conscious of physical health and sports were pursued for both physical health and pleasure. Women have enjoyed participating in sports throughout the modern era, as seen in some of the works displayed here. This part also explores the scientific and realistic observation of the human body, along with the popularization of sports and how they became fashionable in the modern era. The second section introduces how traditions in human body expression and sporting types continued from Greek traditions, and how scientific and medical advances meant the changed perception and visualization of the human form. The section also explores how sports became pastimes for the masses and subject to trends and fashions. All of these elements are conveyed through the display of paintings, sculptures, posters, other forms of graphic arts and fashion items.

**Our exhibition approach**

In this manner this exhibition uses an academic approach as it aims to create an exhibition that considers the intersections between art history, sports history and the consideration of the human form, as it also explores how to expand an art museum's approach to exhibitions.

This approach has previously been used by the Musée National du Sport in Nice, France, along with the museums in various countries specializing in sport and on the Olympic Games. However, the NMWA as a museum that specializes in Western art has predominantly viewed ancient sculpture in terms of art history, or has focused on modern paintings and graphic arts. As a result, the exhibition does not use the inclusive and
extremely specialized history of sports approach taken by sports museums, and the actual objects, such as sporting equipment and other non-art objects, have not been included in our exhibited items. When we consider what to exhibit, we naturally focus on our museum’s original social role, and align with our nature as an institution that works with art objects.

And yet, for the NMWA, which frequently plans exhibitions around the themes of specific Western artists or artistic schools or the collections of specific American or European art museums, the planning of this type of academic exhibition has provided us with new discoveries. For example, unlike in ancient art, images of the human body involved in sports rarely appears in high art forms, but rather are more often found in popular media such as magazine illustrations. Such expressive means are closely linked to people's actual life experiences and customs, and they in turn become eloquent expressions of the social trends and philosophical beliefs of a particular time and place. Thus when we are considering the aesthetic value and art historical value of an artwork, we must also consider its value in terms of historical document. By further deepening our understanding of the cultural background that gave birth to that artwork, we can further deepen our enjoyment of that artwork.

We have also been conscious of the meaning of the holding of this exhibition in Japan. The tradition of discerning beauty in the human body in Japan is not as long or as deep as that in the West. And while information on sports today is widely known and understood in Japan, knowledge of the history of sports in the West is still lacking. As an art museum presenting this exhibition, we are also aware that this exhibition provides an opportunity for visitors, who are used to coming to the museum with an interest in a specific artist or specific art style, to experience art works from a different vantage point. This exhibition’s experiment, to provide as visual a depiction of the originality of body culture in each sporting era as possible, takes the display methods used at sports or body culture-related museums, such as the Musée National du Sport in Nice, and we hope that our exhibition and its methods will in turn provide new ideas for others.

(The Vision of the NMWA text was written in Japanese by Hiroyo Hakamata and translated into English by Martha J. McClintock.)
Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present examples of archaeological heritage management and museum activities during the past fifty years in Kobe, which is well known as one of Japan’s largest port cities, and the Hanshin area, located east of Kobe, and to discuss future problems. Japan enacted the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1950, which started the protection of cultural properties. Last year, the revised version of this law was enforced, and the administration of protection drastically changed (Uozu 2019).

Currently, Kobe is Japan’s sixth largest city, with a resident population exceeding 1.5 million. Along with Yokohama, Kobe has been Japan’s leading harbor city and international trade port since the late 19th century. Kobe’s significant cultural heritage includes many landmark buildings with architecture reflecting the prosperity of the port and international enterprise. Furthermore, even before Kobe’s port facilities were constructed, many people, artifacts, and information moved through Kobe and the Hanshin area via the Seto Inland Sea and Osaka Bay.

The archaeological heritage of this area was geographically and socially important even before Kobe city was established. The excavation of the Goshikizuka Tumulus for example, which was built about 1,650 years ago, indicates the importance of this area (Maruyama 2009).

1. Three examples of archaeological heritage management in Kobe and Hanshin

The three examples of archaeological heritage management discussed in this paper are the Sakuragaoka bronze bells and halberds, the Otoshiyama archaeological site, and the Nishimotomezuka Tumulus.

1.1 The Sakuragaoka bronze bells and halberds

The Sakuragaoka bronze bells (Dotaku: bell-shaped bronze) and halberds illustrate the relationship between archaeological heritage management and museum activity in Kobe and the Hanshin area after World War II (Fig.1). On December 10, 1964, a worker collecting earth and sand for plaster at the foot of Mt. Rokko in the field of the Sakuragaoka-cho, Nada district, Kobe, accidentally discovered fourteen bronze bells and
seven bronze halberds. His employer recognized the value of the discovery and reported it to the Kobe Board of Education the next day via a nearby elementary school. This notification enabled archaeologists to precisely record the characteristics of the bronze artifacts and to salvage a large quantity of bronze ware (Tatsuuma, Suenaga, and Muto 1972). The Japanese government identified these bronze artifacts as an important cultural property in June 1969, and as a national treasure in May 1970. Drawings of insects, fish, animals, and people (or heroes and gods/goddesses) were forged on most of the bronze bells. These artifacts were recognized as extremely important archaeological objects to the Yayoi culture of the Japanese archipelago. This 1964 discovery marked a new historical period in the Kobe and Hanshin area’s museum activities, which included the excavation of the wooden coffin graves at the Tano site in Amagasaki in 1965 (Fukui et. al. 1982).

To preserve and protect the Sakuragaoka treasures, the Kobe City Archaeological Museum (Fig. 2) was opened at Suma Villa Park in May 1960 (Kitani 1997). It was succeeded by Kobe City Museum, which merged the collections of the Kobe City Archaeological Museum and the Nanban Arts Museum in November 1982. The Kobe City Museum...
Museum’s mission statement is as follows (Kobe City Museum 1984: author’s translation from original text in Japanese):

“... Kobe city has the particular characteristics of an international harbor city that supported Japan’s relationships with China and Korea for a long time and its negotiations with America, European countries, and Southeastern Asian countries are prosperous and follow more in now after the modern times. Kobe is an indispensable place for Japan’s interaction with all foreign countries. Because of that, our museum focuses on ‘international cultural exchange, contact, and the transformation of the Eastern and Western cultures’.”

In its mission to uncover as much as possible of the original harbor city, the Kobe City Museum considers the Sakuragaoka treasures as one of its most important exhibits. The Sakuragaoka bronze bells and bronze halberds have held prominence in many of the Museum’s special exhibitions, from the third special exhibition in 1983, titled *Cultural Properties in Kobe* (Kobe City Museum 1983), to *The Unravel the National Treasure Sakuragaoka Bronze Bells’ Labyrinth* in 2012 (Kobe City Museum 2012).

![Figure 2. Kobe City Archaeological Museum (Kitani 1997)](image)

1.2 Otoshiyama archaeological site

Five years after the Sakuragaoka discovery, the Otoshiyama archaeological site in western Kobe was presented with the difficulty of protecting archaeological heritage in the face of urban development. This concern, in a city of more than 1.5 million residents, peaked in 1969, and sheds light on the steps and progress of archaeological heritage management in Kobe and the Hanshin area.

Otoshiyama hill is in Tarumi district, Kobe. Many artifacts, objects, and structural remains from the Jomon Period to the Kofun Period have been discovered and reported on the hill and surrounding areas since about 1920 (Naora 1987). This site is famous in Japan’s archaeological history because some characteristic Jomon potteries were named the
“Otoshiyama type.” Starting in 1960, the entire hill, including areas with important remains, was targeted by real estate developers. At this time, Kobe was facing housing shortages for the coastal industrial workers engaged in postwar economic development. Although the city’s topography, which steeply declines from Mt. Rokko to Osaka Bay, is useful for its function as a modern harbor, it posed major obstacles to building residential developments without cutting through the hills. To overcome this problem, many exploitative development projects were launched in western Kobe by the government and the private sector.

In 1961, when a private girls’ high school visited the site as a part of its archaeology club activities (Kobe Women’s Commercial High School History Club 1963), only Otoshiyama hill remained. The surge in residential development continued until 1969, when archaeologists and student members of various university archaeology clubs organized a research excavation. This group was devoted to and specifically protested the government’s insufficient investigation of what the site might contain, and prematurely deciding to preserve only part of the site. Many students, regarded as intruders, were removed from the excavation site by police, who stated that the students were occupying “private land.” Developers began construction at once, which destroyed many parts of the site (Otani University Archaeology Club 1972).
In 1974, the remaining Otoshiyama site was preserved by the Kobe government as an urban park. Later, based on excavation findings, a wooden building of the Yayoi Period was reconstructed in the park (Fig.3). Since then, this park has been popular for its attractive views of the Akashi Channel, created through the cooperative efforts of the Kobe government and local residents. In springtime, visitors can enjoy the cherry blossom flowers, which are the park's main attraction along with its heritage, and the local residents love it as a famous place. During autumn, the Otoshiyama Festival (Fig.4), annually sponsored by Kobe and Tarumi district, is one of the events simultaneously emphasized during Cultural Properties Protection Week. Workshops on ancient pottery making or primitive salt manufacturing are conducted, and many children join in the social events. However, a site museum has not been established at the Otoshiyama site. This problem is further discussed in section 2.1.

1.3 Nishimotomezuka Tumulus

On January 17, 1995, the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake hit Japan. The epicenter was assumed to be in the Akashi Channel, approximately five km from the Otoshiyama site. Kobe and the Hanshin area suffered heavy damages. This earthquake is remembered as a major natural disaster in the Japanese archipelago, even though Japan is prone to earthquakes, including the subsequent Great East Japan Earthquake of March 11, 2011.

Nishimotomezuka Tumulus, one of Japan’s most important archaeological heritages with respect to geography, collapsed during an earthquake that occurred about four hundred years ago (about 1,300 years after it was built) (Fig.5). Excavations conducted from 1985 to 1994 uncovered a tomb ninety-eight meters long situated near the Osaka Bay coast, and grave goods, including twelve bronze mirrors and many iron tools. These are important archaeological artifacts from the time when sovereignty was first established over a large part of the Japanese archipelago. The excavation revealed that this old burial mound had suffered intense earthquake damage at the end of the sixteenth century. The shock of the earthquake caused a landslide in the mound, and the stone chamber inside the mound, including the grave goods, completely collapsed. The nature of this collapse and its effects became clear through the excavation.
At the time of the excavation (1984–1995), a major earthquake had not hit the Kansai area for almost 50 years, and many local residents believed that they did not need to worry about earthquake disasters. Despite the vivid picture of the earthquake destroyed stone chamber and collapsed grave mound in front of them, local residents were not convinced of the potential power of seismic events. Only after the major Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake occurred, one year after excavation was complete, did interest in the area’s history of earthquake disasters finally develop.

The Nishimotomezuka Tumulus artifacts and data on the site’s earthquake damage during the sixteenth century are preserved at the Kobe City Archaeological Center in Nishi district. Special exhibitions that focus on the excavated artifacts have been held there and at the Kobe City Museum several times. These exhibitions clearly display not only the abundant grave goods, but also the evidence of the earthquake damage in the earth layer exhibit. However, it takes about fifty minutes by train to travel from Nishimotomezuka to Kobe City Archaeological Center, so the valuable preserved heritage cannot be easily accessed from Nishimotomezuka. Similar to the Otoshiyama site, the Nishimotomezuka Tumulus problem concerns ways to locally manage the archaeological heritage through museum activities at the site. Additionally, what type of disaster prevention education should be developed in this case? Section 2.2 addresses this question.

2. Discussion

Archaeological heritage management and museum activities in Kobe and Hanshin, a harbor city area

The three examples of archaeological heritage management described above reveal the importance of museum activities. In this section, two problems of museum activity regarding archaeology in a harbor city area are discussed. First, how can the museum create interest in the results of archaeological investigations in the field? Second, how might museums and local universities expand their activities to include negative memories and bring them to our attention?

2.1 Site museums with unique geographical and archaeological characteristics
Kobe’s cultural and archaeological heritage as one of Japan’s oldest harbor cities is compatible with its current local identity, advanced technology, and international accessibility. The Sakuragaoka bronze bells and halberds are a good example of this, as even though they belong to the period before the harbor city was established, they are interesting to both residents and visitors. In particular, the Sakuragaoka artifacts, which are the core of the Kobe City Museum’s display, are described as “things that are treasured and highly valued among the important cultural properties in world culture” (Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties: Article 27.2).

However, these artifacts tend to be emphasized only for their distinct aesthetic features. From the perspective of archaeological research, it is important to understand the artifacts’ excavated locations and their relationships to objects, structures, and geographical or social environments. Therefore, documentation that enables comparisons throughout the extensive record of human history is the primary focus of the museum’s collection. Residents, visitors, and experts tend to forget this goal because of the overemphasis on aesthetic value. From a museology standpoint, the solution would be to establish site museums as close as possible to the excavations, even for small sites, and to positively promote the site museums to local residents and visitors. This would enable them to learn more about the harbor city’s unique geographical and archaeological characteristics.

In addition, these three sites struggled to be successful. In fact, there are only a few exceptions to this struggle, such as the Tano Site Museum, in the Kobe and Hanshin area. Despite the many examples of archaeological heritage management, there are no facilities in Kobe that share sufficient research results with the community. As stated above, there is just one archaeological museum in the western part of the city. More than twenty of Kobe’s museums are art museums, including private museums. Although the population of Kobe’s nine districts now exceeds one hundred thousand people, there are just a few museums in the southwestern Suma and Tarumi districts, and in the northern Kita district. Thus, accessibility to museums is inconvenient. Sustainable museum management that can collaborate with various communities would promote more site museums, which in turn would encourage more people to visit them, and to understand the unique geographical and archaeological characteristics of the Kobe and Hanshin regions.

2.2 Museums as the cooperative liaison for preserving negative memories

In the Kobe and Hanshin area, archaeological heritage management should include the preservation of negative memories, such as major natural disasters or rapid urban development. Regarding urban development, Kobe’s or Hyogo Prefecture’s governments have often prioritized residential development at the expense of heritage protection. However, most museum exhibitions rarely present the process and serious conflicts arising between land development and heritage management. One exception to this is the 2016 Miracle of Amagasaki City exhibition at the Amagasaki Municipal Museum of Tano. While the Kobe City Archaeological Museum held an exhibition about a natural disaster, historical earthquakes and floods, in the autumn of 2014 (Maruyama, ed. 2014), this museum is far from the Nishimotomezuka Tumulus, and it is not clear that the exhibition enlightened visitors about archaeological heritage and excavated artifacts directly and effectively.

After the Great Hanshin Earthquake in 1995, the Japanese government established the Disaster Reduction and Human Renovation Institution (DRI) in 2002 on Wakinohama-kaigandori Avenue, Chuo district, Kobe, near Nishimotomezuka Tumulus. Its mission is “to mold a culture of disaster awareness, enhance local capacity for disaster management, support the development of disaster management policies, and contribute to creating civic collaboration on safety and security as well as a society with reduced
disaster risks” (http://www.dri.ne.jp/en/centertop/center_mission). Although the DRI has large exhibition rooms that display the extent of the damage caused by the earthquake, and has published many research and activity results, the exhibition does not fully focus on archaeological heritage, such as the Nishimotomezuka Tumulus. Thus, the current exhibition is insufficient because archaeological documentation of previous earthquakes is done by many other disaster research sources (Kamai 2016). It is not easy for the public sector to solve these problems alone. It is necessary to build a cooperative framework of public and private museums, universities, and researchers focused on understanding archaeological heritage and willing to move heritage management and museum activities forward. We hope that museums will be the liaisons for dealing with local realities.

Conclusion

The social changes represented by the Law for the Protection of the Cultural Properties in Japan helps us revitalize the concept of archaeological heritage. The policy that took a conventional approach to cultural assets was key to the great success in protecting Japan’s archaeological heritage, but it is now necessary to reexamine the concept beyond the perspectives of the central and municipal governments engaged in conventional planning. Many expert Japanese researchers insist that examples of excellent practices are accumulating throughout the Japanese archipelago. However, in practice, negative memories are occasionally half forgotten. In recent years, Kobe tourism has dropped below that of Kyoto or Osaka, but the charm of the harbor city could be rediscovered in the near future. I hope that major tourism development targets this area. How can an effective framework of cooperation be built? Perhaps little time remains for us to tackle these problems.

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Chao-Chieh Wu – Taiwan, China

National Taiwan University/Research assistant of National Museum of History

Museum as a cultural hub and incubator—a story of two collections in the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University

This study focuses on two stories about two collections: ‘the Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures’ and ‘the Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar’ in the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University (NTU). It aims to narrate the process of acquiring and registering such collections as National Treasure. Through the negation process for registering collection as national treasure between museum and community, the following questions are raised: why did they decide to hold an unprecedented personalised wedding and alienation ceremonies of the collections? What happened after the ceremony? In addition, what are the new relations that have formed between museums and their source communities? Through the collections, how can a museum interact and participate in the communities? How did the museum attempt to break the unequal relationship and rebuild a friendly relationship with the source community through practical communication and interaction via the cases? Finally, this research underlines the Museum of Anthropology, NTU, as not only a teaching, academic research field but also an important cultural heritage preserver and a cultural incubator. As a cultural hub, museums should rethink their methods of sustainably relocating, interacting with indigenous tribes and developing cultural heritage and education.

Museum of Anthropology

This study utilises the cases of the Museum of Anthropology of National Taiwan University (NTU) to indicate that museums not only can serve the education and research fields but can also act as a cultural hub to bridge relationships among family members. The Museum of Anthropology is a small but meaningful museum. More than 5,000 ethnological collections and the most important Taiwan archaeological collections are housed in the museum. The collections were acquired through continuous fieldwork conducted by the professors of the Department of Anthropology. Most of the ethnological collections can be traced back to the Japanese Colonial Period (1895–1945). At that time, many collections were gathered by one of the anthropologists, Utsurikawa Nenozo, a professor of the Institute of Ethnology in Taihoku Imperial University. With his interest to understand the culture and the people of Taiwan, he began to conduct a series of fieldworks and systematically collected artefacts.

During that time, the collections were stored and displayed in the College of Culture and Politics. After WWII, the Institute of Ethnology of Taihoku Imperial University was changed to the Department of Anthropology, NTU. The Department of Anthropology
continued collecting materials from the fieldworks, but the core collection was acquired during the Japanese Colonial Period. The 1970s saw the completion of the new building of the Department of Anthropology. This building contained new collection storage and display areas called the Archaeological and Ethnological Exhibition Rooms. At that time, the collections were regarded as research and teaching species, and only professors and students in the department can access them. Other people could not visit the exhibition rooms without application.

In 2010, the building of the Department of Anthropology was demolished for the new Humanities Building. All the faculty members were moved to another campus, and all collections were relocated to the current building—the Museum of Anthropology. Since then, it has been open to the public except on Tuesdays and national holidays. In addition, the Museum of Anthropology does not only focus on teaching and research but also on becoming a university museum that undertakes social education tasks and interacts with the public to promote multicultural understanding.

The process of acquiring ethnographic collections spans time and space. It could be indicated as a result of the entanglement of people, thing, time and space. In 2015, the Director of Museum of Anthropology, Prof Chia-Yu Hu, decided to apply for a National Treasure designation for the two collections, namely, ‘The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures’ and ‘The Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar’ in the Museum of Anthropology for their cultural significance, artistic characteristics, special value.

The succeeding paragraphs introduce the two collections and narrate the process of registering for a national treasure designation. Through the negation process for registering the collections as national treasure between museum and community, the following questions are raised: why did they decide to hold an unprecedented personalised wedding and alienation ceremonies of the collections? What happened after the ceremony? In addition, what are the new relations that have been formed between the museums and their source communities?

**Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures**

The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures is a solid, wooden column post with the same four sides standing female figures, with their two hands raised in front of the breasts. The height is about 169 cm, the length is about 30 cm and the width is about 34 cm. From the previous research, the post was originally erected by the chieftain of the Kaviyangan tribe in the Zingrur family’s house, which is called Jiaping in Chinese now.

The Kaviyangan tribe is a Paiwan tribe located in the Taiwu Township, Pingtung County. The Taiwanese indigenous peoples are Austronesian peoples with linguistic and genetic ties to other Austronesian peoples. Until now, a total of 16 officially recognised ethnic groups exist, and Paiwan is one of them. The Paiwan tribe lives in Pingtung County, Kaohsiung County and Taitung County. On the one hand, Kaviyangan means palm in Paiwan language. In the past, the ancestors of Kaviyangan tribe chose to build their tribe in the middle of Mt Dawu. It took its name from its appearance, which is akin to a palm in the mountain. The Kaviyangan tribe is an important, powerful and old tribe. In 1897, a total of 140 households with 986 people of the tribe were recorded. Prof Nenozo previously conducted fieldworks in 1931 to 1932 and left many precious photos. Furthermore, Kaviyangan was one of the two indigenous monuments designated by the Japanese government during the Japanese era.

According to the relative records, Zingrur family’s house had five posts, which symbolise the spirit of origin and ancestors of the chieftain family. To the best of our knowledge,

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only two of the five ancestral posts are well-preserved. One is the subject—The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures—which is the only four-sided wooden post in Taiwan; the other is *Mulitan*, which was acquired by the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica and was designated as a national treasure in 2012.

The Museum of Anthropology believed that the collections came from the tribes. It hoped to raise the tribes’ awareness of and to gain their approval regarding the process of designation as national treasures and encourage their participation in the process. Hence, we aim to contact the members of the tribes, introduce the artefact and explain the entire procedure and content of the national treasure designation. If the members of the tribes object to this idea, the application will be cancelled. Accordingly, Prof Hu and his staff visited the *Kaviyangan* tribe to explain the documentary records and descriptions of the collection. Unfortunately, the Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures was no longer in the tribe for more than 80 years, and the people had moved from the old tribe to the new Jiaping village for about 60 years. Most of the members of the *Kaviyangan* tribe heard about the post for the first time. Only Mr Zhou Linyizhi, the oldest man of the chieftain’s family and had lived in the *Zingrur* family’s house in the old tribe, remembered this post and recognised it as *Muakai*—one of their first female ancestors and the main character of many oral histories and legends.

After several discussions, we further acquainted ourselves with the collection. The members of *Kaviyangan* finally agreed to apply for the national treasure designation of The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures. Moreover, they discussed a new formal name in Chinese and Paiwan language. The Museum of Anthropology also changed all the panels to adhere to the new name given by the tribe.

After obtaining the tribes’ consent, the museum proceeded with the application. After many consultations between the museum and the tribe, the tribe began to actively support the national treasure designation. On May 1, 2015, The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures was designated as a national treasure. After the meeting, the tribes expressed a mixture of emotions. After 80 years, they feel happy about contacting and re-establishing a connection with the Museum of Anthropology. They experienced a contradictory feeling of pleasure and a sense of loss as their ancestor’s post was placed in Taipei and not in their tribe. After many discussions, they told us that the post located in the Museum of Anthropology is similar to wandering outside the tribe. However, if we hold a personified wedding for the museum and the Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures, we may determine a method of interpreting why the post is located in the museum. The tribe and NTU will also become a family, and the museum will become Mukai’s home.

For the museum, re-engaging with the source community, letting other people pay attention to artefacts and culture, making the museum a platform for communication and participating in the re-creation of local culture rather than isolating remote collection centres are possible. For the tribe, holding a traditional wedding is also a big event. At this time, young people were taught to sing the forgotten wedding songs *punglai*, which is a song that could only be sung in the wedding ceremonies of the chief family. Notably, the *Zingrur* chieftain family has not held traditional weddings for decades, and many women are the first to learn the song *punglai*. This wedding also serves as a cultural opportunity. During the preparation process, young people continue to practice the intangible cultural heritage, and they inherit cultural memory through participation.

After a long preparation on the day of September 15, 2015, the eldest daughter represented her ancestor *Muakai* and the president of NTU, Yang Panchi, whilst the Minister of Culture, Hong Mengchi, was the witness of the entire wedding. More than 80 members of the tribe travelled a long way from Pingtung to Taipei to attend the ceremony. Other members who work in Taipei also come to participate in the grand event. About 300 people attended the wedding including the guests.
At the beginning of the ceremony, the warriors shouted and fired the gun, announcing the official start of the wedding ceremony. The youth sang the song of the chieftain's family and praised the honourable status of the Zingrur family. Then, the warriors continued with the war dances. Afterwards, the tribal women sang punglai, and the lyrics were mostly in praise of the family's outstanding achievements and the princess' lofty status and chastity. Thereafter, president Yang led a team of students in carrying the bride price into the square. These carefully prepared gifts include a swing, single cup, gun, knife, weeping pine, Scutellaria, sage, treetop, firewood, a live pig, decomposed pork (boat meat, neck, thigh, forelegs, heart, lungs, liver, kidney, sausage), millet cake, rice cake, millet wine, betel nut crown, betel nut, sugar cane, banana, sedan chair, pottery pot, iron shovel, large and small iron pots, ancient pot, glass beads, eagle feathers, wine, drinks and so on. All of these items have symbolic meanings. The dowry also implies the meaning of division of labour, production and the exchange of tribal social structure and culture.  

As the recruiting team stepped into the venue, the hunter fired a gun and the village chief shouted, asking the students who received the dowry to put the latter under the swing and dance with the youth. Afterwards, the tribal representative explained the reason for the unique anthropomorphic wedding. Immediately after, Mr Pan Mingliang, the chief executive of the tribe, inspected the wedding ceremony and asked if the tribe and the taljavulungan cultural supervisor were satisfied. Then, the millet prepared by the tribe was given to the five family representatives of the Paiwan tribe and the distinguished representatives of the Zingrur leader. The betel nut crown was given to the people who assisted the wedding. After the VIPs presented their speeches, the village chief shouted and asked the ancestors to witness the wedding ceremony and then invited all the staff to dance and give gifts.

At this time, the representatives of the tribe and of NTU immediately moved to the exhibition hall. Standing in front of the Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures (Muakai), the members of tribe sang the song of the royal family, and Ms Liu Bihuang, dedicated the glass beads, earrings and clay pots to Muakai. After the ceremony, everyone moved to the Museum Square to join the dance and share the meal together. The museum specially arranged a banquet in accordance with the tribal customs. In the traditional wedding ceremony, the final stage of the wedding ceremony was papukizing, which means giving a spoon. The tribe also prepared a symbolic wooden spoon for President Yang, representing the future of the two parties as a family who can eat together.

The wedding is not a performance event but a ceremony that symbolises the long-term relationship between the museum and the tribe. The ancestral post, originally belonging to the tribal leader’s house, was admitted to NTU and was then designated by the state as a national treasure. However, the official literary designation process cannot provide an interpretation of the cultural rights, ownership and inheritance rights of the tribe. The ceremony binds the relationship between the two ends and through the ceremony, the tribe and the museum re-interpreted the contradictions and the complex emotions for the post. The items prepared in the ceremony are all meaningful. The gift of the dowry, the ancestral spirit, the dance and the joint food created a symbolic connection. The museum also assisted the tribe to copy a new four-sided wood post. The ancestral posts in the tribe and the museum are similar to two witnesses, invisibly binding the new relationship between the museum and the tribe so that the general public can see the dynamic meaning of the national treasure in the museum.

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After the wedding ceremony, the tribe and museum become a family. Similar to relatives, they will contact each other for news and activities. The students of the Department of Anthropology attended the youth men’s club of the tribe, accepted training and created a long-term relationship. When members from the tribe attend the contest in Taipei, they will also contact the museum of Anthropology. When the museum of Anthropology hosts different activities, they will also invite members from the tribe. Furthermore, the young generation who attended this wedding ceremony will remember, inherit and activate the culture. The tribal people who have been converted can also reproduce cultural significance, reshape cultural identity and enliven historical relics.

**Double-Sided Carved Stone Pillar**

In Taiwan, carved stone pillars are few, whilst the double-sided stone pillar is extra rare. The Double-Sided Carved Stone Pillar is probably the only one well-preserved double-sided stone pillar in Taiwan. This stone pillar is about 200 cm high, 36 cm wide and 15 cm thick, with a taller male ancestor image on one side and a shorter female ancestor image on the other. Both male and female images are standing and are decorated with a feather hat and a belt, with their hands raised in front of their chests. Furthermore, their joints and knees were decorated with parallel lines. Although determining the time of production from the carving style is impossible, it could be assumed to be an early type. This pillar is from another Paiwan tribe, Wanjia.

As mentioned, Prof Hu hoped to consult with the source community and discuss with them. Hence, Prof Hu went to the field, explained the documentary records and descriptions of collection and listened to the members of the tribe. From the record, the Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar was collected by Prof Nenozo in the grove of the Aluvuan tribe when he conducted his fieldwork. According to Prof Utsurikawa’s research, the pillar was earlier erected on the altar in front of the house of the chief’s family. The male and female figures on the stone symbolised the first generation ancestor of Djialuvuan family. The chieftain at that time, Jopuran, is a descendant of this family. Prof Utsurikawa won Jopuran’s permission to acquire and relocate the pillar in the Museum of Anthropology.

However, finding Aluvuan is a torturous process. When the team initially approached the Wanjia tribe in Laiyi Township in Pingtung County to inquire, they could not find anyone who knows where the Djialuvuan family went although a few old people have heard the name of Aluvuan. From the interview with elder people, Aluvuan was a place where many tribes lived together and who then moved to another place, Vungalid, and then to the current village. More specifically, nearly no memories or legends remained about the ancestral image of this double-sided stone in the tribe. Subsequently, during a meeting with the old people held at the Wangjia tribe, we found Mr Lo Anshan, the younger brother of the chieftain, who knew Djialuvuan.

Through the interview, we learned that the Djialuvuan family moved from Aluvuan to Vungalid. In Vungalid, as the original chieftain’s family house was extremely crowded, they built another bigger chieftain’s family house beside the original one called Tjirulivak. As in Paiwan, the family followed their house name. Hence, the current chieftain inherited the family name Tjirulivak, whilst her brother inherited the family name Djialuvuan. The Tjirulivak family supported the national treasure designation.

On May 1, 2015, The Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar was designated as a national treasure. After the meeting, the Tjirulivak family contacted the Museum of Anthropology and expressed the idea of returning to Aluvuan to discover their roots. Through this journey, we might also discover the place where The Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar stood. On December 13, 2015, the members from the tribe and the museum staff started
from Laiyi Township, where the Tjirulivak family live now, to Chunri Township where the Aluvuan tribe are located.

In 2016, a discussion with members from the tribe informed us that the elder had dreamt about their ancestor. The spirit of the ancestor told them that they wished to go home but could not find the way. Hence, the chieftain’s family discussed with Prof Hu if they could hold an alliance ceremony (masasan siruvetje) for the museum and the tribe and replicate a new double-sided carved stone pillar for the tribe.

On October 15, 2016, the Museum of Anthropology and Tjirulivak Luvilibid held a personified alliance ceremony. The Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and the representative of the chieftain’s family, Mr Lo, who is the eldest son of the chieftain, presented the museum and the stone pillar as worship brothers. On that day, the members of the tribe entered the museum first. The traditional priest held a traditional ritual in front of The Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar, leading the ancestors’ spirit to return to the tribe with them. Then, the Dean of College of Liberal Arts and Mr Lo followed the traditional ritual and exchanged cloth and knife. At last, all the guests participated in the ceremony dance around and in front of the museum and then feasted together.

After two months, the members of the tribe held a ritual for the erection of a new stone pillar in their ritual square. Furthermore, since the alliance ceremony, the chieftain of Wanjia tribe decided to resume its five-year festival, Maljeveq, which is also known as a covenant ceremony of humans and gods. It was previously held every five years but was banned in Wanjia tribe during the Japanese period. In 2018, the five-year festival was held again after about 90 years. The development and agent of Wanjia tribe are out of the expectation of the museum. As a brother, the museum will join and participate in all the activities such as harvest festival (masalut), five-year festival (maljeveq) and six-year festival (pusau) of the tribe.

**Museum as a cultural hub**

Through the above two cases, the museum and source community can be indicated to not be in a remotely, two ends of a cold relationship but are in an organic connection. From the beginning of the stories, the museum attempted to apply for a national treasure designation for two collections, started to perform several studies and contacted the source communities. The museum attempted to talk and understand the need of the source communities. During the interaction with the source communities, we not only learned other stories and contexts about these two collections. We also participated in the development and practice of traditional culture in the contemporary time. Moreover, the museum makes documentary films capturing important scenes and recording interviews to preserve the important memory. Through the films, other people meet these two tribes with further understanding. In the future, all the young people who had participated in this event and process will hold the memory, which may serve as an agent to activate cultural rejuvenation. The external environment and social factors have led to profound changes in the tribal environment in these decades. The tribes are facing changes in terms of religion transformation and economic structure. The inheritance and protection of traditional culture have become a big issue. However, such activities and the initiative of the tribe will arouse the cultural memory and become a nutrient for cultural inheritance.

The new museology is an important turning point in modern museums, and it emphasises the importance of social function and services. Therefore, the Museum of Anthropology adheres to the idea of caring for the people and culture and continues to interact with the source community. By coordinating with the tribes, the students and the public resources are connected with the land. A prevailing belief states that the museum's collections have left the original history and cultural context, and the objects died when they have been
collected by the museum. However, I believe that through the preservation of these collections, a new relationship was made possible after nearly a century. When the tribes reinvigorated the original culture, they could come to the museum, find, revive and create their own culture. Furthermore, the museum will not merely preserve an artefact with the colonial background at the centre. Instead, it will also attempt to rebuild a new relationship as a cultural hub and as an accompanying family and sustainably develop cultural heritage and education. In modern times, museums should be a catalyst for participation in social change and development, and other possibilities await for the preservation of cultural assets.

Figure 1 The Carved Wooden Post with Human Figures
Figure 2 The Double-sided Carved Stone Pillar

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Ibaraki City Christian Relics Museum is a very small museum in Sendaiji, in the north of Ibaraki City. It may be one of the smallest museums in Japan. In the museum, there is a small exhibition room, which is smaller than 50 m².

In 1919, Daicho FUJINAMI, a local history researcher, discovered the Christian relics in the Sendaiji region. These relics were used by the “hidden” Christians who lived there in the Edo period (1603-1868) when the Tokugawa Shougnate government had banned Christianity. This discovery revealed the history of the “hidden” Christians in the region. In September 1987, the Ibaraki City Christian Relics Museum opened at Sendaiji. Since its opening, this small community-based museum tells visitors the history of the region’s “hidden” Christians. Now this museum and the community are at a turning point.
This paper aims to introduce the story behind the turning point and the current activities of the museum and the community, besides discussing the regional development centered around the Ibaraki City Christian Relics Museum.

The Story of the "Hidden" Christians and Relics

Christianity was introduced to Japan in 1549. The missionary work was started by Jesuit priest Francis Xavier, who came to Kagoshima during this period. Xavier came to the Kinki region and carried out the missionary work during his stay in Japan for about two years. After he left, the missionary work was continued by Gaspar Vilela, Luis Frois, and other Jesuit priests who came to Japan after Xavier. The number of Christians in Japan gradually increased, and the faith spread not only among common people but also among those who were in power. Tomoteru TAKAYAMA, was one of the influential people in Japan who were baptized in Christianity. Tomoteru, who was impressed by the teachings of Christianity, was baptized in 1563 by Vilela. In the following year, he invited Irmao Lorenzo to his castle. Then, many of his relatives and vassals, including his son Ukon TAKAYAMA, were baptized. 

In 1573, Ukon became the lord of Takatsuki Castle, which was located to the east of Ibaraki. Takatsuki was then described as a major base of Christianity in Japan in the History of Japan written by Luis FROIS. Ukon governed the northern part of Ibaraki City for a while. During this period, Christianity is believed to have spread to the northern part of Ibaraki City, including Sendaiji and Simootowa.

Later, feudal lord Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s edict to expel Jesuit missionaries and Tokugawa Shogunate government’s edict to ban Christianity brought hard times for Japanese Christians. However, even in such circumstances, some people secretly continued to follow Christianity. Sendaiji and Shimootowa were also areas where the followers of Christianity lived in a hidden state.

The ban on Christianity imposed by Tokugawa Shogunate continued for about 250 years. In 1868, a new government came to power replacing the Tokugawa Shogunate government. On February 24, 1873, the new Japanese government lifted the ban on Christianity. But, the Christians who lived at Sendaiji continued to keep their faith hidden until 1919, when researcher Daicho FUJINAMI discovered the Christian relics. 

After Daicho’s discovery, Christians relics started coming out one after another in Sendaiji and Shimootowa. Most of these relics were produced in the early Edo period, just before the ban on Christianity became strict. Thus, they can be evaluated as documents that have been kept and handed down for about 250 years under the strict prohibition on Christianity. It is most probably the only case in Japan in which so many Christian relics have been handed down in one region.

The Museum and the Permanent Exhibition

The Ibaraki City Christian Relics Museum exhibits Christian relics, which were hidden and passed down during a period of over 250 years by the “hidden” Christians who lived at Sendaiji. They include a portrait of Saint Francis Xavier, fifteen mysteries of the Virgin Mary, medals, and so on. But, they are replicas because it is difficult to keep the exhibition room at the right temperature and humidity. In addition to these, there are three genuine Christian tombstones, one of which was found as a Christian relic for the first time by Daicho FUJINAMI.

Through exhibitions of these relics, the museum provides visitors an opportunity to not only know the local history centered around the “hidden” Christians, but also to consider the freedom of religion.
Permanent Exhibition

The Turning Point

In 2009, construction plan began for the Shin-Meishin Expressway that passed through Sendaiji. This activity gave people of Sendaiji an opportunity to realize the history of their land and the value of its scenery. Regrettably, the construction of the expressway, instead of bringing transportation convenience, destroyed the scenery of the village where hidden Christians had lived.

But, the people of the region asked cameramen to take photographs before the destruction of the scenery, and left the photographs of the Sendaiji area from season to season. This activity showed that people had started to consider historical significance of the region’s landscape.

It also confirmed that the historical sites did exist at the place where the expressway was to be constructed in 2011, and the excavation and research of these sites were conducted before the construction from 2012 to 2013. The sites that were excavated included the Sendaiji-Minami site, Sendaiji-Nishi site, Sendaiji-Kurusu site, Sendaiji-Ichisaka site, and Hinato site. These sites are collectively called Sendaiji sites.

The work related to the excavation and research is important in that it revealed various aspects of the time in the Sendaiji area, where earlier there were a few developments and no obvious sites. Among them, the discovery of the Christian tombs is one of the most noteworthy findings of the excavation. The existence of the Christian tombs revealed not only the relics of the “hidden” Christians that had been handed down but also the archaeological existence of the “hidden” Christians in the area. These findings were widely reported in newspapers and exhibited at various museums. A number of lectures and symposiums about the Christian tombs were held. This also made people realize the importance of the history of their land.
Until the construction of Shin-Meishin Expressway, they knew the history of the “hidden” Christians, but never utilized it. But, the construction had a significant impact on community awareness. It is the meaning of losing the landscape and the importance of the history. The community residents began to hope that the history of the “hidden” Christians would become one of the main features of their community planning.

