

# STUDY OF EMERGENCY PROTECTION OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN CONFLICT- AFFECTED COUNTRIES IN ASIA

PROJECT  
REPORT

FY2017-2020



INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH CENTRE FOR INTANGIBLE CULTURAL  
HERITAGE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION (IRCI)

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## PREFACE

Conflicts and wars have destroyed tangible cultural heritages as exemplified by the Bamiyan Buddha Statues. Further, they have had huge negative impacts on intangible cultural heritage (ICH), which directly connects social and cultural structures, relationships, and identities of local people. ICH plays important roles as a source of resilience and recovery, providing a sense of solidarity in communities.

The International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI) launched the "Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia" project in 2017, in consideration of UNESCO's focus on post-conflict and post-disaster situations as described in its Medium-term Strategy for 2014-2021. The purpose of this project is to investigate the current situation of ICH in conflict-affected countries and regions such as Afghanistan, Timor-Leste, Northern Sri Lanka and Marawi City (Philippines), with an aim of discovering effective measures for safeguarding ICH.

However, these conflict-affected countries still experience political instability and social unrest, and even worse, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which began in early 2020, has become a further obstacle in conducting research in collaboration with experts and government officials in those countries. Therefore, this report is a summary report and presentation of the desk surveys and pilot field researches conducted wherever and whenever possible over years, in spite of these situations. Although further research and consideration will be required, I hope that the report will increase public awareness of ICH studies to recognize and safeguard ICH in conflict-affected countries.

Lastly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Ministry of Culture and Information (Afghanistan), Ministry of Higher Education Science and Culture (Timor-Leste), National Crafts Council (Sri Lanka), National Commission for Culture and the Arts (Philippines), Bamiyan University (Afghanistan), University of Jaffna (Sri Lanka), UNESCO Kabul office and those who have supported this project continuously, under such difficult conditions. This project would not have been possible without the unstinting support of many individuals and organizations, especially that of *Donation to the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage* (NICH). Thank you for your generous cooperation and contribution, and your continued support in forthcoming IRCI projects.

March 2021

IWAMOTO Wataru

Director-General

International Research Centre for Intangible  
Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI)

# I PROJECT OVERVIEW

**OHNUKI Misako**

*Deputy Director-General, International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI)*

## **Project background**

The plan for this research study was approved by the 5th IRCI Governing Board in 2016 and transitioned to the project phase with implementation planned for approximately three years from the latter half of 2017. This Activity Focus was devised in consideration of UNESCO's concern on post-conflict and post-disaster (PCPD) situations, as described in its Medium-Term Strategy 2014-2021 (37C/4), and also reflects growing national and international interests in heritage management in the context of disasters. The emphasis on PCPD situations has been further strengthened in the latest Programme and Budget (39C/5 and Draft 40C/5), with a cross-cutting ER 5 stating 'Culture protected and cultural pluralism promoted in emergencies through better preparedness and response'. Under the item 'intangible cultural heritage in emergencies' at the 12th session of the Intergovernmental Committee of the 2003 Convention in 2017, UNESCO reported that UNESCO had conducted a small-scale study on the role and function of ICH of displaced Syrian, and also commented on the necessity of conducting a study of community-based needs in North Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of first beginning small-scale studies at the community level in areas of prolonged conflict. In September 2020, 'Operational principles for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in emergencies' were adopted by the 8th General Assembly of the 2003 Convention.

Against this backdrop, IRCI has planned two projects: one focusing on natural disasters, and the other related to post-conflict. This report contains the outcomes of the latter project.

## **Selection of target countries**

The following six regions located in four countries (Afghanistan, Timor-Leste, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines) were selected for this project in post-conflict countries. A short-term study was conducted in the Philippines, due to the request of the Philippine government officials during the final year.

Afghanistan: Balkh Province, Bamiyan Province

Timor-Leste: Manufahi Municipality, Cova Lima Municipality

Sri Lanka: Jaffna District

Philippines: Marawi City, Mindanao

IRCI has continued to conduct small-scale projects on post-conflict countries and had done so even prior to launching this project. The first study was conducted in 2013 in Timor-Leste upon request of the UNESCO Office in Jakarta. A study tour was held inviting administrative officials involved in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. The goal was to gain an understanding of

conditions in Timor-Leste and build relationships with concerned parties. The second study was conducted for three years beginning in 2013 in Sri Lanka upon request of the UNESCO Office in Delhi. In this study, researchers worked with the Office to conduct a study on craft techniques primarily in the northern and north-eastern regions of Sri Lanka, and to build relationships with government officials in Sri Lanka. Studies in target countries would be conducted in extremely chaotic conditions (i.e., post-conflict conditions) and would require the presence of local and trustworthy partner organisations. A decision was therefore made to include whether trust relationships had already been established during past projects as criteria for selecting target countries, with a focus on the existing IRCI network. Afghanistan was selected on an experimental basis as the country remains in conflict. Studies would be conducted mostly off-site. In March 2017, IRCI prepared by participating in an ICOMOS workshop on the topic of reconstruction<sup>1</sup>. IRCI then met and conducted interviews with several key people and organisations to gather required information, including the Ambassador of Afghanistan to Japan in August, the Afghanistan Ministry of Information and Culture<sup>2</sup> and the UNESCO Office in Kabul<sup>3</sup> (during the Bamiyan Buddha statues reconstruction conference)<sup>4</sup> in September, Mr. Tomoaki Fujii<sup>5</sup> (Professor Emeritus, National Museum of Ethnology) in October, and Mr. Svanibor Pettan (Professor, University of Ljubljana)<sup>6</sup> and Mr. Cherif Khaznadar<sup>7</sup> (Director, Centre Français du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel) in November.

### Project implementation and issues in the three target countries

IRCI did not expect to discuss individual policies for Afghanistan, northern Sri Lanka, and Timor-Leste. However, as interviews on local conditions and discussions on identifying ICH elements continued, IRCI realised that post-conflict regions are under special conditions and that communities have complicated external and internal factors and continue to change. IRCI would need to build trust relationships and conduct studies to gather information, and therefore needed to plan and conduct studies in a way that suited these conditions. Towards this end, IRCI met to discuss individual schedules and study methodologies for each target country so that IRCI could obtain the expected results.

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1 The author participated in the ICOMOS University Forum Workshop on Authenticity and Reconstruction (Paris, 13-15 March 2017), and shared case studies with researchers from Syria and Turkey.

2 Mr. Noor Agha Noori, Director of Institute of Archaeology, Ministry of Information and Culture, Afghanistan

3 On December 21, 2017, IRCI received a letter of willing consent from Ms. Patricia McPhillips, Director and Representative, UNESCO Office in Afghanistan, indicating her support for our study.

4 The Future of the Bamiyan Buddha Statues: Technical Considerations & Potential Effects on Authenticity and Outstanding Universal Value (Tokyo, 27-29 September 2017.)

5 Mr. Fujii has conducted 20 studies on ethnic music in Afghanistan, beginning with a local study conducted in 1964.

6 Svanibor Pettan, Vice-President, International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), visited Japan as a keynote speaker during the 'Negotiating Intangible Cultural Heritage' symposium co-organized by IRCI and the National Museum of Ethnology from November 29 to December 1.

7 Former President, Maison des Cultures du Monde

## (1) Afghanistan

As a counterpart to the Afghanistan Ministry of Information and Culture, IRCI requested support from researchers in Afghanistan and the UNESCO Office in Kabul on several topics (how to identify intangible cultural heritage in conflict-affected conditions, which regions could be studied, and how best to negotiate with communities IRCI would study) and continued to cooperate with at the governmental level. IRCI also determined that we would need to continue to conduct desk studies on the impact of administrative edicts from the 1970s onward to shed light on conditions using pre-conflict data and interviews with regard to whether intangible cultural heritage had become extinct or was still being practised.

As a member of the ICOMOS Intangible Cultural Heritage Subcommittee, the author participated in a colloquium and forum held by ICOMOS in 2016 and 2017 on the topic of reconstruction<sup>8</sup>, was involved in case studies on the importance of providing immediate protection of intangible cultural heritage, and exchanged opinions with researchers from Syria and other locations. Based on the results of these activities, guidelines were drafted<sup>9</sup> Widespread recognition of intangible cultural heritage has yet to become established in Afghanistan, so government officials and experts were invited to Japan to discuss methodologies for desk and small-scale survey and to identify regions that could be studied. IRCI then identified and agreed upon subsequent needs.

Studies would be conducted in two regions: Bamiyan Province and Balkh Province.

Bamiyan Province: Female ceremonies and rituals

Balkh Province: Traditional craft techniques

Identifying ICH in emergency situations would be prioritised as a study element. Negotiations with communities in the regions to study would be conducted repeatedly by local concerned parties.

As for the actual content of the IRCI project, AIA and the UNESCO Office in Kabul conducted advance coordination based on local needs, while IRCI accelerated efforts to identify ICHs at risk of extinction. The UNESCO Office in Kabul then identified general ICHs in four provinces to perform objective differentiation. However, due to political instability following the presidential election in 2019, conducting an actual field study became extremely difficult as we shifted to areas around Kabul and Bamiyan. This report was therefore created based on desk surveys and small-scale field research.

Introducing Japanese case studies was an effective means of stimulating discussion on the future safeguarding of ICH. Nikko City (Japan) where exists the World Heritage “ Shrine and Temples of Nikko” was selected as a site for conducting a single-day field visit as it is a good opportunity to learn the ICH in a community with the World Heritage Site and in how a community has formed around these. During the study, we interviewed an intangible cultural heritage (Yayoi Festival) preservation society in Nikko City (on topics such as how festivals are conducted and recorded,

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8 ICOMOS Post-Trauma Reconstruction Colloquium (Paris, 4 March 2016)

9 It was drafted with researchers of Kanazawa University while the author was acting as a Visiting Professor of the University in 2019.

and on risks facing the continuation of festivals following World War II), conducted an observation of the world heritage site, and engaged in discussion with the local community.

## (2) Timor-Leste

IRCI met with the government officials engaged in cultural heritage safeguarding to identify and agreed to conduct two studies.

IRCI was reported by the government officials of Timor-Leste that UNESCO had held a workshop on the topic of inventory making in Cova Lima Municipality following the ratification of the 2003 Convention by Timor-Leste in 2016. This resulted in the creation of a provisional inventory of five intangible cultural heritages. The head of the government officials requested further identification of elements due to the numerous intangible heritages in this region. The section leader responsible for culture in Manufahi Municipality participated in a programme conducted by IRCI and the UNESCO Office in Jakarta for three years beginning in 2012, under recommendation of the Timor-Leste government. The head of the government officials reported that, as a result of these activities, the section leader had applied their knowledge and skill in recording and identifying intangible cultural heritages in Timor-Leste and had already identified five elements and made video records of them.<sup>10</sup>

Studies would be conducted in two regions: Cova Lima Municipality and Manufahi Municipality.

Cova Lima Municipality: Ceremonies and rituals

Manufahi Municipality: Intangible cultural heritage on the verge of extinction (specifically, ceremonies and rituals)

The most pressing issue for Timor-Leste is a lack of human resources. Taking future development of national law into consideration suggests that it would be effective to discuss and propose policies on criteria and methodologies for identification. Both hard and soft support will be required over the long-term, such as establishing museums and research institutions. In Timor-Leste, there are no universities with cultural anthropology departments or any other departments involved in the topic of intangible cultural heritage. Although there are government-sponsored foreign students studying in universities in Cuba and Brazil, there are no students conducting research in related departments. There is little study data from overseas researchers, and there is a need to create a centralised database for use in gathering study data and in storing and using data on recorded intangible cultural heritages. Training experts who can handle all of this will be a pressing issue.

The study report on Manufahi Municipality had been partially completed, but the victory of the opposition party in the 2019 election halted progress. Administrative officials who had cooperated with IRCI were transferred, while the conclusion of an MoU was delayed. These factors and more have had a serious impact on the study. Finally, the outbreak of COVID-19 during the first half of 2020 has made it difficult for experts to be dispatched and for the people of Timor-Leste to travel between municipalities. IRCI, therefore, asked Ms. Susan McIntyre-Tamwoy, who

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<sup>10</sup> It was revealed that these video records were made by applying knowledge and skills gained during a community-led documentation project conducted by IRCI in 2013. Local administrative officials from Manufahi Municipality had participated in past IRCI projects and gained expertise in ICH definitions and conventions.

has abundant experience in conducting studies in the region, for her assistance in Cova Lima Municipality, and requested a study by the government officials.

(3) Northern region of Sri Lanka

A study on craft techniques focusing on the northern and north-eastern regions of Sri Lanka was conducted in 2014 by the National Crafts Council, IRCI, and the UNESCO Office in Delhi. The goal of this study was to work with the University of Jaffna to determine the current state of rituals in the region due to the close connection between these techniques and post-conflict traditional ceremonies and rituals in the region.

For more details, we recommend referring to the reports for each region.

**REFERENCE: LIST OF WORKSHOP AND MEETING**

**FY2017**

- Afghanistan: Preparatory Workshop on the Preliminary Research for the Project 'Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia' (Tokyo and Nikko, Japan, 7-9 March 2018)
- Sri Lanka: Preparatory Workshop on the Preliminary Research for the Project 'Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia' (Tokyo and Tochigi, Japan, 13-15 March 2018)

**FY2018**

- Timor-Leste: Workshop on the Preliminary Research for the Project 'Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia' (Tokyo, Japan, 5-6 April 2018)
- Sri Lanka: Workshop on the Research on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries (Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka) (Tokyo, Japan, 26-27 June 2018)
- Afghanistan: Workshop for the Preparation of 1<sup>st</sup>-Round Survey on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Afghanistan (Tokyo, Japan, 4-6 September 2018)
- Afghanistan and Timor-Leste: Meeting for Study of Emergency Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (Tsuruoka and Tokyo, Japan, 8-11 December 2018)
- Sri Lanka: Working Group Session for Research on Intangible Cultural Heritage in Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka (5-8 March 2019, Kyoto, Japan)

**FY2019**

- Afghanistan: Working Group Session for Study of Emergency Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (Tokyo, Japan, 31 July -3 August 2019)
- Afghanistan: Discussion on the Study of Emergency Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Afghanistan (Kyoto, Japan, 24-25 December 2019)
- Afghanistan: Working Group Session for Study of Emergency Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia: Bamiyan, Afghanistan (Tokyo, Japan, 10-13 March 2020)

## II REPORT OF AFGHANISTAN

### 1. BAMIIYAN

#### A Detailed Study Report of ICH of Bamiyan Province, through Field Research: Case study Charda Pal and Pishpo

Laeiq Ahmadi

*Former Head of the Archeology and Ethnology Department, Bamiyan University*

**Bamiyan Research Team**

#### Introduction:

Laeiq Ahmadi presented the findings of his library research titled “A Short Review of Intangible Cultural Heritages in Danger of Disappearing in Bamiyan Province Through Library Research, Case Studies of Charda Pal, Pishpo and Dambura under the Project of “IRCI Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia” at IRCI’s workshop, which was held from July 31<sup>st</sup> - August 3<sup>rd</sup> 2019 in Tokyo Japan to share the small scale of research outcomes. The guidelines for the research was developed in cooperation with Misako Ohnuki of IRCI and Afghanistan team of experts in 2019. Enclosed with the research report were some video footages, which were exemplifying the performances of the two elements of ICH, Charda Pal and Pishpo in Bamiyan province. After further discussion on the follow-up activities, it was decided to embark on documenting the actual performances of the two above mentioned ICH in Bamiyan; Charda Pal and Pishpo. It is because socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts matter when it comes to understanding any ICH element. The videos that were presented at the 2019 Tokyo meeting, were merely a demonstration of Pishpo and Charda Pal, performed by some students of the archeology department of Bamiyan University. The students had performed after listening to the instructions of local and senior people. [ The students were not actual performers]. Due to this shortcoming, some of IRCI’s research questions and hypotheses were remained unresolved due to difficulties of the conditions in the regions. Thereafter, a decision was made to send a team of researchers from Bamiyan University to the field in order to conduct interviews and document their observations in video, images and texts formats.

In light of this, the Bamiyan University’s research team led by Laeiq Ahmadi and a group of students from the Department of Archeology kicked-off their field survey and research activities (A Summary report of our activities was sent to IRCI already). In our current report, we have tried to present the findings of our field research in the lights of questions in the above-mentioned guidelines. The findings are based on the narration of local owners of ICH. It presents a preview of the historical evolution of Charda Pal and Pishpo in the three-time periods of pre-war, during the war and post-war through our analytical lenses.

At the onset, I acknowledge and thank the kind cooperation and coordination of the residents of Baqir Abad village of Panjab district, Khaja Bedag village of Yakawland district and Yeraq valley of Shibar district. Likewise, we are truly thankful to Mr. Taqi Elkhani, Khaliq Dad Khaliqyar, Ms. Hosnia Safdari, and Mr. Ali Hussain Asadi. In fact, we owe our potential success to their kind cooperation.

### **General overview**

Perhaps the mountainous structure of Afghanistan and the lack of connectivity among ethnic groups in the country have historically led to the preservation of vivid cultural boundaries among them. The preservation of such boundaries, however, has led each ethnic group to maintain the uniqueness of its beautiful culture. Hence, a beautiful cultural diversity can be vividly seen, if one travel to all eastern, westerns, southern and northern Afghanistan. Bamiyan, which is in the heart of these mountains, and the central highlands of Afghanistan has also retained its cultural distinctiveness.

Moreover, each of these main cultures encompasses a diverse number of sub-cultures. Meanwhile, all of them have remained intact, producing a variety of local languages, poetries, literature, art, music, dance, local architecture and other forms of cultural elements. The presence of such diversity, now, confirms that past knowledge and skills have been well transferred from one generation to another over many centuries. All these cultural elements are valuable assets that could contribute to the reconstruction process of Afghanistan and to the establishment of sustainable national, regional and global peace. In Contemporary Afghanistan, ICH in forms of knowledge, skills and tradition, as defined by UNESCO, could lay the foundation for a national, regional and global dialogue towards sustainable peace.

The four decades of war in Afghanistan has been undoubtedly devastating. The devastation has not only been material and physical ones, but also immaterial ones. They have left deep wounds on our culture, history and civilization. For instance, the consecutive wars led to the displacement of 6 million Afghans across the globe. Among them, more than two million people immigrated to Iran, of which the majority were from the central highland of Afghanistan called *Hazarajat*. Post-2001 prepared the opportunity for repatriation of these immigrants from Iran to Bamiyan and many other parts of Afghanistan. Their return with new cultural stocks was a cultural shock for the locals. This injected profound cultural changes to the intact cultural stocks of the locals, which is observable now.

Along this line, Afghanistan's tangible and intangible cultural heritage has suffered unimaginable damage from vicious wars, ignorance, and insurgency. These cultural heritages are still subject to serious destruction and neglect. It is because, there are neither the resources needed to maintain and document them, nor the expertise to take serious measures towards their preservation, and against their neglects. Throughout Afghanistan, and especially in Bamiyan province, most of the oral and folk traditions such as ceremonies, celebrations, knowledge of traditional horoscope, traditional food, medicine, games, entertainment, storytelling, as well as be traditional beliefs are on the verge of disappearance and oblivion. Stating that, it should be noted that there are still some elderly people left in all parts of Bamiyan district who are knowledgeable and experienced about all the aspects, principles and procedures of these ICH elements. Therefore, the firsthand sources are still there. It would be a painful scar on our conscious if we do not act and document them now. Otherwise, these remaining people would soon die and take all their precious possessions of knowledge and experience of ICH with

themselves to their graves. Thus, nothing will be left for the generations to come, except for their regrets.

As we pursued the subject by our research initiative and documentation task, we found out that the performances of the above-mentioned ICH are increasingly viewed as having little importance for the younger generation. The new generation knows little or nothing about their intangible cultural heritages. The lives of older generations, who have great mastery over these ICH are approaching to end. We at the Department of Archeology have been trying to concentrate the focus of our students' research and graduation thesis on ICH for three consecutive years. In alignment with our endeavour, we highly appreciate IRCI's interest in the subject.

Overall, we conducted our field researches on Charda Pal and Pishpo with the following hypothesis, research questions and goals:

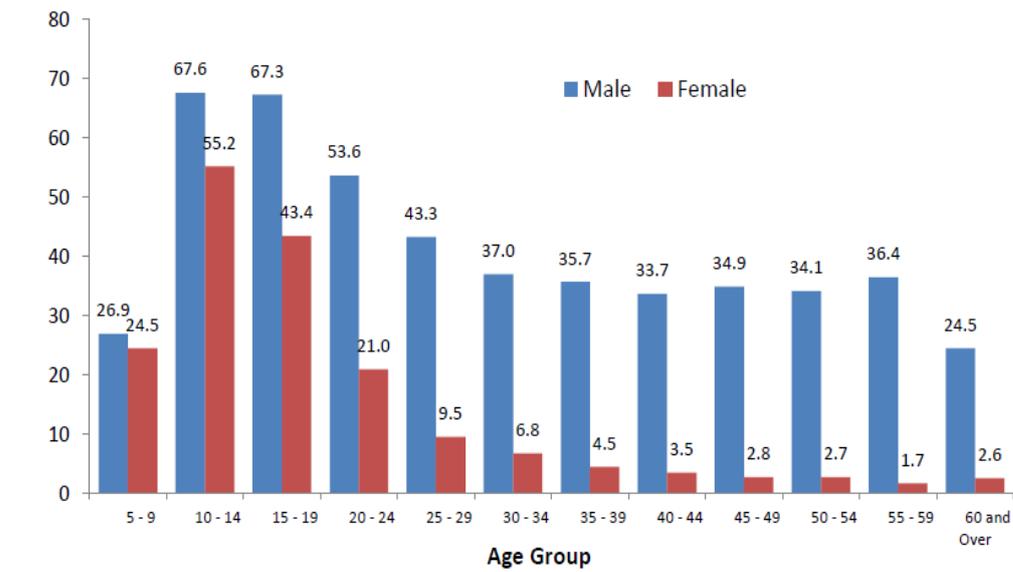
- 1- Investigating the impact of conflicts over these ICH elements, Charda Pal and Pishpo
- 2- The instruments and the features used in Charda Pal and Pishpo.
- 3- When and where Charda Pal and Pishpo ceremonies are held?
- 4- Are Charda Pal and Pishpo specific to Bamiyan alone or it is also commonplace in other provinces and countries?
- 5- Who are the practitioners of Charda Pal and Pishpo? Why they are held?
- 6- When and where, in Bamiyan, were Charda Pal and Pishpo held for the last time? (If they are totally forgotten?)
- 7- From when and where did these heritages, Charda Pal and Pishpor originate?
- 8- Historically speaking, are Charda Pal and Pishpo associated with religion or culture?
- 9- Are people worried about the extinction of Charda Pal and Pishpor they are not of particular value to them?
- 10- How many participants take part in Charda Pal and Pishpo performances?
- 11- Gender-wise, how can we account for the close association of Charda Pal and Pishpo with women? What is men's view of Charda Pal and Pishpo?

In the following, we have tried to answer each of the above-stated research questions, under separate titles. Our findings to answer these questions are drawn from our field research in the three districts of Panjab, Yakawlang, and Shibar. It should be noted that approximately 95% of our interviewees, from the local communities, were illiterate. Hence, we have tried to pose the questions as simple as possible. These interviews were conducted before, during and after the performances of Charda Pal and Pishpo. Much of the answers are drawn from our conversation and the stories, however sometimes painful, of the ladies who had gathered for the program.

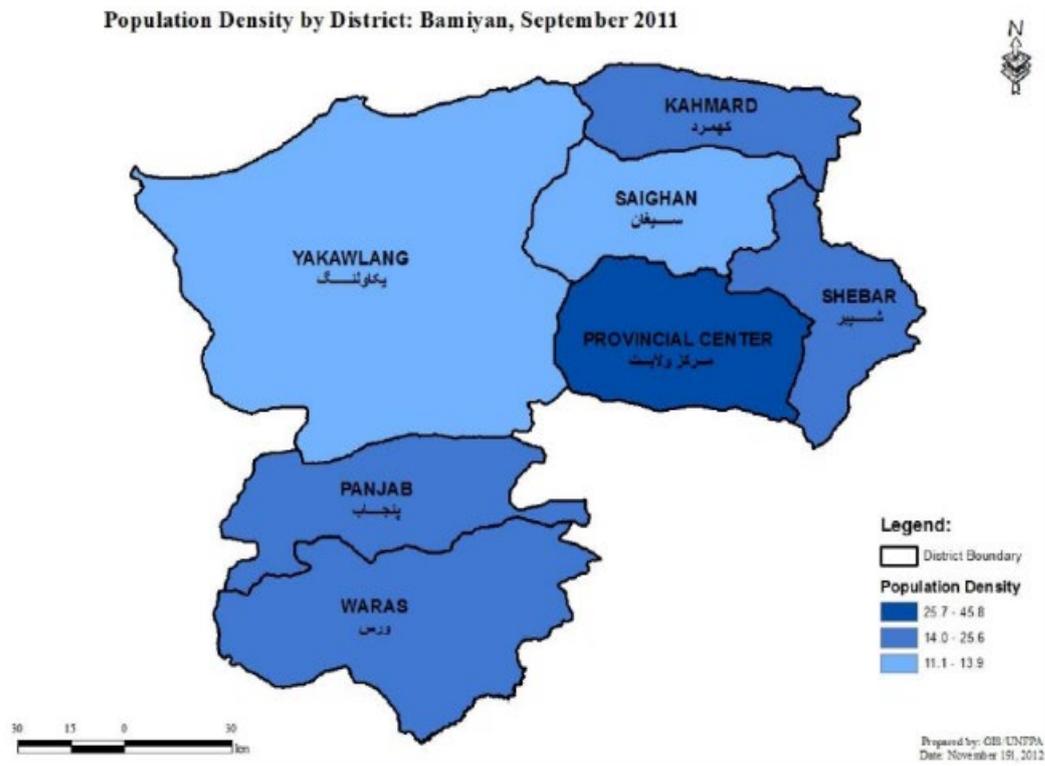
Before addressing the main questions of our research, it is important to have an overview of Bamiyan Province for the full clarity of the matter. To do so, I have included some statistical data

regarding the size of the population, literacy rate and a map of Bamiyan Province below (The statistics are retrieved from the website of the National Bureau of Statistic and Information Authority of Afghanistan).