**The Community’s Activities**

Recognizing that they have had a very rare history of “hidden” Christians, the community has started a variety of activities. They have begun to incorporate this history within the community’s features in various ways, in cooperation with the museum. They include the maintenance of a promenade called the “Christian’s Boardwalk,” the planning and implementation of a tour using the promenade, the production of the picture books featuring “hidden” Christians, and so on.

These endeavors contribute to the conservation and use of the historical environment beyond the museum and attract the larger community.

**Conclusion**

The construction of the expressway has made the community aware of the value of their history. They began to utilize the history for town planning. The endeavors contribute to conservation and use of the historical environment beyond the museum and improve the attractiveness of the community.

The Ibaraki City museum not only provides the community an opportunity to know “hidden” Christians history through the exhibition, but also is the basis for their activities and assists them. Even if it is a small museum, it is meaningful that the museum exists as a connection between the community and the history of the region. And, this kind of relationship will promote community development in this land.
Hiroko Nitta – Japan
Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Archaeology

Archaeological Museum and Community: The Case of Hyogo-

Hyogo Prefecture is a region in western Japan, 100km away from Kyoto. Hyogo has a long history, starting in the Upper Paleolithic period, when people came from Northeast Eurasia and the Korean Peninsula for the first time, to the present day.

Hyogo Prefectural Museum of Archaeology (HPMA) was established in 2007. HPMA is located in a small town called Harima-cho. Our museum is in Onaka Ruins Park, a primitive settlement dating from 1700 years ago. The site was found by three junior high school students in the 1970s. The site was designated as a nationally important site 40 years ago. The day the site was discovered, it was officially protected by local residents and the local government.

HPMA is home to about 75,000 containers of artifacts excavated in Hyogo Prefecture. The museum was built to preserve and allow the public as well as research communities to make use of it under the concept of “Past & Future”, meaning “learn from the past and create the future”.

Hyogo prefectural museum of archaeology
The collaboration between HPMA and the local society

Museum and local residents

HPMA aims to be a museum where local residents play the leading role. HPMA has over 100 volunteers who live in Hyogo Prefecture. They participate in important activities such as setting up the exhibitions and educating visitors who come to the museum.

For example, they are in charge of making dioramas for special exhibitions which will be held in HPMA. The dioramas are big and are made of authentic materials such as stones found near the sites. There are also great teachers at HPMA. Volunteers are in charge of museum workshops where visitors learn how to make Ancient Japanese jewelry called magatama as well as braid cords of 7th century style. There are classes every day and all day the museum’s open. Furthermore, volunteers of HPMA take on the responsibility of acting as guides for school visitors. They often hold study meetings to guide various students.

In addition, volunteers are in charge of public relations for HPMA. They sometimes go to local community events to run a booth for HPMA. They give lessons on how to start fires by the method of Japanese primitive style and give other museum workshops.

HPMA provides various museum activities for visitors and these activities are supported by volunteers who are local residents.

Museum and local residents

Hyogo Prefectural government has reduced the budget since the 1995 Great Hanshin and Awaji Earthquake to help pay for reconstruction. The budget for cultural property administration in Hyogo prefecture is small. HPMA has had serious problems due to the small budget and shortage of skilled workers just like other Japanese museums. Under the current circumstances, the shortage of skilled workers in HPMA is filled by the...
volunteers. It is impossible to maintain visitor satisfaction in HPMA without local residents now days.

**Primitive Experience Day**

HPMA provides the opportunity to interact with archaeology for a lot of local residents. We hold Primitive Experience Day every November in Onaka Ruins Park. Over 20 booths are led by Japanese and Taiwanese museums. About 30,000 residents come to the Festival every year and they participate in those museum workshops. For example, There is a bronze mirror making workshop. Visitors can also crush nuts by stone tools in an ancient dwelling and can dye textiles by primitive Japanese method.

**Museum and local schools**

About 200 schools in Hyogo prefecture visit HPMA every year. We have had a good relationship with the schools since the opening of the museum. I investigated the comments of school teachers after visiting HPMA on field trips.

A text mining method was used to analyze the data for the research. The analysis was collected from the Free Description. The sample was 145 elementary school teachers. The results are as follows. The most numerous comments included `Thank you` followed by `Children`, `learn` and `volunteer`. The numbers of times the word appeared `Volunteer` was greater than `Curator` and the word `Staff`.

*Figure: Network diagram of comments from school teachers.*

**Museum and local schools**
Moreover, ‘Exhibition’ was linked with ‘Feel’, ‘View’ and ‘reality’. According to the results of analysis, it seems that school teachers recognized HPMA as the place that Children can view and feel real things and learn history throughout the archaeological exhibition.

Furthermore, HPMA cooperates with local schools and special needs education schools. We carry out various museum activities with the schools throughout the year.

For instance, HPMA runs a rice field where Japanese natural and historical varieties of rice are planted. Hasuike elementary school is a 10-minute-walk from the museum and the students participate in rice planting every May and rice reaping every October. They harvest rice using stone knives. Moreover, the students of Higashi-Harima special support education school which is near the museum, come to our museum for cleaning the archaeological site park once a month.

Thus, HPMA and the schools in Hyogo prefecture have built up great relationships.

**Collections and Community**

HPMA has 75,000 containers of artifacts but making them available to the community is not easy.

Those artifacts were excavated at the sites in Hyogo after developers started work. In Hyogo Prefecture, if preservation of the site is impossible, developers are required to cover the expenses necessary to carry out an excavation just like in other areas of Japan. About 27,000 important archaeological sites are presently known to exist in Hyogo and about 100 sites are excavated per year. The excavations are carried out by an extra-departmental organization based in HPMA.

Owing to a large number of archaeological sites being excavated every year, there is not enough artifact storage in our museum. HPMA has reached its capacity.
Nevertheless, we cannot offer debates and participation to the community sufficiently through our collections. Actually, we have several cases showing museum collections. For example, when the lecture meetings for the local residents are held in HPMA, We provide them the opportunity to interact with museum’s collections. They can touch primitive potteries in museum storage. curators sometimes go to community gatherings to teach local residents about local archaeological sites and show the collections discovered near the places where they live.

Additionally, we have lent a number of collections for the community spaces and those are exhibited in public space.

However, we have only a few cases making use of our museum’s collections to the community. In the current circumstances, There is almost no opportunity for residents to interact with the museum collections except for viewing the exhibitions.

**Archaeological Museum in Hyogo Prefecture and Cultural hub**

Nowadays, for the community, It seems that HPMA is the place to participate in various activities that are related with ‘Archaeology’ rather than ‘Cultural hub’ and ‘archaeological hub’. They make use of HPMA enjoying primitive craftsmanship, taking a rest in woods and leading a fulfilling life in their old age through volunteer activities as well as studying archaeology. The visitors who are local residents are not necessarily interested in archaeology; some residents participate in our museum activities to make things by hand. It seems to function more as a public hall than a museum. HPMA does not function well enough as “Cultural hub” and “Archaeological hub” in the current circumstances.

We would like to encourage a more active interest in local archaeology from local residents. To do so, we need to make our 75,000 containers available to them.

Nowadays, We are planning to redevelop Onaka Ruins Park and new museum workshops making our collection available. While We still have a long way to go to reach the museum as “Cultural hub” and “archaeological hub”, We will get there.
The siege of Alesia took place in 52 BC, but its location was not actually discovered until the 19th century thanks to archeological research!

Located on the site of the battle itself, in the centre of France, in Burgundy, in the village of Alise-Sainte-Reine, the MuseoParc Alesia opened its doors in 2012 in order to provide the key to understanding this historical event and the historical context, in order to make history accessible to the greatest number of people. It is the result of 150 years of interest in this emblematic event in areas of history, archeology, tourism and culture.

The Interpretation Centre completes the visit of the Gallo-Roman city which was built on the former Gallic oppidum (fortified village).

**A historic event above all!**

The siege of Alesia is not an isolated event as it is part of a much more important conflict: The Gallic wars which took place from 58 to 51 BC. It was a war of conquest led by Julius Caesar over a period of eight years to extend Rome’s hegemony. Each year of the conflict is marked by new campaigns: it is therefore not a head-on collision between two formed armies, but a series of regional wars, the Gauls were not a united nation but a juxtaposition of tribes without a common strategy. Despite the union embodied by Vercingetorix in 52 BC, the victory was clearly Roman: Julius Caesar succeeded in conquering the entire coveted territory. He recounted this conquest in his famous book *The Gallic wars*.

**It all began in the 19th century**

Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, passionate about history and archeology, launched numerous excavation campaigns, including those in Alise-Sainte-Reine, bringing archeology into a new era, as this approach was so innovative for the time. In 1862, he decided to create a museum of Celtic and Gallo-Roman antiquities in the château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, which opened in 1867. Today it is the National Archeological Museum. It was Eugene Stoffel who, after studying several sites, identified Alise-Sainte-Reine as the site of the siege of Alesia. He was entrusted by the Emperor with the direction of the excavations from September 1862 to December 1865. Most of the objects discovered at that time were deposited in the museum of Saint-Germain-en-Laye and are still there today.
The Society of historical and natural sciences of Semur-en-Auxois, a commune close to Alise-Sainte-Reine (founded in 1842 to promote the history and the archeology of the territory) relaunched the excavations in 1904. The importance of the discoveries led to the creation of the Alesia museum, in the heart of the village in 1910. Then the society of sciences passed the baton, in 1958, to the University of Burgundy and to an association. In 2005, the society transferred the excavation field, the museum and its collection to the Department of the Côte-d'Or. A new chapter then opened for the site of Alesia.

**Creation of the MuseoParc Alesia**

In 2000-2001, the Department of the Côte-d’Or launched a study to create a major development project that would become the MuseoParc Alesia: in the plain, an interpretation centre and the reconstruction of the Roman fortifications were built to allow people to discover the siege of Alesia and its challenges and on the Mont-Auxois, the site of the Gallic oppidum, the Gallo-Roman remains to allow people to understand the new civilisation that appeared after the Gallic wars.

**The Interpretation Centre**

As the gateway to the MuseoParc Alesia, the Interpretation Centre had to have a strong identity. The architect Bernard Tschumi therefore designed a circular building. With its double skin made out of a wooden mesh (larch) that reminds us of Roman constructions, it blends perfectly into the landscape thanks to the panoramic tree-lined terrasse that offers a 360 ° view.

*Picture 1: Interpretation Centre - Architect Bernard Tschumi*

The permanent exhibition is spread over 1100 m² and mainly covers the following themes:

- the testimony of Caesar's *de Bello Gallico*, the only written source on the battle
but to be considered with reservations as the winner’s exclusive point of view
- the decisive approach of archeology since the 19th century in understanding the course of the siege
- the face-to-face of two warlords: Vercingetorix, the Gaul and Julius Caesar, the Roman
- the description of the two neighbouring but different civilisations (the Roman Empire and the Gaul)
- the comparison between the Gallic troops and the Roman army (equipment, arms, combat tactics, ...) with the presentation of numerous facsimiles of objects
- details of the steps of the siege of Alesia with models and a 20-minute film
- the Roman fortifications, traps and war machines
- the Gallic myth, born in the 19th century which still shapes our vision today, especially through the Asterix comics!

![Picture 2: The fighting gallery](image)

Thus architecture, landscape and scenography are intimately linked in presenting the story and context of the battle. Since its opening, it is in this context that the MuseoParc Alesia has been developing an educational approach around the permanent exhibition, enriched each year by temporary exhibitions and a varied cultural programme.

**Remains of the Gallo-Roman town**

The second site of the MuseoParc Alesia is the Gallo-Roman town. Caesar promised that he would not destroy the Gallic oppidum if he came out victorious from Alesia. He kept his promise and the Gallic village was transformed into a Gallo-Roman town in the first century AD. Today, one can discover the remains of a theater, a temple, a civil basilica, a forum, a residential area... Although there is not much left of the former town, what remains is a testimony of the transition between the Celtic world and the Gallo-Roman world.
The statue of Vercingetorix

Finally, the visitors can also freely discover the monumental statue of Vercingetorix, which is very famous in France, installed on the oppidum since 1865. It was commissioned by Napoleon III to commemorate the end of the excavation campaign. It is emblematic of the romantic representation of Gauls in the 19th century, as nothing is archaeologically correct in its dress and armaments. Despite advances in research, this vision of the Gauls is still used and it is the role of a place like the MuseoParc Alesia to explain that the historical reality is quite different.
A touristic challenge

Although the name Alesia is known to the general public especially in France, and this is an undeniable asset, only a few people are able to locate the site in Burgundy and to explain what happened! At its opening, the MuseoParc Alesia favoured a communication towards tourists rather than towards the population of the region, without engaging with the local public. However, this image has never been very clear, made even more complex by an ambiguous name! It is a museum? It is a theme park? It is therefore essential, first of all, to recall the location of the place: it is a cultural centre in a rural area. To exist, it must be a living space for the locals, with real challenges in terms of retaining visitors. The fact that the museum is located on the site of the battle itself is not enough on its own. There is a risk that the inhabitants come to visit once but do not see the point of returning. Yet they are the best ambassadors for the site and its territory. This is why a varied and innovative cultural programme is necessary to create this loyalty.

In addition, the MuseoParc Alesia must also be a tourist attraction to fulfill the expectations of French tourists and foreigners passing through the Burgundy region. Indeed, this region is famous for wine, developing an international tourism on this subject between the cities of Dijon and Beaune, with visits of properties, cellars and tastings. This wine tourism benefits from the heritage of Dijon, around the Dukes of Burgundy and the heritage of Beaune, around the famous hospices of the 15th century. The MuseoParc Alesia is situated further north, about sixty kilometers away, in an area that offers an interesting alternative with several cultural and touristic places close to each other. The group of sites allows the visitors to travel back in time through the sites of Alesia, the Abbey of Fontenay, a Unesco world heritage site, the medieval city of Semur-en-Auxois, the 17th century castle de Bussy-Rabutin or the Great Buffon-Forge, which dates back to the age of Enlightenment. In terms of tourism, this territory, which is certainly unrenowned today, has the potential to become a real destination, provided that all the players work together and share a collective and collaborative vision that benefits everyone. To meet all these challenges and also to meet its public service mission, the cultural programme of the MuseoParc Alesia is therefore divided between the summer and the touristic period (July-August) and the rest of the year. It should be recalled at this point that the MuseoParc Alesia is based in a rural zone, among villages of 4000 inhabitants for the most important and that the only major city with an urban area, Dijon, is located at 60 kilometres (250 000 inhabitants).The catchment area is therefore very limited because we are not in a high-density urban area.

Proposing a varied and original programme

The target audience

Before any strategic development, it is important to know the target group. The team of the MuseoParc Alesia and the communication agency have jointly defined the target audience, which can be resumed as follows: the family audience. More precisely, the main target is a 35 year old woman, mother of two children, urban or semi-urban, educated, curious and French. The secondary targets are of course other mothers, fathers, grandparents, teachers ... and all the others! This means that the messages will firstly be addressed to the groups defined as the main target and then to the secondary targets. The target's expectations are linked to moments of sharing, of conviviality and of learning with the desire to get to know more about the daily life of the Gauls and the Romans, about archeology and about the battle of Alesia. The proposed cultural programme meets with the expectations of a family audience that come to have a good time while learning new things.
The temporary exhibitions

These expected topics are mainly covered by the permanent exhibition of the Interpretation Centre. It has to be recalled that the siege of Alesia lasted only two months and the subject cannot be declined to infinity. That is why the temporary exhibitions, as in most museums, are an opportunity to broaden the focus, reach a new public and encourage the locals to return. Thus the themes of recent years have been the following: Asterix and archeology, the history of France in advertising, the representation of the Gauls in school textbooks, the rooster (cockerel): animal and emblem, the craft of Gallic glass bracelets or food in antiquity which is coming soon.

The MuseoFab: An Ancient FabLab

If visitors like exhibitions, it is certain today that they like to be actors in their discoveries! This is why the team at the MuseoParc Alesia has developed a concept of Ancient FabLab to introduce visitors to Gallo-Roman craftsmanship. Every weekend and during the school holidays, a craftsman or craftswoman and a cultural mediator set up in the museum hall to welcome visitors who wish to learn about wickerwork, weaving, ceramics or leather work. This workshop is included in the ticket price and it is open to all, children and adults alike, and creates a moment of sharing and conviviality for families: it allows them to build shared memories. The programme is planned throughout the year, which is a way to build loyalty among people who want to try everything and progress. Thus, thanks to this concept, sales of the annual pass of the MuseoParc Alesia have doubled. Finally, each person leaves with the object they have made which allows them to bring back a memory and to talk positively with their family and friends about their visit. The visitors have practiced a technique, they have met a professional who masters it, they have found its use in the past... which explains their enthusiastic feedback, especially on social networks.

The birthdays

In a rural area, there are only few possibilities for parents to organise their child's birthday party. This is why the MuseoParc Alesia proposes a birthday package for a group of 10 children for two and a half hours: a cultural guide takes them on a tour of the site, then, depending on their age, they do a suitable workshop and end with a snack. This concept allows families, who would not naturally come here, to discover the site, allows local inhabitants to appropriate the site and children to discover it outside the school environment. 35 birthdays take place at the MuseoParc Alesia every year, so it is a success!

The performing arts

Since its opening, the main activity of the MuseoParc Alesia had been the demonstration of daily antique combat with five reenactments throughout the year. Qualitative and appreciated by the visitors, this animation unfortunately no longer drew an audience. The choice was therefore made to concentrate the reenactment on a weekend during the summer season, in order to create a new event: one hundred reenactors divided between a Gallic camp, a Roman camp and a German camp on either side of the fortification lines. This event, entitled De Bello Gallico, is destined to become an annual event, as the reconstruction contributes in bringing history to life for today’s visitors. In addition, for the rest of the summer, a 20-minute theatrical show takes place between the fortification lines to evoke the daily life of the Roman legion.
Once a month, the dramatised guided tours allows visitors to rediscover the site by imagining a live television news broadcast from Alesia in 52 BC. Using an offbeat and deliberately anachronistic tone, while drawing on serious historical content, the actors take the visitors on a real journey through time, in breaking news mode!

Finally, several events give the opportunity to use the reconstructions of the fortification lines as a backdrop for shows (fire shows, circus, outdoor cinema) or the architecture of the building as a projection support (mapping) with concerts or ‘murder party’ investigations!

**A strategy of openness**

This new policy, which affirms the MuseoParc Alesia’s position as a cultural and touristic facility, is not incompatible with the fact that it is an archeological museum, bearing a mythical name, Alesia, with a national influence. Quite the contrary! It is in fact its archeological and historical legitimacy, as the site of a museum, that allows it to develop such a diverse cultural programme. By multiplying the number of cultural entry points, the MuseoParc Alesia attracts visitors to it so they take an interest in it, even though they may not spontaneously take an interest in archeology. Many inhabitants of the territory have not passed through the doors of the MuseoParc Alesia yet and everything must be done to make their discovery a natural one as local membership is essential to reach a wider audience in a second phase.
But we still have to let it be known! For this reason, the team of the MuseoParc Alesia developed a communication axis which assumes its humoristic side, because the subject of the Gauls and the Romans allows it! Quirky videos on social networks are used to promote the cultural programme, hijackings of the statue of Vercingetorix or surprising events such as “Alesia beach” make it possible to challenge people who were initially convinced that an archeological site was not for them... and to incite them into coming! Although you have to retain visitors, you also have to know how to go out and get new ones. The site still needs notoriety and doing it differently from other museums is a way to stand out and get noticed!

Nevertheless, the exuberant approach is always based on rigorous and historical mediation. The contents developed by the Museoparc Alesia are serious and based on scientific research.