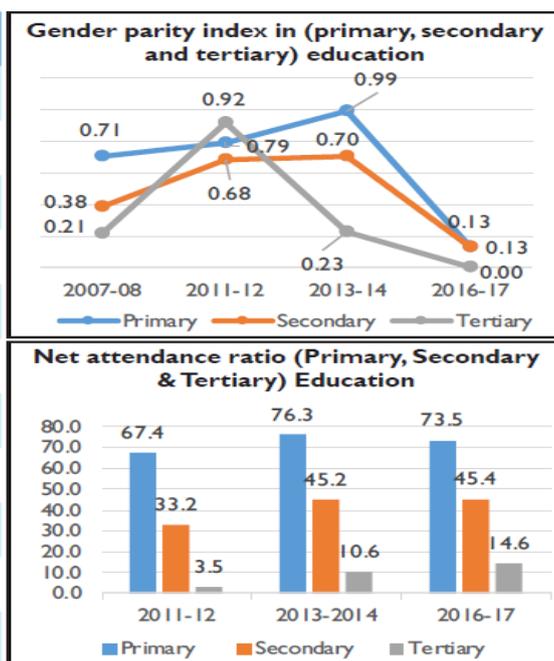
**Literacy Rate by Age Group and Sex: Bamiyan, September 2011**



**Population Density by District: Bamiyan, September 2011**



Indicators	2007-08	2011-12	2013-14	2016-17
Area (sq.km)	18,029.2	18,029.2	18,029.2	18,029.2
Population density (persons per Square KM)	21.7	23.6	24.4	25.2
Dependency ratio	105	99	93	92
Sex ratio	98.1	105.0	106.5	106.9
Youth literacy rate (15-24 years) (%)	34.1	54.2	59.8	64.9
Literacy rate of population age 15 and over (%)	22.1	35.5	38.3	40.9
Antenatal Care coverage (at least one visit) (%)	28.3	63.5	78.9	84.7
Women who gave birth by skilled health personnel (%)	9.6	39.4	47.8	63.0
Women aged 15-19 years, currently married (%)	8.3	13.0	14.6	10.9
Gender Parity of youth literacy (15-24 years old)	0.37	0.57	0.67	0.57
Polygamy of married women 15 to 49 years (%)	9.5	8.9	12.9	11.4



### Pishpo in Panjab<sup>1</sup> District

Panjab District was the centre of the self-governed government of Dayzangi from 1300 AH to 1348 AH (1921-1969). Today's Yakawlang, Lal Wa Sar Jangal, Daykundi, Behsod were other administrative units of Panjab. Having many green pastures, Panjab District is suitable for farming and herding. Thus, the main product of Panjab district is milk products such as refined butter, curd and so on. These local products are exported to Kabul. Even though the district is cold, it is still suitable for agricultural activities. Moreover, most of the locals are sedentary and make a living from agricultural activities as well as taking care of livestock.

Due to decades of war in the country, the inhabitants of Panjab districts were also displaced abroad; most of them had migrated to neighbouring Iran. Altogether, people have a painful memory of this era. Our research team met 22 elderly women in Baqir Abad village of Panjab district on 1<sup>st</sup> November 2019. Then, the team interviewed these locals about Charda Pal and Pishpo. Moreover, the actual performance of these heritages was also carried out.

Based on our arrangements with the locals, it was decided to document the actual performance of Pishpo at a local wedding ceremony. It is because Pishpo is meant to be performed in order to celebrate the union of brides and grooms according to the tradition of The Hazaras. If we had succeeded to do so, we could document Pishpo as it was performed with all its details and associated features.

However, we were unfortunately informed of the cancellation of the performance of Pishpo. The reason for the cancellation was said to be the absence of female Pishpo performers. Likewise,

1 Pishpo is sometimes pronounced with a strong stress on the "i" vowel. This stress in intonation is sometimes very light, as it almost sound like "Peshpo"

another Pishpo performance was cancelled in Waras district as well. The reason for the cancellation of the later was said to be the prohibition of it by the bride and the groom. The reason for such a prohibition must be pondered upon. It is because we heard similar stories in Yakawlang, Panjab and Waras districts. The bride and the groom did not want to have a traditional dance during their wedding ceremony, despite the willingness of female performers. The bride and the grooms were not valuing these sorts of traditions. Instead, they were more interested in modern practices in their wedding ceremonies, in which Iranian songs and some new Afghans songs were played. Meanwhile, the participants were dancing with the melodies of modern songs in new styles.

With this in mind, we could picture the attitude of different strata of communities in Bamiyan towards historical and cultural heritage, and in particular towards Pishpo.

It is important to note that the transformative impacts of globalization on the culture are a universal phenomenon. Bamiyan is not an exception in this regard, where the youths are impacted more. How the traditional society of Bamiyan is impacted by the globalization trend, requires a detailed discussion. Nonetheless, based on our observations, the greatest factor of exposure to globalization in Bamiyan has been the migration of the inhabitants due to wars. Many of the immigrant's children who were born and raised abroad were undoubtedly influenced by the culture of their host communities. People who had spent some year outside Afghanistan had also been influenced. With their repatriation and reintegration, they had injected some adopted elements of foreign cultural staff into the culture of their own communities. Evidence of such a claim was demonstrated above, where the grooms and brides were prohibiting traditional performances in their wedding ceremonies. This reality poses a dire danger towards the revival of cultural heritage. Moreover, foreign cultural elements are transmitted through TV channels, social media, and the internet. Our online youths select these sources as their guiding models. Despite this bad news, the good news is the presence of some social associations, that are actively pursuing the vision of reviving the cultural heritages of Bamiyan. Their activities push the limits. One example of such activities would be Dambora Festival in Bamiyan. However, the cultural heritage in Bamiyan is demising rapidly and preventing task is beyond the ability of such limited activities. Therefore, a national mobilization and state cooperation is required to rescue these heritages. Considering this grave threat against ICH, it is vitally important that the Afghan Academy of Science, universities and the department of archeology take the matter seriously and find a solution. Otherwise, none of the above-mentioned ICH can survive the next 50 years' time span.

The narratives and attitude of elderly locals in Banjab district towards Pishpo were different though. According to our interviews and findings, Pishpo was more significant to the elderly people in Panjab district, when compared with the modern dances. The reason for such a significance, according to them, was that no instruments were required in Pishpo performances, unlike modern dance styles. Pishpo, as a performing art, was only relying on the music made by the whispers of the performers and the movements of their body parts. Thus, it needed more skills and creativity.

In Baqir Abad village of Panjab district, we were invited to a relatively luxurious house. After a while, elderly women approximately in their 40s to 70s entered the room and started greeting us in their local manner. Soon, the house was full. It seemed that Ms. Hosnia Safdari had done a perfect job in assembling the people. Since only 2 hours was allocated to us, I (Laeiq Ahamdi) commenced my speech. I felt all their attention was attracted towards me. I felt as they were

expecting material assistance from me; such as cash, organizing tailoring or literacy courses. On contrary to their expectation, I was keeping talking about Charda Pal and Pishpo. At the onset, it seemed like they are becoming regretful of making time to attend the meeting. However, I tried to enumerate the significance of the issue to them. My introductory speech broke the ice and made the ambience favourable to them.

In the beginning, no one seemed to be willing to speak out. I tried again posing my questions as simple as possible. Then, the conversation on Pishpo and Charda Pal was kicked off among them. It seemed like they were recalling their memories. I felt it is finally time to pose my questions: While smiling, I asked:

Since when Pishpo is not performed in wedding ceremonies?

Would you like Pishpo to be performed at the wedding ceremonies of your children?<sup>2</sup>

How do you feel when you perform Pishpo? What are you trying to say through this art?

How many people take part in Pishpo Performances? Can men also take part in the performances?

I posed the above questions one by one. After that, I was carefully listening and taking notes, when they were answering me. As they<sup>3</sup> were not answering in a coherent manner, I was taking notes of what was related to my question. Quotes of their answers are below:

Masouma- 55 years old:

Good old days! We would pour our hearts with Pishpo. Pishpo was performed only in wedding ceremonies. The ceremonies are not the same now. It is no longer fun. Wedding ceremonies were more fun for us in the past. I don't understand the dance performed these days. It seems like the dancers are just hopping around, nothing more. Pishpo needed no instruments. We were making music with our lips, the movement of our headscarves, hands and other parts of our bodies. We have been living in these narrow valleys for years, surrounded by the sky above and the mountains around. Nothing else in our sight. In the past, whenever our hearts were heavy, or whenever we were free, we were performing *Akhomchi*<sup>4</sup>. The satellite TV has totalled changed our youth now. They have forgotten our traditions. Even myself, I haven't performed Pishpo and *Akhomchi* for 15 years. I do not know the origin of Pishpo. I remember my parents were telling stories of famous *Aten*<sup>5</sup> and *Pishpo* performers. When I was just a

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2 In spoken language, Pishpo is said without the prefix or suffix of "dance." However, the prefix of "dance" is used in the written language to differentiate it from other local games.

3 A face to face interview did not seem to be effective as our interviewees were missing important features of Pishpo and Charda Pal in face to face interviews. They seemed to recall much better in the company of their friends.

4 An amusement dance that women were doing, in the past, when they were off from farming and herding.

5 This dance is specific to men and it is commonplace in many provinces of Afghanistan. It has been promoted in the Southern and Eastern of the country. People in those areas use drum as an indispensable instrument. In Hazarajat, according to an 80 years old local guy, named Mohammad, it

little girl, some men and women were known for their special skills in Aten and Pishpour main problem is our severe poverty, and you guys want to revitalize *Pishpo*. Isn't it possible to help in creating jobs and rescuing the lives of people in our community?

The remarks of Masouma, stated above, is meaningful and reflective. It means that indigenous cultural phenomena that were innovated through the imagination of the inhabitants themselves are more favoured, as they have a defined historical place among the people. Unlike, the current exotic cultural phenomena that are pushed as alternative and are not well-accepted in Panjab district.

Marzia<sup>6</sup>, 40 years old stated:

Of course, the war has had its impacts. The people of Panjab district of Bamiyan province were displaced, both during the Soviet War and during the Taliban. The lucky ones could escape and take refuge in foreign countries. We remained here doomed with poverty and misery. If the war had not happened, we would have been better off now. In that case, we could talk about Pishpo and Akhmochi. They are simply not our priorities now.

Then, I asked her: "suppose the war had not happened and our country was among the developed countries, with internet, electricity and TVs. Do you think *Akhomchi* and *Pishpo* were alive in that case?" She answered: "If our homeland was like what you said, then *Akhomchi* and *Pishpo* were of no use to us [Living in a better life is all we want].

Others in the meeting confirmed Marzia's remark. This is evidence of people's extreme exhaustion from war. Therefore, they only wanted peace, security, prosperity and comfort. This issue has been raised not only by an illiterate woman in Bamiyan, but it is also raised at important conferences across Afghanistan, held by universities, professors and civil society activists. In Bamiyan, most people think that cultural heritage should be used as a source of economic income. People think that the two statues of Buddha and the ancient caves in Bamiyan could make a perfect tourist destination. Some people complain that they have not benefited from 18 years of protection endeavour promoted by external actors.

This view of cultural heritage is indeed shortsighted. However, it is understandable and much expected anywhere that people are devastated by rampant poverty. People's justifications are also similar to my argument as they believe that their survival should always be the first issue. Then living a healthy life, and then the protection of cultural heritage.

At this moment, Banin Mozaffari asked one of the participants about when and where Pishpo is performed. The lady, calling herself Marzieh, replied: [she did not her exact age]

Pishpo was performed at wedding ceremonies by grooms' female relatives. It was also performed when the bride was entering his groom's house and setting on her bridal

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was performed without a drum; as men were dancing in a circular manner accompanied by only the sounds of clubbing their hands.

6 None of the participant knew the exact day of their birth. The numbers are estimated by them.

throne. Then a group of female *Pishpo* dancers was dancing while making sounds with the movement of their lips.

Following the conversation, I asked them, whether *Pishpo* was opposed by religious clergies. After a short pause, a lady replied: “*Pishpo* had nothing to do with the religion, both people and clergies were good in the past [no one was opposing *Pishpo* performances]. The rest of the participants confirmed her statement.

This was good evidence that *Pishpo* was not boycotted by religious practitioners and that it was a well-accepted cultural tradition with high social prestige. The fact that no one can recall the origin of it means that *Pishpo* dates to the origin of Haraza ethnic group itself. However, it has had a demise in the recent 20 years in Panjab district of Bamiyan province.

Afterwards, we interviewed a 90 years old man, who introduced himself as Mohammad. The interview was focused on the gender perspective of *Pishpo*- and why this dance is only performed by women? What do men think of it? – Mohammad was born and raised in Panjab district. He had witnessed two waves of migration, once during the Soviet-Afghan war and the other, after the fall of Bamiyan to the Taliban. He, himself had never been out of Afghanistan. He replied: “every time we were running away, we were taking refuge in the caves and rocks of the mountains in our surroundings. We were not returning to the village until the situation was getting normal. Altogether, he was complaining about his economic situation. For him, *Pishpo* did not seem to have priority. Finally, he came to the main point of our discussion and said: “*Pishpo* belongs to women. It was performed in wedding ceremonies. Men were not participating in it. Instead, men were used to performing another dance named *Aten*. Both of these dances are gone now, and people are not interested in performing it.”



*Interview with Mohammad, 90 years old inhabitant of Panjab- Pishpo and Charda Pal*



*Interview with a group of female inhabitants of Panjab district about Pishpo and Charda Pal*

### **Charda Pal in Panjab District**

After conducting our interview about *Pishpo*, I started asking questions about the origin, historical background of *Charda Pal*. For instance, When and why it takes place? Is it taking place recently? Now that the ice had broken, the local ladies were speaking with much confidence. Listening to their views, I grasped the historical and cultural contexts of these ICH, specially *Charda Pal*. This

was really a reflective interview. They were associating *Charda Pal* not only with religion, pinpointing to a hidden spiritual power that was guiding the game, but also to the amusement purpose of it as well. They were considering Charda Pal as sacred. Due to this considering, the participant who would play the role of a bride in *Charda Pal*, had to be considered pure in terms of worldly sins. Apart from *Charda Pal* they were talking about horoscopes that do not have a specific time. People were usually turning to horoscope when they were feeling that all the doors of hope are closed. In other words, when people were confronted with problems that they were not able to solve, they were turning to horoscopes for a solution. The problems could be finding ways to improve the condition of a patient, knowing if a girl can find a husband or not, knowing if a gone away relative returns, knowing if someone could marry his/her lover.....It should be noted that *Charda Pal* is only organized by women. However, men are also allowed to participate, throw their rings in the assigned bowl and then wait for the result of their horoscopes. In Panjab district, no one mentioned that the men could also sit next to women and recite poetry as required by the tradition. In Yakawlang, however, our interviewees mentioned that men could also actively participate in Charda Pal and recite poetry occasionally.

An old lady who introduced herself as Chaman and who did not know her age reflected: "I have a great deal of faith in Charda Pal. On many occasions, its prediction has come true for me. Charda Pal is held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of every month. It is truthful in terms of making horoscopic predictions. However, the person who is practising it must have faith. He/she must participate after getting cleaned. The person who would play the role of a bride must also be a teenage girl, she should take a bath, get cleaned, and wear clean clothes before playing such a role."

Marzia, another lady reflected:

Charda Pal is specific to women. It is more like an amusement activity which is held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of every month. It has some moments of fun for ladies who are exhausted by daily life errands. I do not know about its origin. I know that it has been commonplace for a very long time in Panjab district. Until recently, some girls were doing it in our village.

A young lady sitting on the other side also confirmed it.

It could be implied from the statement of most of our interviewees that the structural mountainous condition of the surrounding was in a close association with Charda Pal tradition. *Hazarajat* is surrounded by monstrous high mountains. When these mountains are not covered with snow, the inhabitants of Hazarjat start herding and farming to make a living. Whenever the mountains are covered with snow, it becomes impossible to pass through the mountains. This makes the people who are disconnected from the outer world to resort to their imaginations in order to conceive what is beyond the mountains. Due to heavy snowfall and dependency of livelihood to herding and farming, the locals rarely travel beyond these mountains. To fill their hope of going beyond the mountains, they resort to horoscopes such as Charda Pal.

Charda Pal is organized on the 14<sup>th</sup> of each lunar month. The number 14, which comes after 13 has also a special symbolic meaning for the locals. Number 13 is considered as having a bad omen. Number 14 on the other hand, means a breakthrough in their misfortunate time and it includes a good omen. Moreover, Charda Pal is associated with lunar movement. The night of the 14<sup>th</sup> is a full moon, which the locals associate with full energy and youngness.

Charda Pal is an important cultural element of Hazaras. It has been popular among people for a very long time. No one can set a date for its origin. 14<sup>th</sup> of each lunar month is of especial spirituality. The participants are women. Men have been historically engaged in farming and other activities. Thus, their energy is already consumed, and they do not have the energy to participate in the horoscope. Saying that men are not restricted to join. Since the participants have been generally women for decades, the villagers have come to believe that Charda Pal is only specific to women.

### **The methods and principles of Charda Pal**

We asked the ladies to demonstrate Charda Pal in its original format, for us to carefully observe. We were attentive to all the details and the process. Our findings suggest that Charda Pal is organized based on a predetermined schedule. According to the schedule, a group of women, including teenage girls, who are interested in the horoscope, gather in one of the houses in the village, where the tools are already prepared. This includes a copper bowl, silver ring and pure water. Water from natural springs is usually preferred. Considering that, only a few tools are needed. After all the expected participants are assembled, one of them is selected to play the role of a bride. There are rules in place for whom to be chosen as a bride. Not everyone can be elected as a bride. According to the beliefs of the locals, the bride should be the most innocent of all. It is usually the youngest one, so she is considered sinless. Then, all the participant ladies, take a bath or cleanse themselves through ablution, to begin the ritual. However, the bride must be the most sinless of all. It is because it is widely believed that the more innocent and sinless the bride is, the more accurate the prediction of Charda Pal would be. It is as if there is a connection between the spiritual and material realms. The ritual is held to know the future.

Then, the bride is dressed in a scarf and a special dress. Whenever a gasoline lantern or candles are lit, the participants get together. The bride is sat in a corner and outside the circle of other participants, while her face is covered with a scarf. The bowl of water is put out of the bride's sight, so she cannot see the rings.

Prior to the ritual, a few participants, who retain many sonnets in their memory are selected to recite the sonnet during the ritual. When everyone is ready, the ceremony sinks into a deep silence. Then, the participants are instructed to recall their wishes. Using that moment of silence, the participants make their wish. Then they convey their wish through simple hypnosis to a silver ring. After that, they throw the rings into the copper bowl of water, one by one.

There are no restrictions on how many rings one can put in the bowl. One can throw two to three rings in the bowl, proportionate to the number of their wishes. It is important to know that the proportion of rings should be according to the number of wishes someone has in mind. It is because even a subtle doubt in the wish of a participant can disturb his mind and lead to misinterpretation of her horoscope.

After the silver rings are thrown into a water-filled copper cup, the cup is put in the access range of the bride's hand. Then, everyone becomes silent. Only two or three elected sonnet reciters to start reciting the sonnet with a loud and a special tone. After the recital is finished, the bride whose face is completely covered picks a ring from the bowl. Before beings picked up, the rings are rotated counterclockwise three times inside the bowl. At this moment, the shivering sounds of the rings' made from its contact with the copper cup fills the room. It is said that this sound is spiritual. The bride finally picks a random ring from inside the bowl with her right hand. The ring

is given to the participants who are waiting, for their rings to be picked up, with excitement. In the dim light of the candle or lantern, the owner of the ring is recognized and then the ring is returned to its owner. Then, one of the participants who is elected based on their skill in interpreting sonnets, interpret the sonnet associated with the ring which is just picked up. Then, the owner of the ring tries to make a mental connection between the interpretation of the sonnet and her wish. If the sonnet had a bad interpretation, the omen is considered bad and vice versa. Likewise, the interpreters interpret the sonnet without knowing the wishes of the owner of the ring.

The ritual is not only a mere amusement for the participants as they faithfully believe in it. Their belief in the truthfulness of their omen foretold by Charda Pal impacts them in deep ways. An important principle in making a wish is making one wish at a time. For instance, a young girl who is seeking a husband should only wish if she can find her ideal spouse or not at a time. After the sonnet is recited, she gets to know whether she can achieve what she wants in near future or not.

Although no one determines the extent of the truthfulness of Charda Pal's predictions, the participants certainly believe in it.

Charda Pal has also become out of fashion due to the changes in people's lifestyle and beliefs in recent years. Unfortunately, this beautiful ritual is diminishing and gradually being forgotten. Despite that, it still has its fans and it is still held. The last session of Charda Pal is allocated to entertainments such as dancing, storytelling and so on.

Here are some samples of the poetries recited during Charda Pal in Panjab:

Sample 1:

I screamed out loud on the top of a high mountain  
I called up the commander of the faithful [Amir al Momenin]  
Oh, the king of kings! Oh, the commander of the faithful  
Grant happiness to my saddened heart

The interpretation of the above poetry suggests that the person is currently in deep sadness and that he/she should not worry as a hand from the spiritual realm would be extended towards him/her to help in solving her/his problem.

Sample 2:

On the way to the farm, I realized how far is the farm  
On my way, I arrived in the mosque and it is time to say the prayer [Muslim have a certain time for prayers]  
Oh mosque, your shadow gives me comfort  
Two birds are singing on your rooftop with a beautiful voice

The interpretation of this poem suggests that the person will have to endure a lot of hardship. However, he/she should put a lot of effort to attract God's satisfaction. Ultimately, everything will be ok.

Sample 3:

I am seeking to find my lost flower  
To find it, I smell every flower that comes my way  
My flower had a mark on his body  
My flower was clothed with old clothing

The interpretation of this poem suggests a bad omen and a lot of suffering for the owner of the ring.

Sample 4:

A clogged oven makes a lot of smoke  
A saddened heart makes a lot of sighs  
You must open a clogged oven  
You must pour out a saddened heart

The interpretation of this poem suggests that the owner of the ring would have a sad future

Sample 5:

I wish I were marble  
I wish I were instead of my mom's socks  
I wish I were her socks  
And always with her

The interpretation of this poem suggests that a piece of news is soon to come about a gone-away loved one. Or it could mean that the newlywed bride's parents are soon to visit her.

Sample 6:

I went into the back yard  
And found a golden cup

The interpretation of this poem suggests that the owner of the ring is getting rich.

### **The current status of Charda Pal in Panjab District**

Fortunately, many people know how to perform this ritual and it has many fans. Some people said that they have not performed this ritual for 10 years, others said that they have performed it just two years ago. This demonstrates that Charda Pal still retains its status among the people.

### **Pishpo in Yakawlang District**

Yakawlang district is in the west of Markaz-e Bamiyan and northeast of Panjab district. It is one of the largest and yet most populous districts of Bamiyan. Due to the high density of population, it was divided into two administrative units (districts) in 2016; Yakawlang 1 and Yakawlang 2. Moreover, the literacy rate in this district is also the highest among districts in Bamiyan. There

seems to be a lot of cultural changes in the district. Prior to travelling there for documentation and interview, we did preliminary research about it. We made phone calls to different villages. Rostam, Nik, Deh Surkh, Zarin, Nitaq and Chaman villages did not show any interest in the matter. They had forgotten Pishpo and Charada Pal like the inhabitants of Shibar district. Luckily, Taqi Elkhani, a junior student at the department of archeology discovered a far-flung village called Khaja Bedag in Yakawlang 2, which was located between Baba and Hindu Kush mountains. Their traditional culture had remained untouched and immune from changes. Later, we found out that they had kept their tradition regarding cuisine, clothing and other customs. They were still using oil generated lanterns. Only a few families were using solar energy.

The details regarding Charada pal and Pishpo was covered in the earlier associated section with Panjab district. To avoid redundant repetition, here I explain the differences between Charada Pal and Pishpo (between Panjab and Yakawlang districts).

People in Khaja Bedag of Yakawlang district mentioned that up until 10 years ago, they were practising Pishpo. That means the dance was practised even after the Taliban. An anonymous lady told us that they are still interested in performing Pishpo in wedding ceremonies. However, the TV has changed our kids and they no longer want us to perform Pishpo in their wedding ceremonies.

We did not notice a lot of difference between the Pishpo in Panjab and Pishpo in Yakawlang districts. The only difference we noticed was in the skills of the female Pishpo dancers. Women in Khaja Bedag were more skilled in the performance. The sound they were making was also understandable in Khaja Bedag. This demonstrated that it is easy to revive it in this village as the women there had not gone so far away from the tradition of Pishpo. From their performance, we understood the physiology of Pishpo which is described below:

Pishpo is one of the oldest traditions of Hazaras in Afghanistan. Pishpo was performed to celebrate happy moments such as wedding ceremonies, childbirths and other festive events. The dance was performed in such a way that the performers would cover their faces and two shoulders with their headscarves. Then they would hold the two corners of their headscarves and wave them. Meanwhile, they would move their feet in a rotating manner. Their movements are accompanied by a sound made by a combination of their lips and teeth. It consists of three stages. In the first stage, they would exhale the air. In the second stage, they would inhale the air. In this stage, the lower lips touch the upper teeth. In the third stage, they exhale the air again, while the two lips touch each other. The produced sound is like the sound of a dove. It might have been inspired by doves in the first place. Moreover, people in Khaja Bidag mentioned that they perform Pishpo in other festive events apart from wedding ceremonies as well. On the contrary, the inhabitants of Panjab mentioned that they only perform Pishpo in their wedding ceremonies. The women in Khaja Bidag district had fewer financial expectations despite being worse-off financially. They were also happier. They were answering our questions with enthusiasm. Apart from Pishpo, they introduced us to their other traditional dances like *Akhom*, *Awghu Pakho*, *Khanomag* which were performed by women. *Kola Qaq* was performed by men. All these cultural practices were fascinating, and each requires separate research.

Outside the house, we interviewed an 80 years old man called Joma. He pointed his hands to a mountain, which was said to be the mountain mentioned in the story of Farhad-Shirin. Farhad, had dug the mountain to the bottom in order to marry Shirin. Then, he mentioned one of the greatest historical sites named *Chehel Borj*, which was located 3 kilometres to the east. In fact,

Chehel Borj is one of the most remarkable historic sites in Bamiyan. It is located on a large hill overlooking the ruins of the ancient Royal Palace- The site is a reminder of Buddhism to Islam eras.

### Charda Pal in Yakawlang District

The house that we went to for the interview was packed with a mixture of men and women. Unlike, Panjab where only women came to the meeting. In Khaja Bidag, they explained Charda Pal in a more interesting manner. In addition to what has explained about Charda Pal above, our female interviewees in Khaja Bidag added:

In principle, Charda Pal should be held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Rajab (lunar month- only once a year). A teenage girl, who is considered blameless from the eyes of society should be selected to play the role of a bride. Then, she would take a bath to become clean. Afterwards, 7 wheat grains should be thrown in a silver bowl of water. Then, a silver ring should be thrown into the bowl. Afterwards, the participants can throw their own rings. These procedural steps were interesting. The rest of the procedures were the same as explained above.

### The current status of Charda Pal in Yakawlang

It is still alive among the people, and women perform it every now and then.



*Pishpo performances in Khaja Bidag village of Yakawlang District*



*Akhom Performance in Khaja Bidag*

### Pishpo in Shibar District

Shibar district is located 30 KM east of Bamiyan city. Kabul- Bamiyan highway also passes through it. The majority of the residents enjoy 24/7 water generated electricity. Antennas of satellite TVs are clearly visible upon entering the village. On the other hands, there is no interest among them in old traditions. After many efforts and several visits to the districts, we were finally able to gather only 11 women who were familiar with Pishpo and Charda Pal. In the beginning, they were not willing to be interviewed in front of a camera. Nevertheless, we persuaded them by mentioning that the documentary would be purely for research purposes. They were finally convinced. A village named *Yaraq*, which is located in the farthest area of the district and near Kotal-e Hajigag, was selected for our filming purpose.

In the onset, the women were less confident to talk. Then they become more confident to express their honest remarks. Although they did not know their age, they were looking in their 40s -60s. According to them, Pishpo has not been performed there for about 30 years. Even though they were enjoying 24/7 electricity services, their living condition did seem to be good. A lady was asking for help in preparing a way to cure his handicapped child. Likewise, everyone else were jumping from the issue of Pishpo and Charda Pal to other issues. Some people were asserting that poverty has been a factor that they are no longer celebrating their festive events. Roqia, a lady whose age was unknown said: "Pishpo was performed in wedding parties, circumcision parties, and the returns of pilgrim from Haj and Karbala. In Panjab, however, people said that they are performing Pishponly in their wedding ceremonies.

The rest of their explanatory remarks were similar to the remarks of the residents of Yakawlang. In addition, they also referred to two other dances named "Akhom" and Pai Bazi, which had been very popular in the past. They also taught us of a small primitive musical instrument called *Chang*, which had been used there in the past.

The ladies also spoke of sonnet recital ceremonies which were commonplace among them 20 years ago. When their energy was exhausted by their hard work, they were gathering to recite the sonnet in order to regain their energies. After the wars, their cultural events are completely forgotten. They don't even remember a verse of recited sonnets.

### Charda Pal in Shibar District

The residents of Shibar could recall Charda Pal better than Pishpo. The flow and the tools of Charda Pal in Shibar district were similar to Yakawlang and Panjab. However, like the residents of Panjab district, people believed that Charda Pal is held on the 14<sup>th</sup> of every month.

Here, I have included a few example poetries that were recited by women in Shibar district.

#### Example 1:

I keep my eyes on the path you left  
My heart is on fire and I don't know how to put it off

The interpretation of this poem suggests that someone has fallen in love and that the lover should cross many twisted paths in order to reach his/her sweetheart.

#### Example 2:

I wish I had sat on the warm part of the living room  
I wish I was sat with my one and only mom  
And if my lovely mother is not there  
I would sit sadly

The interpretation of this poem suggests that the owner of the ring would soon get married and, therefore, separate from his/her parents.

#### Example 3:

I am going toward the pasture, the way is long  
 The commander of the faithful is saying his prayers  
 Oh, commander of the faithful! Oh, king of kings  
 Grant happiness to my saddened heart

The interpretation of this poem suggests that the owner of the ring should make many sacrifices. Otherwise, he/she might not achieve his goals. If he/she makes enough sacrifice, a hand from the spiritual realm would help him/her.

Example 4:

I wished that a sunny day would finally arrive  
 I wished the full moon would finally appear  
 In the full moon, we would see our fortune through Charda Pal  
 I would pour out my sadness

The interpretation of this poem suggests that a gone away relative would finally return to the family.

We noticed another interesting difference that women were using an instrument called *Dayera*<sup>7</sup> during Charda Pal performance. They were playing the drum, reciting poems and performing the ritual simultaneously. Also, only one lady, who is an expert in sonnets, recite them while others throw their rings in the bowls. Whereas in Yakawlang and Panjan districts, the participants themselves had to recite poems, taking turns. Saying that it was obvious that Charda Pal had kept its traditional and original formats in remote areas of Bamiyan.

### **Pishpo and Charda Pal in Markaz-e Bamiyan**

From our observation and studies, we implied that the urbanization factor has also an impact on the neglect of ICH. With this hypothesis in mind, the research team from the Department of Archeology headed to an urban area, Rekshad in Markz-e Bamiyan which is located 7 KM west of Bamiyan. We conducted our interviews and carried out our documentation task on 4<sup>th</sup> November 2019. We asked the same questions we asked people in the other three districts. Our findings were promising as a few self-motivated youth-volunteer-bodies, that were engaged in civic and cultural activities, had also taken some steps in revitalizing ICH. They were evangelizing people to re-engage in performing traditional dances such as Pishpo. We were mesmerized to find that some families were taking pride in wearing and displaying cultural clothes and engaging in other cultural activities. This was considered as social prestige. An example of this fact was a 7 years old girl in Rekshad village, whose family had taught her Pishpo dance. They were proud to see the revival of Pishpo.

Since the residents of Markz-e Bamiyan as a central city come from all over Bamiyan, Pishpo and Charda Pal are very similar to the three districts that we travelled to. In addition to Pishpo and Charda Pal, the ladies who were living in Rikshad taught us of some of their other interesting traditions. The associated video footages are documented in Rikshad village, district 4.

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7 A circular hand-made drum made by animals' skin.

The aim of the research was to gather information related to Pishpo and Charda Pal. However, our interviewees illustrated the following ICH: Pishpo, Charda Pal, Aghchi, Pai Bazi, Baghal Kashi, Guli Gag, Dambura-Pishpo, Zanburag. All of them have been videoed.

#### **Quotation from interviewees about the most common rituals in Hazarajat**

Fatima, a 45 years old lady expressed that her motivation in doing these rituals is to revitalize them. She stressed that the performance of these rituals brings happiness to the community. The main purpose of conducting such rituals used to separate happiness in the past. They were mostly performed by women.

The clothing used in Pishpo and Charda Pal were many. Among them were Sham-e London, Atlas, Bigar Beposh, Shari, Sar qosh, or Chapan. The only reason for the demise of these rituals is the recent tragedies of war.

Gul Chaman 52 years old stated:

I have inherited the knowledge of 5 rituals from my parents, such as Pishpo, Aghchi, Baghal Kashi, Pai Bazi. I was practising them until 30-40 years ago, before the war. The rituals are forgotten after the war. Now, people are no longer performing these rituals. Most of these rituals were group rituals and played by more than 2 participants.

She also added: "These rituals were performed in festive events such as wedding parties which had specific timing. Apart from that, the rituals were performed by women for amusement purposes."

Basira 40 years old:

We were performing such rituals in the past. One of them was called Guli Gag, in which we could sing: "oh flower, before my eyes. Set in the middle gracefully. oh flower, before my eyes, rotate yourself, rotate and stand up.

This poetry was more commonplace to be recited during Guli Gag

#### **A comparative overview of Pishpo and Charda Pal in the four districts of Panjab, Yakawlang, Shibar and Markaz-e Bamiyan**

1- The similarities of Pishpo

- War and migration were found to be common contributing factors in the demise of ICH, especially in the demise of Pishpo, in our four research fields.
- Globalization and its agents such as TVs and social media have started to replace Pishpo and other dances as amusement activities. This process is even faster in Markaz-e Bamiyan
- The overall structure of Pishpo and its performance are the same in all four areas.

- No one knew the origin or Pishpo, and how it becomes commonplace. It seemed like this ICH has been around for a very long time. It may be dated to the beginning of the settlement of Hazaras in Afghanistan.
- The number of Pishpo performers that could take part in each performance was not fixed in all four fields. However, the participants had to be more than two people.
- Our finding suggests that this dance has been closely associated with female gender and that men are not participating in it.

## 2- The differences of Pishpo

The difference was that Pishpo was performed only in wedding ceremonies in Panjab and Yakawlang districts. However, it was performed in many other festive events such as in weddings, circumcision ceremonies, engagement parties, returns of pilgrims from Haj and Karbala and so on. The sound which was made during the dance was also different from place to place in the four areas. However, we inferred that the most genuine one was in Khaja Bedag of Yakawlang district as it was a really remote area, where people had almost no experience of migration.

## 1- The similarities of Charda Pal

- The structure of the performance was similar in all the four areas we researched. It means that it had to be performed on the full moon night of the 14<sup>th</sup> of each lunar month. The bride had to be considered blameless. The tools needed was rings and a clean silver bowl. The bride's face had also to be covered and the rings were picked up after a folkloric poem was read.
- In all four areas of our research, the bride was sitting among the circle of participants.

## 2- The differences of Charda Pal

- It seemed liked Khaja Bedag village of Yakawlang had maintained the originality of Charda Pal. Here, 7 wheat grains and a silver ring had to be thrown inside the bowl, before the participants could throw their own rings. It was not observed in the 3 other fields.
- It was mentioned that Charda Pal could be held only on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Rajab which is a lunar month and only once a year. We were told, in the other three areas, that Charda Pal could be performed anytime.
- The poems which were recited during Charda Pal was very religious in Panjab district. However, the poems were more folkloric in Markaz-e Bamiyan. However, I guess the women in Panjab district would also recite folkloric love poems. On the occasion of our presence as strangers, they wanted to be more conservative. That is why they were using religious poems.

## 2. BALKH

### Report of Misgari Research in Balkh Province

**Mohammad Sadeq Osyan**

*Lecturer of the Department of Language and Literature, Balkh University*

Misgari or copper-smithing is one of the oldest traditions in Balkh Province. It is one of the most important elements of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) that is endangered.<sup>1</sup>

This research is carried out, utilizing the field research method. To collect data, questionnaires and interviews are used. The respondents consist of people who are involved in the above-mentioned ICH. Although the practice of Misgari is commonplace in several places in Balkh province, this research focuses on the practice of the element solely in Mandavi Bazar, which is located in the second district of Mazar-e-Sharif city of Balkh province in Afghanistan.

The questionnaire was designed in a way to explore many aspects of Misgari (copper-smithing), such as the followings: An overview of the history of Misgari, the current status, its significance among the people, the raw material and its preparation, the market size, the impact of conflicts on Misgari, its future prospects, etc. Prior to designing the questionnaire, it was well discussed among the research team. The research kicked off on 25 June 2019. However, earlier coordination was made with key people such as the Director of the Department of Culture and Information of Balkh, the local sheriff, and Misgari practitioners. After necessary coordination was made, our team visited the copper-smiths' workplace. A number of these people were interviewed while they were procuring copper made items in their tiny shops.

The interviewees were a dozen of Misgari practitioners and the owners of some small and traditional copper-smith shops. Many practitioners have left their profession over time due to various factors; our interviewees are the only remaining practitioners in the industry.

#### **An Overview of the History of Misgari (Copper-smithing) Craft**

Balkh Province is one of the oldest cities and one of the most important places in Afghanistan in terms of tangible and intangible cultural heritages.

Balkh Province is considered as the cradle of Aryan culture and civilization, which has gone through many ups and downs over its 6,000-year course of history. Balkh, which was located on the famous Silk Road, was once the centre of the world's trade and commerce and the hub of diverse cultures (Khaliq 2018: pp.7).

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<sup>1</sup> 'copper-smithing' is used interchangeably with 'Misgagri' and 'coppersmiths' is used interchangeably with 'Misgari practitioners' herein.

After some archaeological research in different areas of Balkh, many artefacts have been discovered, which are said to be related to different historical periods. These artefacts are evidence of different civilizations in Balkh. As a matter of fact, these archaeological discoveries are of extraordinary value to archaeologists, historians, and researchers of cultural heritage, both at home, in the region and the world (Khaliq 2015 pp. 18).

Among the many elements of ICH, Misgari is one of them. Copper-smithing is an old traditional industry in Balkh and its origin goes back to prehistoric periods. The origin of the Metal Age is known to be around the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC.... Copper was first discovered metal (Taliqani 2008 pp.133).

In the beginning, humans were extracting copper from mines, and then they were making tools out of it without heating it. Later, molten copper was used. Molten coppers were poured into pans to be turned into sheets after cooling down (Nikolsky 2011 pp. 125).

In the past, copper was used to make all kinds of necessary tools, such as utensils, coins, and ornaments. Until recently, copper-smiths in Balkh were using copper to make domes for shrines, decorative tools, bells, horns, soap dishes, candlesticks, kitchen utensils such as trays, sieves, pitchers, washbasins, pots, draining spoons, solid ladles, water jugs, pans, teapots, bowls, cup, etc. The copper-made products were decorated with beautiful patterns. Moreover, copper was also used to make ornaments such as necklaces, earrings, pendants, brooches, bracelets, rings etc. all of them were decorated with beautiful designs (Atif 2013: pp.34-35).

Similar copper items were also discovered by archaeologists. This demonstrates the popularity of copper in the past. Some similar items are still found in locals' homes.

Today, only a few coppersmiths have continued their profession in Balkh. They are struggling to keep their ancestral professional alive despite the lack of facilities, the lack of cost-effective raw materials and the lack of a good market. This shows their passions. They make beautiful items decorated with magnificent artistic patterns. Over the past hundred years, Misgari was practised in several specific places in Balkh province. Among them was the copper-smith's Bazaar in Mazar-e-Sharif. With about 60 shops, the bazaar was one of the busiest parts of the city, that had attracted many local and foreign shoppers. Another area, where copper-smithing had flourished, was the Khulm district. In all these places, people inherited Misgari from their ancestors.

Overtime, Misgari has declined to flourish for many reasons. Hence, only a few shops are left from among numerous shops.

After narrating the flourishing history of Misgari, the current declining status and its relevant reasons are stated below. The findings are based on our field research and interview with a few coppersmiths.

### **The Current Status and the Challenges of Misgari**

Once flourishing in Balkh, Misgari is declining in Afghanistan now, as many practitioners have left their profession for several reasons.

Even though Misgari practitioners are not associated with a specific ethnic or social group, nor they have a specific geographical context, the coppersmiths of Balkh were mostly the local inhabitants of Khulm district. They have been living in Khulm district for an exceptionally long

time. In Balkh, many families were making a living by being involved in copper-smithing in the past. People who were in the copper business were called by their profession both in cities and in the villages. Today, only 3-4 families are left in Mazar-e-Sharif, who are engaged in the business. Khulm, which was once the hub of copper-smithing, is now the host of only two or three families who are making an incredibly low income from their shops. The coppersmiths, working in Balkh province are mostly men. These coppersmiths own small shops and traditional copper-smithing machines. Their shops are in the second district of Mazar-e-Sharif, in an alley known as the copper-smith's alley. They have maintained their ancestral profession, despite earning only a negligible income through their profession.

In addition, there are some families in Mazar-e-sharif, who are still involved in copper-smithing, but their children are pursuing a different career for many reasons.

Likewise, there are still several coppersmiths in the Khulm district of Balkh province. Some of them have maintained their businesses, but some of them have switched to other businesses. The number of shops which have maintained their businesses and traditional types of machinery are not more than 2-3.

Until very recently, people were extensively using copper-made utensils. It has declined now though. Despite that, coppersmiths in Balkh are still making the following tools: domes for shrines and sacred places (the dome of the Shrine of Imam Ali is either rebuilt or whitewashed once a year by coppersmiths), decorative tools, bells, horns, soap dishes, candlesticks, kitchen utensils such as trays, sieves, pitchers, washbasins, pots, draining spoons, solid ladles, water jugs, pans, teapots, bowls, cups, etc. The copper-made products were decorated with beautiful patterns. Moreover, copper was also used to make ornaments such as necklaces, earrings, pendants, brooches, bracelets, rings etc. All these products were decorated with beautiful artistic patterns.

According to the coppersmiths that we interviewed, newlyweds used to buy copper-made products in the past. Thus, the demand for copper-made products was high. This tradition has ceased now. However, in rural areas, the tradition has continued, and coppersmiths still receive orders to make copper-made utensils by newlyweds.

The decline in Misgari has many reasons in addition to the impact of conflicts. One reason is the lack and scarcity of essential raw materials such as tin, soda and acid. The other reason can be the high price of copper-made products. Now, many plastic or nickel made utensils are imported, which are cheap, comparing to copper-made products. Thus, copper-made products cannot really compete. Moreover, due to the decline in the market for copper-made products, coppersmiths are no longer able to make a meaningful income to run their lives. This has discouraged them and has made the coppersmiths switch their profession for other lucrative professions.

Like it is shown in the video footages of the interviews, the overall situation of Misgari is not satisfactory. Coppersmiths are in a dire financial condition and their sales cannot suffice their living expenses. According to Khalifa Rahim, a coppersmith in Mazar-e-Sharif, the price of a kilo of raw copper is about 500 Afs. The price of the final copper-made product is about 400-450 Afs/kilo. Hence, it is extremely difficult to make an income from it. People are also poor and cannot afford copper-made products, therefore, they prefer buying cheap plastic or nickel utensils over copper-made utensils.

The coppersmiths were also complaining about the Afghan government's lack of attention to their condition. According to them, the government has had no programs to make the situation better for them, or at least facilitate ways to obtain raw materials for the craftsmen. Meanwhile, the government has had no attention to the value of Misgari, even though it is considered an element of ICH. The coppersmiths were enumerating several reasons for the demise of their professions, such as the lack of raw material inside the country, the persistence of conflicts and unsafety, the abundance of imported low-quality competing products and the high price of copper.

Altogether, there are no governmental plans in place to improve the situation for coppersmiths. There is neither any plan to make the raw materials more accessible for them, nor there is a plan to provide suitable machinery for them. Moreover, there has been no marketing endeavours to promote the sales for copper-made products in domestic or foreign markets.

Stating the above-mentioned challenges, Misgari is declining as an element of ICH, despite its flourishing past. The reduction of nearly one hundred Misgari shops to only 3-4 shops is a vivid testimony for the endangered status of the element. It is important to note that these 3-4 shops could also cease their businesses if no attention is being made.

### **The Impacts of Conflicts**

The perpetual 40-year long conflict in Afghanistan has destroyed the infrastructure and it has caused many other destructions. The impact of conflict on social, cultural, and economic spheres has been irreparable. The country has witnessed many conflicts, both intra-state and inter-state conflicts, such as the invasion of the former Soviet Union. Also, bloody wars between pro-soviet functions and the Mujahideen, heavy battles between the Taliban and the Afghan government have totally left the countries destroyed. Some of the conflicts have been proxy conflicts, which were supported by foreign states such as Pakistan. Also, the U.S. presence and the persistence of the bloody wars in Afghanistan have caused great damages to both tangible and intangible cultural heritages, like the popular handicrafts of the country.

The perpetual wars have disrupted many businesses in Afghanistan. Due to wars, the manufacturing industry has been stagnant. Misgari has also suffered from conflicts. The uninterrupted conflicts have accelerated Misgari's demise.

Despite the availability of abundant copper mines in Afghanistan, they have remained untouched due to the consecutive conflicts. The lack of mineral extractions, thus, has left coppersmiths with no choice but to import the mineral resources they need. However, importing copper is expensive. Therefore, making copper-made product is not profitable at all. Additionally, the presence of foreign and domestic terrorist groups in some villages and districts of Balkh province has made it unsafe for coppersmiths to obtain mineral resources cheaply. As every business is threatened by extortion of these militant groups. Moreover, raw materials such as soda, tin, and acid, which are essential in polishing copper-made products are also used by these terrorist groups in making explosives and refining drugs. Hence, both selling and purchasing these substances are subject to law. Besides that, storing a large quantity of these substances is illegal and prosecuted by the authorities. That is why coppersmiths cannot easily obtain licenses to purchase and use these substances.

Furthermore, due to conflicts and administrative corruption, the Afghan government has not been able to prevent smugglers from smuggling much of the country's cultural properties and

other valuable possessions. Due to the lack of government's oversight, many old and pure Afghan-made copper tools have been illegally sold at low prices to our neighbouring countries. The irony is that these tools are melt, mixed with other cheap materials than copper, processed to tools and sent back to Afghanistan, to be sold at exorbitant prices.

Due to the continuation of unrest and conflict in Afghanistan, zero investment has been made in industries related to cultural heritage, including in Misgari. Neither the government, nor non-governmental organizations have had any systematic plan to protect these cultural heritages, in Afghanistan, especially in Balkh, which was once a prosperous cultural hub for heritages such as Misgari.

A final consequence of conflicts could be the lack of personal safety for Misgari practitioners, whose businesses are mobile. Once, Misgari practitioners used to travel from one village to the other, without any fear, to sell their products. Now, it is merely impossible. Hence, it has also contributed to the decline of their businesses.

## Conclusion

We can conclude that Misgari or copper-smithing has been an important ICH in Afghanistan, especially in Balkh province for many years. Misgari was booming in the past and a high volume of tools was made from copper through Misgari industry. These products have had a popular rule in people's everyday life.

Until half a century ago, dozens of coppersmith's shops were active in Balkh province, where many people were indulged in traditional Misgari. Overtime, the industry has stopped flourishing for several reasons that are stated above. Now, only a few shops and practitioners are left. From about 60 shops that existed in Mazar-e-Sharif, only 3-4 shops are left. The shops, that are in Khulm district, are struggling to survive and they are in an awfully bad condition now. Nothing Like the past, in which a large market existed for traditional industries such as copper-smithing. Due to innumerable problems that the practitioners are confronted, their shops are on the verge of being closed. With the closure of these remaining few shops, the heritage will be forever gone from Balkh province.

As stated above, there are many reasons that Misgari is endangered. They could be concluded in the following list: The impact of perpetual conflicts and its economic consequences, the lack of raw materials, the exorbitant price of imported raw copper, the illegality of some essential materials such as soda, tin and acid, the lack of modern production machinery, the lack of suitable domestic and foreign market for copper-made products, the lack of government's investment in maintaining the industry, etc. have all caused Misgari to decline.

Despite all the above concerns, the opportunity is still there to prevent the total demise of this heritage. It is because Misgari is still practiced, albeit on an exceedingly small scale. Also, coppersmiths have still not given up. Additionally, our hope for peace has not faded. It is still possible to find domestic and foreign market for Afghan Misgari products so that the practitioners are encouraged and continue to practice Misgari.

The first recommended step that can be taken in preserving and protecting this heritage from a total demise, is to conduct an extensive research to identify the status of Misgari throughout the entire Balkh province like Khulm district. To do so, it is important to create a group of researchers,

consisting of 7-10 members- coming from among the university professors, the students of the Department of Archeology and other affiliated experts with experience in this field.

In addition, public seminars and workshops could be held to raise awareness about the value of ICH and to train preserving methods to protect and preserve heritages such as Misgari.

Finally, it is important to encourage the local government of Balkh to make it easier for coppersmiths to obtain licenses to buy some essential materials that cannot be obtained without a special license. Also, providing copper and raw materials, needed by coppersmiths, at a reasonable price; allocating facilities to coppersmiths, and establishing a vocational school to teach traditional Misgari would help in protecting this valuable heritage.

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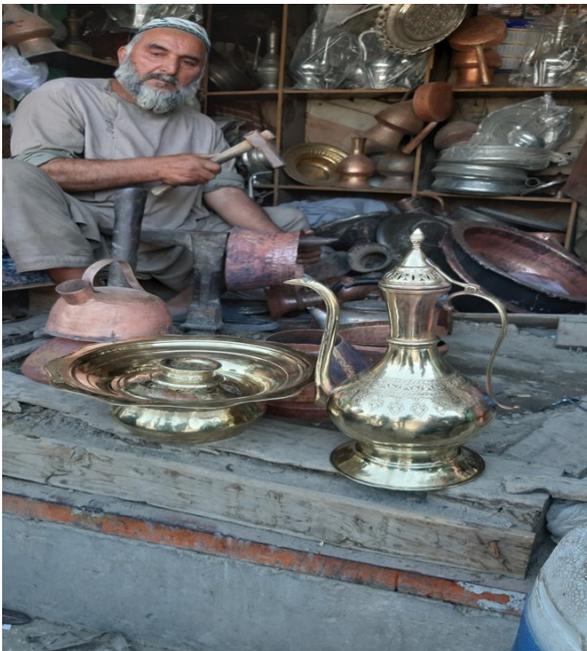
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Scissoring stage of copper boards



Hammering stage to make copper-made tools



The heating stage and polishing copper-made tools



Final polished tools

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## Report of Kāshi Sāzi Research in Balkh Province

Zabihullah Aryaie

*Head of Culture and Arts, Balkh Information and Culture,  
Ministry of Information and Culture, Afghanistan*

### Introduction:

Balkh is one of the oldest known names that is highlighted in the history of contemporary Afghanistan and the Greater Khorasan. It is also associated as an important city in the realm of Ancient Ariana, which is believed to have a history that is dated back to 250,000 years BC, about 6000-7000 years from today. Its history goes back to the Paleolithic era. It is also believed that the oldest primitive human habitats were formed in Balkh in the Stone Age. In addition, the oldest city in the world that appeared about six thousand years ago was believed to be in Balkh. This ancient city has been the cradle of Aryan civilization as well as the origin of great religions such as the religion of Mazdayasna. Lastly, it has been the birthplace of many scholars associated with both pre-Islamic and Islamic historical periods. Its ancient and historical sphere encompassed a vast territory. It extended from the banks of Murghab River in the west to Takharistan in the east, from the mountains of Bamiyan in the south to the Amu River in the north. In certain historical periods, its territory included Badakhshan in the east, Farrodan in the north, and Bamiyan in the south. Its political realm, throughout the history, included the present-day Afghanistan, ancient Ariana and it extended to the north and east of India.

Despite the glorious history, Balkh has gone through many ups and downs throughout its history. Sometimes it has witnessed magnificent constructions and sometimes it was turned into ruins. According to several historians, this city has been destroyed by wars more than twenty times in the course of history. However, the city bore much destruction twice, first, because of the conquest of Alexander and then due to the Mongol invasion. From all these historical eras, historical monuments, and cultural heritages have been transmitted that are of special value to archaeologists, historians, and both local and foreign researchers.

The cultural heritage of every nation and every country is in fact a part of the cultural heritage of the world. Therefore, it has a lot of value, being a common human property. Hence, the core mandate of UNESCO is to protect them.

It is very heartwarming to see Japan, a friend of our country, has valuable plans to work in the area of intangible cultural heritage of Afghanistan, especially the historical cultural heritage of Balkh and Bamiyan provinces. It is important to note that a small number of monuments in Balkh province have been preserved and restored by the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan in collaboration with donor countries. However, no attention has been paid to the protection of intangible cultural heritage. We cordially thank the leadership of the Ministry of Information and Culture of the government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the leadership of IRCI for launching training workshops on intangible cultural heritage for both Balkh and Bamiyan teams. Special gratitude goes to Mr. Wataru Iwamoto and Ms. Misako Ohnuki and their team for this great initiative. It is indeed of significant importance to have further protection programs with the assistance of Japan. I cordially hope or programs continue in the future.

We have conducted research on the two elements of Kāshi Sāzi (tiling or pottery), and Mesgari (coppersmith-ing). To do so, we had field research and we noted the information that was obtained from the tile makers and coppersmiths. We have prepared a step-by-step report on it and we hope that our reports contribute to introducing these two cultural heritages that are on the verge of extinction and oblivion.

## Kāshi<sup>1</sup> Sazi

Kāshi Sāzi or pottery industry, which is based on pottery, is one of the most ancient industries in Balkh that started around 1250 BC in Ariana. Tile or Kāshi is an artificial stone of various sizes, with a thickness of a few millimeters, which is made of two parts. Its main part is the clay part and its other part is the glaze coated on its surface, which is a glass product. Kāshi is used for decorative cladding of buildings from inside and outside as well as for insulation purposes to keep the walls safe from moisture. Manufacturing Kāshi or tiles is a two-step task. At first, wet clays are shaped into rectangular or squared shapes and are baked. Second, they are taken out of kilns and glazed, to be baked again. There are also Kāshis with floral designs and other kinds of Kāshis fashioned into shapes. Floral and fashioned Kāshi objects are made up of fashioned glazed toppings.

There are two tiled historical buildings in Balkh Province that are dated back to the ninth century AH (15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>2</sup>. The first one is a mosque that is called as the Mosque of Khajeh Abdu Nasr Parsa, which is in the centre of Balkh city. The other one is the Shrine of Hazrat-e Ali in Mazar-e Sharif City, the capital city of Balkh province. Also, there are other some other tiled building that is associated with the later historical periods.

From the 13<sup>th</sup> century AH (1990s) until now, a tile factory has been operating to meet the needs of the protective and restorative measures of the Shrine of Hazrat-e Ali in Mazar-e Sharif. Also, since 1390 AH (2010-2012), another small Kāshi factory that is also used for training purposes is established and run by the Aga Khan Cultural Foundation in cooperation with the Department of Information and Culture of Balkh Province. It is used for the protective restoration of the historic mosque of Khajeh Abu Nasr Parsa. In addition, in 1396 AH (2016-2018), another factory associated with the Indian government has been operating in the Shrine of Hazarat-e Ali.

Today, in addition to the protective restoration of the historic buildings, traditional tiles are used to decorate some mosques and other sacred sites. It is also used to decorate modern buildings. Tiles are also used to make vases and other decorative objects to be put on tables and inside the cabinets. Tiles that are made in Balkh has its unique fame for its best quality.