A first assessment

All these steps are part of a long process, because it is a question of setting in motion a new dynamic. Nevertheless, in 2018, while the number of visitors to the MuseoParc Alesia had been decreasing each year, there was an increase of eight percent to reach the 70 000 visitors. This is a significant and encouraging sign that the assumed position of a cultural site, open to all, can find its public, even in a rural zone. Far from being an end in itself, it is above all an encouragement to continue along this path in order to make the MuseoParc Alesia a place that arouses curiosity and familiarises the public with visiting a museum. Faced with this new impetus, many cultural associations or institutions have decided to create a partnership with the MuseoParc Alesia, proof of its legitimate place in the region and more and more schools are showing their desire to build educational projects with their classes. In addition, the local press which no longer displayed a regular interest in the Museoparc Alesia’s activities, has regained an interest in understanding and in relying the new actions. However, nothing is ever acquired and it is always important to be innovative, to continue to capture the attention of potential visitors and keep the breath of history alive at this emblematic site.

Future projects/Plans for the future

Stimulated by this new impetus, three major projects will be launched in the coming years:

- a 3D application on tablets to discover the Gallo-Roman remains with three entrances:
  - immerse the visitor in the heart of the city of Alesia throughout the seasons in a reconstruction of the districts and buildings in augmented reality
  - offer interactive games for the whole family.
  - reveal the behind the scenes of archeology by explaining the process and the challenges of the digital reconstruction of the site.

- a new scenography of the permanent exhibition in preparation for the 10th anniversary of the Interpretation Centre in 2022. This new tour will talk about the battle, but also about Gallo-Roman Alesia by presenting collections which are currently in storage.

- a new valorisation of the Gallo-Roman remains which will take into account the restauration campaign, a new mediation, the accessibility of the site to all, environmental issues...
Certainly, these projects will boost the interest of the site, encourage visitors to come back, reach out to new visitors and position it as a major archeological site of national importance. Its new image as a place that is animated and open to its region is very well perceived by the population. The MuseoParc Alesia has therefore gained a certain amount of approval, which facilitates a good reception of its cultural offers. The people are proud of it and the centre is very much part of the landscape, as an actor in its development. It is evident that the impact of MuseoParc Alesia today goes far beyond a simple narration and comprehension of the siege of Alesia, and paradoxically, its larger audience brings the episode of Alesia to the forefront among a public curious about history and culture.

Translation by Birke Amarell and Maria Veyrat

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Imagine a New Country:” Museum Exhibits and Reparatory Justice”

The subject of “reparations” or restitution for the historic and continuing harm inflicted on African Americans by slavery and racism is gaining new traction in American public discourse. Several Democratic presidential candidates include reparations in their platform. What is meant by “reparations” in current discourse can be difficult to define (Friedersdorf). While discussion of reparation often fixates on financial compensation, some contemporary reparations advocates argue that money is not the central concern or at least not entirely adequate to address the harm.

If we look to the criminal justice system for some context for the discussion, reparative—or restorative—justice is a practice rooted in ancient human kin-based societies” (Weitekamp 71, Umbreit 255) The purpose of reparative justice was to “allow a society to regain its lost balance” (Weitekamp 71) after harm occurred with a focus on the victim rather than the perpetrator. In such cases, the process of restitution/reparative justice had six purposes and functions: to prevent further more serious conflicts; rehabilitate the offender; provide for the victim’s needs; restate the values of society; socialize members about the society’s values and norms; provide regulation and deterrence (Weitekamp 255). If the process is successfully completed, the harm has been repaired and society may function without further conflict.

Many advocates agree that the first step towards reparations is telling the truth about past and present injustices (Friedersdorf). In his seminal article, “The Case for Reparations,” writer Ta Naheisi Coates explains,

we must imagine a new country. Reparations—by which I mean the full acceptance of our collective biography and its consequences—is the price we must pay to see ourselves squarely. The recovering alcoholic may well have to live with his illness for the rest of his life. But at least he is not living a drunken lie. Reparations beckons us to reject the intoxication of hubris and see America as it is—the work of fallible humans (Coates).

Coates’ proposal that we acknowledge ourselves to be fallible seems like a reasonable demand. Generally we accept that no one is perfect. At the same time, seeing “ourselves squarely” can be far more difficult. Changing our understanding of the past can challenge our identities and our worldview. Changing our worldview and then the narratives and social structures that perpetuate inequality and inequity has been a gradual but fitful process in America. If we commit to understanding and acknowledging our country for what it is, we can begin to heal the divisions which plague us today.
This is where museums can play a critical role. Museums can be slow-moving creatures, but reshaping national and local narratives is where they can make significant contributions, bringing communities together to enact the purposes of restorative justice. Reevaluating and telling the stories of our past will have a long lasting impact on the current and future generations. If museum professionals look honestly at what we have done as organizations in the past, invite external review and comments, and ask underrepresented groups to tell their stories as they know them, museums will better reflect the multiplicity of perspective and experiences of the people who we want to serve.

However, museums should expect to encounter challenges as they work towards inclusion and equity in today’s social and technological climate. For example, rising nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment in America is in part an expression of a sense of loss of power for segments of the white population. As museums move away from the triumphalist vision of America, they can experience backlash from some visitors who are unsettled or resent the stories they hear about dark aspects of history.

The internet and social media are outlets for those opposed to change. For example, former plantations now operated as museums, such as the Whitney in New Orleans, Louisiana and McLeod in Charleston, South Carolina, focus their interpretation on the history and experience of enslavement. The Whitney, particularly, is widely regarded as a model for elevating the stories of the enslaved. The museum’s interpretation focuses on the history and experience of the enslaved population rather than the white owners. Visitors to the former sugar plantation learn about the grueling process of sugar production and its toll on the enslaved. A recent article in The Washington Post reported on reviews of visitors with a different perspective on both museums’ interpretation.

"Would not recommend. Tour was all about how hard it was for the slaves," wrote one reviewer of the Whitney Plantation in Louisiana. "I was depressed by the time I left and questioned why anyone would want to live in South Carolina," read one review posted to Twitter about the McLeod Plantation in Charleston. "I felt [the African American tour guide] embellished her presentation and was racist towards me as a white person," another McLeod visitor wrote. "If you're looking to visit a traditional plantation, look elsewhere," one review read (Brockell).

The reviews indicate that these visitors see the interpretation at the Whitney and McLeod Plantations as depressing and in one case, as an attack on whites. Similar feelings have been expressed at HSMC. Accusations of “political correctness” have been lobbed at HSMC staff and the museum from within and by some stakeholders in the community. While political correctness is defined as avoiding language that excludes or demeans a group, in today’s parlance, “political correctness” is frequently used in a pejorative sense. When used by those who feel intimidated or alienated by multiculturalism, the term is deployed to describe hypersensitivity and acquiescence to groups demanding special privileges. This application requires a denial of historical inequities and reluctance to relinquish privilege.

Online media give vent to the opposition, but at the same time it can be a powerful tool for change. According to Trendswatch 2019, a report published by The Center for the Future of Museums of the American Alliance of Museums, today's digital connectedness has helped bring about the “democratization of authority”(7). Those who were once excluded from public discourse are now able to make their voices heard. “Social media platforms gave voice to marginalized individuals and groups that were long excluded from traditional authority platforms. Now, Wikipedia, Reddit, countless blogs, and platforms like Twitter and Facebook provide the opportunity for anyone to voice their opinion and share their view of the world” (7). Advocates for change can effectively make themselves heard and influence public opinion through on-line channels.
As with the plantations, museums must be aware that different groups might view their collections from widely varying perspectives. As highly trusted institutions (Trendswatch 2019), the interpretations museums offer to the public matter deeply to all our constituents. Discussions of reparations have focused on addressing the harm slavery on African Americans. While in no way detracting from the trauma and injustice inflicted on African Americans, a true accounting of our past will also acknowledge other groups who have traditionally been excluded from our historical narratives: indigenous people, women, people with disabilities, and LGBTQ communities. When we widen our vision to include the many stories and perspectives of our diverse society, we are enacting reparative justice by repairing the wrongs of the past and educating many generations in the future. In doing so, museums can:

- Prevent further more serious conflicts
- Rehabilitate the offender (museum and the broader society);
- Provide for the needs of those harmed through recognition and equity in representation;
- Restate the values of equality and democracy;
- Socialize members about our values and norms;
- Tell the truth to provide regulation and deterrence that violate social norms and reduce further conflicts.

If museums enact reparative justice, they can help achieve a balance and a widely shared sense of belonging that America has never had.

**Historic St. Mary’s City museum at an Inflection Point:**

This paper focuses on Historic St. Mary’s City Commission, a State agency and its efforts to reimagine the past, recast its public narrative, and thereby enact reparative justice. The Commission, established in 1966, is a Board whose members are appointed Maryland’s Governor with a legislated mission “to preserve and protect the archaeological and historical record of Maryland’s first colonial capital and to appropriately develop and use this historic and scenic site for the education, enjoyment, and general benefit of the public.”

When the capital, St. Mary’s City, was established in 1634, the colony of Maryland, like Pennsylvania, was a proprietorship, a territory granted by a king to an individual. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore and owner of Maryland, never lived to receive the charter for his colony. His vision was carried forward by his son Cecil Calvert and the colony was settled under the leadership of his second son, Leonard Calvert.

As Catholics in England, the Calverts were members of a persecuted religious minority. In their colony, they sought to establish a system that encouraged people of different Christian faiths to live and prosper together by respecting or at least accommodating a variety of beliefs. The power and fortunes of the Calverts and their colony waxed and waned with political changes in England. By the late 17th century, Catholic worship was forbidden in England and across the Atlantic, the colony’s capital was moved from St. Mary’s City to Annapolis, approximately 70 miles northeast. Following the move of the capital, St Mary’s City disintegrated overtime. Wooden structures degraded and fell over. The brick structures were disassembled and the materials reused. All that was left of St. Mary’s City was the archaeological remains.

Since 1971, Commission staff has conducted historical archaeological research to investigate the 835 acre site “with an emphasis in the seventeenth century” as directed by its legislation. In 1984 the Commission created the museum, Historic St. Mary’s City (HSMC), to educate the public about the City though exhibits and public programs. Over the decades, the museum has grown through research and publication, events, and a living history program with interpreters in period costume on 40 acres of partially reconstructed landscape. The primary focus has been on the colonial settlers and the
very American stories of immigration, religious freedom, risk and opportunity, and ultimately success. The stories of the indigenous people and African Americans have been present on the landscape but were peripheral to the central European story.

Exterior view of MHIC

MHIC floor plan

In 2009, state funds were appropriated to design a new Visitor Center for the museum. HSMC staff completed designs for the building and exhibits in 2011, but construction funds were unavailable. Now, as funds have been included in the state’s five year building plan, it is time to revisit the designs and evaluate whether they needed updating. The current staff involved in reviewing the existing exhibit script agreed that in light of public and professional museum discourse about equity, justice, and representation, the script required change.

To begin, HSMC must adjust its organizational worldview in order to understand and represent Coates’ new country where the site’s history is told from multiple intersecting and conflicting perspectives. Museum staff must change its identity from expert to collaborator and respectfully engage with members of the community who can help the museum truthfully tell their stories. Understanding the need for change and implementing it can be a significant challenge. There had been efforts over many years at HSMC to change perspective but not in a consistent and sustained effort. Interaction
with community groups was episodic. To move forward, HSMC needs to be more intentional in its practice.

Town Center

Museum professional, Randi Korn, defines intentional practice is a whole-organization systems thinking approach to doing the work of a museum (50). At the core of the system is the intended impact the museum desires. The new Visitor Center created a perfect opportunity to focus on HSMC’s intended impact. The initial staff involved the Director of Research and Collections, Dr. Travis Parno; Manager of External Relations, Sharol Yeatman; Director of Education, Peter Friesen; and the Executive Director, this author. The group served as the selection committee for the exhibit. HSMC contracted with Howard+Revis, an exhibit design firm in Washington DC, to assist with evaluation and redesign. Consultant Kate Goldman was contracted to facilitate focus groups to give the museum feedback about its current role in the community and possible themes and ideas for the exhibit.

The process began with identifying members of a focus group of Community Partners. Participants were selected from the regional community who were already engaged in education, public history, and/or social activism on behalf of underrepresented groups. Potential members were contacted and asked to come for an in-person meeting on a Saturday morning in March 2019. Participants included members of the African American community, indigenous community, the Navy which has a large base in the area, and advocates for the aging and people with disabilities.

The first focus group meeting drew nine participants with representatives from all groups except aging. The Executive Director opened up the meeting by offering context and desired goals for the morning’s meeting and then departed. External Relations Manager, Sharol Yeatman remained in the room to observe. Goldman facilitated the discussion based on questions developed with Museum staff. They included:

- How familiar are you with Historic St. Mary’s City?
- Do you feel any connection with the history here? If so, please describe.
- What key messages do you feel need to come across?
- What stories aren’t being told that should be?
In your experience and knowledge, are there misconceptions about African-American and native populations living during the 1700s?
Are there misconceptions of the 1700s in general?
Which of these themes is most evocative to you? Which is most problematic?

Student, Field School 2019

Several weeks later, staff gathered on the phone with the exhibit designers to discuss the feedback from the focus group. The summary of responses provided by Goldman to HSMC staff and the exhibit team defined a number of problems and at the same time offered constructive advice (Goldman).

The Community Partners felt “disconnected from the museum.” The main problems included the museum’s colonialist lens, as well as its damaged relationships with stakeholders groups, relevance, honesty in narrative and its disjointed site. Goldman also explained that some anger at the museum had been expressed by participants. Some stakeholders had “actively bad memories” of past visits. Others described the museum’s “tokenism” with indigenous groups. They recommended that HSMC needs to make efforts to repair or build better relationships with local stakeholders. “Within the local experts group, it was clear community leaders wanted to tell their stories and the stories of their people to Historic St. Mary’s [City] and feel heard” (Goldman).

The Community Partners also expressed a sense of ownership over the archaeology although the museum’s interpretation had obscured or ignored important stories. To the Partners, the millions of artifacts in the museum’s collection represent their personal histories. For example, objects such as trade pipes, fire cracked rocks, and projectile points are products of the indigenous culture. Buildings, including a slave quarter, and domestic items represented the toil and family life of African Americans. Despite the damaged relationship with the museum, the Partners wanted to help guide the interpretation.

The group offered a critique and a different approach to the exhibits. As Goldman reported, “[i]dealistic narratives that center Colonialist perspectives will be seen as white-washing the history and will lead to lack of interest or trust in what Historic St. Mary’s has to say” (Goldman). They offered further insight that the “site would feel relevant to stakeholders if it focused on the interaction between the three constituent
groups in the past, and on the continuing archeology at the site. The groups highlighted three areas where they were interested in each group's perspective and how those perspectives interacted and at times, clashed" (Goldman). Stakeholders are not looking for the simple, triumphalist story. They see conflict as inherent to the narrative and identified three areas as highly relevant: economics and resources; democracy and freedom, including legal interactions and rights; the changing environment and ecosystems during colonial times through today" (Goldman). With these recommendations, the partners provided a vision for a more accurate and equitable narrative.

Visitors viewing collections

The next meeting with the Community Partners included museum staff so that they could sit face-to-face. That meeting was facilitated by Professor of Anthropology Bill Roberts of St. Mary’s College of Maryland, the museum’s neighbor and partner. Quickly it became apparent that members of the group felt comfortable enough with one another to have a candid discussion about ways that the museum could improve. Primarily this discussion focused on types of program rather than perspective or multi-voice interpretation. The Community Partners also requested a visit to the museum.

Approximately one month later staff took their Community Partners on a tour of the museum. It was a parent that the effort was appreciated and that some of the Community Partners who have not been to the museum for in a long while. There has not yet been any formal feedback on the visit, but it is anticipated that it will inform discussions moving forward.

The next step is for the exhibit designers to present exhibit concepts to the staff and community partners, including the "Big Idea," key messages, keys assets (images, artifacts), floor plan and sketches of the exhibit in order to gather feedback. Howard+Revis will use the feedback to revise the existing exhibit concepts. The group will reassemble again in November fora presentation by the exhibit team on the revised concepts. The workplan calls for the design to be completed by June 2020. The museum will continue to consult with the group throughout the process. Looking further into the
future, HSMC will develop a Master Plan to evaluate and set goals for facilities, programs, marketing, and staff and board diversity. The entire process has just begun.

**Reflection on the Process So Far:**

HSMC began consultation with the community members focused on the reevaluation of exhibits for the new Visitor Center. In light of the discussions to date, it is clear that the initial script for the Visitor Center glancingly told the story of the indigenous and African people. The script eliminated the indigenous peoples after contact and their subsequent move across the St. Mary’s River. Their removal from the exhibit narrative implied that the indigenous people were no longer part of the story at the first capital and privileged the story of the English colonists. Two important African American men of the seventeenth century were featured in the exhibit, but the stories of African Americans as a body of people in the capital were significantly underrepresented.

It has also become apparent that the organization is only at the beginning of looking at itself “squarely.” A true reckoning requires critically evaluating the museum’s overall interpretative perspective. The script will tell the story of the Atlantic World as one of contact and conflict, moving away from a more triumphalist vision. As visitors walk through the exhibit, the stories of the indigenous people, the English colonists, and Africans free, indentured, and enslaved, will be woven throughout the exhibits. The stories of each group will be balanced and told with the authority of the Community Partners. The work will be successful if together we have:

- Prevented further harm
- Rehabilitate the museum in the eyes of our community
- Provide for the needs of those harmed through recognition and equity in representation;
- Restated the values of equality and democracy;
- Socialize visitors about our shared values and norms;
- Tell the truth and reduce further conflicts.

If we are successful, everyone will benefit—particularly future generations who will begin with a true understanding of our shared past and be equipped to realize a more just society.

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The needs of building sports museum network in Japan

Background

Prince Chichibu Memorial Sports Museum is a unique museum in Japan that used to show various sports exhibits, unlike other museums which tend to specialize in a specific sport, making it the only integrated sports museum in Japan.

Our museum was named after Prince Yasuhito Chichibu (1902-1953) a symbolic sports figure in Japan. Prince Chichibu was known as the Sportsman Prince. He liked playing many sports and contributed to popularizing sports in Japan during the first half of the 20th century. Our museum opened in 1959 in the National Stadium in Tokyo, 6 years after he died. Our aim is to commemorate Prince Chichibu’s contribution to sports and to introduce historical sports artifacts. This year is the 60th anniversary of our museum. Our museum has 60,000 memorabilia — such as medals, sportswear, gear and competition equipment and documents. We have besides a sports library with a collection about 30,000 volumes of books and 90,000 volumes of periodicals.

However, in June 2014, due to the rebuilding of the decrepit National Stadium for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics, our museum’s warehousing functions have been relocated to Ayase in Adachi-ku, Tokyo about 20 km away from the stadium. Now the items in the Museum’s collection are not available for viewing.

Image.1: The temporary warehouse has been relocated away from the stadium.
According to our initial plan, our museum would have expanded and reopened in the New National Stadium. But the stadium’s architectural design was overhauled and building costs ballooned. In order to reduce the stadium’s space, only a small gallery for Prince Chichibu will be opened in the new national stadium while other items will remain in temporary warehousing. The fate of our permanent installation is still undecided.

Not having a function of exhibition, for the time present, but our functions of research and education are still alive. For example, we engaged in the “Project for Collaborate and Propagate the Sports Museums” that was subsidized by the Agency for Cultural Affairs from 2015 to 2017. In this project, we executed a survey of the sports collections in Japanese cultural facilities and held travel exhibitions in museums among 10 regions. In this travel exhibitions, we made arrangements for each site with cultural organizations of their regions and lend them our sports items about Olympic Games or relative items of their locations.

In this report, I would like to describe the situation over preservation of sports collections in Japan based on the results of this project.

**Results of the survey of sports collections in Japan**

In 2015, we sent out a questionnaire survey on the sports collections in Japan with 504 museums or facilities including museums and libraries, local governments, universities, sports societies and federations, and sports facilities. The number of replies is 301, and 233 (74% of the responding facilities) possessed sports collections.

Among 233 facilities, 167 facilities (71.7%) have collections about the National Sports Festival which is held every year and has already been held in all prefectures. 154 facilities (66.1%) have collections about Olympic Games, and 79 facilities (33.9%) have collections about Paralympic Games. Additionally, 85 facilities (36.5%) have collections about athletes who are related to that facility. However, Among 233 facilities, only 67 (28.8%) managed the sports collection by list or catalog and 139 (59.7%) have no list of sports collections.

In addition, the collections of sports collections in Japan are not collected in one place. For example, three Olympic Games were held in Japan, (Tokyo in 1964, Sapporo in 1972, and Nagano in 1998) and the tournament items are stored in museums and memorials in the host city. However, in each host city, it is stored across various places, such as municipalities, private companies, and individuals such as athletes and their families or collectors.

In regards to athletes’ equipment, they are collected at each local area because athletes have connections to different places such as hometowns, universities, club teams and training facilities for the event.

As a result of this survey, the location information of the sports collections is divided to fractions and cannot be seen at a glance. And when you investigate some historical evidence related to the certain artifacts, it is difficult to find out where it is, and it is difficult to confirm accurate information. This situation also prevents the use of the collections when planning any cultural event on Sports.

**The collaboration with museums in other regions for travel exhibitions**

We held travel exhibitions from 2015 to 2017 in 10 regions throughout Japan. The theme is to look back on the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and promote understanding of the Tokyo 2020 Games. Our museum has been collecting and displaying artifacts that were used by Japanese athletes during their debut Olympic Games since 1912. It was difficult to curate the collections given that local museums have collections of special artifacts used by local
athletes. A total of about 100 items related to the Olympians and competitions held were introduced. As an example, we report the efforts of the Tohoku History Museum in Miyagi Prefecture and the Mie Prefectural Museum.

Our museum asked the Tohoku History Museum and the Mie Prefectural Museum to check if they could borrow past or current sports equipment and medals from players who were related to the local area. In Tohoku History Museum, we were able to borrow costumes and medals from figure skater Yuzuru Hanyu and Shizuka Arakawa. In addition, the museum was able to borrow gear from active fencers, bobsledders and weightlifters in Miyagi. It seems that not only visitors to the travel exhibition, but also curators at the Tohoku History Museum have noticed that sports have taken root in Miyagi prefecture’s culture.

Image.2: Bobsledding are active in Sendai University in Miyagi and the sled was displayed.

The other collaboration was with Mie Prefecture Museum, they planned an original exhibit about torch relay in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics as a travel exhibition. In the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, the torch relay ran all over the country and torch relay runners ran across Mie prefecture, too. However, half a century after the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, local people do not know exactly where the torch relay course was in Mie prefecture in 1964 and who ran as a torch relay runner.

Then, Mie Prefecture Museum started research based on our museum’s archival documents about the torch relay such as course maps and implementation guidance in Mie prefecture. They could confirm the location of torch the relay course in Mie prefecture. And they found some photos of local streetscapes where torch relay runners ran. We introduced these documents to the travel exhibition in Mie Prefecture Museum.
We received feedback from some visitors who said it brought back memories and emotions from the 1964 Olympics. And that could benefit from learning about the 1964 Olympics and I want to enhance my knowledge about the 2020 Olympics and Paralympics.

Through the activity of the travel exhibition in cooperation with the local communities, we were able to dig up sports items related to the local area and to show that sports are rooted in the local culture. However, these actions are unsustainable due to the lack of budget and human resources.

Firstly, these actions were made possible by yearly subsidies. Therefore it has been difficult to continue since the conclusion of the subsidization program. We need to continue to discuss how to secure the budget. For this purpose, it is important to re-examine the meaning of sports artifacts. Sports artifacts tend to be regarded as “souvenirs” like athletes’ achievements and competition materials. Researchers and curators of sports history have not yet re-examined the texture and chronological nature of sports artifacts and have not been able to re-examine the meaning of artifacts in the context of time. It is important to persevere the financial authorities for the purpose of surveying sports artifacts, assigning meanings to the artifacts, and the significance of exhibiting as a result, as well as the expenses required for the maintenance.

Secondly, the lack of human resources in Japan means there are few museums specialized in sports and that there are few professional staff members, such as curators, archivists, librarians, and staff for education or restoration. For this reason, there are sports artifacts that cannot be properly stored and managed for sports collections and is still unknown to the world. Also, the history of sports and the significance and fun of sports are not well communicated to the general public through sports collections.

Image.3: Some photos of Mie prefecture streetscapes where torch relay runners ran in 1964 were displayed.
It is difficult to solve the problem of securing personnel immediately. However, as in the case of the travel exhibitions, even if it were not museums dedicated to sports, in cooperation with us, we introduced sports rooted in the region and discovered the 1964 Tokyo Torch Relay course. From this, if our museum could take a leading role in activities such as travel exhibitions, other museum’s curators can try to actively investigate and discover new items or acquire new knowledge of sporting history.

Image.4: Discussing how to preserve the Olympic Games collection.

The building of a Sports Museum Network

Japan Sports Agency carried out “Research Project for constructing Sports Digital Archives” since 2016 and our museum has been participating in it. The purpose of this project is to constructing a trial database of sports collections. Major museums, sports universities, libraries and archives in Japan which hold sports collections brought catalog information and thumbnail images together, for they can search and use the data of sports collections in cross-section. We analyzed the catalog information and thumbnail images together and found out the tendency and methods of classifications in them, and what is the minimum condition of common metadata in different formats. As a result, a trial database will be built with the catalog information of each institution and about 42,000 data and 15,000 thumbnails attached to it on the completion of this work. And for institutions that have not catalogs, we made a guideline to show procedures for document arrangement, inventory preparation and licensing. In the future, general users will enable to search for the location of sports collections across the nations, and to be able to use the sports collections’ images.

But this project will be carried out until next fiscal year and it has been undecided whether it will continue thereafter or not. We hope that our Sports Museum will take over this project and continue to develop the collaboration among institutions which have sports collections.
In conclusion

This presentation summarize into 3 points: “Necessity of collaboration with regions in preservation and management of sports collections” “Necessity of organization of sports data through constructing sports museum network” and “Necessity of the national centre functions as a node of Sports Culture.”

There recognized sports collections in Japan are scattered and their data is in state of isolation. Many sports items are not managed properly and just wait for deterioration. It is urgent to clarify what, where, and in what state it exists. And the questionnaire conducted in 2015 is a survey of the possession of sports collections, not the type or number of cases. More detailed research is needed to find new sports items. The value of sports collections is also important. Sports collections tend to be regarded as mere “memorabilia” like athletes' achievements and competition materials, and the idea of a “common property of the people” is not distributed. To find new values in sports collections in historical point of view, that is fatal important matter in sports culture. If there is a network in which museums and institutions holding sports items lend and borrow each other’s collections, they can share experiences and information with each other and improve their level. The Japanese sports museum has been operated by a small number of staff compared to many issues to be executed. Therefore, we have not fully communicated to visitors the interest of the sports collections themselves. I suppose that the Sports Museum Network works effectively in solving those problems.

Participation of ICOM-ICMAH Sports Museum Working Group

It has been confirmed that the issues of the preservation and utilization of sports collections in Japan and the development of the system to support them were discussed in the Sports Museum Working Group within ICOM-ICMAH, which was launched in 2017. We appreciate this critical consciousness and we hope participate in this working group from now. We also appreciate it if you could share the current situation of sports museum in Japan with us and provide feedback from the museums in other countries facing the same problems.
Lu Xiaohui – China
Nanjing Museum

Site Museums in the Process of Urbanization: A Context of China

Introduction

In November 1972, UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage at the seventeenth session in Paris. This Convention states that the historical sites (cultural relics or monuments), groups of buildings and sites together make up the main body of culture heritage. The “sites” are defined as the places like human engineering, the joint engineering involving both nature and human beings, or the archaeological sites that have outstanding universal values from the perspectives of history, aesthetics, ethnology or anthropology. This definition given by UNESCO is at a macro level and does not involve the specific sites. As the evidence of human beings’ activities in a particular historical stage and the research content of archaeology, these heritage sites should also be taken into consideration when thinking about the human development process. The “sites” in the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) statutes are defined as the landscapes and areas of all landforms, man-made products or products jointly made by nature and human beings, including the historical parks and gardens of great value in archaeology, history, aesthetics, anthropology or ethnography. The sites often occupy a large area and cannot be moved because of their large volume. They have spaces of a certain scale that allow people to enter. Generally, archaeological sites refer to “the non-mobile cultural carriers left by human beings and nature”. From the archaeological angle, the sites “can be subdivided into waste castle sites, palace sites, village sites, residential sites, workshop sites, temple sites, etc., and some architectural remains for economic interests at the time, such as mountain mines, stone pits, caves, warehouses, canals, wells, kilns, etc., as well as the defensive facilities such as trenches, fences, walls, border beacon towers, the Great Wall, Jin Dynasty’s Great Wall and garrison defensive”.

1. The Site Museums with Chinese Characteristic

In the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics (promulgated in November 1982, Article 2 of General Provisions clearly stipulates that, "The state shall place the following cultural relics under its protection within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China. (1) Sites of ancient culture, ancient tombs, ancient buildings, grotto temples, stone carvings and murals that are of historical, artistic or scientific values..." The ancient cultural site is listed as the first category of cultural relics in legal documents, which has fully demonstrated that China attaches great importance to the cultural relics and gives a positive response to the development trend of international cultural heritage.
From the first batch of state-level cultural heritage preservation sites that was promulgated in 1961 to the seventh batch in 2013, there had been 4,296 national cultural heritage sites. In the first and second batches, the ancient site is listed as the fifth category of the cultural relics, while in the fourth batch promulgated in 1996, the ancient site was ranked first in the six categories of cultural relics, and the number increased dramatically. These ancient sites are the main bodies and representative of China's 5,000-year splendid civilization, involving the human activities in various periods. They are large in number and variety, carrying rich historical information and cultural connotations with incomparable complexity and richness in the world. Some of them have been listed as World Cultural Heritage or as an important part of World Cultural Heritage, which has also provided a unique condition for China to take the lead in site museums’ theoretical research and construction practice.

As the first integrated protection model for cultural heritage in China, the site museum is a new concept of cultural heritage protection proposed during the working practice of the Chinese Museums of Cultural Relics. In the book of An Introduction to Museology, the site museum is considered as “a specialized museum established on ancient cultural sites for the purpose of the excavation, protection, research and display of the culture of the site.” In Shan Jixiang’s view, the site museum refers to a kind of “theme museums that mainly carry out excavation, protection, research and display based on the archaeological sites”. In 1999, the Specialized Committee for Prehistoric Site Museum of Chinese Museums Association was established in Yuyao, Zhejiang Province. It is the first academic group related to site museums in China.

In 1953, the Chinese Ape Man Museum - China’s first prehistoric site museum, was built with special funds by the Chinese Academy of Sciences. It is the first site museum in China. Xi’an Banpo Museum which was officially open to the public in 1958, is the first
prehistoric archaeological site museum built directly on the archaeological excavation site. Throughout the 1960s, this museum represented the highest level of archaeological site museum in China.

Since then, with the archaeological excavation of some large ancient sites and the strengthening of protection awareness, the number of site museums in China has increased year by year. In some cities, the archaeological site museums have become the “cultural spokesperson” and a symbol of the city’s ancient culture. With the further development of China’s urbanization, people gradually realize that the archaeological site protection is a long-term arduous task and there will be new issues and challenges in the construction practice of site museums. At the same time, people need to think more deeply and then make more prudent decision.

2. Extension of the Concept of Site Museums

According to a survey of 100 major cultural sites in the great heritage relic protection project in the period of China’s “Eleventh Five-Year Plan”, nearly 40% of the archaeological sites were not open to the public, that is, the display function is not realized. Among the exhibited archaeological sites, only about 7% of exhibition contents and display methods can basically meet the requirements for display. Aimed at these differences and problems, the research and practice of site museums have been gradually changing from a single discipline to a multidisciplinary integration, from a specialized cultural relic protection project to a cultural project that promotes urban development and improves people's livelihood. This is the result of the comprehensive development of site museums.

Xi’an Declaration adopted at the 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS in 2005, calls on all countries in the world to have a deep understanding and take effective measures to extend the scope of protection to the surrounding environment of the heritage, with all activities related to history, society, spirit, customs, economy, and culture in the
environment included. This new concept of cultural heritage protection shows that the scholars at home and abroad no longer solely focus on the protection of heritage itself. Instead, they begin to pay more attention to the overall protection of the ecological environment and human environment in the spatial region that is related to the heritage.

As the great heritage site is a concept proposed according to the characteristics of China's archaeological sites, it has the characteristics of Chinese cultural heritage protection. It is China's first model for the integrated protection of cultural heritage. Since a special fund was set up for the protection of great cultural sites in 2005, China has initially formed a new pattern of great site protection, with "four lines, six areas, and one circle" (i.e., the Great Wall, Grand Canal, Silk Road, Ancient Tea Horse Road, Xi'an district, Luoyang district, Jingzhou district, Chengdu district, Qufu district, Zhengzhou district, border areas and sea frontiers) as its core and 150 important great sites as its support.

As an important carrier of China's 5,000-year civilization history and the essence of China's cultural heritage resources, the great heritage sites collectively represent the rich connotation of China's traditional culture and the historical track of its development, which are of the irreplaceable value as a whole. The great site protection has always been the focus and difficulty of China's cultural heritage conservation, especially in some historical cities. Many historical cities in China are basically fixed in location, and there are rich cultural relics underground. As these cultural remains are continuous in time and cumulative in space, they have become the unique witness to the development of the city and served as an important symbol of the city or in the region because of its peculiarity, nonrepeatability and irreproducibility. Nanjing is known as the "ancient capital of six dynasties". During the period of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Nanjing had successively been the capital of Eastern Wu, Eastern Jin, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen Dynasties. Afterwards, Southern Tang, Ming Dynasty, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the Republic of China also selected Nanjing as the capital city. All these make Nanjing a city with rich underground cultural relics.

*Picture3: Stone sculptures of the southern Dynasties mausoleums*
Built in 514 BC, Suzhou city has more than 2,500 years of history. Though Suzhou has undergone various vicissitudes, the city site has never changed. The overall framework, the backbone water system, the location of city walls as well as the road and bridge network of Suzhou city today are still basically consistent with those in the Pingjiang Map of Song Dynasty.

In addition, other cities such as Xi ‘an, Kaifeng, Hangzhou and Guangzhou are of the same nature. Therefore, it has great strategic significance to a city’s cultural development to protect the continuity of history, record the memory of the city and preserve the valuable archaeological remains.

In October 2008, representatives, experts and scholars from the cultural relic departments of 10 historical cities and some provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government participated in the “Great Heritage Site Protection Summit Forum” in Xi ‘an. The representatives present noticed that China’s rapid development in economy and society and the speeding up of urbanization had brought unprecedented impact and challenges to the cultural heritage protection. This is mainly shown in the three aspects, the increasingly prominent contradiction with the land shortage, the conflicts with urban construction and the inconsistency with the traditional protection concepts and models.
3. China's Urbanization and Development Bottlenecks

On the surface, urbanization mainly refers to the phenomenon that large crowds of people flood into the city and cause unorderly spreading of the city, resulting in a series of tremendous pressure on urban housing, transportation and energy. However, behind these big changes, it is not difficult to understand that Chinese cities today have gradually drifted away from the traditional Chinese historical environment. On the one hand, large-scale construction caused continuous deterioration to the internal environment of archaeological sites; the external historical feature has also been seriously affected. In addition, natural and human-caused factors such as natural erosion, sudden disasters and restoration without scientific basis have caused many problems and difficulties in the protection of archaeological sites. On the other hand, the protection of archaeological sites has failed to benefit the local people for a long time. Instead, for the purpose of protection, there are also some restrictions, but no corresponding compensation policies are offered. The gap of economic income and living standards between local residents and those outside the archaeological site is increasingly widened. Consequently, the local residents lack the recognition and understanding of the archaeological site protection and often cause damages to them.

In January 2019, the incident that two archaeological staffs were beaten up at Sangshujiao, Yangzhou city, sparked a heated discussion. As a historical and cultural city, today's Yangzhou City was built in the Spring and Autumn Period. It has superposed the city-building history of 2,500 years. With a large number of valuable cultural heritages, the priority should be given to their protection in the urban development. Therefore, the Regulations on the Protection of Yangzhou Ancient City was formulated by Yangzhou government, after which the State Administration of Cultural Heritage approved the Conservation Plan for Yangzhou Site and the Conservation Plan for the Grand Canal Heritage (Yangzhou Passage). It is known that Sangshujiao is located in the scope of Yangzhou site, the national cultural heritage site. The base site of Sangshujiao large-scale buildings in the Tang and Song Dynasties is of great value to the research of the historical development of the Yangzhou City. In June 2017, An Official Reply to Sangshujiao Archaeological Excavation Project in Yangzhou City confirmed the approval by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of the archaeological excavation in Sangshujiao, Hanjiang District, Yangzhou City. At present, large-scale architectural sites from the late Tang to Southern Song Dynasty have been discovered, like the rammed earth terrace with a confirmed length of 66 meters, the tiled roads, corridors, stoves and other important relics in Tang Dynasty. A large number of high-grade building elements and celadon and white porcelain relics have been unearthed. However, this place has been listed for sale and become a commercial real estate project. It may be turned into skyscrapers and situated beside the future Archaeological Site Park of Yangzhou.

![Picture 5: The event of Sangshujiao, Yangzhou city]
When the economic development conflicts with the protection of archaeological sites, local governments often emphasize the economic development and regard it as the primary goal. Due to the restriction of the management hierarchy and authority, the administrative units of archaeological sites cannot make an effective coordination, thus making the department of cultural protection become too weak, the protective scope of archaeological sites narrow, and cultural heritages less.

4. Reconsideration of Site Museum Construction

Cities can be likened to be living beings that will change and develop. The cultural relics in different periods can serve as the surging blood to help record the historical track of city development and reflect the city features formed by constantly enriched cultural connotations. The key point of maintaining a city’s identity lies in a sound understanding of how to better preserve the cultural heritage, promote the conservation of archaeological sites, especially the constant protection of great heritage sites, as well as explore a sustainable development model for the new site museums and archaeological parks.

4.1 The Inherent Requirements of Site Museums - Orderly as a Whole

The site museum is unique in the following two aspects, (1) The location is geographically fixed. The site museum will be constructed at the discovery site and the excavation, protection and display are carried out on the spot; (2) The collection of cultural relics is special. The archaeological sites and unearthed cultural relics together make up the collection of cultural heritage. The archaeological site is the most important cultural relic in the site museum, and the exhibition hall is the storage place for this special collection. The important principle of the site museum is to let the archaeological sites speak for themselves. All the exhibitions are made for the archaeological sites.

The government and the department of cultural relics have increased the investment through the construction of site museums and site parks in order to carry out an overall protection of the archaeological sites and organize the exhibition properly. The protection and display must be based on the characteristics of the archaeological site as it is the engineering project with a comprehensive social system that involves archaeology, protection, management, display, scientific research, environmental renovation, land use, industrial adjustment, population regulation, capital investment and other fields.

At the same time, we should also be equipped with the whole idea that archaeology is the basis for protection, research and utilization. The construction of site museums is to better ensure the sustainable development of archaeology. For this reason, the archaeological work should go through all aspects of excavation, protection and display. The archaeological achievements should be published timely in an easy-to-understand manner. The interdisciplinary research should also be strengthened to obtain more archaeological information.