Traditional tiles come in many varieties. The surfaces of traditional tiles are fashioned with geometric shapes, flowers, plants, living beings and inscriptions. Tiles come into many colors such as turquoise, azure, red, green, yellow, etc.

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1 Tiles and Kāshi is sometime used interchangeably here.

2 The Solar Hijra calendar (AH) is converted to the Gregorian calendar by translator for reference purposes.

## Description and the Purpose of the Research

The following themes are included in this research: The method of making Kāshi, the steps involved in making it, the usage of Kāshi, the challenges of tile makers, the reasons behind its neglect, the negative impact of wars, and the lack of protection of this cultural heritage.

The purpose of this research is to identify the current status of Kāshi Sāzi craft in Balkh province to explore ways to prevent its extinction and to take measures toward its safeguarding.

## Methodology

We have utilized field research method. To do so, we have visited Kāshi Sāzi or tile making factories in the holy shrine. We have interviewed the tilemakers and we have noted our findings.

## Data-Collection Method

We visited the tilemakers based on a predetermined appointment. Then, we interviewed them, using the questionnaire that was sent to us by IRCI. We have interviewed several people, with several rules in Kāshi Sāzi.

- The research was conducted in the tile factory which is in the shrine of Hazarat-e Ali in Mazar-e Sharif on 16 June 2019.
- We utilized the questionnaire that was sent to us by IRCI.
- The interviewees are selected based on their distinct rule in Kāshi Sāzi.

## The Art of Tiling

According to Mr. Torialai Razeqyar, one of the writers and cultural figures of Balkh, tilemaking is one of the fine arts and a craft associated with the Khorasan Era. After studies of some elliptical, square, and jeweled glazed potteries in Bala Hesar of Balkh, which corresponds to today's characteristics of tile, the history of the tiling is traced back to the ancient Balkh period. Balkh is considered as one of four great cities of Khorasan, in the third and the fourth centuries AH (10-11<sup>th</sup> centuries).

The use of Kāshi in the architectural industry, and especially in sacred buildings, schools and monasteries relates to the beginning of the Timurid civilization. It was at this time that Kāshi became popular in many parts of Khorasan and Central Asia. The masterpieces that are left from this period could be found in Gohar Shaq Mosque in Mashhad, the grand mosque of Herat, and the Monastery of Khajeh Abu Nasr Parsa in Balkh city. The oldest masterpiece of tilemaking in the ancient Balkh was found in the remnants of the ruins of a building located in the holy shrine. It was more than 600 years old. The inscription on its walls and its decorations were beautifully made. Unfortunately, it was destroyed in 1336 AH (1957- 1958).

The tiling of the port in Abu Nasr Parsa monastery in Balkh city also belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> century AH (17<sup>th</sup> century) It is decorated with shear tiles.

The tiling of the holy shrine was done in 1285 AH (1906- 1907) by Ustad Sami Samarkandi, who is considered as a disciple of the tiling school of Balkh.

The southern and western parts of the holy shrine, the tombs of Amir Shir Ali Khan and Wazir Mohammad Akbar Khan are decorated with gemstone tiles that have a unique beauty.

In the years 1285-1315 AH (1906-1937) about 700 types of Kāshi that are also used in the holy shrine was made by the disciples of Master Sami Samarkandi.

The art of tiling of Balkh is of special delicateness with long history what requires safeguarding and out attention (Torialai Razeqyar).

Our factory staff usually bring the soil that is used in making Kāshi from a remote area called Dolatabad district. It is because this sort of soil is essential in tilemaking. This soil has less stone, sands, and other unnecessary materials. First, the soil is pounded to become softened well. Then the soil is sifted to remove stones from it.

After the soil is sifted, it is mixed with another type of soil, called "Barakat." This type of soil is brought from a place called as *Chesmeh Shafa*. Barakat soil has a substance called silicon in its composition, which is also used in coloring tiles. In addition, silicon increases the strength of the tiles as well. The proportion of Barakat soil should be about 10% - 15%.

After the above-mentioned ingredients are added, water is added to the soil to make it greasy.

Then, the soil is left untouched for 24 hours. After that, the soil is pounded by feet to get hardened.

After that, the wet soil is put in mold of different sizes to shape the tiles. At the onset, a little dry soil is spread on the mold. It is to make it a bit drier so that the soil is not deformed once it is removed from the molds. Then, the mold is filled with wet soil and pressed by hands to make it bind properly.

Then, the tiles are taken out of the molds and put for 3 days and nights to cure and dry. After they are dried, they are lathed to make them flat and smooth. After they are lathed, the tiles are measured to make sure that all their edges are uniform. Then, they are polished with a scarf to fill their remaining pores and holes. Then, they are fired in an extremely hot kiln.

After the tiles are out of the kiln, they are decorated in a variety of patterns. The patterns are made of plastic. Tiles are painted in various patterns. After that, a paint pen is used to make the design and the lines on the tiles clearer.

After that, the tiles are painted in different colors as desired such as red, white, turquoise, azure, yellow and black.

These traditional tiles are in many types. They are decorated with different patterns such as geometric shapes, flowers, plants, and animals. Sometimes tiles have inscriptions as well. These inscriptions are in many colors such as turquoise, azure, red, green, yellow, etc.

After the painting process is done, the tiles are again heated at 700-600 degrees Celsius for 12-14 hours.

The production capacity of the factory in the holy shrine is about 7 cubic meters at a time.

After they are out of the kiln, they are ready for consumption.

The number of tilemakers was 31 people in the past. Now, only 9 people are left. Only one person is in charging of tiling or installing tiles.

The color is made from tin, soft and hard lead, and copper oxide. They are added together and heated just a little bit so that the material turns into powder. The color that is made by the above ingredients are always resistant against heat, snow, rain, cold and moisture. The life cycle of these sorts of color is

also comparatively long as they last at least about 100 years. The colors are azure, red, cyan, green, yellow, orange, white and black.

There are two tiled historical buildings in Balkh Province that are dated back to the ninth century AH(15<sup>th</sup> century). The first one is a mosque that is called as the Mosque of Khajeh Abdu Nasr Parsa, which is in the centre of Balkh city. The other one is the Shrine of Hazrat-e Ali in Mazar-e Sharif City, the capital city of Balkh province. Also, there are other some other tiled building that is associated with the later historical periods.

### **The current status and challenges of making Kāshi (tile) in Balkh Province**

As stated above, there are two tilemaking factories in Balkh province, one is located inside the holy shrine and the other one is in Balkh district of Balkh province. However, the later factory has recently stopped its activities due to an increase in insecurity and Taliban's threat.

The other tile making factory, which is in the shrine, is active. However, it is not in a good condition. People who work there are not properly funded and they face with dozens of problems such as insecurities and the lack of attention toward preserving Kāshi Sāzi or tiling.

Khalifa Mohammad Rahim, old now, who is a master of tile making asserted that despite his encouragement, young people are not interested in learning tilemaking. The reason according to him is that choosing tilemaking as a career cannot provide a living for the craftsmen. Tile craftsmen are extremely worried about the lack of interest in tile making as they think tiling is gradually being forgotten if enough attention is not paid.

Tilemakers also spoke about their financial difficulties, adding that their monthly wage is 5500 Afs, equivalent to 75 USD. Khalifa Mohammad Sha Amin, another tile master asserted that they work from dawn to dusk but their wage of 75 USD does not cover their basic living expenses. That is why many tilemakers have left their career for other careers.

Making traditional hand-made tiles are not an easy task; only the craftsmen can do it, who have continued making tiles up to now.

The craftsmen make many varieties of tiles, some which come with inscriptions.

We also visited their small factory and noticed that they need some support. Their place was small. To promote this heritage, they need a bigger place with a bigger production capacity, where they could also train students. We hope that some plans are undertaken to protect and preserve the intangible cultural heritage of Balkh, especially those elements that are on the verge of extinction.

The other common problem that the tile makers were complaining about was the lack of security and the state of war in the country. The ingredients are usually brought from other district and some remote unsafe areas. This makes it exceedingly difficult for the tilemakers.

### **Difficulties of tilemakers in Balkh province**

- Lack of proper facilities and equipment
- Lack of standard and suitable place
- Lack of security in areas where ingredients of Kāshi are found
- Lack of some essential ingredient, especially a unique ink that is imported from foreign countries such as from Turkey, Germany, and Iran.

- Lack of sufficient income for tilemakers.
- Lack of attention of governmental and non-governmental institutions to ICH
- Financial difficulties

### Recommendations

- We call on the esteemed administration of IRCI to establish an Intangible Cultural Heritage Training Center in Balkh province, to protect the intangible cultural heritage of Balkh through training the youth, both male and female. The youth are to be trained by professors and specialists.
- We ask the esteemed administration of IRCI to help in holding seminars and conferences to introduce intangible cultural heritage to the locals in Balkh province, especially those elements that are endangered such as Kāshi Sāzi, Misgari and Samanak. We also ask IRCI to launch some long-term protection plans.
- We ask IRCI to hold trainings and capacity-building programs in Japan and invite the teams, that are involved in ICH related activities, for participation.
- We call on the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to further strengthen our cultural relations with Japan to further facilitate cultural activities and programs.
- We ask the Ministry of Information and Culture of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to attract the support of Japan and facilitate the establishment of an ICH training center, a standard museum, and a standard public library in Balkh Province.

With thanks

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Haji Ghafor, (Kāshi Sāzi.) Interviewed by: Zabihullah Aryaie (16 June 2019) Mazari-e-Sharif.

Mohammad Sabir (Kāshi Sāzi.) Interviewed by: Zabihullah Aryaie (16 June 2019) Mazari-e-Sharif.



1. The Soil that is used to make tiles



2. Sifting the soil



3. Mixing the ordinary soil with Barakat soil



4. Adding water on the soil



5. Pounding the soil with hands



6. Pounding the soil with feet



7. Molding the tiles



8. Covering the molds with dry dust to prevent tiles from deforming when they are removed from the molds



9. Cutting the wet clay with a sharp string



10. Drying the tiles in a shadowy and dry place



11. The lathing phase



12. Polishing the tiles with a scarf to fill their holes



13. Firing the tiles in a kiln (Khalifa Mohammad Rahim, Kāshi Master)



14. Kāshi Kiln



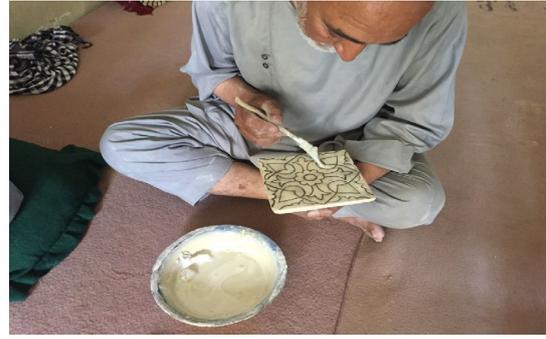
15. Creating the pattern on tiles



16. Painting the tiles and making the patterns more vivid



17. Painted tiles/Kāshi



18. Coloring the tiles



19. A finished tile/Kāshi Product



20. Varieties of tiles

## III REPORT OF TIMOR-LESTE

### 1. MANUFAHI

#### Background

During the Workshop on Preliminary Research for the project ‘Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Counties in Asia’(Tokyo, Japan, 5-6 April, 2018)<sup>1</sup>, an agreement to conduct research on ICH in Timor-Leste, focusing on two districts, Manufahi and Covalima was made. Regarding the study in Manufahi, it was agreed to urgently identify ICH elements that are at risk of disappearing, especially rituals and ceremonies, as the practitioners are ageing since the conflict. In November 2018, the MoU was signed between the Ministry of Education and Culture of Timor-Leste <sup>2</sup>and IRCI.

Mr. Celestino da Silva Mendes Sarmento, who participated in the 2012 IRCI programme ‘Documentation of ICH as a Tool for Community-led safeguarding Activities’ for three years and who was recommended by the government of Timor-Leste, leveraged his knowledge of ICH documentation, and led field research in June 2018 in a community named Rotuto Village, Same subdistrict, Manufahi District. Sixty-four processes of the ritual for requesting water (Ceremonia ritual tuk lisensa la Ear Mata Luli ‘Tissi Mai’) were recorded on video and the existing practitioners were identified

The outcomes of the study were shared at the Meeting for ‘Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Counties in Asia’ (Tsuruoka & Tokyo, Japan, 8-12 December, 2018) attended by Mr. Aleixo da Cruz, Mr. Celestino da Silva Mendes Sarmento, and three experts from Afghanistan.



*Figure 1: Workshop (Tokyo, Japan, 5-6 April 2018)*

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- 1 Participants: Mr. Manuel Smith, Director of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Education and Culture, Mr. Aleixo da Cruz, General Coordinator, Unit of Implementation of Academy of Creative Arts in Timor-Leste under the Director General's office and Mr. Celestino da Silva Mendes Sarmento, Head of Culture, Manufahi District  
2 Current Ministry of Higher Education Science and Culture



*Figure 2 :Ritual in Rotuto Village, Manufahi*



*Figure 3: Ritual in Rotuto Village, Manufahi*

*REFERENCE: PRESENTATION (POWERPOINT) BY TIMOR-LESTE RESEARCH TEAM AT THE MEETING FOR STUDY OF EMERGENCY PROTECTION OF ICH IN CONFLICT-AFFECTED COUNTRIES IN ASIA (TSURUOKA & TOKYO, JAPAN, 8-12 DECEMBER 2018)*

## TL INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

*IRCI-Tokyo, 8-11 December 2018*

### Administrative Divisions of Timor-Leste



**Site of the research in municipality of Manufahi**



### General information on Timor-Leste (TL)

- TL was a former colony of Portugal until 1975 (1515-1975)
- TL proclaimed unilaterally its independence in 28 November 1975
- Indonesia invaded TL in 7 December 1975
- in 1999 UN conducted a popular consultation where TL chose to become independent versus integrated to Indonesia
- in May, 2002 TL restoration of independence with UN recognition
- current total population in 2018 is 1,324,094 inhabitants

## Current Challenges

- As a new nation Timor-Leste has a myriad of developmental priorities in its agenda
- Cultural sector often times does not yet attract much attention from politicians in government to deal with as a top priority.
- Therefore, annual budget allocated is minimum compared to other sectors (such as infrastructure, health, education, etc.)
- 

## Continue....

- Timor-Leste has been through two consecutive parliament elections first in 2017 with minority government impacting on the government program budget of 2018 not being able to pass through parliament so development programs were implemented;
- Another election was held in May-2018 but until now it still faces an internal political uncertainty;
- For this reason our surveys out in the field for the ICHs were not being able to be implemented.
- Next year's government program budget is now being discussed through the parliament and finally through the President office expected to be promulgated early 2019

## TL general information on law and policies on cultural properties

- ❖ Government Resolution no. 30/2014 of 29 October, Day of National Culture
- ❖ Decree-law no. 33/2017 of 6 September, about Legal Regime of Cultural Heritage

## UN CONVENTIONS ratified in 2016 by TL

- ❖ 1972 the World Heritage Convention
- ❖ 2003 the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention
- ❖ 2005 Protection and Promotion of Cultural Diversity and Expression Convention

Government Resolution no. 24/2009 of 18  
November approves the National Policy on Culture

General Objective

- ❖ The National Policy for Culture of TL is based on the general objective to make the culture a dynamic element which is present in all areas of governance.
- Such objective is defined in government programs that mentions the need to “put culture to serve the affirmation of the nation and state of TL”.

Specific objectives of the national policy on  
culture

- Democratization and decentralization of access to culture
- Preservation of the memory and expressions of traditional culture
- Preservation of the cultural heritage
- Dinamization of arts

## Decree-Law no.33/2017, of 6 September on legal regime of cultural heritage

General contents of Decree-Law no.33/2017, of 6 September on legal regime of cultural heritage are on:

- the legal protection,
- preservation,
- defense and
- giving value to Timorese cultural heritage

## 2. COVALIMA

### Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-affected Countries in Asia: Cova Lima, Timor Leste Endangered Rituals and Ceremonies

Susan McIntyre-Tamwoy

*Associate Director/Senior International Heritage Specialist at Navin Officer Heritage Consultants Pty Ltd, Australia*

#### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report documents work to date on endangered rituals and ceremonies of Cova Lima in East Timor and Koba Lima, West Timor. Initially the project was intended to include a field survey in Cova Lima, Timor-Leste and report on the analysis of the results. However, the unprecedented impacts of the COVID-19 global pandemic made it impossible to carry out the survey. The project had to be modified and instead, it has relied on desktop research and an interview with a Timorese academic based in Melbourne who has recently completed a field study in the border country of Koba Lima (West Timor) and Cova -Lima (East Timor).

The report found that identifying rituals and ceremonies specifically endangered as a result of the Indonesian occupation was not clear cut. Timor-Leste has been subject to a sometimes-violent occupation by the Portuguese for many years and briefly by Japanese forces during World War II (February 1942 until February 1943) each of these are likely to have had some impact on local rituals and ceremonies. By destroying the *uma lulik* of many communities and stealing and or destroying the sacred objects that it contained there is no doubt that many rituals and ceremonies were endangered, altered or even temporarily abandoned. With independence, some of these have been reinstated but how much they have been altered requires further study.

The impact of modernity and government initiatives including agricultural reform are likely to pose a significant threat to many of the rituals embedded in daily life where these become separated from the practices that they were created to support.

Several ideas for future projects emerge from this research and are listed at the end of the report. A number of future research possibilities arise from this research and the interview with Dr Kehi and they include:

- Video documentation (similar to the video *Wild Honey: Caring for bees in a divided land*) of rituals in their context.
- Electronic- archives of ICH including appropriate rituals as resource that can be used in the district's schools.
- Detailed participatory field research (perhaps utilising Dr Kehi and his local connections) is needed to effectively document and understand rituals and ceremonies and how they might be endangered, and which have been significantly damaged during the former Indonesian occupation. The districts of Cova Lima and Koba Lima provide an ideal study area for this type of research as they straddle the border.

- Research into rituals associated with traditional agricultural practices and exploration of links to environmentally sustainable practice, this would enhance the relevance of such rituals to contemporary calls for a more sustainable agricultural sector.
- The use of tara bandu to protect lulik areas essential to some practices can contribute to the safeguarding of ICH.

Given the nuanced subject matter of ceremonies and rituals, it should be noted that any future research field trip or project as suggested above should include a researcher or co-researcher who is fluent in Tetun.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Background to this project**

The International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI) is a UNESCO Category 2 Research centre which works as a research hub for related institutions in the region. They have conducted a wide variety of projects. It works alongside diverse actors to promote research regarding ICH safeguarding. The IRCI promotes UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereinafter referred to as "the 2003 Convention") in the Asia-Pacific region.

The IRCI initiated a project aimed at identifying rituals and ceremonies that are endangered in post-conflict countries. This focused on 3 countries Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste (Timor-Leste) and Sri Lanka. For various practical reasons, the project in Timor-Leste, in the target area of Cova Lima, has proved difficult to initiate. This was in part due to a lack of local research institutes with which to partner and then later due to restrictions forced by the COVID-19 global pandemic.

#### **1.1.1. The Project Brief**

The project brief aimed to identify ICH elements especially focusing on rituals and ceremonies that were at risk of disappearing or falling out of use since independence in 2002. It called for the completion of the following activities:

- Development of a questionnaire to be used by local researchers in Cova Lima.
- Identification of possible local researchers
- Collation and analysis of the material gathered by local researchers and preparation of a report to the IRCI.

Unfortunately, the restrictions of the COVID 19 pandemic made it impossible to carry out the field survey. Attempts to identify local people to carry out the survey were hampered as contacts in Timor-Leste had been forced to leave due to the pandemic restrictions. The brief of the project was therefore modified to include desktop research and interviews with Timorese living in Australia. The UNESCO Office in Dili provided contact details for Dr Balthazar Kehi who was interviewed for this project.

#### **1.1.2. Structure of this Report**

This report:

- Provides a description of the project (Section 1)
- Provides the geographical and political context (Section 2)
- Provides an overview of the state of research into ICH in Timor-Leste (Section 3)

- Provides an account of the interview with Dr Kehi (Section 4)
- Provides additional detail on some rituals (Section 5)
- Describes the main issues identified and recommendations for future work (Section 6)

### **1.1.3. Restricted Information**

No information in this report was provided as restricted or confidential information. No information provided by stakeholders in this report has been specifically identified as requiring access restrictions due to its cultural sensitivity.

### **1.1.4. Acknowledgements**

The following people provided beneficial advice and assistance Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste this project: Ms Adelina Carly TILMAN LOURDES, UNESCO Dilli; Mrs Lisa ROBERTS; Dr Balthasar KEHI.

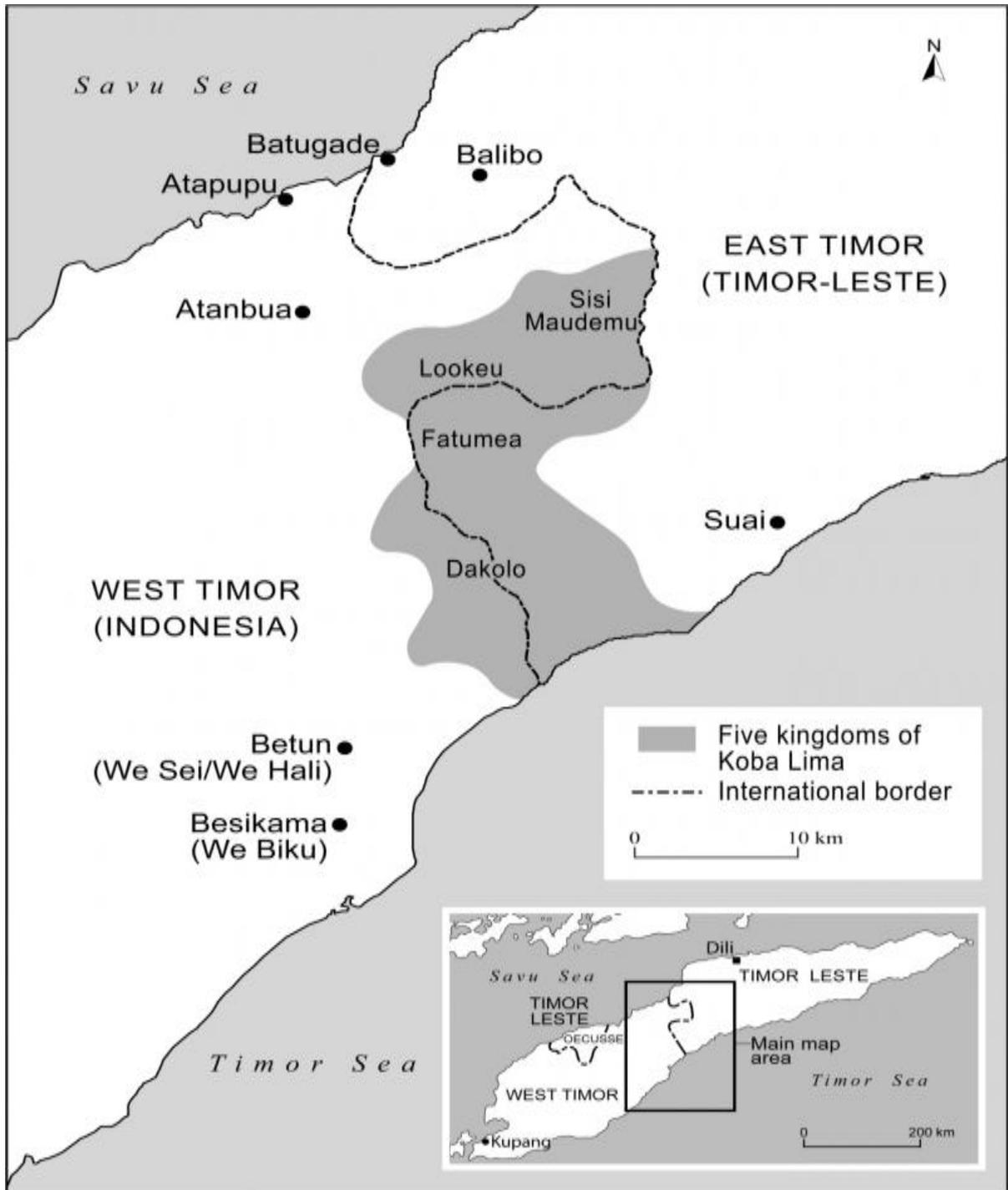


Figure1-1: Map of the five kingdoms of Koba Lima spanning the border between east and West Timor. Source Kehi and Palmer 2019

## 2. SETTING THE GEOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The island of Timor is artificially divided politically into East and West. The shared origin myth is that the island was once a crocodile: *Lafaek Diak*, (the Good Crocodile) who was saved by a small boy and out of friendship for a boy, when it came time to die, he chose to turn himself into a home for the boy and his descendants. Each scaly bump on its back turned into a mountain. Timorese call crocodiles *Abo Lafaek*. *Abo* (sometimes *Avo*) is the Tetum-language word for grandparent. Killing crocodile is culturally forbidden as well as illegal. When the people of Timor-Leste swim in the ocean, they enter the water saying, “Don’t eat me crocodile, I am your relative”.

### 2.1. East Timor

Timor-Leste is a young nation in Southeast Asia. Gaining independence in 2002, after 24 years of occupation by the Indonesian military, it was prior to that a colony of Portugal. The Portuguese left the country after a long period of colonisation dating back to the 16th century. Commonly known as East Timor or Timor-Leste the county’s official name is the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. It comprises the eastern half of the island of Timor, the nearby islands of Atauro and Jaco, and Oecusse, an exclave on the north western side of the island surrounded by Indonesian West Timor. Australia is the country's southern neighbour, separated by the Timor Sea.

Timor-Leste has a long history of colonisation and struggle. The entire island of Timor was claimed by Portugal in 1520 although they did not effectively colonise it until much later by which time the Dutch West India Company had established a settlement in West Timor. The Portuguese and Dutch eventually reached a treaty in 1859 whereby Portugal ceded the western half of the island. The eastern half then became known as Portuguese Timor until 28 November 1975, when the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) declared the territory's independence. Nine days later, it was invaded and occupied by the Indonesian military and it was declared Indonesia's 27th province the following year. The Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste was characterised by a highly violent, decades-long conflict between separatist groups and the Indonesian military. In 1999, following the United Nations-sponsored act of self-determination, Indonesia relinquished control of the territory. On the 20 May 2002 it became the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste.

The predominant religion in Timor-Leste is Catholicism and its two official languages are Portuguese and Tetum. Portuguese is the main language used in schools. At the end of Portuguese rule, illiteracy was at 95% but by 2010 had fallen to 58%. The issue of language is important to the safeguarding of ICH as it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the diminished use of local traditional languages is linked to a loss of other traditions and customs. There are several other local languages in Timor-Leste some of them are classed as ‘endangered’.

When languages fade, so does the world’s rich tapestry of cultural diversity. Opportunities, traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking and expression – valuable resources for ensuring a better future – are also lost. (UNESCO 2008:1)



Figure 2-1: The thirteen municipalities of Timor-Leste (reproduced under Creative Commons Licence) <sup>1</sup>

## 2.2. West Timor

West Timor is an area covering the western part of Timor islands, except for the district of Oecussi-Ambeno. Administratively, West Timor is part of East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. During the colonial period, the area was named Dutch Timor.

As previously noted, the Portuguese claimed the island of Timor in 1520 however, despite this, the Dutch (in the form of the Dutch East India Company, settled in West Timor in 1640 refusing to recognise the Portuguese claim. After the collapse of the company in 1799, West Timor came under official Dutch rule. Finally, in 1914, the border between East and West Timor was finalized by a treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands that was originally signed in 1859 and modified in 1893. Japan invaded the island along with Indonesia during World War II in early 1942. After Indonesian independence from Japan in 1945, they annexed West Timor and from 1949 to 1975 it was named Indonesian Timor, part of the (then) new Republic of Indonesia.

The main indigenous languages of West Timor are Dawan, Marae and Tetun. There are several other languages, some of which are also used in East Timor and several of which are endangered. While local languages are used in primary schools to grade 4, after that the Indonesian is compulsory language.

## 2.3. Cova Lima/ Koba Lima

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<sup>1</sup> Source Adapted from File:2015 East Timor, administrative divisions - de - colour.tif Author/ User:J. Patrick Fischer; adapted by User:Smjg

'The spelling 'Cova' is a 'portuguesation' of the Tetun Terik word 'Koba'. The region's name is derived from *lima* which means 5 and *Koba* which means 'basket'. A koba is a particular type of basket still made and carried by women on the region today for social and spiritual purposes (Kehi & Palmer 2019:65). It is made to carry lime and betel nut and often also contains other offerings such as coins and tobacco. Even today every woman of the village would have one of these baskets. As is the case for most Timorese who live away from the major towns and cities, the people of Cova Lima live their daily lives guided by their *lisan* (cultural traditions) and customary protocols (Palmer and McWilliams 2018:4).

The Portuguese spelling with a 'C' instead of 'K' and a 'V' instead of 'B' it is argued by some to diminish this connection with its cultural meaning as the word 'cova' in Portuguese means a pit or to bury (Kehi per comm 22/12/2020). The name Cova Lima is a Portuguese adaptation of the Tetun term 'koba lima' a reference to the five original seats of power in central Timor: Fatumea, Lookeu, Dakolo, Sisi and Mau Demu (Kehi and Palmer 2012)

The modern border between East and West Timor runs through the ancient landscape for Koba Lima (see Figure) dividing the five kingdoms. From 1975-1999 when both East and West Timor were under Indonesian rule the colonial border was lifted and people moved freely across it but the border was reactivated after East Timor's independence.

### 2.3.1. The cultural groups of Cova Lima

Cova Lima is inhabited mainly by Tetun people but also has a significant Bunak population that have settled in the district over several decades, some through forced resettlement during Indonesian occupation. Some Kemak people have also settled in the north of the Cova Lima District.

### 2.4. Indonesian Invasion and occupation 1975-1999

The focus of the IRCIs project relates to rituals and ceremonies that may be threatened due to impacts and restrictions associated with the Indonesian occupation, however it is worth noting that period of Portuguese colonial rule also attempted to control and restrict some ceremonies. For example, the Portuguese authorities tried to reduce rituals involving animal sacrifice and a licence had to be applied for in order to conduct a ceremony that involved such rituals. This was not so much from a concern for welfare as an economic one - they saw the practice as costly and wasteful (Martinho 1936 cited in McWilliam et al 2014).

The Indonesian invasion of East Timor, also known as Operasi Seroja, or 'Operation Lotus', began on December 7, 1975. With US approval, Indonesian forces launched a massive air and sea invasion using almost entirely US-supplied weapons and equipment. (AWM<sup>2</sup>)

Under Indonesian occupation some ceremonies and rituals were reportedly outlawed although, as we have seen in the interview with Dr Kehi not all of them (see Section 4). It is likely that some rituals were misinterpreted as animism which is incompatible with Indonesia's requirement that one of the major one god religions be adopted. The Indonesian government also forcibly resettled

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2 <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/E84716> accessed 26/1/2021)

people in many parts of the country during their occupation. For example, in southwest Cova Lima, Bunak people from northern Sucos in the Cova Lima District, such as Fatululic and Taroman, were forcibly resettled by the Indonesian occupation forces to the lowlands between Suai and the border. The official reason was a development program for rice cultivation, but it probably had more to do with disrupting support for Fretilin. The Indonesian army established internment camps, 'in December 1978 the Indonesian military admitted to having interned 372,900 Timorese people (60% of the population) in 150 camps'. (Durand 2011:10). Due to the disruption to farming and a lack of access to cultivatable land caused by these forced relocations, several famines impacted the Timorese people over the period of Indonesian occupation.

Forced relocation of communities, the separation of families and the loss of older generations due to illness and hunger have, repeatedly throughout human history, been demonstrated to cause disruption in the cultural transmission of traditional practices and ceremonies. While the people of Cova Lima/ Koba Lima were no longer separated by a hard border during Indonesian occupation and were ostensibly free to move across the region for ceremonies, wedding funerals etc. they also experienced relocations as noted above.

Across many parts of Timor-Leste serious human rights violations such as rapes, killings and disappearances, have gone unaccounted for and the consequences of this effect the daily lives of many families. In many cases these events were rendered even more traumatic because of the close social ties between the perpetrators and victims of violence. Perpetrators of these violent acts were not only Indonesian military but were often local men recruited by the Indonesian forces (Sakti 2013)



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

P05096.004

Figure 2-2 : Fretilin Supporters near the village of Tilomar, in the Cova-Lima district of East Timor in the Southwest part of East Timor. (Photographer Jon Lewis 2000; Australian War Memorial)

### 3. STATE OF RESEARCH INTO ICH IN TIMOR -LESTE

There has been a lot written about Timor-Leste, its traditions and disruptions finding specific references to Koba Lima /Cova Lima and to rituals and ceremonies is rarer. However, there have been some relevant research in the area, the most useful and accessible of which is the work of Kehi and Palmer (2012; 2019) which deal specifically with rituals and traditional practice associated with daily life in Koba Lima. Many of the things discussed by Dr Kehi in his interview in the next section (Section 4) are also addressed in these two papers.

In 2013 there was a second capacity building workshop related to the 2003 Convention held in Timor-Leste (Goswami 2013), however the report is very brief and does not touch on aspects of ritual practice except in a passing reference to practices around betel-nut. In that workshop

The ICH elements identified by the groups were: Aihan tradisional Akar (the craft of weaving traditional bamboo screens for use in homes), Naran Ekipa Bua Malus (the ingredients, objects, values and rites associated with betel-nut), Tebe Lilin (oral history stories), Koto Tisi (the preparation of a bean variety usually considered famine food to render it edible) and Uma Lisan Soe Mamulak (ancestral houses as the cultural fibre of the community) (Goswami 2013:5).

In addition to the direct references to rituals in the expression ‘rites associated with betel nut’ it seems likely that references in the report to traditional, and sustainable agricultural practices include ritual aspects. It is important that this information is captured otherwise just inventorying activity may contribute to the separation of ICH from its meaning. Dr Kehi described this as ‘...young people may have the knowledge but have lost the practice and faith of it. It is enough to take them to the door, but they can’t enter the room’ (Kehi pers comm.22/12/2020).

In 2014 the state party launched a book prepared by UNESCO called ‘*The living heritage of communities in Timor-Leste*’ (Secretariat of State for Arts and Culture & UNESCO) however the only place that a hard copy of this document is held in Australia appears to be the National Library of Australian in Canberra and is currently off limits due to the pandemic. A digital version is available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000235310> Apart from this there appears to be little activity from the government in relation to ICH although there may be some unpublished work behind the scenes (see below also) as the UNESCO website notes that there is an ongoing nomination for Tais, a traditional textile which is expected to be brought forward for listing in 2021. *The Tais (Timorese cloth) we make are used for traditional events and ceremonies as well as for gifts for family and friends.* (Ms. Lina Ribeiro cited in (Secretariat of State Arts and Culture & UNESCO 2014:12).

In relation to Koba Lima /Cova Lima, the above book features pottery from Koba Lima /Cova Lima and many examples of ritual practice from around Timor-Leste but not specific to Koba Lima /Cova Lima. There is a photo and reference to inventorying of ICH by staff of the Secretariat of State for Arts and Culture and community members in Koba Lima /Cova Lima and a photo of a ritual *Hakau Kabu-Hatalik Liman* taken at Suai, Koba Lima /Cova Lima.

In 2016 the 7th in a series of capacity building workshops was held in Timor-Leste as a means to promote the ratification and implementation of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Anon 2016). That workshop gathered participants,

representing central and district government officials, academics, cultural practitioners, youths, and NGOs.

A small article on the significance and role of the sacred houses *uma-lulik* (Mendonca 2019) was published in ICHPUS+ (the ICHCAP e Newsletter). That article also notes that the negative effects of globalisation are a factor in the Abandonment of these traditional buildings but also places a heavy emphasis on their impacts of conflict:

The long process of conflict has had effects on the cultural heritage value, specifically of traditional houses themselves. Many *uma-lulik* were destroyed and abandoned during the Indonesian occupation (1975–1999). The existence of the *uma-lulik* was dramatically reduced due to most people being classed as suspect and ritual ceremonies being prohibited by the Indonesian military. In 1999, many traditional houses were destroyed during the final period of Indonesian occupation. The long-running background of conflict also includes the Japanese attacks between 1942 and 1945 and the Portuguese colonialism period for almost five centuries (1512–1975). (Mendonca:2019).

*Uma lulik* are ritual buildings used on special occasions for gatherings and other ceremonies. The word 'lulik' refers to the non-human realm containing the divine creator and the spirits of the ancestors, also including sacred regulations that dictate relationships between people, people and nature, and people and non-human dimensions (Trindade, 2012). The Portuguese missionaries, during Portugal's long occupation, interpreted this as paganism and as a result ritual activity associated with the sacred houses has become, in many cases, shrouded in secrecy. For more information about these buildings see Boldoni 2020 who has produced a paper based on her doctoral research.

### 3.1.1. ICH activity in Timor-Leste

As noted above there has been some documented activity in relation to ICH in Timor-Leste although most references found are a decade old.

#### 3.1.1.1. *Tais*

While *tais* cloth in themselves are not a ceremony, there is a ritualistic element to the wearing of many types of *tais* and so it is worth mentioning as an important tangible element of almost all ceremonial activity in Timor-Leste. The traditional woven cloth is worn by participants in most ceremonies, they form part of the ritual exchange of gifts 'barlake' from the bride's family to the groom's family and a *Tais koli* is used as a funeral shroud. Different *Tais* are donned as part of different rituals.

The UNESCO website notes that there is an active nomination for *Tais* which is a ceremonial cloth. A safeguarding project related to *Tais* was implemented in 01/10/2019-31/03/2020 <https://ich.unesco.org/en/assistances/tais-traditional-textile-01563> however no specific report on this project was found on the UNESCO website.

After the country gained independence from Indonesia in 1999, *tais* weaving was rescued from the brink of extinction and once again rose to prominence as a symbol of cultural identity. The designs and colours used in *tais* vary from district to district; design features layers of colour and

texture woven in bands of different widths. Tais weavings are used for ceremonial adornment, sign of respect and appreciation towards guests, friends, relatives, home décor. they are sometimes joined with a seam to make *feto* or *mane tais*, worn by women and men respectively during ceremonies (Lush n.d). Designs, colours, and styles of tais production vary across East Timor's thirteen districts.

Tais weaving is subject to the same threats as other traditional weaving forms in Asia, predominantly threats to authenticity and intellectual property from cheap copies, use of cheap imported synthetic threads, or synthetic dyes instead of the traditional plant-based dyes. In recent years, the public textile market in the capital Dili has seen an influx of foreign-made weavings, which often look like tais and are sold (and made) more cheaply. A single tais woven using traditional methods can take anywhere from several days to a year, depending on the complexity of design and variety of colours used.

More information and photos on the processes used in Koba Lima /Cova lima can be found in the archive of an exhibition on Textiles in Koba Lima /Cova Lima held at Timor Aid office in Bairro dos Grilos from March 24 to April 25, 2013 as part of the culture project funded by European Commission, *In search of common ground: Textile Cultural tradition in the island of Timor*. The exhibition shows Koba Lima /Cova Lima textiles from Tetun Terik people, and it demonstrated the process of making these textiles using natural dyes presented by master weavers from Fatuisin, Camenaça as well as session of tradition and history storytelling by the lia-nain. It can be viewed at <http://www.timoraid.org/textiles-of-covalima.php>



Figure 3-1: Weaving in Cova Lima Photographer David Palazón, *Tatoli ba Kultura*. (Reuse of this image is licenced under Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license).

### 3.1.1.2. Documentation activity

As noted above there have been two UNESCO documentation workshops held in Timor-Leste. An picture book of a range of ICH across the country was published by UNESCO in partnership with the Secretariat of State for Arts and Culture in 2014.

There have also been a number of research and documentation activities undertaken by private researchers and NGOs. Of interest is the MemoriaMedia digital archive project (see Dunphy et al 2017). This latter project focussed on Fataluku speaking people from eastern Timor-Leste around Lospalos. The project documented 30 elements all considered endangered<sup>3</sup>. Issue contributing to the endangered status were:

- Many elements no longer practiced regularly.
- Little or no deliberate intergenerational transmission
- Aging population of knowledge holders
- The average age of cultural leaders (av age 59 years old) combined with low life expectancy generally in Timor (67years)
- some cultural elements are not passed on until the next generation reaches middle age.
- Perceptions of relevance and modernity -the young perceive traditional culture and customs are out-dated or irrelevant.
- School now occupies the time that young people would have previously spent learning traditional practices;
- diminishing supply of forest-product materials needed for instrument making, crafts, building, and rituals

That study also noted that while the e-archive was a useful tool in safeguarding, transmitting, and documenting some forms of ICH it did not suit some sacred rituals that could not appropriately be shared in this way. Two rituals were recorded, they were the sacred house ritual *le masule* and the traditional wedding ceremony *lipal fa'i*. Many of the elements recorded such as some of the musical instruments may be used in daily practices such as to scare away birds from crops; but may also be used in special ceremonies or rituals.

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3 The archive can be found here

[https://manyhands.org.au/resources/2013\\_projects/research\\_project\\_preservation\\_of\\_endangered\\_forms\\_of\\_fataluku\\_cultural\\_expr#:~:text=The%20elements%20of%20Fataluku%20endangered,oral%20literature%20and%20song%20ritual.](https://manyhands.org.au/resources/2013_projects/research_project_preservation_of_endangered_forms_of_fataluku_cultural_expr#:~:text=The%20elements%20of%20Fataluku%20endangered,oral%20literature%20and%20song%20ritual.)



Figure 3-2: A koba (basket), made by the Bunak people of Cova Lima (Photo source courtesy of timoraid.org)

### 3.2. Anthropological research relevant to ICH

There is a growing body of anthropological literature some of which is relevant to ICH in Timor-Leste where the spiritual realm is enmeshed with the secular realm of day-to-day life, such that:

...the living community of landowners (rai na'in), maintain a continuing relationship of sacrificial commensality with their spirit domain (rai na'in). In exchange for placating and feeding the emplaced 'spirit owners' of the land, the affiliated living community ensures access to its abundant blessings and protection as well as political primacy over its jurisdictional resources. (Palmer and McWilliams 2018: 7)

Only a few direct references could be found specific to Koba Lima /Cova Lima amongst this scholarly literature however given the many years Portuguese colonial rule it is possible that other sources exist published only in Portuguese. It would be useful to identify such sources especially if they pre-date the Indonesian occupation as a way of identifying any ritual practices that were in place prior to the occupation that may have been discontinued and /or lost.

The references that relate specifically to Koba Lima /Cova Lima are (see reference list for full citations):

1. Kehi, B., and Palmer, L. 2012. 'Hamatak halirin: The cosmological and socio-ecological roles of water in Koba Lima, Timor'
2. Kehi, B., and Palmer L., 2019. 'Unity and Division: Caring for Humans and Non-humans in a Divided Land'
3. Palmer, L., McWilliam, A., 2018. 'Ambivalent 'Indigeneities' in an independent Timor-Leste: Between the customary and national governance of resources'.

#### 4. Video 'Wild Honey: Caring for Bees in a divided land' (see Section 5.5)

Central to understanding the way that ritual beliefs and practices are embedded in daily life in Koba Lima /Cova Lima is the concept of 'lulik'. The word lulik is often simply translated as 'sacred' or 'forbidden'. However, McWilliam and Palmer argue that 'the concept has much wider application as a set of fundamental, philosophical and moral orientations in Timorese social life' (McWilliam et al 2014:304).

Clearly culture is always evolving and adapting to the changing world in which people find themselves. Some ritual practices and ceremonies are no longer considered appropriate or desirable. For example, during the Portuguese colonial occupation rituals associated with warfare and death included headhunting and the subsequent ritual treatment of the enemy heads in ceremonies known as 'head-feasts' or *festa das cabeças* and the permanent display of severed heads sacred or lulik locations. (Roque 2010: 79 cited in McWilliam et al 2014). Such rituals are explicitly excluded from the protections of the 2003 Convention.

There have been a number of research papers published on death rituals since independence. While nothing specific to Koba Lima /Cova Lima could be found there is a detailed account of death rituals in Funar village in Manatuto district which is in central Timor Leste (Bovensiepen 2014). The details of the ceremony would form a good basis for comparison with ceremonies in Cova Lima if a field study trip were undertaken.

#### 4. INTERVIEW WITH DR KEHI

##### 4.1. Questionnaire: Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia: Covalima, Timor-Leste -Survey on endangered rituals and ceremonies-

##### About this questionnaire

This survey is being conducted by the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural heritage in the Asia Pacific Region (IRCI). Email: [irci@irci.jp](mailto:irci@irci.jp) The IRCI has a mandate to carry out research into methods of safeguarding endangered intangible cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage includes the full range of cultural practices and knowledge including rituals, ceremonies and craft techniques and know how. This questionnaire builds on past research that suggests that during Indonesian occupation some traditional cultural practices began to change or die out. This questionnaire focusses on endangered, or potentially endangered, rituals and ceremonies.

The following interview was conducted by phone as unfortunately the hard border between NSW and Victoria had been reinstated due to the pandemic.

Name of Interviewee: Dr Balthazar Kehi

Address of Interviewee: Melbourne Australia...bklookeu@gmail.com

Date: 22/12/2020

Person conducting Interview Dr Susan McIntyre-Tamwoy

Contact details of person conducting interview: smcintrye-tamwoy@nohc.com.au

**1. Can you describe for us what, if any, changes you have observed to traditional ritual practice as a result of the conflicts after the independence of Timor-Leste?**

Many if the traditional rituals are being carried out by an ever - smaller number of people but the reasons are more complex than just conflict related. The biggest issues are modernization and globalization:

- Government departments are encouraging a move away from the low steady yield sustainable methods of agriculture to more mechanized, high yield methods and monocultivation.
- Young people are moving away from rural areas to cities for education and then don't return
- Young people do not see the value in the traditional ways, so the intergenerational transmission of knowledge is broken
- Independence has seduced the people with ideas of progress and modernity.

Language is and religion play a part in this also.

- In East Timor the dominant language is now Portuguese and you can see the Portuguesation of the language through the spellings and place names. For example, the traditional name for the region is 'Koba Lima' with Koba meaning a special basket that is still used today and Lima the number 5. This also reflects the 5 kingdoms of Koba Lima. But on the eastern side of the border the term Cova Lima is used. This is due to the Portuguese language pronunciation but the meaning in Portuguese changes and the traditional meaning is lost. The dominance of Portuguese is perpetuated through the school system.
- On the Western side of the border, a similar thing happens with Indonesian as Tetun is only used in schools till grade 4 and then the use of Indonesian is compulsory.
- Young people continue to leave to study in places like Java and gradually adopt modern Indonesian ways.

Religion: One of the biggest changes related to the Indonesian occupation was the requirement to adopt one of 5 one-god religions. Most people became Catholic. This religion suddenly became dominant. While you might think that this meant traditional ceremonies ceased, they didn't. they just got added in and the Catholicism had to adapt. For example, his mother was a pious catholic but when she died her body was not brought to the church. Rather it passed by the church and she was brought to the sacred house. The priest knows the local traditions and so he came to the sacred house.

Years of shifting borders and the violence of the period of where the Indonesian and separatist forces fought resulted in people often being displaced from their ancestral villages/ land, but Dr Kehi thinks that the hard border running through Koba Lima, that divides east and west Timor is an issue, but not as big an issue, as one might think. It is relatively easy for people in Koba Lima to travel across the border to visit family and ancestral sites. And to some extent traditional reciprocal marriages area still happening although young people now don't pay as much attention to such practices.

**2. Ritual Prayers (*Hamulak*)- do you or your family still know and practice ritual prayers?**

Yes

This hamulak is a small part of *hanai halulik* which is a much bigger ritual through which you surrender to the divine. Hamulak is done daily. It is a way of recognizing and respecting the divine around you. People who still live in the village would also practice *hanai halulik* when something happens or if going on a journey. For example, with COVID -19, it has been used to 'let go' of the virus'. All of the students studying in Java and other places (that had the disease) had to return home to their villages, some had been studying medicine and other things, one medical student had it but self- isolated and through *hanai halulik* the disease was eliminated.

A strange benefit of the pandemic has been the forced return of young people and their reintegration into village life such as working in the fields etc.

**3. If you answered 'no' to question 1, can you explain why you no longer practice *Hamulak*?**

N/A

**4. Atoning for sins of the departed – do you practice *Mutun Mate* or something similar? Please advise if there is different name for this specific to Cova Lima.**

Yes

**5. If yes ...**

**a. Can you describe this ritual? (i.e. Who performs it? When is it done? What is sacrificed?)**

This is done right after a person passes away, sometimes it may be done for several years like on the anniversary. After someone dies their spirit is still walking around and this is a way of saying goodbye to the spirit of the deceased so that it can move on to the invisible realm. This is a realm invisible to the living but visible to the dead. It is also referred to as going to the darkness. The darkness here does not have a negative connotation it is just the opposite of the light and dark to us but the spirits can see.

No special person is required to carry out this ceremony it is a community thing. Everyone in the community will participate, they bring the deceased person's plate and spoon etc., to a crossroads at about 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning and smash them there.

- b. **When was the last time you performed this rite?** It is still practiced
- c. **Do you think this is important for your children to know?**

Yes but it is not relevant to them and their life in distant cities.

**6. *Tunu*- sacrifices offered for the souls of ancestors- is this still important to you and your family?**

This is not really about the souls of the dead it is about sacrifices to supreme supernatural beings (see section 5.1). It happens as part of *hanai halulik*. It is a way of people being able to connect with/ to see the divine. The spilling of blood made the place lulik, or sacred, and enables communication with the ancestral spirits and connection with the divine realm.

**7. Are there other rituals or cultural practices that are important to you and your family, such as rituals associated with childbirth, harvest, marriage etc?**

**If so, what are they and can you describe them for me?**

Rituals are just embedded in everyday practice and so where practice changes to embrace modernity the rituals are also left behind. For example, In the traditional way of agricultural there was an open the field ceremony. In every corner of the field, you would hang a ritual object (symbolic light) so that the darkness cannot come in and then also in the centre of the main field you would hang a light. There is a ceremonial offering at the 'heart of the field. You would also do this before consuming the rice. This is called *Loraman* which comes from the word to 'hang' and 'appear' and in *lora taro* the sun appears (or sunrise).

These everyday agricultural rituals are dying out because these sustainable forms of agriculture are being replaced with high yield mono crop cultivation methods.

Another example of the way that ritual is embedded in agricultural practice can be seen in the rituals around the harvesting of wild honey (see the film *Wild Honey*, Ronin Films 2019). The bees travel across the border and people still harvest the wild honey in traditional ways although both the practice and the harvest is probably less than in the past. This process is illustrated in the film and also described in Kehi and Palmer 2019:69). The practices around the traditional honey harvest involve ritual verse to call the bees. And poetic love songs of gratitude and invitation are sung in the forest at night. They are very beautiful communal rituals. The bees are not just bees but manifestations of beloved spiritual beings Buik Lorok and Dahu Lorok<sup>4</sup>. This is still happening; our film was made last year.

In preparation for childbirth the whole community takes joy in this. People bring the mother a variety of nutritious traditional food and the traditional mid wife looked after

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4 Dahu and Buik are female names, Loro(k) refers to the Enlightening One and to the Sun (Kehi and Palmer 2019: 69)

the birth; but now there is mainly shop bought food so no special nutritious food and the trust in the role of the midwife has gone. After the birth there is a period of a month where the baby is not to be taken out of the house. This is a period of intensive care for the new mother and her baby. At the end of this period there is a ritual *Hosai lawarik oan* that is the rite of bringing out of the house the baby for the first time and presenting him/her to the whole community, during which time he/she is ritually blessed with sprinkles of sacred water in order to grow in *matak malirin* (good health and productive life energy). (see Kehi and Palmer 2012:450).

Balthasar's mother had 9 children all born at home in the traditional way and she is now in her 80s and healthy. However most young people no longer do this. They go to hospital and this means the community/bonding aspect of a child's birth is diminished.

8. Are there ceremonies, rituals and prayers that your parents and grandparents performed that you no longer practice? Yes/No

9. If so, What are they? .....see above.....

10. Do you think that there are barriers to keeping some of these practices alive in the current life of Timor Leste?

Yes

11. If so, can you tell us what you think they are?

The pressure of modernity is probably the greatest threat. This is couple with a move of younger people to the cities and so there is a breakdown in the intergenerational transmission.

The forced adoption of Portuguese language and practices is a big problem even more so that Indonesian. The Indonesian culture has some similarities. The 'Portuguesation' has resulted in a break-down of traditional kinship systems. Traditionally a still maintains her own name and every child is given a different name but, in the Portuguese, (European) system, that people are now required by the state to adopt, all names have to follow the father's name.

12. How important is it to you that these practices are passed on to future generations?

a) Very important and I try to teach my children

b) Not very important in a modern world

c) Somewhat important but becoming less so.

Why do you think this is so?

It is important not just for the maintenance of cultural but also for environmental sustainability.

This is one of the reasons that we made the film Wild Honey so that the younger generation could see it and become interested.

Making changes to the school system so that it became bilingual might assist in the continued intergenerational transmission also.

The urban migration is more pronounced in East Timor so for now West Timor is in some areas such as Koba Lima more traditional. **Are there practices that your family carried out before the conflict in Timor that are no longer carried out?** Yes

13. If yes, please provide details: see previous answers.....

## 5. EVIDENCE OF CEREMONIES AND RITUALS THREATENED OR UNDERGOING REVITALISATION

As revealed in the interview with Dr Kehi the spiritual and secular worlds in Koba Lima /Cova Lima are inseparable. The concepts of *lisan* and *lulik* are important to understanding the Timorese world view. These terms are likely to have a range of nuances that are locally specific but as a general definition:

- *lisan* = the customary practices that traditionally regulate social relations within extended families and
- *lulik* = the sacred value of a given place, item, or type of building

In Koba Lima /Cova Lima ancestors (*bei'ala*) co-exist with the living; natural items such as rocks and trees have spiritual value; and life is often viewed within a notion of cosmological balance. If something bad occurs, it is likely to be attributed to a wrong action e.g., somebody contravening an aspect of *lisan* or acting in a way that is *kontra-lulik* (against sacredness).

### 5.1. Tunu

One example is the ceremony of *Tunu* or the sacrifice of animals which involves piercing the heart of the animal with a sharp blade or iron and the spilling of blood which makes the place where the ceremony is taking place as *lulik*, or sacred, and enables communication with the ancestral spirits and the divine realm. An account of how *tunu* is used as part of important ceremonies and decision making is provided in an account of one community in the village of Biacou.