Therefore, the site museum is not only to protect the archaeological site, but also to preserve and manage the surrounding environments through planning and other effective measures in pursuit of the harmony between the archaeological site and the surrounding landscapes; the great site protection is more about overall conservation than scattered protection because it reveals the cultural connotation on the whole and displays the complete cultural significance; great site protection will not just stay in constructing a site museum, they will also protect the cultural ecology of the archaeological site and presents its unique charm and value in the cultural space.
4.2 Construction Process of Site Museums - Individual Consciousness

Museums are often regarded as a city’s landmark building, but the site museum is not the case. The main collection in the site museum is the site itself. “The great heritage site is not only a city, a region and a physical witness of a country’s history, but also a connection between the present and the past, forming the historical weight of a city, a region or a country. Such a connection with the development of civilization and such a historical weight make the city stand in the commanding heights of cultural city construction. Because of that, the cities with such sources are likely to nurture a unique city personality, shape people’s recognition and enhance city cohesiveness by displaying their profound history and ancient civilization, which will ultimately become the competitiveness of the city. Therefore, the site museums or site parks should ensure the intactness of archaeological sites. All facilities and landscape designs should serve for the display of the connotation and value of the archaeological site.

4.3 Ultimate Significance of Site Museum Construction - Cultural Identity

To understand and respect the local community, it is necessary to understand and respect the local people’s reliance on the land, and comprehend their destruction behaviors for the heritage due to poverty. For this reason, the government should assume its due responsibility; the social power should also become the main force of heritage protection. The government and local community are encouraged to build trust through communication and give full play to the power of social volunteers so that the cultural activities can be carried out on the basis of trust. In the process of protection and management, the final decision still rests with the local community. The professionals play a positive role without excessive interference. The whole process is
based on the trust that transcends those close social relationships established among acquaintances.

The construction of archaeological site parks should be a livelihood project. In terms of residents' relocation and the adjustment of planting species, it is necessary to give consideration to the interests of the original residents on the site and improve the living standards of local residents by promoting the surrounding tourism and other related industries caused by the construction of the site parks. The “New Countryside” model is proposed to establish a harmonious relationship between the residents and great heritage protection. For the archaeological sites located in remote areas, the great site protection should be fully integrated with the cultural construction in the local community. The site exhibition should serve for local residents so as to enhance the continuity and inheritance of the local culture. For the archaeological sites located around the city, it is necessary to give a full play to the role of foundations and volunteers of public welfare activities, or establish a long-term cooperative relationship with some schools, in order to minimize the government’s investment in the exhibition of the sites and make both ends meet.

![Picture 7 The view of city, Nanjing](image)

**Conclusion**

It has been noted that in the book *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, the last illustration (Fig. 64) quoted by Mumford is *Riverside Scenes at Qingming Festival* painted by Zhang Zeduan in the Song Dynasty. Mumford made his comments that "If life prevails, cities in the future will have that sort of attributes displayed in this traditional Chinese painting, i.e., a variety of landscapes, professions, cultural activities, and characters. All of these can form infinite combinations and variations, thus resulting in vibrant cities. This painting fully demonstrates that the most important landscapes in a city are about human activities. Human beings create urban landscapes, and urban landscapes will, in turn, foster human beings. Human beings and urban landscapes interact with each other. Such is the principle for the urban
development recognized by Mumford: people-oriented, respect for nature, cultural diversity and full of vitality. Therefore, with the rapid urbanization, our human beings should think twice and balance the relationships between the archaeological sites and the urban sprawl. In short, it will take a long journey to construct China’s site museums, protect great sites, and develop archaeological site parks, which definitely involves further exploration and extensive research.

*Picture 8 The parts of Riverside Scenes at Qingming Festival*

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In the 19th century, the new Western institution "Museum" befell Asia as an effective tool of colonization. The early museums in Asia were the institutions planted by European colonists, as one can see clearly from the brief history below. Only the one in Tokyo was made by Japanese and the one in China was made after the Japanese model. British colonial management policy was “first hospitals then museums.” To know the nature and culture of colonial lands and their people, museums were indispensable.

In 1814 in Calcutta British India, the Indian Museum, the first full-scale museum in Asia was founded. This was followed by a variety of other institutions over the next seventy years, including the Bogor Botanical Gardens in Bogor, Dutch East Indies in 1817; the Madras State Museum in Madras, British India in 1851; the Trivandrum Museum in Trivandrum, British India in 1857; the Lahore Museum in Lahore, British Pakistan in 1864; the Sarawak Museum in Sarawak, British Malaysia in 1866; the Jakarta Central Museum in Jakarta, Dutch East Indies in 1868; the Imperial Museum in Tokyo in 1872; the Colombo Museum in Colombo British Sri Lanka in 1877, and the Raffles Museum in British Singapore in 1887.

This founding of Asian museums continued into the twentieth century, with the Nantong Museum (南通師範学校附属南通博物苑畊), the first public museum in China by Zhangjian after the Japanese model in 1905 in Nantong, China; the Peshawar Archaeological Museum in Peshawar, British Pakistan in 1907; the Khajuraho Archaeological Museum in Khajuraho, British India in 1910; the Dhaka Museum in Dhaka, British Bangladesh in 1913; the Taxila Museum in Taxila, British Pakistan in 1918; the Kabul Museum in Kabul, Afghanistan in 1918; the Sanchi Museum in Sanchi, British India in 1920; the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, British Mandate of Mesopotamia in 1923; the Mohenjo-daro Museum in Mohenjo-daro, British Pakistan in 1925; and the Harappa Museum in Harappa, British Pakistan in 1926.

The beginning of museological curatorial works in Japan – 18th century Edo period

How is the history of museums in Japan? At the current stage, even in the most recent studies, the study and the description of the history of museums in Japan begin with

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76 Meiji-ki Hakubutsukan-gaku kihon-bunken-syusei 明治期博物館学基本文献集成 (Basic documents of museology: The Meiji period), ed. by Aoki Yutaka 青木豊編, Tokyo, 2012; Hakubutsukan-gaku-shi-
the Meiji period (1868-1912). And its story always starts by introducing Fukuzawa Yukichi’s books Seiyō-Jijōyō (Situation of the West, 1866-1870), which contains a heading “museum.”

However, the author argues, that the concept of the museum in Japan has its roots in the natural history of the Edo period. The maturity of natural history during the Edo period was the key to the successful reception of the “museum,” a new Western institution, during the Meiji period.

In 1709, the Edo period naturalist Kaibara Ekiken published Yamato-Honzō (Herbs of Yamato) with more than three hundred images, in which he adapted classification criterion set by the Chinese naturalist Li Shizhen in his Pen-tsao Kang-mu (Compendium of Materia Medica, 1596). In the book, Kaibara sets his principle, “inquire a lot, observe a lot to remove doubtful points.” Within this attitude, the author finds nothing but modern logical positivism.

In the 1760s, feudal lord of the Takamatsu fief Matsudaira Yoritaka not only encouraged herbalism, and by doing so rebuilt the financial condition of the fief, but also, it seems, asked his retainer painter Hiraga Gennai to create illustrated books of the flora and fauna. It resulted in thirteen volumes; Shūho-gafu, 4 vols. (Illustrated books of herbs), Shasei-gachō, 3 vols. (Sketch books of other plants and weeds), Shūkin-gafu, 2 vols. (Illustrated books of birds and waterfowls), Shūrin-zu, 4 vols. (Collected squamosa or Illustrated books of fish and aquatic animals).

Other feudal lords of the Edo period indulged in their own natural history projects too. For example, an official painter of Hizen-no-kuni Karatsu fief Hasegawa Settan created Gyorui-fu (Illustrated books of fish) in 1823.

At the Edo castle, these federal lords gathered and showed each other their illustrated books of flora and fauna. Natural history was the feudal lords’ hobby.

In the late eighteenth century, feudal lord Matsudaira Sadanobu and his retainer painter Tani Buncho undertook a cultural asset research project: Shūko-Jisshu (集古十種, Collection of ten types of antiquities) Shūko-Jisshu is an eighty-five volume (53 vols. published in 1800, 32 vols. in 1892) catalogue of 1859 cultural objects with sketches, providing information on sizes, locations and characteristic features, which consist of the ten types “Jisshu”. As Osano Shigetoshi states, the “[Shūko-Jisshu] project marked the beginning of museological curatorial works in Japan, which were certification estimations and the study of cultural objects.”77 In fact, “shū 集 means “collection” and “ko 古 means “antiquity.” Therefore, “Shūko (集古)” of Shūko-Jisshu literally means “Antiken-sammlungen (antiquity collection),” which is another term for “museum” in German. As the title straightforwardly designates, Shūko-Jisshu was nothing but a museological project.

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It is in this full maturity of Natural History that resulted in the Shūko-Jisshu project in Edo-Japan, that the author sees the key to the successful reception of the new Western institution “museum” in the 19th century Meiji-Japan.

The museum in Meiji Japan - A device to implement “the promotion of industry policy” and a device to implement and enforce “enhancing the wealth and military strength policy”

What was Meiji Japan in the world history? Japan was the first country in East Asia to create “governance through discussion,” and the first to create “capitalism” and “imperial colony.” The policies of the Meiji government were “enhancing the wealth and military strength” and “the promotion of industry”, in which national museums were a device to implement these policies by force.
Firstly, the museum in Meiji Japan was a device to implement “the promotion of industry policy.” Its brief story is described in the following timeline.78

The year 1871 saw the foundation of the Ministry of Education. In 1872, the first exhibition in Japan was held by the Museum Department of the Ministry of Education, which marked the foundation of the Tokyo National Museum. In 1877, under the “the promotion of industry policy” held by the Minister of Home Affairs, the First National Industrial Exhibition was held in Ueno, where the art museum building was constructed. In 1881, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was founded to further implement the policy and the Museum Department was transferred to this Ministry. On March 20, 1882, the Museum’s main building and zoo were inaugurated in the presence of Emperor Meiji.

**Japanese Colonial Empire and its museums-Manshū-Koku National Museum**

The museum, not only in Meiji Japan but also in Taishō and especially in Shōwa Japan, was a device to “implement and enforce the wealth and military strength policy” too. When we study the past of the archaeological horizon, because the institution “museum” was accompanied by colonial policies, we should further study the colonial museums of Imperial Japan.79

As Chino Kaori points out “museums with their exhibitions are not colorless and transparent nor neutral institutions.” Museum might be based on rights and justice, but these concepts are social conceptions. Museums are built on Zeitgeist.

In order to catch up with Western civilization, Meiji Japan imported the Western institutions and systems, and under its industrialization policy, built museums, which were rare cases in Asia where museums were built by Europeans.

And Imperial Japan “rightly” used the museum system to justify the ruling of its colonial land. This is best exemplified by the foundation of the Manshū-Koku National Museum (滿州國立博物館).

In 1932, Manshū-Koku (満州国, State of Manchuria) was built. In 1934, Dai-Manshū-Teikoku (大満州帝国, Empire of Great Manchuria) was established. At the beginning, no cultural institution, nor museum nor library, was given any consideration. However, Japanese claimed that “it should be known to the world how a new vigorous country Manshū-Koku has enough energy to deliberately and willingly spare some for cultural development.”

Thus, in 1935, the Manshū-Koku National Museum (満州國立博物館) was founded in Hōten(Fèngtiān, 奉天, today’s Shěn'yáng瀋陽). In 1939, the Manshū-Koku National Central Museum (満州國立中央博物館 新京本館) was founded in Shin-kyō (Xīnjīng, 新京, today’s Chángchūn 長春) and the former one in Hōten became a branch (奉天分館). These Manshū-

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Koku National Museums became institutions to represent the culture and enhance the prestige of Manshū.

Please note that it is not “Manchuria” which is a geographical zone, but “Manshū” which is the generic name of “Manshū-Koku (State of Manchuria)” and “Dai-Manshū-Teikoku (Empire of Great Manchuria),” which were nations with limited international recognition and which were under the de facto control of Imperial Japan. In short, they were puppet states of Imperial Japan.

According to Ohide Naoko,\(^{80}\) at the beginning when the Manshū-Koku National Museum was opened, the culture of Qing Dynasty (清朝, 1616-1912) was the main theme in its displays, which was obvious as the region where the dynasty was founded in 1616 was in Manchuria.

After 1939, the museum became a place to exhibit the results of archaeological surveys conducted by Japanese archaeologists in Manshu. As a result, artifacts of Koguryo (高句麗, first century B.C.E.-668), Balhae (渤海, 689-926) and the Liao Dynasty (遼朝, 916-1125) were exhibited to create the history of Manshū, while the Qing Dynasty or Sino elements were gradually reduced.

Historically, Balhae had a keen relationship with Japan from the Nara period onward. Japanese scholars insisted that Balhae was a Manchurian dynasty, so that history of Manshū would be united with Japanese history and separated from Chinese history. This theory offered historical reality to the Imperial Japanese policy “Japan and Manshū as one (日滿一体),” a strong alliance between the two. That is why the exhibition “the Culture of Asuka-Nara period (「飛鳥奈良文化展覧会」)” was held at the museum.

Furthermore, one Wadōkaichin coin (和同開珎), the oldest official Japanese coinage, minted in 708 at the end of the Asuka period and the beginning of the Nara period, was excavated in Manshū. This archaeological evidence proved a keen relationship between the two going back to antiquity and it was regarded as a “national treasure of both Japan and Manshū.”

The Liao dynasty, which destroyed the Balhae, had great importance as well. Because its center was in Manchuria and it did not expand beyond the Great Wall (長城) toward the south, the Liao dynasty was the key to create the history of Manshū separated from that of China.

All of this was very much convenient to the suzerain, Imperial Japan. Historical science displayed in museums served the empire very well. Japan really understood and assimilated this Western concept of the museum well. Imperial Japan “rightly” used the museum system to justify the ruling of its colonial land.

**The Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011**

We should behold the present state of the archaeological horizon. On 11 March 2011, northeastern Japan was hit by an earthquake of magnitude 9.1, or IX (violent) on the Modified-Mercalli intensity scale, which caused many tsunamis with maximum heights of 40.1-43.3 meters. Because of this Great East Japan Earthquake, more than 24, 590 people lost their lives. Its epicenter was located off the coast of Miyagi prefecture in the Tohoku region of Japan where the author lives and where he works at Tohoku University and, thus, where he personally suffered from its effects. The author writes this article not only as a specialist but also as a survivor, who is still suffering from the effects of the disaster.

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\(^{80}\) Ohide Naoko, Manshū-koku” Hakubutsukan Jigyō no Kenkyū (Study of “Manshū-koku” Museum Project), Tokyo, 2014.
A preview of the lesson learned from this huge earthquake is that preparedness is all that matters. One can do only what is already prepared, at the most. It is imperative to bear in mind that humanity is always living in a momentary “Inter-disaster period”. Disasters shall hit sooner or later, so one should be prepared.

**Japan as a Forerunner of Finding Answers - Radioactive contaminated cultural properties**

Japan is a “forerunner of finding answers for unique set of emerging issues”, like environmental problems, declining birth rates, depopulation, population ageing, and energy supply problems that few other countries have ever faced.

And Japan is also a “forerunner of finding answers” for the natural disaster like “the Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami” and the man-made disaster like “tsunami hit Fukushima nuclear power plants”. Please learn from Japan's failures as well as achievements. Japan is willing to share them with the world.

The Fukushima nuclear power plants were hit by a tsunami, which caused the entire power supply to be lost leading to an explosion. As a result, Japan faced numerous serious issues, one of which was radioactive contaminated cultural properties.

Some of the practical lessons that have been learned from dealing with these materials are as follow:

- Because radioactive iodine in the air has a half-life of 8 days, one should never approach the contaminated zone for at least 8 days, preferably 3 half-lives (=24 days).
- Because radioactive cesium is in the soil, one should study and analyze the current of the air, rain and geographical features of the land. Mapping the contamination status and official announcements of the status by the government are also needed.
- Walls of storage buildings should be thicker than 20 cm. Air-conditioners should be stopped so that radioactive contaminated air cannot enter the rooms.
- Geiger-Mueller counters are needed in the field. If cultural properties are found with more than 1,300 cpm, they should not be touched but rather left behind.
- Workers in the contaminated areas should be male, who are over 50 years of age and who have low potential for procreation. A worker must monitor radiation exposure every hour and be careful of the total amount of exposure.

Reports of the management of radioactive contaminated cultural properties were not made public by the Soviet Union after the Chernobyl incident. However, after the Fukushima incident, a report detailing the handling of radioactive contaminated cultural properties was published in an ICOM Museum International journal. Japan is willing to share with the world not just her achievements but also her failures.

**Record and Memory: Internet Disaster Archives**

Some disaster archives have been created on the internet as disaster education materials, such as; "Great East Japan Earthquake Archive HINAGIKU" by the Japanese National Diet Library (http://kn.ndl.go.jp/#/) and "Michinoku Shinrokuden: Great East Japan Earthquake Archive" by Tohoku University (http://shinrokuden.irides.tohoku.ac.jp).

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“Earthquake disaster heritage” and “Archaeological excavation for rebuilding”

However, nothing is superior to the real thing. “Earthquake disaster heritage” (震災遺産) is a new concept that arose in Fukushima prefecture. Historical assets are formed by objects and their locations that were created by the earthquake. They are protected and utilized effectively. On that fateful day, when the tsunamis hit, two police officers in their patrol car guiding people away from the waves were killed. Their patrol car is now preserved as "earthquake disaster heritage."

“Earthquake disaster monument preservation project” was advanced by Fukushima prefectural museum and an exhibition on this subject was held at Fukushima University in September 2015.

At Tomioka town in Fukushima prefecture, the “Earthquake disaster heritage preservation ordinance” (震災遺産保全条例), in which it is clearly stated that heritage that narrates the East Japan Great Earthquake and Fukushima nuclear power plant incident should be preserved, was circulated from April 1st 2017.

After the Great East Japan Earthquake, settlements in the coastal areas hit by the tsunami were transferred inland to elevated land. Prior to the construction of the new houses, administrative excavations “archaeological excavations for rebuilding” (復興発掘調査) were conducted by some 400 archaeologists dispatched from municipalities and foundations nationwide. Because excavations compulsorily required a delay in the construction of the houses, at the beginning, there were some negative reactions to the excavations from the people and building contractors. But by the efforts of the concerned parties, this issue was resolved and the excavations produced significant archaeological results. For example from Fukushima prefecture, some important Jyomo period sites were found in Azuma-cho, Minami-Soma city, and Sakurada IV site in Hirono-cho yielded evidence that the site probably was a staging post during the 8th century Nara period.

Disaster monuments as “ungewollte Denkmäler”

Disaster monuments are essentially physical objects in situ with locational information that records events that have taken place.

This is why disaster monuments in situ are of great value. Because they are real estate with locational information, which have been moved by the unimaginable power of tsunamis You have to see them to believe they really happened.
Some claim that the monuments should be demolished because they are constant reminders of the disaster to the sufferers with cruel memories. Nevertheless, the concern for the happiness of future generations should outweigh the concern for the reduction of unhappiness of the present generation. For the safety and happiness of future generations, disaster monuments should be preserved in situ by all means.

As is well known, A. Riegl in his essay “Der moderne Denkmalkultus” (1903) defines “A monument” as “in its oldest and most original sense [is] a human creation, erected for a specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations.” Additionally, he states that there are “intentional monument (gewollte Denkmal)” and “unintentional monuments (ungewollte Denkmal).”