Francisco Talimeta, the village's chief ritual authority, sprinkled water on the goat and uttered some prayers. He then killed the animal by piercing its heart with a sharp iron spear. The sacrifice triggered muted applause and cheers among the crowd: the spilling of blood made the place *lulik*, or sacred, and enabled communication with the ancestral spirits. Talimeta scrutinized the goat's viscera for signs that *Rai na'in* and *Tasi na'in*, the Maubere spirit of the land and the spirit of the sea, respectively, approved of the village's intent to renew the *tara bandu* law. Finding favorable evidence, he communicated directly with the spirits and then offered them food, areca leaves, betel nut and palm wine in thanks.

Immediately afterward, Talimeta sacrificed a pig in a similar manner. Once again, blood was spilled (sic), and the crowd cheered. Talimeta found signs that the land and sea spirits approved in the pig's viscera, too, and then thanked them again and made offerings.<sup>5</sup>

Another example of how tunu is a component of other ceremonies is provided by Palmer (2013) when she describes and incidence of the annual rice consecration ceremony *wai benu* which took place at a spring called Wai Daba in Cova Lima.

the 'fathers' in the Wai Daba house implored the human and non-human ancestral spirits of the spring to bless the entire lineage, ensure their good health and prosperity as well as that of their surrounding rice fields (see Figure 1). The ritual included prayers and the sacrifice of seven chickens, the offering of seven bundles of areca leaves and betel nuts from the spring grove, and the collective consumption of the newly consecrated rice. Following this, the dozen or so men present concluded the ritual by imbibing sacred spring water contained in a freshly cut bamboo length. (Palmer 2013)<sup>6</sup>

## 5.2. Tara bandu

Tara bandu is a traditional Timorese custom that enforces peace and reconciliation through the power of public agreement. Tara bandu involves the hanging of culturally significant items from a wooden shaft to place a ban on certain agricultural or social activities within a given area. In contemporary post-conflict Timor-Leste. (Belun et al 2013:7)

Spiritually symbolic items are hung on a post in a strategic location in the village to remind people not to breach the tara bandu regulations. Often the items used relate to the action prohibited e.g a cutting from a symbolic tree – indicates a protection for that tree species; sometimes the skull of the animal sacrificed during tunu conducted as part of a tara bandu ceremony.

The custom was outlawed under the Indonesian occupation that lasted from 1975-1999. Since independence many communities across the country have been bringing *tara bandu* back to life as a way to guide more sustainable use of their local natural resources. (Battacharya 2018).

“It is a tradition our forefathers used to practice to appease Rai na'in in order to secure his blessings to ensure judicious use of the natural resources. Now that we've been able to bring it back after decades, [it] makes me really happy.” (Sergio Pedroco cited in Battacharya)

Tara bandu is an agreed protocol involving localised regulations adopted by a community/village that protect sacred places and resources important to the local community. Breaching the tara bandu brings penalties. In the case highlighted by Battachrya, tara bandu protected:

- sacred spaces including the place for conducting rituals related to marine resources,
- a community-owned mangrove forest where the spirit of the rain dwells

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5 <https://news.mongabay.com/2018/11/timor-leste-with-sacrifice-and-ceremony-tribe-sets-eco-rules/>

6 <https://communityeconomiasia.wordpress.com/2018/03/13/hamutu-moris-hamutu-mate-together-in-life-together-in-death/>

- fresh water sources
- tamarind and cajeput trees,
- sandalwood and mangrove forests.
- coral reefs and sea turtles and
- salt production areas.

While it is not a ceremony in itself, its validation and adoption rely on ceremonies such as tunu and the wearing of ritual tais etc and these ceremonies traditionally and contemporarily involve large groups of people from a community i.e a village or groups of villages. There is a growing literature on the use of tara bandu in community conflict prevention and the achievement of local environmental protection goals. The applications and form of tara bundu reported are varied. The term encompasses local law, social norms and morality, art and rituals, and results in a system of community leadership and governance particularly dealing with conflict arising between people, relationships between people and animals and/or between people and the local environment.

Another publicised example of tara bandu being used to solve contemporary disputes is recorded from the Baucau district (which is much further away from Cova Lima than the previous example) east of Dili). More than 1,000 people from the six villages who had been involved in the dialogue process attended the event.<sup>7</sup>

Documented examples from Koba Lima /Cova Lima could not be found, however this practice is said to have once been used across Timor before Indonesian occupation.

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7 [https://www.tl.undp.org/content/timor\\_lete/en/home/stories/TL\\_Quelicai\\_peace.html](https://www.tl.undp.org/content/timor_lete/en/home/stories/TL_Quelicai_peace.html)



*Figure 5-1: Maubere leaders of the village of Suco Hera prepare to carry out a ceremony to establish a local tara bandu in 2017. Image by Bikash Kumar Bhattacharya. (source Mongabay 8 November 2018)*

### 5.2.1. Tara bandu revitalisation as a tool for environmental conservation agencies

Several accounts of contemporary enactment of tara bandu have been recorded by conservation NGOs and it is likely that they are actively encouraging this form of localised governance of natural resources. Another account of the reintroduction of the tara bandu is provided in a photographic blog<sup>8</sup> by Bjorn Grotting (May 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011):

A “holder of the law” (Makaer Fukun or Lia Nain) leads the ceremony prior to the establishment of the Tara Bandu. The ceremony is divided into two parts. Firstly, there is a sequence of animal sacrifice, and secondly, there is the announcement of the things that are forbidden or that are to be protected. The ceremony contains aspects of Lulik or Sacral, i.e. secrecy. Usually the Lulik Nain, who is the person in the village who is in daily charge of spiritual performance, is also involved. People appointed to be guarding the traditional houses, Uma Knua Hun, may also head the ceremony. Ultimately this relies on the belief that those who are entrusted with the tasks of guarding are “close to the souls of the ancestors”. After the ritual killing of an animal, a specific part of the animal, such as the heart, is taken for the offering (Fo Han Uma Lulik, feeding the sacral

8 <http://www.bjorngrotting.com/travel/tara-bandu-in-east-timor/>

house) to the place where the ancestors' souls are gathered. At the same time, the Lulik Nain will declare a magic formula in order to call the souls of the ancestors and the Rai Nain ("the owner of the land") to participate in guarding and protecting the designated area of environmental and social concern.

### 5.3. Fetosan umane

Fetosaa(n)- Umane is the system of inter-familial exchange between wife-giving and wife-taking families as part of a marriage. Historically, marriage in Timor-Leste has had a significant social function attached, as a way to build alliances across families and extended families. It has been referred to as the most important cultural system which creates conditions for solidarity and trust between Timorese. This is a system of inter-familial exchanges and relationships established through the marriage of individuals from two family groups who continue to support each other through important life and community events. The solidarity that results from this is perceived by Timorese as a conflict deterrent in that when people know and trust each other, they don't create conflict with each other. "

This system is reinforced through physical infrastructure called uma lulik (sacred house) or uma lisan (traditional house) which serve as symbols of the group that is represented and it is underpinned by stories told from ancestor times to remind Timorese of their common origins. It involves families in a series of life cycle events and associated lia mate and lia moris ceremonies. Palmer and Kehi refer to this in Koba Lima /Cova Lima as the *interplay between hamutu moris hamutu mate (together in life, together in death)*.<sup>9</sup>

Some researchers have recorded some Timorese as saying that in modern times these ceremonies can be costly as the fetosan family must bring everything."

### 5.4. Inauguration ceremonies and the reception of visitors- the role of the uma lulik

The uma lulik or sacred house (Figure 5-2) is a centre point to many important ceremonies in village life including inauguration ceremonies, the receiving of important visitors, and funerals. Sacred objects are stored in the Uma lulik and are only brought out during particular ritual celebrations such as the harvest festivals. According to Boldoni the most important ceremony takes place on the 1st and 2nd of November and is called Finadu or the ancestors' day. It coincides with the Catholic All Saints' and All Souls' Day.

There are several Youtube recordings of inauguration ceremonies for new uma lulik that are publicly accessible.<sup>10</sup> While not suggesting that the commentary on these will be accurate, or endorsed by the community concerned, they do provide a visual account of parts of the ceremonies. However, one must consider that these un-scholarly sources may present a complete record of the ceremony and the elements filmed are likely to reflect the recorders interests and the access they were allowed. All the ceremonies viewed involved a range of sacrifice (tunu) dancing, singing and feasting.

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9 <https://communityeconomiasia.wordpress.com/2018/03/13/hamutu-moris-hamutu-mate-together-in-life-together-in-death/> accessed 26/1/2021

10 One example <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QW7HiZGwENE>

The term *uma* translates as ‘house’ but it is a metaphorical house defining the group of people comprising and belonging to it. They are ritual buildings used on special occasions for gatherings and other ceremonies (Boldoni 2020). They house sacred objects, and in many cases, someone lives next door in a caretaker/guardian role.

The *uma lulik* were in many cases easy targets for retribution and attack during the occupation.

During the Indonesian military occupation, especially in 1975, when the majority of the population were hiding in the forests, and then in 1999, when the militias took over many territories, killing people and burning places, the local population tried to save the objects stored in the houses, hiding them or taking the heirlooms along with them. Unfortunately, in many cases, this was not possible, hence the objects were lost or destroyed. In some cases, after the Restoration of National Independence (2002) many Houses decided to recreate the lost objects... (Boldoni 2020:7).

Even before the Indonesian occupation many *uma lulik* were destroyed particularly in the early catholic evangelization efforts of the Portuguese. Interestingly, in Cova Lima in the present time the *uma lulik* sits in a parallel relationship to the local catholic church and as Dr Kehi reported in his interview the local priest will often attend the sacred house during funerals and other ceremonies.



*Figure 5-2:Uma lulik at Pho Metan, Cova Lima. (Image Fatumean Cova Lima District 2013 in Barrkman 2014)*

Following independence and throughout the first few years of nation building activity there was a focus on the restoration of *uma lulik* (Fox 2011).

The anthropologist Alexander Loch, who began his fieldwork in the Baucau area in 2002, was one of the few outsider observers to attempt to document the building of uma lulik. In his book *Haus, Handy & Halleluia* (2007), in which he examines the building of three such uma lulik, he estimates that between 1999 and 2004 in the area around Baucau alone, there were 150 to 200 uma lulik constructed or reconstructed. This number meant that there were 30 to 40 uma lulik restored each year over the period he was able to survey (Loch 2007:291 cited in Fox 2011:252).

In describing the physical process of building of these structures and the effort required (averaged around 1000-person day per building), Loch noted that there was also the work required to re-establish the *specific social relationships that underpinned the house as a ritual entity—as a named sanctuary and locus of identity* which was done through ritual invocation and a dialogue with the spirits of ancestors.

### 5.5. Rituals around Death

As noted previously in Section 3 there appears to be no detailed account of the death and burial rituals in Cova Lima. However, Grenfell provides a generalised account of death ritual practices across Timor and notes that there are regional and local variations.

Following death, there is typically a set time-period in which a body is to be buried, in some instances only two or three days after a person has died. The deceased are often placed in coffins in either the uma lulik and/or the house of the family. Before burial, family members will begin the process of mourning (*lutu*) typically sitting with the body around the clock, grieving, burning candles, saying the name of the deceased, and praying. In carrying forward reciprocity from the world of the living, the good deeds of the deceased will be spoken of at the time of death as a way of ensuring that the *klamar* (spirit) can properly leave the body without hindrance and enter the spiritual domain.

While practices relating to the remembrance of the dead vary following burial, they commonly encompass periodic visits back to the gravesite where flower petals are spread (*kari aifunan*), candles lit and prayers made, together giving sustenance to the spirit (as in food and light). Initial visits are often marked by 'bitter flowers' and 'sweet flowers', the former representing the 'sorrow' and the heaviness (*todan*) of the loss, the latter as a time to celebrate the letting go of the person as a living being. Other common acts of mourning include the wearing of black, which can be small black patches pinned to people's clothes, or black wrist ties and scarfs across the head. If parents have died, it is common for people to wear entirely black, and a year after the death the mourning ceases with *kore metan* (literally 'untying the black') where the black clothes of mourners are burnt.

In rural areas the dead are often buried in small familiarly connected groups of graves on customary land, though in both rural and urban areas it is not uncommon to see grave sites in the front yard of people's homes. This makes it easier to tend to the grave and also importantly reduces the risk of assault against those venturing beyond the immediate vicinity of their homes (for this reason graves were often constructed as close to a house as possible during the Indonesian occupation). (Grenfell 2020:92-93)

From all available accounts it seems that rituals around death are not endangered and traditional rituals around funerals are being revived with fervour across most of Timor-Leste. Bovensiepen (2014), Sakti (2013) and Grenfell (2020) each suggest that this resurgence of tradition is in part about controlling the uncertainties brought about by death.

## 5.6. Rituals around Agriculture

Ritual practice around agriculture abounds but, in this section, we will consider the well documented example of the wild honey harvest in Cova Lima.

### 5.6.1. The rituals around wild honey harvesting

In the local world view, the bees are female people: Buik Lorok and Dahur Lorok. The word Lorok also refers to the sun, as well as to divinity or the enlightened one. The local people have a relationship with these bees, and it is essential that it be nurtured. There are skilled people, called *laku*, who are needed for this ceremony. The role of laku is to sing to the queen bees; to serenade them so that they will recognise their connection. Palmer poetically describes the role of the laku:

Laku, in the Tetun language of the border region, refers to the Asian palm civet cat. However, in the context of the honey harvest laku refers to a specific group of men who, at certain times of the year, take on the persona of their namesake and climb tens of metres into the forest canopy in pursuit of wild honey and wax. Like laku, these men climb in the darkness of the night. Like laku, they call out to each other and to others around as they search out the sweetness hidden within the canopy's branches. Brave and sonorous, the laku climb great heights comfortably to secure honey and wax accompanied only by firesticks, smoke and song. Once in the canopy they silently receive the inevitable stings on their scantily clad bodies, while imploring the bees to descend and give up their 'houses' (hives) for the benefit of those gathered to sing, dance and consume the honey and bee larvae below. (Palmer 2019: Director's statement)

The skilled laku are sort after and during harvest time travel to wherever they are needed, following the traditions and examples of their ancestors.

There are many preparations for this ceremony firstly, people have to make the ladders from tall bamboo, and these are hung with ropes in the target trees. Fire sticks called 'ato oan' or 'little servant' need to be prepared as the harvest takes place at night and the firesticks are used to encourage the bees to leave the hive. In the video the local informant explains '*we use the firesticks as a signal to the bees and they remember that we are from the same one origin*'. There are other practical things that are prepared such as filters for the honey of straw in bamboo containers and bamboo tubes for cooking the bee larvae and rice after harvest.

Offerings are prepared for Buik Lorok and Dahur Lorok, the most important is called the black stone and is a koba wrapped in black cloth. In the basket are placed cigarettes made of corn sheath wrapped around tobacco and betel nut leaves. The smell is said to attract the bees down from their treetop and people are forbidden to wear perfume during the harvest and its ceremonies. The offerings are placed at the base of the tree to be harvested once darkness has fallen. Jewellery from marriage ceremonies is also offered but the necklace must be carried by the laku to the tree top.

This ceremony is done twice a year and if it is done the bees will return the following year. The first harvest is in April and is referred to as a sweet harvest and is after the bees have been collecting the pollen from Eucalypt flowers. During the first harvest a black pig is also sacrificed as an offering to Isan, the custodian of the mountainous lands of Dahur and Buik Larok. The second harvest is in October and referred to as a bitter harvest. It is after the bees have been collecting the pollen and made honey from the Dak flowers.

Once the harvest has occurred a meal is prepared over an open fire in the forest clearing. Rice, betel nut and bee larvae are cooked in a bamboo tube. The first are offered to the spirits again at the base of the tree and then participants share the rest and by doing so share the blessings on their family and give thanks to the spirit custodians. The honey and comb are collected, filtered and shared amongst the participants. After the harvest another offering is prepared for the bees again in a koba, 5 corn sheath wrapped tobacco cigarettes are placed in the black stone koba; one in each corner and one in the middle. This is explained as the gate through which Dahur and Buik Lorak enter to receive the offerings and bind themselves to the tree.

### **5.6.2. Threats to the harvest ceremony**

The participants in the videoed ceremony note that once many people in the community would participate in the harvest but many people are forgetting the old customs. Also, they have noticed that the bee numbers in the year when the video was made were less than in the past. They described it as ‘The land is hungry’ there is less food available to attract the bees. In the past, they said people planted corn crops and many other plants amongst them and this attracted many bees; but as agricultural practices change the natural incentives that attract the bees have diminished.

Although people do cross the border that runs between Koba Lima and Cova Lima the participants in this ceremony noted that their ancestral home i.e., one of the 5 kingdoms represented by the 5 koba on the Cova Lima flag is on the western side of the border. The imposition of a hard border must have consequences for how people maintain rituals that relate to ancestral places.

## **6. ISSUES AND POSSIBILITIES IDENTIFIED**

### **6.1. Issues**

#### **6.1.1. Issues related to conflict**

There is no doubt that the long period of conflict in Timor-Leste has generated threats to cultural heritage. However, the island of Timor has weathered many years of successive waves of conflict including European colonisation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, colonial skirmishes between the Dutch and the Portuguese for many years, invasion by Japan during World War II and then annexation by Indonesia and the ensuing battle for east Timorese independence. Throughout all this Timorese intangible cultural heritage, including the rituals and ceremonies we see today, have persisted. A “resurgence of custom” has occurred since independence from Indonesia was won in 1999 (Hicks, 2007).

There are documented instances of destruction of Uma Lulik, (sacred houses), during the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste. Citing local informants Boldoni refers to cases from

Venilale, which is a locality in the eastern part of Timor-Leste. While this is outside the current study area it is inferred that the destruction was widespread across Timor-Leste and often at the hands of East Timorese militia.

During the Indonesian military occupation, especially in 1975, when the majority of the population were hiding in the forests, and then in 1999, when the militias took over many territories, killing people and burning places, the local population tried to save the objects stored in the houses, hiding them or taking the heirlooms along with them. Unfortunately, in many cases, this was not possible, hence the objects were lost or destroyed. (Boldoni 2020)

Apart from the physical destruction through conflict of places of ritual significance, such as the sacred houses or *uma lulik*, and their associated ritual items, the greatest impact is likely to have been the displacement of people from their ancestral villages and spiritual places, sometimes now across a national border.

The mandating of colonial languages as national such as Indonesian in West Timor and Portuguese in East Timor is of course another consequence of ‘conflict’ and imposition of power. Traditional language, as is continually emphasised, embodies a lot of ICH as captures the nuances of cultural beliefs and practices that is hard to replicate in a borrowed or imposed language.

For many families the atrocities of death, disappearances of relatives and other violent acts are unresolved, and the spirits of these family members have not been laid to rest.

### 6.1.2. Post conflict issues

The issues affecting the sustainability of traditional rituals and ceremonies in Koba Lima/Cova Lima are complex and yet similar to many other parts of Asia. They include:

- The allure of modernity for younger community members who are drawn to the cities and to international locations for education and then stay for work, and
- The perceived lack of relevance of cultural practices to modern life
- Education systems that mean that children are occupied by school and no longer learn at the feet of their elders and this is exacerbated by forced adoption and learning in another language.
- The problem posed by linguistically diverse peoples and issues around an enforced (through the education system) common language need for modern commerce and politics.
- Changing agricultural practice often, but not always enforced or promoted by the state to increase yield, and the subsequent move from sustainable tradition practices to larger, more intensive high yield practices.
- The loss of opportunity for skilled workers such as the laku who need years of experience and train from a young age will eventually mean that these skills will die out if the demand is not maintained.

## 6.2. Possible Future projects

### 6.2.1. Safeguarding activities

It is difficult to pinpoint any one method of safeguarding ritual and ceremonial heritage in the face of the multiple factors contributing to their endangerment. While digital documentation techniques such as video recording can provide accurate documentation of ceremonies enabling them to be revived by communities at a later date; by far the best way of safeguarding them is to emphasise their relevance to contemporary life combined with active transmission from generation to generation. For this to happen there needs to be co-operation from the Timor-Leste government as it would require modification to state education policies to foster an appreciation of local language and cultural practices. In addition, agricultural policies need to allow for adaption rather than replacement of traditional farming practices. It may be possible to introduce structured opportunities for senior community knowledge holders to teach the local cultural practices in the primary school curriculum.

This report found that identifying rituals and ceremonies specifically endangered as a result of the Indonesian occupation was not clear cut. Timor-Leste has been subject to a sometimes-violent occupation by the Portuguese for many years and briefly by Japanese forces during World War II (Feb 1942 until February 1943) each of these are likely to have had some impact on local rituals and ceremonies. By destroying the *uma lulik* of many communities and stealing and or destroying the sacred objects that it contained there is no doubt that many rituals and ceremonies were endangered, altered or even temporarily abandoned. With independence, some of these have been reinstated but how much they have been altered requires further study.

The impact of modernity and government initiatives including agricultural reform are likely to pose a significant threat to many of the rituals embedded in daily life where these become separated from the practices that they were created to support.

A number of future research possibilities arise from this research and the interview with Dr Kehi and they include:

- Video documentation of rituals in their context similar to ‘Wild Honey: Caring for bees in a divided land’.
- Electronic archives of ICH including appropriate rituals as resource that can be used in the district’s schools.
- Detailed participatory field research (perhaps utilising Dr Kehi and his local connections) is needed to effectively document and understand rituals and ceremonies and how they might be endangered, and which have been significantly damaged during the former Indonesian occupation. The districts of Cova Lima and Koba Lima provide an ideal study area for this type of research as they straddle the border.
- Research into rituals associated with traditional agricultural practices and exploration of links to environmentally sustainable practice- this would enhance the relevance of such rituals to contemporary calls for a more sustainable agricultural sector.
- The use of *tara bandu* to protect *lulik* areas essential to some practices can contribute to the safeguarding of ICH.

Given the nuanced subject matter of ceremonies and rituals, it should be noted that any future research field trip or project as suggested above should include a researcher or co-researcher who is fluent in Tetun.

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## Film

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**APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE**

Draft Questionnaire

Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia: Covalima, Timor-Leste

Survey on endangered rituals and ceremonies

About this questionnaire

This survey is being conducted by the International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural heritage in the Asia Pacific Region (IRCI). Email: irci@irci.jp The IRCI has a mandate to carry out research into methods of safeguarding endangered intangible cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage includes the full range of cultural practices and knowledge including rituals, ceremonies and craft techniques and know how. This questionnaire builds on past research that suggests that during Indonesian occupation some traditional cultural practices began to change or die out. This questionnaire focusses on endangered, or potentially endangered, rituals and ceremonies.

Name of Interviewee: .....

Address of Interviewee.....

Date.....

Person conducting Interview.....

Contact details of person conducting interview.....

1. Can you describe for us what, if any, changes you have observed to traditional ritual practice as a result of the conflicts after the independence of Timor-Leste?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

2. Ritual Prayers (Hamulak)- do you or your family still know and practice ritual prayers?  
Yes/No

If yes,

How often would you do this? On a daily basis? Weekly? Only sometimes? (Circle one)

Are your children learning how to perform these ritual prayers? Yes/No

3. If you answered 'no' to question 1, can you explain why you no longer practice Hamulak?

a. There is no one to teach/ lead us in prayer

b. This is no longer relevant to us because.....

.....

.....

c. Other reason

.....

.....

4. Atoning for sins of the departed – do you practice Mutun Mate or something similar? Please advise if there is different name for this specific to Cova Lima.

Yes /No

5. If yes ...

a. Can you describe this ritual? (i.e Who performs it? When is it done? What is sacrificed?)

.....

.....

.....

.....

b. When was the last time you performed this rite?

c. Do you think this is important for your children to know?

Why?/ Why not?.....

.....

.....

6. Tunu- sacrifices offered for the souls of ancestors- is this still important to you and your family? Yes /No

7. If so,

a. When was the last time you made such a sacrifice?

b. Do you think it is important for your children to know about this ritual?

Why/Whynot?.....

.....

.....

c. What was the reason you performed this ritual last?

d. Do you think that this is as important now as it was in your grand-parents time?

Why do you think this?.....

.....

.....

8. Are there other rituals or cultural practices that are important to you and your family, such as rituals associated with childbirth, harvest, marriage etc?

If so, what are they and can you describe them for me?

.....

.....

9. Are there ceremonies, rituals and prayers that your parents and grandparents performed that you no longer practice? Yes/No

10. If so What are they? .....

.....

.....

.....

.....

11. Do you think that there are barriers to keeping some of these practices alive in the current life of Timor Leste? Yes/ No

12. If so, can you tell us what you think they are?.....

.....  
.....

13. How important is it to you that these practices are passed on to future generations?

- a) Very important and I try to teach my children
- b) Not very important in a modern world
- c) Somewhat important but becoming less so.

Why do you think this is so?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

14. Are there practices that your family carried out before the conflict in Timor that are no longer carried out? Yes /No

15. If yes, please provide details.....

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Thank you for your assistance in helping us to understand the situation regarding religious cultural practices in Covalima.

## IV REPORT OF NORTHERN SRI LANKA

### 1. JAFFNA

#### Background

In response to a request from the UNESCO Office in Delhi, the IRCI and National Crafts Council (NCC) collaborated on the 'Research for Endangered Traditional Handicrafts in Post-Conflict States' project from FY2013 to FY2015 to safeguard traditional craftsmanship which was affected by the conflict in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in Sri Lanka. To follow up the previous project, a Preparatory Workshop on the Preliminary Research for the Project 'Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia' (Tokyo & Tochigi, Japan, 13-15 March, 2018)<sup>1</sup> was held to discuss the project's implementation.

Subsequently, a Workshop on the Research on ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries (Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka) (Tokyo, Japan, 26-27 June, 2018)<sup>2</sup> was held. After a series of discussions, the IRCI and NCC agreed to focus on the selected craft techniques in two districts (Jaffna and Trincomalee), including the mapping and documentation of their associated practices and concluded MoU in September 2018.



*Working Group Session (Kyoto, Japan, 5-8 March 2019)*

To share the outcomes of the preparatory research conducted from December 2018 to February 2019, a Working Group Session for Research on ICH in Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka was held (Kyoto, Japan, 5-8 March, 2019)<sup>3</sup> and five ICH elements, craft techniques, and associated rituals were identified as the endangered ICH due to the conflict in the region. Out of the five elements, the IRCI and NCC agreed to focus on Parai Drum and Thavil Drum (traditional craft techniques and associated rituals and festivals) in Jaffna District.

- 
- 1 Participants: Ms. Himali Jinadasa, Senior Advisor to the Hon. Minister, Office of the Minister of Industry and Commerce, Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Sri Lanka, Ms. Ritu Sethi, Chairperson, Craft Revival Trust of India, Ms. Renee Coreses Talavera, Head of the Cultural Communities and Traditional Arts Section, National Commission for Culture and Art of the Philippines.
  - 2 Participants: Ms. Chandramali Liyanage, Director of NCC and Ms. Himali Jinadasa.
  - 3 Participants: Ms. Chandramali Liyanage, Ms. Himali Jinadasa, Mr. Podinilame Maddapitigalage, Associate professor, University of Visual and Performing Art, and Mr. Thelaxsan Thanabalasingam, Temporary assistant lecturer, University of Jaffna.

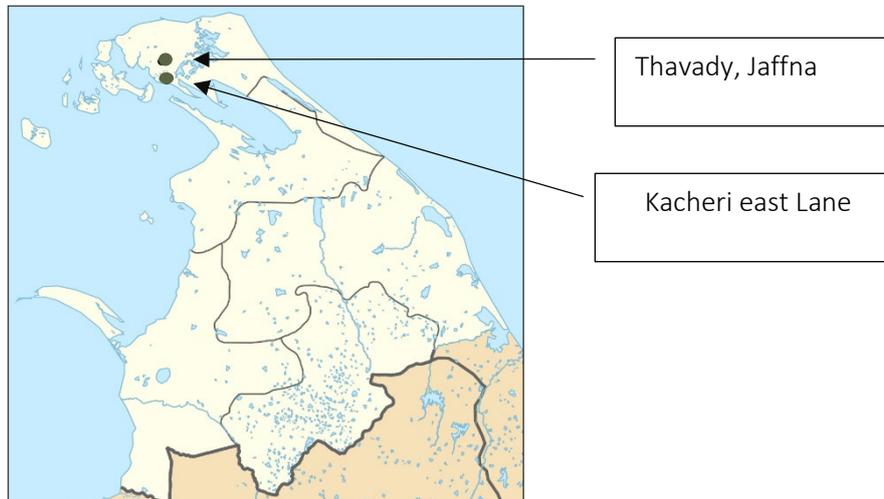
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## Musical Instruments in Jaffna<sup>1</sup>

**Thelaxsan Thanabalasingam**

*Temporary Assistant Lecturer, University of Jaffna*

The antiquity of music tradition in Jaffna goes back to the 3rd century. B.C. and one of the Sangam literature, Pathirruppaththu, refers to a celebrated poet, Vadavaariyarkon Yaarlppramadaddan had made few poems with musical rhythm. This Yaarlppramadaddan is referred that one who has a musical instrument, Yaarl, from Yaalppanam (Jaffna) went to South India and sung songs. However, the derivation of the name Yaarlppanam (Jaffna) explicates the musical connections with the place name. Therefore, in each lively activity of the people in Jaffna music has been interconnected in both temple celebrations and the auspicious activities in Jaffna. The centres of musical instruments are being made at Thavaddy, Kokkuvil, Araly and Perumal Kovil in Jaffna Town.



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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is a summary of the presentation by Mr Thelaxsan Thanabalasingam at the 'Working Group Session for Research on ICH in Northern and eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka ( Kyoto, Japan, 5-8 March 2019)'.

## Music Instrument Makers in Jaffna

### 1. Somasuntharam Satkunarasa



His father was a carpenter, but he has been working under his father in law and making wooden shell resonator (kottu) for Thavil and Miruthankam since there was no measurement followed. During that time Mr Nagarasa, father in law of Mr Satkunarasa was urged to produce a wooden shell resonator by then famous Tavail Artist Mr Sinnappalani in Sri Lanka. Mr Nagarasa is a key person who made the first resonator for Tavail. During that period it was the best and perfect one and he succeeded in his effort.

Mr Satkunarasa not only made Miruthankam and Thavil but also he resonator for the skin instruments such as Uduku, Thabla, Bongo drum, Jill, Thampattam drum and Kanjra.

It is said that he had received the fullest support and co-operation from the entire society in making skin instruments as he is the pioneer in making skin instruments.

He is having good respect among the musical scholars, musical artists and students, he has been honoured and respected every year for his valuable services.

When observing the identification of Jaffna in the creation of Thavil and Miruthankam made by Satkunarasa; he uses the traditional method, therefore, it gives good rhythm, also the measurements and outward appearance are perfectly done by him. The resonator of Thavil and Miruthankam made by Mr Satkunarasa, Thavady in Jaffna is very famous all over the world. This signifies the identity of Jaffna.

When considering his professional development and distribution, this was limited during the war period but after the war, since very recently his products Thavil and Miruthankam are being purchased by all over the Sri Lankan artists. Not only that, he has been exporting his musical



instruments to European countries like London and Canada also the south Asian countries like Singapore and Malaysia. Even the undergraduates purchase his instruments

As it is seen how he has been protecting the art which has been in a ruins status. His sons should have done this work which his father in law did, but the war had made changes the environment for them to leave the country. Therefore Mr Satkunarasa has sealed to continue this job. Hence he continues his job.

There are three workers working with Mr Satkunarasa. They help him in sawing and helping to rotate the wheel but the main work such as lathe work and carving the trunk are done by him.

When considering the documentation of his professional development, the government has done certain documentation. Jaffna district handicraft development board, National industrial development authority. The traditional and small industrial entrepreneurs development ministry has also done the documentation about him.

There is an article that appeared in the Uthayan newspaper on the 8th October 2008 about his creation of musical instruments. Also, an exhibition held in 2013. His musical instruments were purchased and exhibited at the museum.

Skin work for resonator is made by Theivendran. He is assisting well.



### The method of preparing the Tavil resonator

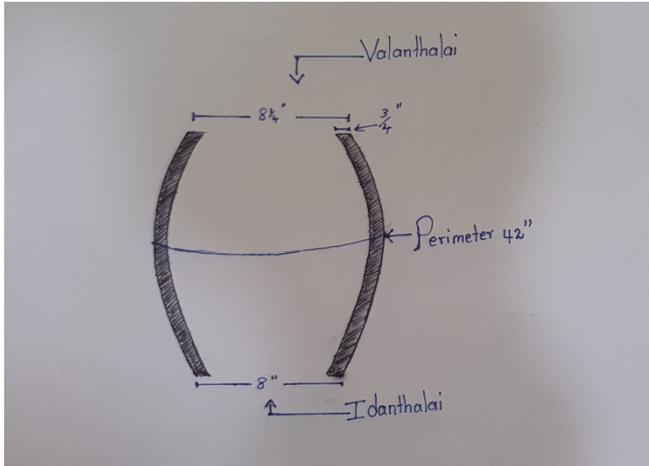
18" inches long and 18" inches radius tine timber without any blemish must be selected. And it must be cut into a 14" inches radius block after that both side of the wooden log a 10" inches radius of a circle must be drawn in the middle part of the wooden log. It must be cut both said by the chisel in a curve shape.



Then it must be fixed and lathed towards inside. When getting lathed it should be like an egg.



Then centre part of the wooden log must be 42" inches in circumference. The right side of the wooden log called Valanthalai and the left side of the wooden log called Thoppi. The right side inner part radius is  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " Inches. The left side inner part radius is 8" Inches. After the completion of the outward resonator must be removed from the bench vice.



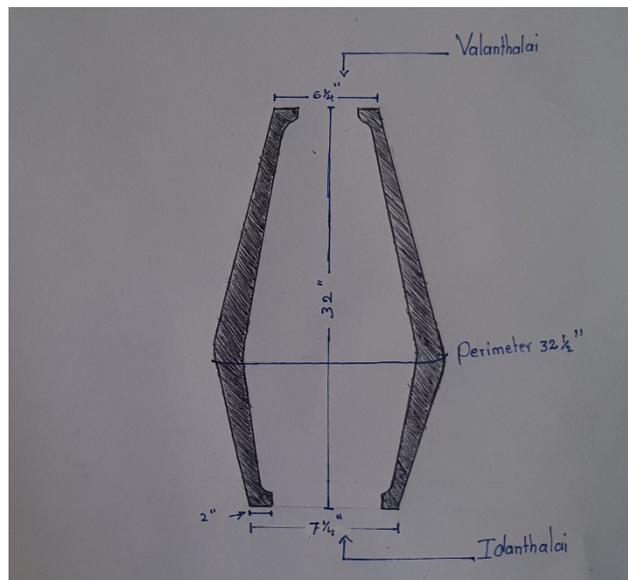
A hole must be placed in the centre after the lathing of the outside. Then the inner part must be failed. When doing the curve it must carve smoothly. The edge must be  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick at the same time applying of paints to the outside must be avoided



### Preparation method /step of Miruthankam resonator

First, select a good timber then it should be cut according to the needed single. When preparing hetch rhythm Miruthanga resonator the circumference is  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet. It must be cut by either chisel or saw for  $11''$  inches radius. After that from the centre to valanthalai  $6\frac{1}{2}''$  inches radius and Thoppi  $7\frac{3}{4}''$  inches radius circle must be drawn.

Then it must be cut slantwise by the chisel  $2''$  inches from the centre to Valanthalai and less than  $2''$  inches. To the Idanthalai (Thoppi) the prepared timber log must be fixed on the bench-vice and then lathed perfectly. When it is lathed Valanthalai side must be  $6\frac{1}{4}''$  inches, Thoppi must be  $7\frac{1}{4}''$  inches and the centre must be  $32\frac{1}{2}$  circumference.



After the completion of the outside then a hole must be placed by "U" tools on the centre of the lathed timber log and inside must be filed by the chisel.



## 2.Sathasivam Theivendran

Sathasivam Theivendran is an experienced and talented person who do skin musical Instruments. He had undergone training under Kovinthapillai at Perumal Kovilady, Jaffna. He also went to India where he learned further techniques at Kerala and continuing his job.

The resonator which has been done by Satkunarasa Thillainathan and Rasanayagam he completes including the skin work for the resonator. He uses to do the skin work for Miruthankam, Thavil, Udukku, Dolki and Kenjira.

He says that the community is giving him the fullest support. He obtains the opportunity from society even in the community. He receives support from certain people such as musical artist, students and scholars.

Materials are the barrier for his professional development and getting the skin for musical instruments is difficult because it's found very rare. Cowskin, goatskin and buffalo skin are used to create skin musical instruments.

In Sri Lanka, there are very few places doing skin instruments. When looking into the identifications about Theivendran skin instruments productions he denotes the nice rhythm comes out of his productions. The way of bounding the skin with the leather straps, the outward beauty is certain things to denote aloud his production.

This art has become scarcity at present. Either the government or non-government organization has not taken any meaningful action to encourage for documentation of this art.

His family member like his son, wife, and daughter in law are jointly working together. Every one of them is skill workers in all activities and they are doing a very good job.

When we look into his professional development or job opportunity was limited during the war period. And post-war it has come to normal and he is getting orders from almost all the district from Sri Lanka and from the western countries like Canada, the UK also from eastern countries like Australia, Singapore and Malaysia. He denotes that he gets good job opportunities and supports.

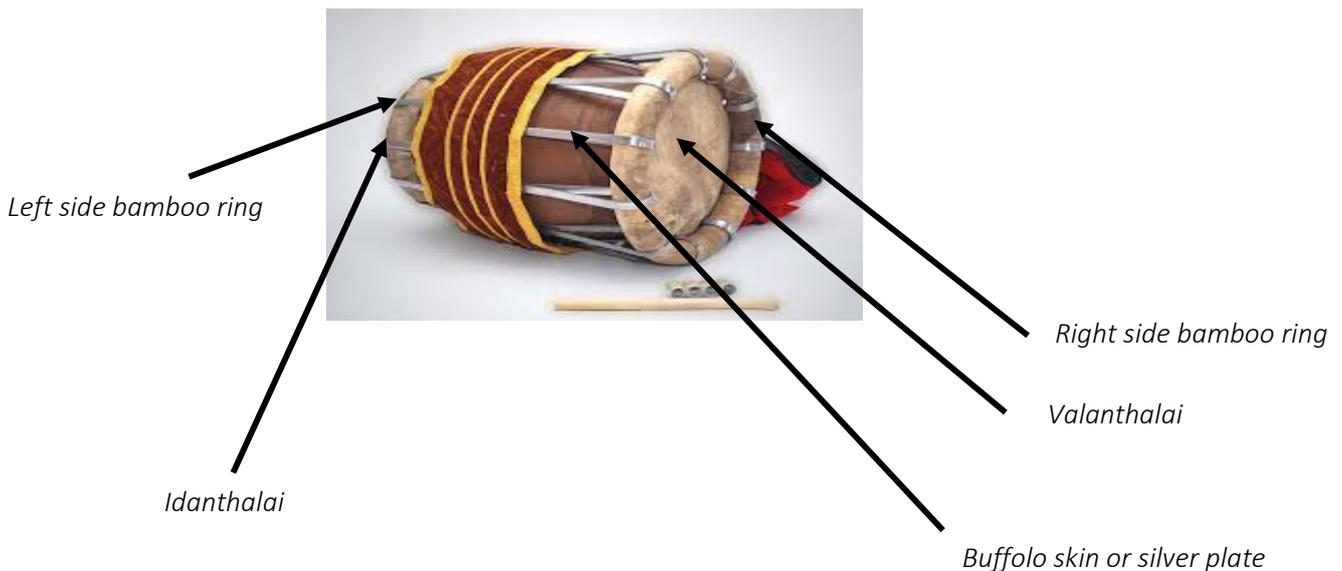


## Thavil

Thavil is a very old time measurement instrument. Thavil and clarinet are called auspicious musical instruments. When you listen to the sound of Thavil that will wake your mind up. It takes a very important roll in weddings, temple worships and auspicious occasions. They are called the temple musical instruments are not called like this.

### Structure of Thavil

It has three-part [1] Thavil resonator [2] Bamboo ring [3] Skin left side of Tavil called Idanthalai. And the right side is called Valanthalai. The left side will be covered by Goatskin. This is called Thoppi. The right side also covered with bamboo. The ring will be by Goatskin. This is called Thaddu. The right side Thaddu and left side Thoppi will be bound with braces of buffalo skin. At present, instead of buffalo skin silver plats nails and bolt and nuts.



### Preparing the ring for Idanthala and Valanthalai

This ring is made out of bamboo. Matured bamboo will be selected for this purpose. Then that will be broken into pieces and kept in a pond or tank for two days. After that, it will be taken out broom the tank or pond and bound around a coconut tree. After two days it will remove from the tree then it should be placed in a vessel and keep boiling for five hours later the boiled bamboo will be bent for seven layers. Then these bamboo rings will be bound very tightly by tender braces and they should be kept drying after applying the paste which was made out of tamarind seeds.



### The Skin for Valanthalai and Idanthalai

She-Goat is used for Valanthalai and Idanthalai. Buffalo skin is used to connect the Valanthalai and Idanthalai but at present, a silver plate is used instead of buffalo skin. This skin will be steeped in water then it will be spread on the ground after removing the hair.



## Valanthalai

Valanthalai is called Thattu. Valanthalai will be covered by two skin. The mouth of the edge of the Valanthalai will be tied with the braces through the eleven holes. These holes are called eyes. Beating by the right hand and play the musical notes. [tha-the,thom-num-ke-da-jam].

To play the notes they wear thump caps on their fingers. This is called "Koodu" that prepared out of rice, cement and wheat flour paste. Apply all these on a piece of cloth and kept dry. These finger caps will be made according to the singe of fingers. Now it is prepared out of plastic and it is being used.



### Idanthalai

This is called Thoppi. This will be made out of a particular skin. In the midst of this skin, there will be a small black circle made by vax. This is called proper consistency [patham]. The oil obtains from the temple idol will be applied to this black circle [patham]. The mouth of the Idanthalai is a little bit narrow than the Valanthalai. The short thick one feet Portia wood stick will be used to play on this area. There will be 11 holes on the Idanthalai. It will be bound up Valanthalai with buffalo skin braces or a silver plate. This is how the Thavil is made.



### Miruthangam

Miruthangam is the very best percussion instrument in Carnatic music. It is used, as a time-measuring instrument in vocal music, orchestra or dance program. It can reveal all rhythmic keynotes and steps as a musical time measuring instrument.



### Joining the mettu with miruthangam resonator

#### Valanthalai

This is covered by three layers of skin. She-goat skin is used inside of this layer which cannot be seen. This is called inner Thattu. In the middle of this Thattu, 2 inches radius skin will be taken out. After that will be covered by another skin. This middle skin will be called resonator skin or sapputhol. This will be made out of she-goat. In the centre of this, a certain medicine called “satham” which prepared from magnesium and rice will be blown gently over that the tune will depend on the thickness of the mixture applied over there.



#### Idanthalai

This will be covered in two layers skin. The inner layer will be covered with she-goat skin and the outer layer will be covered with buffalo skin. On the middle part of the out a layer of wheat flour and wheat particle mix with water and apply to get a good tone. After the musical program, this mixture is removed. Idanthalai is called “Thoppi”



## Braces

62 feet  $\frac{3}{4}$  "inches braces will be taken out from the buffalo skin to connect the Valanthalai and Idanthalai. Both ends would be bound very tightly by these braces, in between these braces small pieces of timber placing will help to add or reduce the basic tone(key tone).



## Preparation of Karanai

Karanai is prepared out of rice and Keechukittan. This Keechukittan must be very old when you select. These are put in an iron mortar and grind well as a powder. Then this powder is sieved on a piece of cloth. Then it is mixed with rice according to the measurement.

After that either the rice or wheat flour is mixed with water with that quick lime then it changes as a good paste. This paste is applied to the inner Thattu skin and kept in the sunlight for dry. Then according to the tone, Karanai is applied. This Karanai is made in a small ball. When applying the Karanai it is rubbed on a granite stone. This method is considered a perfect method.

After the works completed a Miruthankam in the above-said procedure is sold for Rs.22,000/=.



To sum up, as we find in the forgoing part, the cultural growth in Jaffna has a long history and especially the Bronze casting and the musical traditions are prominent units. However, in future, a deep study should be undertaken about Yaarl and Parai (Drum) which are not under the present-day traditional activities and gradually demising from the performing.

*REFERENCE: TOWARDS SAFEGUARDING ENDANGERED TRADITIONAL CRAFTS IN POST-CONFLICT AREAS OF SRI LANKA (2014)<sup>2</sup>*

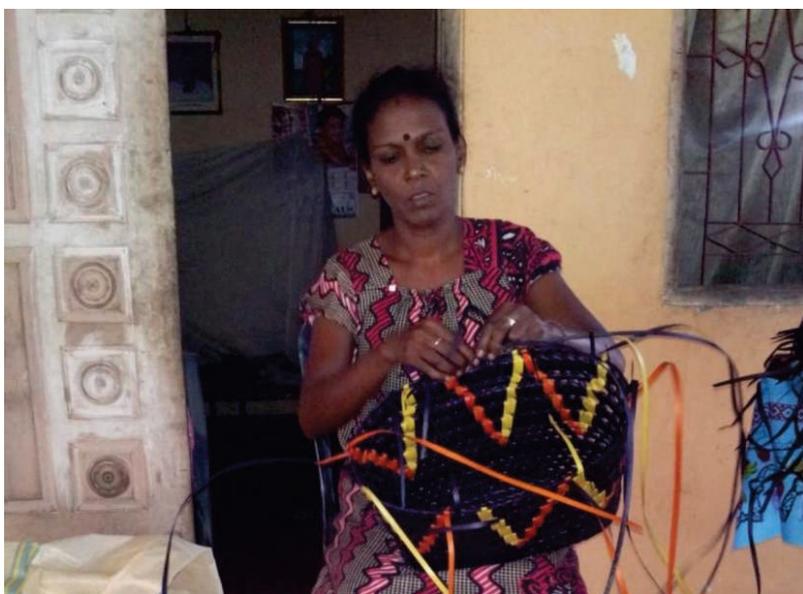
## **DISTRICT: JAFFNA**

### **Context**

Jaffna District is the northern-most district in Sri Lanka and covers an area of 1,025 sq. kms. The capital of the district is the city of Jaffna and it includes the Jaffna peninsula and seven inhabited islands. The islands closest to Jaffna are connected to the mainland by a causeway whilst those more distant (notably Delft and Nayinativu) are accessible only by boat. Jaffna City is the commercial and cultural centre of the Province.

Topographically, Jaffna District is relatively flat except along its south-eastern border where the land surface gradually rises. The District contains extensive lagoons which serve as important wetlands for migratory bird species.

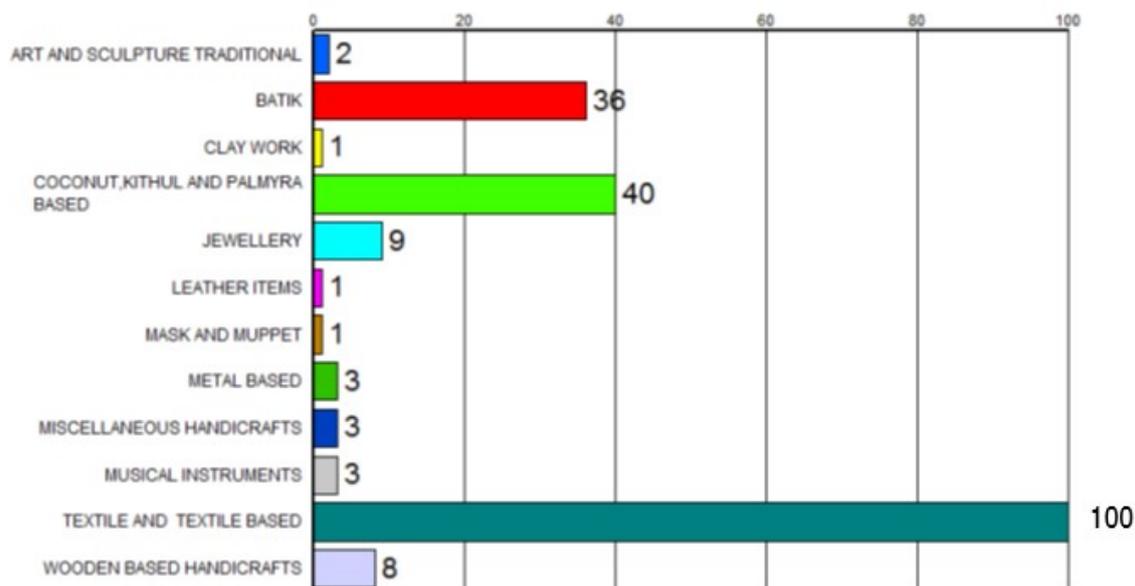
Jaffna District is the most densely populated in the Northern Province with a population of 583,378 in 2012. The population of the district is almost exclusively Sri Lankan Tamil. Hinduism is the commonly practiced religion here (83%), followed by Christianity (16%), Buddhism (0.43%) and Islam (0.42%). This region lends cultural diversity with its social and cultural practices derived from southern parts of India. Many Hindu temples were built here with architectural designs influenced by South Indian Kovils.



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<sup>2</sup> Craft Revival Trust and IRCI, *Towards Safeguarding Endangered Traditional Crafts in Post-Conflict Areas of Sri Lanka* (2014), pp78-82





Registration of craftspeople with the NCC Council according to craft [Source: NCC Data Base 2014]

Shown below are the villages in the Jaffna District and the crafts practiced at the village level

CRAFT	VILLAGE
Red Clay crafts	Nallur
Leaves & Grass craft	
Metal: Gold/Silver Craft	Jaffna town
Metal Casting: Copper and Brass crafts	Jaffna town
Musical Instruments	Ariyalai
	Jaffna
Wood Crafts	Malagam
	Koppay
Palmyra crafts	Mahiyappity
	Sandilippavi
	Maduvil
	Tiruvelveli
	Ellalai

Main handicraft production according to village

In the course of field work craftspeople interviewed raised several issues that they regarded as impacting their work and practice. These concerns once addressed, they felt, would help in revitalizing craft production.

Access to raw material - The major stumbling block was the difficulty in obtaining the Permits necessary to access raw materials necessary to produce the craft products. The Permit being a form of license that is required to obtain raw material from Crown-land. This permit is available from the Divisional Secretary of the district on the recommendation of the NCC. Access to enhanced permits will aid in increasing production with a consequent increase in livelihood

While there is a rising demand for handicrafts in Jaffna District as the number of tourists visiting the North is on the increase craftspeople are unable to increase production to tap into this lucrative and increased tourist demand due to lack of raw material to produce more products and appropriate tools to reduce time and improve quality.

A serious threat faced by craftspeople is competition from cheap imported products that are priced lower than the handcrafted products produced.

Introduction of improved tools and technologies for craft production-As the tools used by craftspeople were age old, with little or no change over the decades the quality of work produced, time taken to produce and the arduous nature of production all impacted the final product. The craftspeople across the board expressed their need for appropriate technologies that were economically viable and technically feasible, while fitting into the socio-economic fabric and environment of the local community. Though the term “appropriate” was not what was linguistically used by the craftspeople, what they emphasized was the use of suitable modern tools to make their efforts easier, with lesser time spent in production. They have also realized that one vital factor to compete with the product available at a lower price in the market is, to speed up their capacities with improved technology.

Craftspeople expressed the need for interventions of government agencies combined with other related institutions for upgrading artisanal skills, design, marketing, etc to ensure better access and response to market demand.

## V REPORT OF THE PHILIPPINES

### 1. MARAWI

#### The Meranaw Lakub Tradition in Marawi City, Lanao del Sur

National Commission for Culture and the Arts, Philippines

##### Part One: Introduction

The National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), in partnership with the International Research Center for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI) under the auspices of UNESCO, conducted a preliminary survey project entitled “Study of Emergency Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia”, which focused on Marawi City, Lanao del Sur.

It may be recalled that in May 2017, conflicts between militants and the Philippine armed forces began, resulting to loss of lives, destruction of properties, displacement of families, among others. It was reported that the battle has ended after five (5) months of continued armed confrontations.

Three (3) years after the Marawi siege, the NCCA collaborated with the IRCI to research the effects of the armed conflicts not only to the ways of lives of the Meranaw communities, but significantly to their intangible cultural heritage as well.

Initial coordination between the NCCA and the IRCI commenced in July 2020, followed by the signing of agreement to conduct the survey project in August 2020. In September of the same year, the NCCA had already consulted with Meranaw researchers, and conducted the necessary orientation as regards the project. The Marawi-based researchers has then reached out to their fellow Meranaw, and the cultural masters and bearers of the endangered ICH element identified, i.e. the Lakub. Fieldworks were conducted from October to December 2020; however, difficulties were experienced due to strict travel restrictions posed by the community quarantine rules and regulations in light of the ongoing pandemic. Exchanges of information about the project status had been conducted among the NCCA, the IRCI, and the local researchers and documenter throughout the duration of the survey.

##### Objectives of the study:

The survey aims to achieve the following:

- a) Conduct a field survey in Marawi to identify the endangered ICH element, i.e. the Lakub, determine the current situation of the element affected by conflict/s, the risk factors that endanger the ICH element, and the effects of the conflict/s to the ICH;

- b) Provide audiovisual documentation of the identified elements and interview with the practitioners; and
- c) Collect existing research information (thesis and/or other studies) on the elements identified.

Specifically, this research, as a preliminary survey on the identified ICH element, the Meranaw Lakub, is designed to be looked into by the culture bearers themselves, the members of the clan of the key resource persons of the study. Accordingly, the study is guided by what social scientists describe as the “*emic* approach” in social investigation. By recording how the culture bearers perceive and categorize the conditions of conflicts and how these affect the ICH element-in-focus, what meanings they draw from the realities on ground, could shed a broader perspective on the research findings. Likewise, the study proceeded to develop a survey report and an audio-visual presentation of the ICH element identified—the Meranaw Lakub.

#### **Methodologies:**

To gather information on the ICH element, the researchers were guided by the Philippine ICH Inventory Form of the NCCA, and had used the data sets prescribed in the Inventory forms as well as employed the following research methods:

- Focus Group Discussion,
- Key Informant Interviews, and
- Records Reviews.

#### **Project Site:**

The Lakub, as an ICH element is popularly produced only in the Municipality of Marantao (coordinates: 7°57'00"N 124°13'59"E) in Lanao del Sur Province. Thus, it was chosen as the project site of the study.