The latter monuments are the ones not erected with the purpose of commemorating any specific event or person but still they have irreplaceable value for modern and future generations. With this concept of the “unintentional monuments”, Riegl expanded the definition of a monument to incorporate every artefact without regards to its original significance and purpose. Because the term “Denk-mal” means “stigma, evidence (das Mal)” as grounds to “think (denken)”, it is rather these unintentional monuments that are important as primary sources of learning from which we avoid unwelcomed events and we build a better future.

Disaster monuments fall under this concept “unintentional monuments”. Disaster monuments and related museums of the 2011 Great East Japan Earthquake are sources and markers that cause consideration about the future. Especially the archaeological disaster monuments with locational information are of high value, such as Sendai city Arahama municipal elementary school (reopened as a disaster monument in May 2017)

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and Tarou Kanko Hotel (reopened in April 2016) (fig.4) in Miyako city in Iwate prefecture.

Fig.3. Disaster monument “Arahama municipal elementary school”, Sendai city, Miyagi prefecture. Photo: author.

**Intergenerational-Ethics**

As Riegl writes that monuments are important under the condition that they are “alive in the minds of future generations”, the importance of future generations outweighs that of the present generation.

Museums are time-institutions from the past to the future. Therefore Intergenerational-Ethics should be the principle of museums.

When we talk about ethics and morals, usually it refers to the matters and affairs among us, or that of the members of the present generation. However, it is the future generations that should be the primary standard of value. In everything we do now, we should greatly consider its impact on the future generations. The future generations should matter more than the present generation. Therefore, Intergenerational Ethics should be the fundamental concept of all. Of course, this is why we build archives, libraries and museums, to preserve historical documents and material.

Would we be a defect of democracy? It is a fact that not-yet-born future generations cannot vote today. When sovereignty resides in the people, a fundamental principle of democracy, then the idea that sovereignty resides in the people of the future should be a principle all the more. We preserve cultural heritage, because it is the future people that own the present, consisting of assets from the past. The author believes that this is the very spirit of “Sustainability”.

**Not “revolutionary creativity” but “visional generativity” - Museums as hubs between generations**

We pursue “Creativity” and we are encouraged to be “Revolutionary”. These are the concepts of seeking achievements where success within one generation is the main concern. One claims titles and rights (and money) but feels indifferent towards the consequences of new inventions in the future.
With “Sustainability” and “Resilience” in mind, I believe that we should be “Visionary” and pursue “Generativity”. These are concepts where Intergenerational Ethics are of concern. One does not claim rights, but thinks of future generations and feels responsible for the consequences of what one does now.

Museums should embody, not “revolutional creativity” but “visional generativity”. Museums are time-institutions to fulfill Intergenerational Ethics, i.e. moral obligations to future generations. Museums are hubs between generations; past, present and future.

Fig.4. Disaster monument “Tarou Kanko Hotel”, Miyako city, Iwate prefecture. Preservation work client: Miyako city. Preservation work done by Tanseisha Co., Ltd. Photo: ©/PR45.
Xuejing Dai – China
Shandong Museum

The Ethical Issues Related to Archaeological Heritage from the Perspective of the Repatriation Process of a Shandong Bodhisattva Statue

Foreword
Since 1960s, in the context of pluralistic society, in order to overcome the value conflicts and the traditional ethical crisis, Jürgen Habermas proposed the theory of discourse ethics, illustrating the ethical principles guiding human communication, bringing more justice to society and more freedom to economics by honest and just communication83 (Hong Bo 2007:30). Guided by the theory of discourse ethics, a case study of the restitution of the Bodhisattva Statue with a cicada in the crown of Northern Wei Dynasties (hereafter the abbreviation ‘Shandong statue’ will be applied) enlightens the restitution of archaeological heritage to its source country for the international world.

The ethical issues of archaeological heritage restitution

The concept of archaeological heritage or similar concept has appeared subsequently in international recommendations and conventions, such as the Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavation1956, European Convention on the Protection of the Archeological Heritage1969 and Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage1990. Under the framework of these international conventions, Chinese scholars in 2014 define archaeological heritage as the material heritage passed on by ancestors and inherited by a defined group of people, which is a crucial component of cultural heritage, the core content being archaeological sites and relics. For the better protection and management of archaeological heritage, uncovering its value, we can define ‘archaeological heritage’ as the material cultural heritage passed on by the ancestors and inherited by a specific group of people, including archaeological sites and relics; and the primary information is provided by archaeological methods such as archaeological excavation, archaeological inspection and happenstance findings.

The value of archaeological heritage is the overall representation of the existence of heritage. Archaeological heritage is the cream of human wisdom and symbol of human history development, with dual values (Li Xiaodong, 2006:103.), namely the tangible and intangible value. Archaeological heritage is an inextricable component of its original context. It is the material carrier of the nationality inheritance, and the material media of national identity. As for its ownership, there are three popular viewpoints in the international society, just as Karen (Karen D. Vitelli, 2006, p3-4) noted: (1) ‘everyone owns the past,’ since the past is the common heritage of all; it is ‘humanity’s past;’ (2) ‘some specific groups own the past,’ since that group speaks for or represents the important values that are at stake in the debate over cultural properties; and (3) ‘No one owns the past,’ since the past is not really the sort of thing that can be possessed. These answers are a reflection of competing philosophical understandings about the ownership of ‘cultural heritage,’ understood here in the widest sense to include both physical remains of the past and the ‘perceptions of the past itself.’ The first viewpoint is a universal idea, also known as the cultural internationalism, which is advocated by 1954 Hague Convention, stating that the protection and appreciation of cultural heritage is of significant importance to all human beings, no matter where it is located, or which culture it belongs to. The second viewpoint is the cultural nationalism, which is advocated by the 1970 UNESCO Convention, that is, cultural property is one part of the national cultural heritage; it is the material carrier of the national identity of a state or a community; it is a representation of the value recognition of a specific group of people, such as the indigenous people, archaeologists, collectors, museums and states. The third viewpoint treats the archaeological heritage as ownerless object, blurring the possessor and manager of archaeological heritage, thus negating the duty and obligation of the protection and management of archaeological heritage, which is the same problem as the first viewpoint. Archaeological heritage is one component part of the national cultural heritage. China sticks to the archaeological heritage nationalism, the State, local governments and the administrative departments are the agencies authorized by the

state to manage and protect archaeological heritage. As is regulated in the Law of the People’s Republic of China on the Protection of Cultural Relics, all cultural relics remaining underground or in the inland waters or territorial seas within the boundaries of the Peoples Republic of China are owned by the State. Ever since the 16th century, a great number of invaluable archaeological heritage created by ancient civilization, was detached from its people and culture by un-just, unethical means of violence, lost abroad, tearing up the natural nationality of archaeological heritage. Therefore, confronted with the common ethical issues, a shared spirit to reach the common kindness of all stakeholders should be developed. The ethical issues of restitution of archaeological heritage can be defined as ‘the principles and rules by which all stakeholders should abide, including the excavator, collector, looter, antiquity trader, populace both in the source country and destination country.’

The ethical sides of archaeological heritage restitution

The concept of ethicality is developed in the process of human communication since the birth of human beings. Ethics is moral beliefs and rules about right and wrong. Habermas’ discourse ethics applies the framework of a pragmatic theory. It is a set of practical moral norms based on mutual understanding and recognition. Discourse ethics is the elemental living way of pluralistic culture to have a dialogue and compete for growth; it is the rational choice of human beings to have an equal dialogue and fusion. (Chen Xuxin, 2013:125.) Habermas’ discourse ethics provides two guiding principles for the international society. The first principle is the principle of universalization (U), for discourses about moral norms: ‘a norm is valid when the foreseeable consequences and side effects of its general observance for the interests and value orientations of each individual could be jointly accepted by all concerned without coercion’. The second principle is the discourse principle (D): ‘only those action norms are valid to which all possibly affected persons could agree as participants in rational discourse’. U principle regulates the universal duty and obligation of participants in the discourse, who should abide by the just principle. It is the basis of discourse ethics. D principle can be put as, the code of practice and standards that people could bear and value should represent the wills of all members of the society, and could be accepted and abided by voluntarily instead of forcedly. Therefore, all subjects possess the discourse power and have the right to express their own will, interests and requests in the discourse. (Tang Haiyan, 2008:48.) Appropriate application of these two principles, adequately expresses the will of archaeological heritage restitution related stakeholders, and finally protects and utilizes human common archaeological heritage.

Archaeological heritage is bounded up with its excavation context, leaving its context and source country, consequently, the passion and cultural context where it was brought up was rudely trodden. Archaeological heritage is a public social resource, a kind of non-reproductive cultural property. The inheritance and realization of its value would need the efforts of all walks of life as well as the international society. Therefore, abiding to the principle of being responsible to history, the people and all humankind, a steady fight against looting, trafficking, and smuggling of archaeological heritage is in urgent need worldwide.

The ‘Shandong statue’ is excavated in the 1970s in Shandong, stolen in the 1990s and turned up in the antiquity market in UK, and finally bought and collected by MIHO Museum in Japan legally. With the efforts of all parties, this statue finally was donated.

back to Shandong province in 2008, coming into the collection of Shandong Museum, thus creating the record of successful restitution of archaeological heritage lost abroad by discourse\textsuperscript{90} (State Cultural Heritage Bureau of People’s Republic of China, 2008:3). It is named in accordance with the cicada design in its crown, which is very rare in the world, because there is only two such statues excavated in Shandong up to now\textsuperscript{91} (Xiao Guitian, 2010). This typical case highlights the ethical issues\textsuperscript{92} (Barbara Fultner, Zhao Chao, 2016:162) that human community has to confront, that is: a shared spirit, the problem lies in how we should understand ourselves as part of the common human community, how we should guide our way of living, or what would be the best for us in the long-term and from universal perspective. As the material carrier of human civilization, archaeological heritage is urgently demanding a shared spirit to reach the highest goodness, while reaching best condition of value inheritance and realization in its source context. This case is a successful trial to reach the win-win goal to both parties who initiated the dialogue mechanism and Habermas’ discourse ethics to settle a common issue.

\textbf{Fig. 2} Discourse between Mr. You Shaoping, the representative of China, and Ms. Hiroko Koyama, the representative of Miho Museum, Japan on Dec. 14th, 2007.

Courtesy Mr. You Shaoping, former deputy director of Shandong provincial cultural heritage Bureau


The case study of the restitution of Shandong statue: an analysis of the stakeholders’ ethical duty

After drug dealing, money laundering, and arms trading, antiquity and art trafficking is the fourth illegal pursuit in the world. The enormous economic interests boosts a chain of illicit trading, including looters, traffickers, antiquity thefts, smugglers, antiquity dealers, collectors, who profit from antiquity trade. For example, Peruvian artifacts became almost overnight one of the hottest items in the international antiquities trade. In the early 1990s, Moche pottery in Peru became highly desirable in the global antiquities market, and small-time collecting turned into a substantial looting industry 93(Roger Atwood 2006: 34). Although there is rigid antiquities law in Peru, due to the lack of law enforcement, especially when people of privilege break the law, it is even harder to enforce the law. This is a common phenomenon around the world. While in the 1990s’ China, driven by huge economic interests, looting of tombs and historical sites occurred frequently in China, and the preservation and security of museum collections are in poor condition, as a result, a great number of museum collections were missing. In March 1976, the community member of Zhangguan community, Boxing county, Shandong province, found a batch of Buddha statues of Northern Dynasties buried underground while fetching mud for house-building94 (Chang Xuzheng & Li Shaonan 1983:38.). Because of the poor cultural relics protection sense of the local civilians, most of the statues were dispersed among the peasants who were present at the spot 95(Wang Jiaming, 1993.).With the propagation of the museum professional Mr. Li Shaonan who works with the Boxing County Cultural Relics Administration Bureau (hereafter referred to as BCCRAB), a set of 73 pieces were recollected. It took Mr. Li three years to recollect the three fragments of the statue from three peasants’ residences96. (Li guangying, 2005:257.) After the restoration, it is preserved in BCCRAB. However, on July 4th, 1994, the Bodhisattva in Boxing was stolen and smuggled into the antiquity dealer in London, and one year later, it was bought and collected by MIHO Museum in Japan. After a friendly discourse between the two parties of China and Japan, it was donated back to China in 2008. The stakeholders involved in this case are more than two parties, but in essence it is the legal and ethical possessor of this statue, MIHO Museum or BCCRAB (or Shandong Museum). The discourse ethics provides a ethical route for solving these problems from the following four perspectives.

Firstly, the establishment of international dialogue discourse system creates the platform of dialogue and mutual understanding

The restitution of archaeological heritage is related to the collectors, antiquity dealers, governments in the source country or destination country, in some cases, it will involve more than two countries. If its provenance is not double-checked, there is a probability that a set of law and ethical issues would turn up in the near future, such as the claim for restitution by the source country. For the protection of archaeological heritage, and the


94 Chang Xuzheng & Li Shaonan.1983. “A Batch of Northern Dynasties’ Buddha Statues were Unearthed in Boxing County, Shandong Province”. Cultural Relics (7)38-46.


protection of human cultural property away from war, a series of international and domestic conventions were issued ever since WWII, such as the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, also known as 1954 Hague Convention, 1956 Recommendation for International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on the Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, and etc. These international conventions and recommendations develop an ethical environment of archaeological heritage restitution, establish an international dialogue discourse system, and create an intermingle visual scene of equal dialogue among pluralistic cultural traditions and values\(^7\) (Chen Xuxin 2013:125). Each participant of the dialogue on the one hand adhere to the tradition of its representative culture and values, on the other hand, commit to reaching the necessary consensus and sharing human civilization in a positive manner by equal dialogue and admitting the diversity of human civilizations. Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage1990 regulates that for the effective heritage management, it is the duty of each individual country to protect antiquity trade from encouraging trafficking by legislation.

The State Council of People’s Republic of China has been joining the international conventions with active posture, and committed to the protection of common archaeological heritage of all humanity, joining the 1970 Convention in 1989, and the 1995 Convention in 1997, signing bilateral agreement or memorandum of understanding with 20 countries such as Peru, USA, Italy and etc., preventing theft, looting or illicit trafficking of antiquities. Therefore, the Chinese archaeological heritage illicitly lost abroad has been retrieved through international cooperation.

For example, in order to suppress the antiquity smuggling, illicit trading, looting of sites of ancient culture and ancient tomb since the 1980s, the State of Council of China issued the Notice to Combat Looting and Smuggling of Antiquities in May 26, 1987. The number of ancient tombs being looted between 1988 and 1990 was enormous. Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics is amended in accordance with Decision of The Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress regarding the revision of article 30 and 31 and the supplementary provisions of the Criminal Law. These international conventions and national laws and regulations provide the legal protection for archaeological heritage, and establish the platform for dialogue and mutual understanding.

Secondly, adhering to professional ethical codes develops consensus hypothesis.

After theft, there is no news about the Shandong statue. Not until Dec.1999, the visit from an international friend and an anonymous letter unveils its whereabouts, which provides important clues for the Chinese government and opens an opportunity to initiate an equal dialogue. The consensus hypothesis advocated by Chinese government, that is, ‘a good idea needs consensus, and this consensus must develop from rational discussion’, is reached between China and Japan. With enough evidence collected by Chinese government, a discourse was proposed by China, and on the other hand, Japan party accepted this discourse with open and honest attitude. After rounds of talk, the two parties came to the agreement that the provenance of this statue belongs to Shandong China, which is credited to the full and timely publication of the archaeological records and the adherence to the professional codes of ethics of museum keepers.

Archaeologists are the stewards of archaeological heritage, and are responsible for the full and timely publication of archaeological records. Mr. Li Shaonan, the founder and conservator of the statue, published the excavation report on the authoritative Chinese archaeological magazine Cultural Relics(Wen Wu), which reports exactly when and where this statue was excavated, thus provides proof of the source country and provenance of this statue. Another proof comes from the photo published in Shandong Pictorial Magazine in 1993. According to international museum collection registration, the collection registration of BCCRAB makes the following records, the provenance line reads ‘Excavated from Zhangguan Village, Shandong, China in May, 1976’, and the remarks line says that ‘It was stolen at the night of July 4th, 1994’. All these proofs were provided by China to Japan. Being provided with these evidences, Japan had no doubt about the provenance of this statue. Therefore, the agreement of restitution is reached, and formal dialogue phase is initiated.

Thirdly, developing individual virtues bolsters ethical discourse

Men of virtue make up a group of people with virtue, and a group of people with virtue make up a society of virtue. The virtue ethics provides solution for ethical discourse. The virtue and the good professional codes of the representative of the Japan party are the priority conditions for the restitution of the statue. It cultivates a friendly international atmosphere and responsible international society by developing the virtue ethics of the news media and international friends. A man of virtue is a man who can act with an ethical motive, because it is the steady temperament that constructs virtues, and this temperament always promotes us to do the right thing easily, firmly and happily (Barbara Fultner 2016:132.).

MIHO museum is a private museum founded by a religious organization named Shinji Shumeikai. The founder of the museum, Mihoko Koyama, establishes the museum with the vision of promoting beauty, peace and joy through art, and all her personal collections are exhibited in the newly built museum. Mihoko Koyama is the Chairperson of Shinji Shumeikai, and her daughter Hiroko koyama is the current Chairperson. The Japan party knows clearly that even though they were the good faith buyer, according to the 1995 Convention, the good faith possessor has the duty to retrieve the stolen archaeological heritage once they know that it is a stolen object. Returning the stolen antiquity is the ethical principle of the international society. Hiroko koyama actively and progressively negotiated with China, adhering to the museum collection ethics issued by ICOM, and refused to collect stolen antiquities. The director of MIHO museum, Mr. Noriyoshi horiuchi expressed that: the MIHO museum is confidently sure that art plays an extremely important role in creating a more inclusive and peaceful world. We are willing to donate this statue to the People’s Republic of China.

At the same time, the news media in both China and Japan made the positive coverage thanks to their upright conduct. The news report in New York Times on April 20, 2000 was reprinted in the world news media including those in Japan, more than one expert and scholar wrote papers or delivered speeches, calling for strengthening protection of ancient works of art and urging the two parties to negotiate for the resolution of the ownership of this statue. As a result, MIHO museum was forced to tackle this tough issue and actively negotiate with China. After the signing of the restitution agreement, the two parties held a news conference in MIHO museum, inviting more than 30 news media to attend. The issue of New York Times on April 18th, 2001 published an article titled as Japan agreed to return a stolen Chinese Buddhist Statue to China, which made coverage of the successful resolution of the provenance of this stolen antiquity by China and Japan. Kyoto News, Beijing Youth Daily and many other news media reported this issue.

positively and instantly, praising Japan for returning this Bodhisattva statue to China for free and China made the complimentary compensation to Japan.

This is a win-win resolution to both parties, which maintains the good image of MIHO museum as a world-class museum, and shows the determination and confidence of China to retrieve all the antiquities lost abroad. On the one hand, it retrieves the invaluable archaeological heritage lost abroad; on the other hand, it attracts more visitors both at home and abroad.

The restitution of Shandong Bodhisattva statue is a moral dialogue, it is a universal rule which related to the concerns and respects for human beings, and influences and controls the pursuit for kindness. We believe, in the restitution cases of archaeological heritage, as long as each party cares for people, respects people and pursuits for kindness, abiding to one universal regulation, the uttermost ‘kindness’ of archaeological heritage can be reached. In 2012, this statue was selected as the star object of story charm by the public. Its circulation story manifests its ethical meanings to modern society, and the practical charm of Habermas’ discourse ethics.

Fig. 3 Signing agreement between the representatives of China and Japan on April 16th 2001. (From left to right in the front line is Mr. You Shaoping, the Deputy Director of Shandong Cultural Heritage Bureau and Ms Hiroko koyama, the Chairperson of Shinji Shumeikai)

Courtesy Mr. You Shaoping, former deputy director of Shandong provincial cultural heritage Bureau

Fourthly, focusing on three dimensions initiates ethical discourse.
The ethical discourse between the two parties initiates a dialogue discourse centring on three core dimensions: each affected individual can accept the possible influence to an
individual or a group, and accepts it only after listening to each individual’s reasoning\(^99\) (Chen Xuxin 2013:127).

In the case of this statue, the agreement reached by two parties or collective identity is a necessity for the open argument about the regulations. In August, 2000, at the first official meeting between the State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China and MIHO Museum, Ms. Hiroko koyama said frankly: ‘To be honest, we bought this statue just because I think it is a very beautiful work of art, completely ignorant of its stolen history. Only after reading the article in New York Times did I realize that this statue was stolen from a Museum in Boxing, Shandong, China. This is not a good thing for a newly-built museum, and we have no idea how to tackle this problem. We are good faith buyer.’\(^100\) (Wang Limei 2008:144-145)

Mr. Noriyoshi horiuchi is an antiquity dealer buying and collecting works of art for MIHO Museum. He bought this statue from Eskenazi, a dealer of ancient art in London. Once he heard the news that this statue was a lost national treasure of China, He is working progressively for the restitution of this statue. The two representatives of MIHO museum come to a consensus with the Chinese representative, and finally the two parties signed the agreement on 18, April, 2001. As is agreed by both parties, MIHO Museum will donate this statue to Shandong Museum, and the ownership of this statue belongs to Shandong Province on the signing date of this Memorandum.

The collective identity of certain points is a necessity for them to accept the regulation. The 1995 convention is the minimal legal rules on the restitution and return of cultural objects in the international world. This statue is a stolen object and could apply to the 1995 convention. The state administration of cultural heritage of China stands firmly to the ground that as long as there is definite evidence to prove it is a stolen or illegally exported Chinese cultural object, the restitution claims will be made by the government according to international laws and conventions.

The 1995 UNIDRIOT convention states in its Article 3 (1), which enshrines the principle that the possessor of a cultural object that has been stolen must return it whatever the circumstance is. Therefore, in the discourse process, State Administration of Cultural Heritage of China sticks to the rules and concedes to their ethical duties, adopting the flexible international cooperative methods, that is, ‘retain ownership and agree to the limited rental’. Under the conditions for agreement, their acceptance for regulations can be regarded as rational. In order to compensate for the huge amount of money spent on buying this statue by Japan partner, as stated in Article 4 (1), the possibility of compensation for the buyer who can prove that he acted ‘with due diligence’, Chinese party agreed to a ten-year-free-loan exhibition and after the official return of this statue, it will be exhibited in MIHO Museum six month every five years for free.

In the end, abiding by the U principle and D principle, the two parties guarantees the equality of rights and opportunities through discourse.

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Conclusion

The restitution process of this Shandong statue is a manifestation of nationalism; repatriation is the conscientious conduct performed by the Japan party. The agreement is reached conscientiously by both parties. With the progress of the restitution discourse, Japan became more and more willing to reach the agreement. MIHO Museum is a newly built world-class private museum; they eagerly wish their present status in the world would be recognized as legal and rational. The equal and friendly discourse between the two parties tackles the ethical dilemma puzzled the Japan party. Through efficient dialogue, a set of universal ethical principles were reached, creating a classic case of archaeological heritage restitution.

There is no guiding principle applicable everywhere to the restitution ethics of archaeological heritage, only by an ambiguous moral logic and frank and just dialogue in the pluralistic society, a universal consensus will be reached, and a platform for solving the social ethical dispute will be built. Then starting from the concrete restitution cases, and utilizing the successful experience, developing virtue ethics, the common human development will be reached.
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For Yunnan Provincial Museum, the most important collections are bronze wares of the Dian Culture dated back to around 200 BC to 100 AD, which is found around the Dianchi Lake of Yunnan Province of southwest China in 1955. It also was the most important archaeology excavation in China in that year. Since the unique presenting way, putting different figures on kinds of scenes, the bronze wares of the Dian gives researchers a different methodology comparing with traditional archaeology method to explore the meaning of them implied deeply. Regrettably, since the first excavation at Shizhaishan in 1955, although many papers and books about Dian bronze culture have been published to announce its quite important standing in the world bronze cultures, none of them are talking about female status and their cultural heritage. This paper will focus on peace-making marriage policy that between the Han Dynasty and the local Dian tribe analyzed from the aspects of costume, bronze mirrors and the contemporary situations both in the Han and the Dian.

Until recently, more then 4500 items have been found from 86 tombs at ShizhaishanJinning\textsuperscript{101}. Comparing with the contemporary Han Dynasty, the Dian culture of Shizhaishan is relatively uncultured and stays in the stage of pre-literary period. However, considering the three elements writing, city and bronze, the Dian culture presented by Shizhaishan is already standing at the entrance of what is so called civilization. Comparing and contrasting, bronze buckles and bronze containers of the Dian are the particular items if considering the bronze cultures as a whole.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{tomb_site.png}
\caption{The tomb site of Shizhaishan, Jinning, Kunming, China. Photo taken: Ning SHEN}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{101} Li Kunsheng. 2016. Works Collection of Li Kunsheng (the second roll), the People’s Publishing House of Yunnan, P35.
Recognized the female from several aspects

For the style of the bronze buckles excavated at Shizhaishan, similar art style can be seen from the items that has been found from the nomadic cultures of the European steppe, which might be transferred by these nomadic groups from distant Greek or Hellenistic age. Meanwhile, these buckles present local creativity fused by indigenous culture as well. Among all the buckles, there is one which is quite different with others. That is M6:13, a gilded bronze knight buckle(Figure 2).

![Figure 2: ShiM6:13, Gilded Bronze Knight Buckle, collected in Yunnan Provincial Museum. Photo taken: Ning SHEN.](image)

In the excavation report, no recognition of male or female is mentioned. It is only called “Knight”. Keeping it under observation, the figure has a small chignon just behind the head, very different with the quite popular chignon of the Dian female that is bundled up like a silver ingot placed behind the neck (Figure 3) but essentially the same with the one (Figure 4) of the Han female that found in the Han tombs of Changsha, China. Considering the costume of the figure of this buckle, viewing from the front, the dress is very long reaching the feet, packing the body with bevel sides and tied up by a belt. Further, the sleeves are wide. This kind of dress is called “Shen Yi” that is very fashionable in the Han Dynasty, handed down from the Warring States period\(^{102}\). We can find several same examples (Figure 4) at Mawangdui Han tombs of Changsha.

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Figure 3: The chignon and costume of Dian female. Picture from: Feng Hanji, 1981, Study on the Ethnic Groups of Jinning Shizhaishan, Papers Collection of Bronze Wares Study in Yunnan, Cultural Relics Publishing House, P20, Figure2.1. (in Chinese)

Figure 4: Female figure on silk, the Warring States Period, collected at Hunan Provincial Museum. Photo taken: Ning SHEN
As culture and tradition, even the way of thinking have been always melt into the daily life, a nation’s identity will be presented in the knowledge of specific details and elements of people’s lives. Costume therefore maintains a nation’s living environment, geographic feature and intellectual thinking. In the matter of the Han costume, one of the most necessary conditions for uniform dress is the mature establishment of the central government and corresponding national consciousness. Hence, it bears very distinct political and cultural characteristics, which are peace of mind, calm of heart and restriction of body, that were tracing by the Han people. In addition, this kind of long line design of the dress likes soft flowing water. The beauty of the image is reflecting the tradition and charm of the Han culture. From these appearances, the figure of the M6:13 of Shizhaishan is quite different with the local Dian female no matter considering about the chignon or the costume but very similar with the ones of Han women of the Han Dynasty.

Other information from the buckle could provide a clue also, that is the gesture of this female riding on the horse. By comparing with another buckle with similar style and gesture found in the M13 of Shizhaishan, M13:274, the round buckle on the front waist of the figure is a mark of male of the Dian\textsuperscript{103}, although gender of the figure has not been mentioned neither in the excavation report. His gesture is riding on the horse with spreading legs apart on each side of the horse back. However, the gesture of the M6:13 is riding on one side of the horse back and keeping her legs both on one side. Further, her horse is relatively small then the one of the M13:274. Obviously, this kind of small horse is not privileged in wars. Hence, riding on this small horse is not for fighting but for entertaining. Women on one side horse riding were quite popular around the 19 century in Europe. But back to more than 2000 years before, no figure of women’s riding has been discovered in items of the Dian culture. For the different scenes showed on the Dian bronze wares, usually, they walk by their feet or sit on a palanagog(Jianyu, 肩舆) for upper class female. But to Han people, the female participated in battles is recorded since the Shang Dynasty in the historical document Puci. Women like Fu Hao had attended wars and become outstanding female at that time. Although till middle and later periods of the Western Zhou Dynasty few records about female knights, the records of women took part in battles had also appeared until the Qin and Han Dynasties, such as the event about the two thousand women saving Liu Bang, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty. For this history, the female of the Han especially with high class might have the tradition for riding. Meanwhile, for being restricted by ritual or legitimism on women,

they might can only ride on one side. This also embodied the bondage on women. Hence, as only one piece of this kind of figure has been found in the Dian Bronze culture, further it is gilded, this sculpture might be a very important character in the contemporary society and might be a girl from the Han Dynasty by analyzing from the upper explanations.

**Chinese characters on mirrors**

If the figure presented by M6:13 is from the Han Dynasty, why she is in the Dian tombs, furthermore in the tomb 6 of a Dian King, which is quite far away from her hometown, the Central Plains at that time. Other evidence could be found to prove this argument mentioned above.

There are 14 pieces of bronze mirrors in total had been excavated at Shizhaishan till the latest digging. Three pieces in M1 and one is with Chinese characters “畜思君王，心思不忘”，which means thinking about the king and don’t forget the thoughts. During the second excavation, the other six pieces had been found in M3, M10, M20, M6 and M7 respectively. Three of them are casted with Chinese characters. All of them are taking the meanings like “don’t forget”, “lovesickness” and “keeping clearness”, these kinds of entrustment. As well-known, this kind of mirrors had been very fashionable during the Han Dynasty and was a symbol of the Han, mainly found in tombs in Henan province and Changsha of China ect. Bronze mirrors should also be daily used items especially for the rich and the authority. And topics on the mirrors are usually about “longevity”, “wealth and rank”, “high position” and “removing ill fortune”, to put peoples’ wishes. Comparatively the mirrors found at Shizhaishan are embodying information about missing and thinking. Of course, putting this kind of characters on these daily-used mirrors might be a kind of “decorations”, but be a reminding for everyday to the users as well might be more important. These clues show missing and restricting to or from a distant way, meanwhile meeting the ideological criterions from the distant Han culture. Therefore, Chinese characters on the bronze mirrors excavated in M6 imply a kind of instructions from a distant place that only the Han Dynasty matching this style. Also, finding this kind of mirrors in the big Dian tombs usually with other bronze, gold, silver, jade treasures that implies the more or less connections between the Han and the Dian upper position people no matter the reasons are because of fighting, economy or politics.

According to the different research of scholars, Chinese characters on mirrors start from the end of the Warring States Period or the beginning of the Western Han Dynasty. Based on archaeological material studying, a processing rule can be discovered: decorations like grass-blade stars from the very beginning of the Western Han Dynasty; afterwards Chinese characters as “decoration” on mirrors had been raised; until the middle of the Western Han, characters as ”decoration” was in a period of great prosperity and usually arranged around the center of mirrors; characters became more and more and extended to the outer ring of the mirror in order to accommodate more spaces by the end of the Western Han and the early stage of the Eastern Han dynasties. If putting the mirrors excavated at Shizhaishan in order, the before and after transferring can also be presented and suit the stage of tombs recorded by the excavation report. Overall, the time of the mirror found in tomb 6, based on its character, should be relatively during the middle and late period of the Han Dynasty and most probably should come from the central China, assuming the communication between cultures.

**Analyze the contemporary situations**

In addition, to consider the contemporary situations of the Han Dynasty and the Dian culture macroscopically will be a strong backing to put the historical clues in their context. When saying “Han”, it is already about a certain territory and certain culture

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104 Deng Lin, 2017, Study on Mirrors with Chinese Characters of the Han Dynasty, PHD paper of Shanghai University, P26.
that has built its own position in the contemporary world. “Han people”, “Han nation”, “Han soldier”, “Han costume” etc. are all come from this strong foundation.

Nevertheless, the area of the Dian culture, Shizhaishan on narrow sense, is not included in the Han territory at the beginning of the Han Dynasty until the great Emperor Wu of the Western Han. Before the Han, during the time when the First Emperor Qin opened the “Five-chi Road”, his sphere of influence only reach the north and northwest of today’s Yunnan. Although in 310 BC, the Dan and Li tribes acknowledged allegiance to Qin Emperor, still not reached the place of the Dian. Furthermore, the governing to these places from the central Plains had been suspended for some times after the decline of the Qin Dynasty. Up to 121 BC, the Dian King asked: which one is bigger, me or Han; when the Han diplomatist came to the place of the Dian, it could be seen that they hadn’t met or known each other before. On the other side, the Dian should be a quite big tribe at that time and be the most matured local culture among these tribes in the southwest area of today’s China. Even nowadays, the abundant and rich resource can be recognized in Yunnan province. In addition, the geographical conditions and locations, the arrogant of the Dian at that time could be excused. Hence, it might be very strange and confused when reading the records about the Dian’s surrender without any resistance in 109 BC in the historical document, Shiji.

Back to the beginning of the Han Dynasty, the path is not easy. In 201 BC, the first emperor Han Gaozu had been besieged by Xiongnu at the Baideng Mountain for 7 days. Later, this dilemma was solved because he promised to give a girl from the imperial household to Xiongnu and made a political deal finally. Thus, it initiated a kind of political and diplomatic means that was called “peace-making marriage” afterwards to exchange harmony for a short time between two different authorities. Since the Han Dynasty was quite weak at the very beginning, this method did work well and gave chance to the Han to recover its strength. By the time of Emperor Wu, several battles such as the battle of Monan in 124 BC, the battle of Hexi in 121 BC and the battle of Mobei in 119 BC, the main strength of Xiongnu had been consumed deeply. But the expending of battles was obvious. Under this situation, the other political method, peace-making marriage, of the Han had been effecting very well. Princess Xijun married to the King of the tribe Wusun in 105 BC, Princess Jieyou married to the King of Wusun in 101 BC, the famous Wang Zhaojun married to Khan of Xiongnu in 33 BC. When fighting with Xiongnu, there were several strengths from different tribes around the Central Plains, and peace-making marriage had become a very efficient way to buffer these strengths and gain precious time for the Han Dynasty.

Considering the situation of the Dian at the same time, with diverse natural environment and complex terrain; more than ten times revolutions by the ethnic groups in Yunnan throughout the time of the Han Dynasty; the seal of the Dian King awarded in 109 BC that was the later period of the Han Dynasty to against Xiongnu successively; manpower and material resources might be exhausted abundantly on the side of the Han; under these kinds of situations and balances, if the Han Dynasty wanted to conquer the area of the Dian in a short period might not be quite easy and might consume more and more lives and resources especially just after the battles with Xiongnu. By weighing benefits and disadvantages on both sides, the Dian tribe could also be a power to force the Han Dynasty. Hence, the most cheap and most effective way, a wise choice to bring the Dian area into the territory of the Han Dynasty and get the final triumph should be peace-

108 Ma Yao, 1982, Brief History of Yunnan, the People’s Publishing House of Yunnan, P41.
making marriage to solve the problem from the Dian tribe. This also can be used to explain the records of Shi Ji why the Dian tribe surrendered without any fight even under such situations. And also explains why such a Han female presented in the tomb of Dian King. Further, the policies of the Han Dynasty must be surprised and admired to take shape of such a formation.

**Peace-making marriage and female position**

Higher or equal position of female has been relatively rare in man’s history and has been very remarkable if really occurred. Since the beginning of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns in very ancient China, a royal girl had been married to a dog who killed the leader of the enemy as a reward. Afterwards, peace-making marriage had been started formally from the Han Dynasty in order to calm down difficulties and disadvantages between the central authority and the threatens around. Actually similar strategy had been applied before the time of the Qin. During the Spring and Autumn Warring States period, the Chu State had used peace-making marriage to exchange twenty years peace from the Qin State. It can be seen that peace-making marriage has been a strategy with origin. Even to the Tang Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty, peace-making marriage had been used throughout the whole ancient history of China. As the princesses’ marriages mentioned, the peace-making marriage between the Han dynasty and the Dian tribe might also be employed in this case to solve the contemporizing disadvantages. Comparing the local power of Xiongnu, Wusun and Dian, the girl dispatched by the Han Dynasty to the Dian might not be a really royal girl probably and might not be so important because without any historical records, however, she also achieved the surrender of the Dian tribe without any resistance.

According the historical records, the Han consciousness during that time looked down upon these local tribes around it and called them Yi (夷), an appellation of barbarians, which also drew a line between crudeness and refinement. Hence, thinking about the contemporary situations as a whole, no formal historical records have been found about the peace-making marriage between the Han and the Dian is obviously reasonable. Moreover, this unique buckle in the Dian tombs could be explained and presented her most important position in the heart of the Dian King.

Generally overlooking, from the start of man’s history, female’s historical influence and their participating functioned enormously and played a most important role as well. But no matter in history or in archaeology, male’s thoughts and views have occupied the center of the whole ideology world consistently. For example, when people think about and try to explain rock paintings, the main roles are considered as male and no attendance of female, but no evidence of female’s absence. History is the history though man’s eyes and angles, constructing our history eventually, such as weapons belong to man and ornaments belong to women. These kinds of prejudice have been leading and judging the whole research era of the archaeology more or less. But ethnography research reminds us don’t neglect that 75%-100% food-gathering had been done by female and female also took part in hunting especially small animals which were the main food resource. Fortunately, the impact of feminism on archaeology makes people realized that women do exist and their existence has certain social value and significance. In this paper, the female for peace-making marriage is absolutely cherished for their devotion for the society and the history.

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Epilogue

The peace-making marriage problem had been discussed with Mr. Yi Xuezhong, my mentor, an admired scholar with brilliant achievement devoted and hammered at the Dian Bronze Culture study. He mentioned that the Chinese characters “畜思君王，心思不忘” on the bronze mirror of the M1 of Shizhaishan should manifest a missing feeling of a woman from far away. Afterwards, this paper is accomplished inspired by this M6:13 gilded buckle.

Although the peace-making marriage had not been recorded in the official historical records by the past Han people and there were no characters and documents of Dian discovered till nowadays, reasonable inference might be understood since the past is a foreign country. We were not there and we could not know what had been exactly going though. Luckily, their stories behind the historical documents could be reflected by cultural heritage itself excavated and handed down. From the mentioned above, the M6:13 gilded buckle popped up from the others; including the analyzing in characters on mirrors and the contemporary situations at several different sides; this female presented by the M6:13 of Shizhaishan should play a key role in the relationship between the Han and the Dian cultures although nothing had been recorded. Peace-making marriage policy should be an excellent choice for Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty to soften the ethnic problem in the area of the Dian and to put his plan in reality gradually in harmony, finally push the local Dian strength into surrender without wars. The mysterious disappearance of the Dian had been putted on the agenda of Emperor Wu and was no wonder anymore.

Princess Xijun had said that my family (country) married me far far away, to a Wusun King in an unknown territory......homesickness to my land even broken my heart, wish to be a bird flying back to my homeland. It reveals the sad role of a peace-making marriage woman who is both important but being waved as dust. Their efforts and sacrifices should be remembered and memorized. Since the beginning of archeology, female problem, position and their devotion have been seldom concerned. However, no mention doesn't mean no existence. Hopefully, female questions might be put on the table from now on and get more attention in the future research.

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