All of the cultural masters who were interviewed are residents of two barangays within the Municipality, particularly, Barangay Bacawayan and Nataron. (See map)

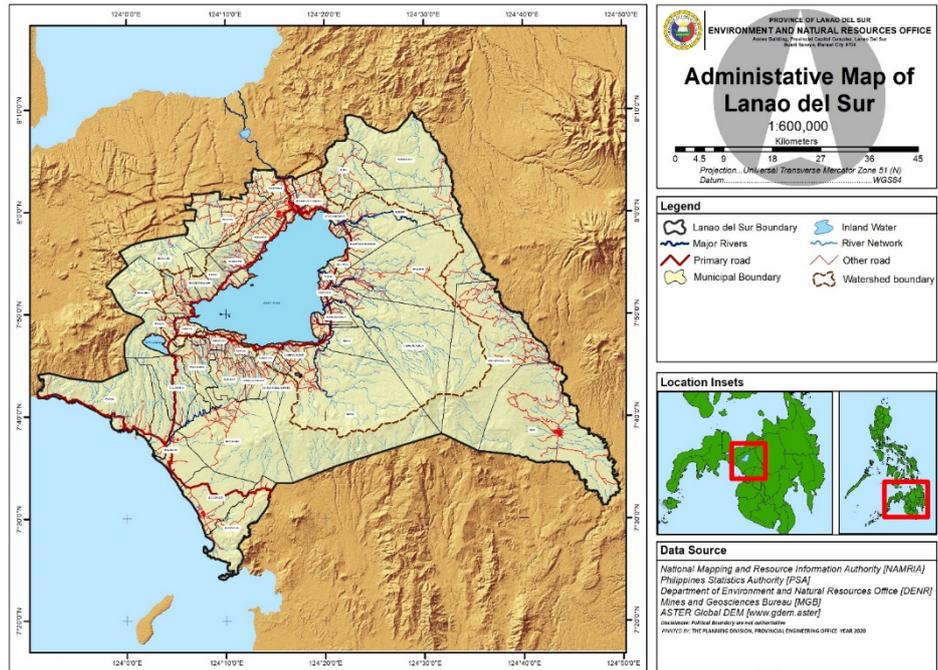
### Project Activities:

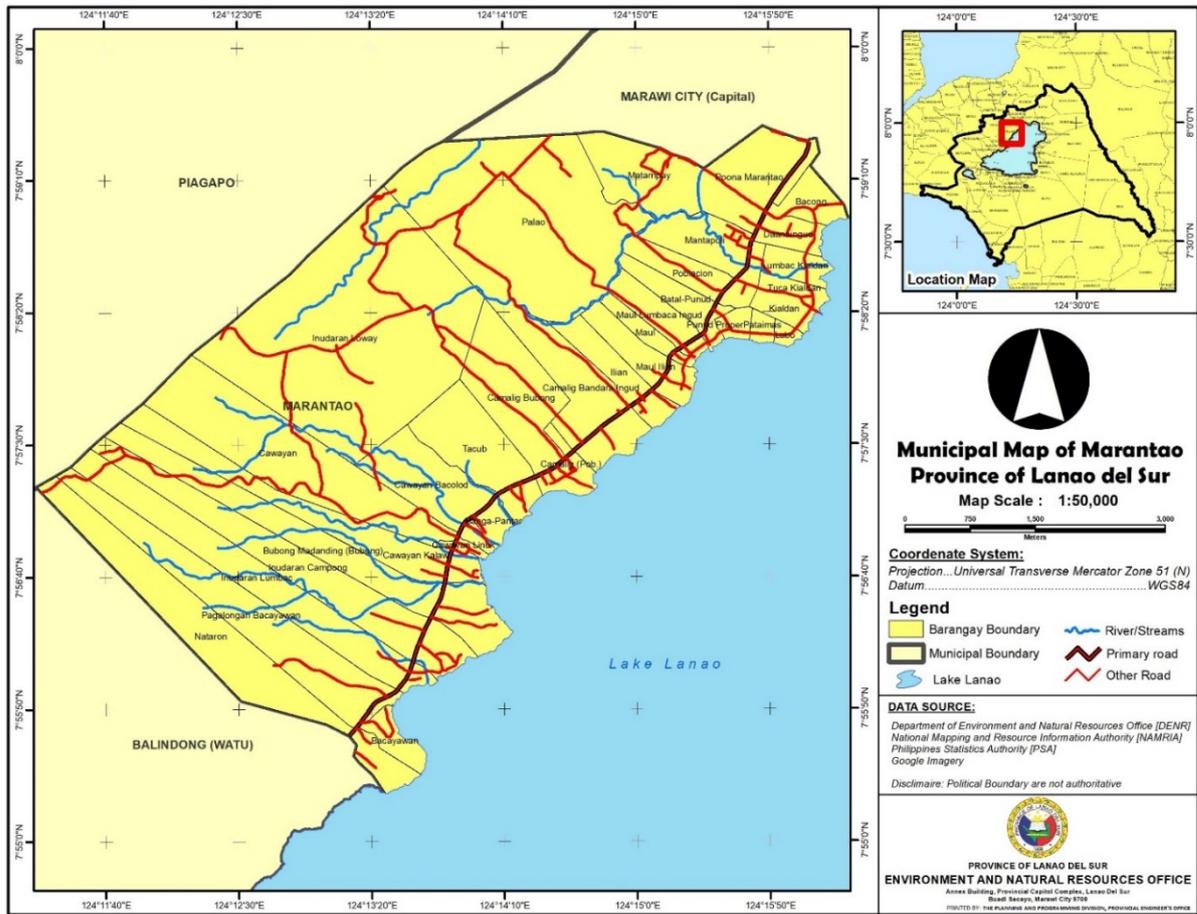
During the period August to December 2020, the research team conducted several activities, among others the following:

- Pre-project start up organizing
- Project team planning meetings
- Orientation sessions on ICH and research methodologies
- Consultation with cultural masters and community leaders
- Acquisition of community consent
- Pre-fieldwork orientation, including the use of the NCCA ICH Inventory Form
- Conference with consultants and records review
- Fieldwork: participatory survey research in selected communities
- Presentation of findings

It has to be mentioned that there were several constraints and problems encountered by the members of the research team during the conduct of the field work. Topping the list of issues were: travel restrictions due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the report of unstable peace conditions in the adjacent municipalities.

Thus, the video documentation process which started in December, was extended in January 2021. Likewise, the writing and submission of the report was also done only in January 2021.





Municipal Map of Marantao showing the specific locations of Barangay Bacayawan and Barangay Nataron at the southern-most portion of the municipality by the lake.

## Part Two: Updated Inventory of the Meranaw Lakub after the Marawi Siege

### Background of the Element

The Lakub, a tobacco container, is a fine example of bamboo craft of the Meranaw—a community considered to be the largest Islamic ethnolinguistic group in the Philippines (Madali, 2007). The Meranaw, a name that is derived from the term “*Ranao*”, which means “*Lake*”, are also referred to as “people of the lake”.

The creation of Lakub is such a tedious process, with the complicated *Lakub* dye technique including covering portions of the container while dipping the others in dye. Bold primary and secondary colors are used --- violet, yellow, dull red, and dull green (Baradas 1977b:1046; Imao 1977b:862).

### Communities, Groups, Individuals, Practitioners and Cultural Bearers Concerned

The making as well as the utilization of the intricately-made *Lakub* has been a very popular tradition among the Meranaw, an ethnolinguistic group in the Central region of southern Philippines.

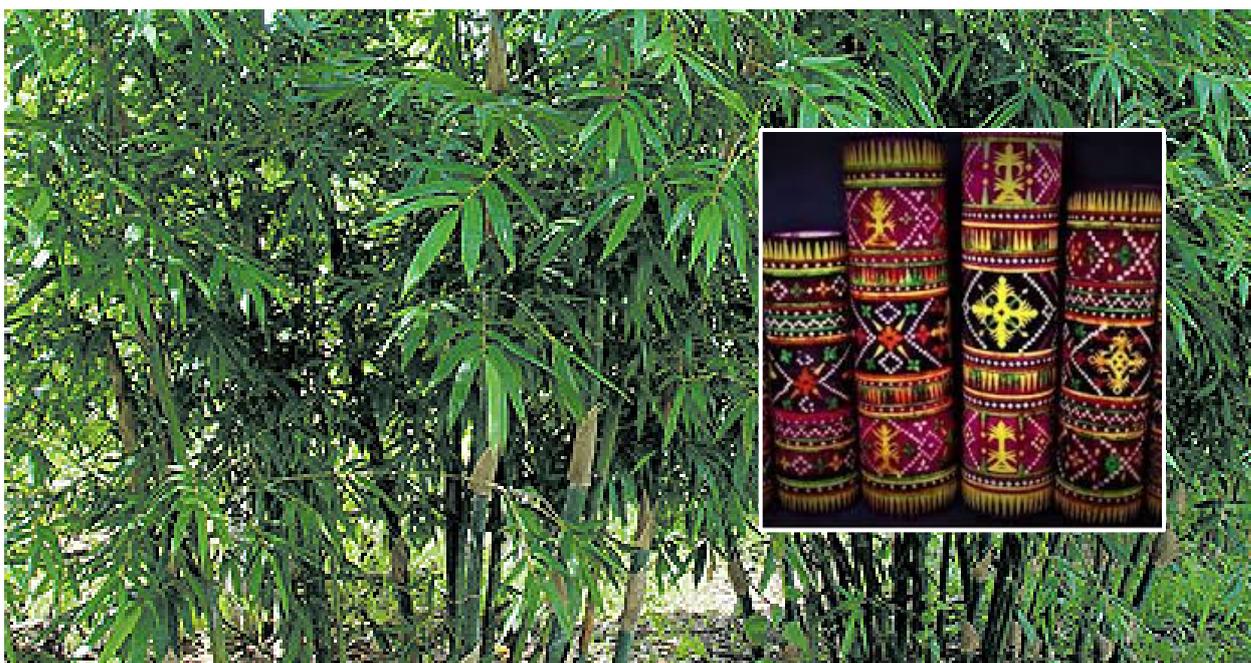
Abdulazis Renayong, who is more than 60 years old and his wife, who is also over 60 years of age, are the two (2) among the few renowned cultural masters who are esteemed Lakub artisans in the Lanao province. The couple hail from Barangay Bacayawan in the municipality of Marantao, some 20 kilometers south-west of the provincial capital - the Islamic City of Marawi.

Mr. Renayong is the only Datu or traditional village leader who had been engaged in the production of traditional Lakub for so many years. In the past until today, he has been ably assisted by his wife, who is an expert in designing intricate visual images that are embedded in the bamboo container, derived from the *Okir* tradition of the Meranaw.

While most Meranaw show deep appreciation and patronage of the *Lakub* tradition, only very few are involved in keeping the production of Lakub alive. Mr. Marlex Bantog, another cultural master and entrepreneur, is a distinguished culture master who likewise dwells in Barangay Bacayawan in Marantao.

In the adjacent barangay of the same municipality, in Barangay Nataron, resides Mrs. Cobra Rimpa Binatara, around 60 years old, who is equally recognized as a skillful artisan in the production of the Meranaw *Lakub*.

She has willfully tendered assistance to the research and documentation team in the conduct of production trials. Furthermore, she is competently assisted by her eldest female daughter, Asnia Binatara Hadji Hassan.



*A bamboo orchard in the Lanao del Sur; (inset) A Lakub made of the Tamlang variety.*

There are also a handful of individuals - young and adults, men and women - who are helping the master artisans in the Lakub production process. But their involvement is limited to very few specific activities. Together, they constitute the culture bearers of the *Lakub* tradition in the community.



*Harvesting the Tamlang bamboos*

The adult men, Bashier and Mawiyag, harvested the bamboo from the orchards and transported them to the designated working area in the village. The older men in the village are involved in cleaning, scraping, rubbing and drying the bamboo pieces. Mr. Amerhussien Musa skillfully saw the harvested *Tamlang* (a variety of bamboo used to make Lakub) according to the desired assorted sizes of Lakub.

Some of the culture bearers gather the banana leaves to be used for wrapping the designed bamboos. The women in the area, on the other hand, help the cultural masters in cutting the paper patterns which are meticulously glued to the bamboo surface to create the desired *Okir* designs.



*Road to Mrs. Cobra's residence*

Resource persons from Marantao reveal that in ancient times, the Lakub was used only by the royal families, particularly by the Sultans (traditional village leader) and the members of their clan. The artisans of Lakub, meanwhile, are ordinary people; but they create this traditional craft because it is significant for the Sultan's family to store their tobacco in the Lakub. It has been narrated that in the olden days, lemon juice is sprinkled carefully on stored tobacco leaf inside the Lakub in order to improve the aroma and taste of the tobacco.

The chewing of betel nut is a common practice in olden times and the members of the nobility aspire for the fantastic-tasting tobacco stored in covered Lakub.

Nowadays, however, the families of Mr. Renayong and Mr. Bantog explain that they have ceased producing Lakub for various reasons (to be expounded in the succeeding section). Moreover, they have affirmed that they were not able to pass on most of their knowledge and skills to their children.

#### **Geographic Location and Range of the Element**

The traditional home of the Meranaw is the area surrounding Lake Lanao, the second largest in the Philippine archipelago. Located in Lanao del Sur near the border of Lanao del Norte, the area is roughly triangular in shape with a 28.8-kilometer-long base. The surface is approximately 780 to 2,300 meters above sea level. This elevation results in a temperature far more pleasant than that in the surrounding areas.



*Tamlang variety of bamboos delivered to Mrs. Cobra's residence*



*Photos:(Left) Scraping of the outer green layer of Tamlang; (Middle) Drying the bamboos under the sun; (Right) Cutting the bamboo post to desired sizes.*

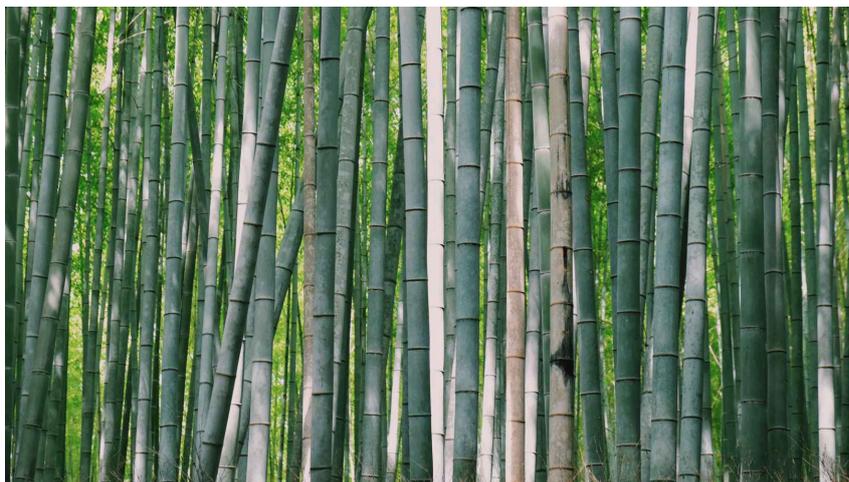
The production of Lakub is very famous in the municipality of Marantao (Merantau), a Malay word that means "to go on adventure, travel or hunting or even on a war expedition". Marantao is a landlocked municipality in the south-central portion of the province. (See map of the Province)

The municipality has a land area of 660 square kilometers or 254.83 square miles which constitutes 4.89% of Lanao del Sur's total area. Its population as determined by the 2015 Census was 32,974. This represented 3.15% of the total population of Lanao del Sur province. Based on these figures, the population density is computed at 50 inhabitants per square kilometer or 129 inhabitants per square mile (Marantao Profile at PhilAtlas.com). The municipality is politically subdivided into 34 barangays. It is in Barangay Bacayawan where many of the well-known cultural masters of Lakub reside at present.



*Barangay road in Nataron leading to Mrs. Cobra's residence.*

Before Islam, the Maranao were organized into independent and kinship-based political units. These units settled in various parts of the lake, but were organized into four *pengampong* (states or encampments) administered by local Datu (traditional village leader). These states were Bayabao, Masiu, Unayan, and Balo-i (Darangen 1980:37). And the municipality of Marantao is within the *pengampong* known as “*Mala a Bayabao*”.



*Tamlang bamboos and skillfully crafted lakub duly packaged by the NCCA in 2015.*

Another account speaks of the popularly known Kawayan Torogan (Bamboo Royal House), acclaimed as the oldest known *torogan* in the Philippines that existed only in the past exclusive in the municipalities of Marantao and Tugaya. It is a traditional Maranao house built for royal Maranao families. Popular stories narrated by the folks affirm that the Lakub tradition once flourished in the two municipalities. The people of Tugaya are famous for producing large sized Lakub while the masters from Marantao produce finely crafted Lakub in various sizes. As time passes, only the finely crafted traditions Lakub made by the artisans in Marantao have endured.



*Woman Cultural Master in the process of designing the Lakub.*



*Wrapping of the bamboo with the design patterns embedded inside.*

According to Datu Abdulazis Renayong, they are no longer active in the traditional *Lakub* production for more than 20 years because nowadays, only very few people are patronizing it and the remaining stocks that they used to sell were affected by the armed conflicts.

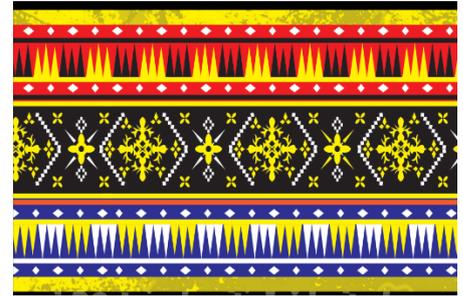
Mr. Bantog also stopped making *Lakub* due to the length of the manufacturing process. He explains that he has difficulties in meeting the deadlines in delivering the goods to his customers because he has not completely pass on or transmitted the knowledge and skills in the making of *Lakub* to their children.

It is only Mrs. Cobra Binatara, residing in the adjacent barangay, who signified willingness to engage in the making traditional *Lakub* during the period of this study.

As mentioned, she expressed willingness in assisting the Research Team on the actual documentation of the production process of the ICH element. A total of fifty (50) pieces of new *Lakub*, is projected to be produced but the process took several weeks to be finished.



*Cutting the papers of Okir design pattern motif.*



*Okir design patterns invaded in bamboo Lakub containers, the variety of motifs are derived from the flora found in the natural environment.*

### Frequency of the Practice of the Element

The production of *Lakub* does not occur throughout the year. There is a specific time or season for the production process. The practice of harvesting the bamboo is done only during the first full moon and the summer season, because the harvested and cleaned bamboos have to be exposed under the sun.

The master artisans only produce *Lakub* when they receive orders for it. Since the *Lakub* is given only as a symbolic gift, usually orders only happen during special occasions like wedding celebrations, or when a new Sultan is enthroned.

Hence, even in Marantao, where the well-known *Lakub* artisans live, the production of *Lakub* is on the downscale, and limited only when there is a demand or commercial orders.



*Scraping the bamboo and smoothing it prior to the designing process.*

### Description of the Element

*Lakub* is a traditional vessel used by the Meranaw as traditional tobacco container. Ancient tales tell us that the *Lakub* was used only by the rich particularly the Sultans and their families. In contemporary times however, *Lakub* is used only as a decorative piece at home or as an ornamental gift.



*Outputs of the third production trial done by Mrs. Cobra and her clan members in Marantao.*

The designs used in the creation of Lakub may be seen as inspired by their traditional art, Okir, derived from the Malay word which means molding. These designs have different uses depending on the design because Okir is a unique art that the makers respect, the Meranaw in particular, as well as their royal art and culture.

The process of making Lakub is meticulous, from the preparation of the bamboos, design patterns, dyeing of the bamboos with design patterns, and the polishing of the dyed bamboos. The designs embedded in the *Lakub* are inspired from the plants found in the field such as leaves and flowers.



*Different design pattern of Lakub in various sizes*



*Hand-held Lakub tobacco container done during the production trial.*



*Set of polish bamboos ready for designing process*



*Improvised stove set for the boiling of the dyed Lakub after having been embedded with traditional Okir design*

### Functions and Significance

Based on the observed social practice in the utilization and patronage of the Meranaw Lakub, the following are the verified significance of the element:

- Cultural – Lakub reflects the rich and creative culture of the Meranaw people, giving them more opportunities to showcase their other intangible cultural elements that are equally significant and precious
- Historical – Lakub is a constant reminder of the history of the Meranaw which also needs to be passed down to the younger generations for a more holistic appreciation of the ICH
- Social – the creation of Lakub creates cohesion within and among communities, resulting to good human relationships fostered through teamwork
- Economic – the production of Lakub creates an avenue for income of the Meranaw households
- Environmental – continued use of Lakub may reduce the consumption of plastics as containers, creating an eco-friendlier environment
- Religious / Spiritual – the Lakub creation and production involves rituals as may be observed, especially in chewing of tobacco by the elders as witnessed within the town
- Scientific – in the process of making, scientific processes may be observed. It is evident from the time it is dried up to the color application.



*Typical vegetative cover of Marantao rural setting.*

### **Viability of the Element**

There are observable threats to the practice, transmission and sustainability of the tangible elements and resources associated with the Lakub, as an ICH element. These threats can be classified as Economic, Social, Environmental, Political and Cultural as described below.

#### **a) War and political problems in the town**

All the masters and other people who have the ability to make Lakub are from Barangay Bacayawan, Marantao, Lanao del Sur. But due to the cost of transporting the Lakub product to and from Marawi City, some of them decided to put up a space where they can sell the Lakub, until the war in 2017 which forced them to return to Marantao for survival, while some of them went to different parts of Mindanao and continued selling Lakub. Some were forced to stop Lakub production because they could no longer sell it, and they have no commercial partners to supply the Lakub to. Political conflicts particularly during elections greatly affect the production and selling of Lakub.

#### **b) Rido or clash of clan in the community**

Conflicts within or among families or clans are one of the reasons why other Lakub makers have stopped the creation of this craft. When affected by rido, the families are forced to stay away and hide somewhere else for their safety. Sometimes even if they are not directly involved in the rido, but their community is, they cannot live peacefully nor continue making Lakub. They will rather choose their safety than selling Lakub.

#### **c) Depletion of Tamlang bamboos**

The biggest reason for the depletion of Tamlang bamboo is its excessive cutting as it has various uses besides making the Lakub. Failure to replace them by planting another seedling after cutting, and illegal cutting of Tamlang have led to their diminution as well. The color used in dyeing called randang is also difficult to find in Lanao del Sur.

d) Diminishing and refusal of its traditional use

The Lakub is traditionally used as tobacco container as it is known to enhance the taste of the tobacco, according to those who gnaw or chew. The longer a cigar is stored inside the Lakub, the more delicious and stronger effect it will be. But because there are only few who are still chewing tobacco in various places in Lanao, there has been a loss of the value of Lakub that is why it is now only being used as ornament. Nowadays, only the adults are chewing tobacco; but, according to the elders, even then young men love to gnaw or chew tobacco.

e) Ageing of skilled makers of Lakub

Due to the old age of those who know the process of the Lakub, it is difficult to continue the craftsmanship because of the meticulous process from cutting the Tamlang that will be used up until the rubbing process. The elders can no longer handle the strenuous process of Lakub production unless they are assisted by other men in their town.



*An abandoned abode after the conflict situation.*

f) Difficulties in the transmission of Lakub

Cultural masters and bearers of the Lakub traditional craftsmanship have difficulties to transmit their knowledge to the younger generation. Although they are willing to do so, the young people refuse to learn the creation of Lakub as they wish to focus more on formal education, the use of technology, and be involved in sports.

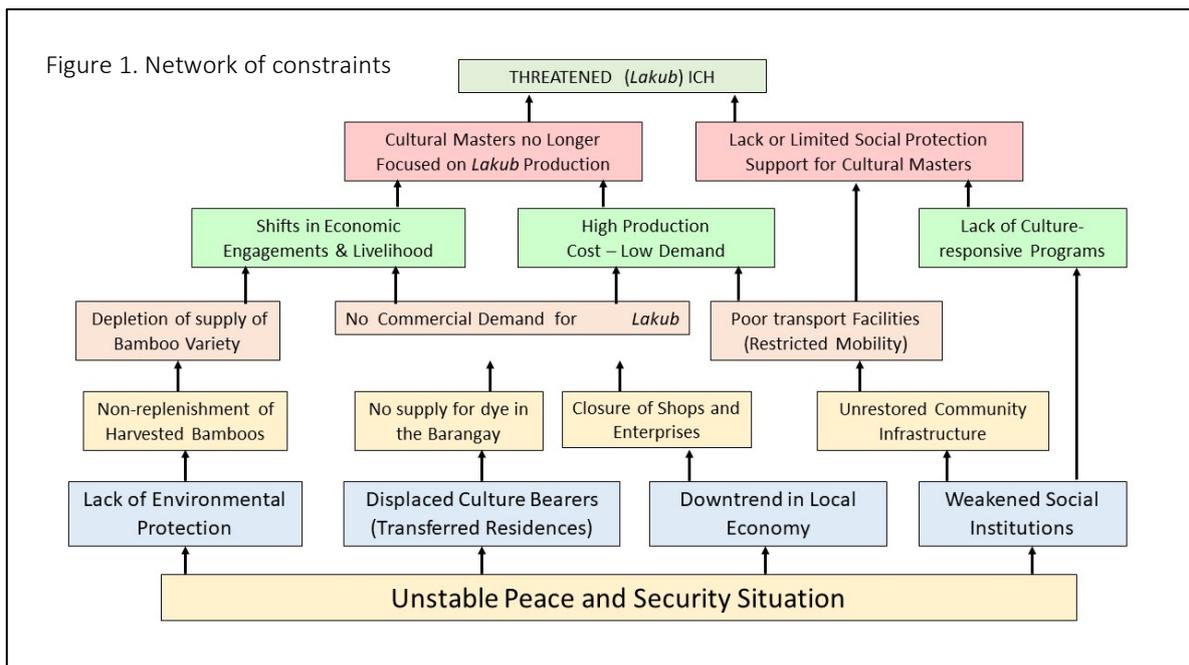
g) Shift in livelihood among those who know how to make Lakub

Lakub makers in Barangay Bacayawan Marantao have stopped Lakub production as they now have a different means of livelihood that they think will help them more in their daily lives. Others went to various places in the Philippines to earn a living.

**Part Three: Network of Constraints and Potentials Directly Affecting the Viability and Safeguarding of the *Lakub* as an ICH element**

This section focuses on demonstrating the multiple dimensions of conflicts that are prevailing in some areas in Mindanao, and how these circumstances aggravate the threats to the viability of the Lakub, and as a result, exacerbate the efficacy of the safeguarding mechanisms of this shared ICH element of the Meranaw community.

The Figure 1 below illuminates the Network of Constraints, a cause-and-effect reporting of the many restraining factors confronting the ICH element.



*The Network of Constrains present the restraining factors to Lakub viability*

The **unstable peace and security situation** is placed at the bottom of the diagram and it is perceived as the root cause of the conditions that “threatened the viability of Lakub”. This root problem prominently factored in the **lack of environmental protection program** which then leads to the

**non-replenishment of harvested bamboos** and eventually caused the **depletion of the supply of the Tamlang bamboo variety**.

The **downtrend in local economy** leads to the **closure of shops and local enterprises** which is contributory of the network of negative conditions such as **no supply for dye** in the Barangay, **no commercial demand for Lakub**, **high production cost**, and the **shifts in economic engagements & livelihood** that explains why the cultural masters no “longer focused on Lakub production”.

The other major contributory factor that is mainly caused by the armed conflict is the continued “weakening of social institutions” and the “loss of influence of non-formal traditional leaders” in the maintenance of a cohesive communities with members who value unity and possess a strong will and determination to maintain peace and harmony.

This is also cited as one of the many contributory factors to the **non-rehabilitation of community infrastructure** that leads to **high cost of transportation** services and **restricted mobility**, which also lead to **high production cost**. On the other hand, “**weak social institutions**” is one of the primary reasons why there is “**lack of culture-responsive governance**” which leads to “**limited social protection support for cultural masters**”.

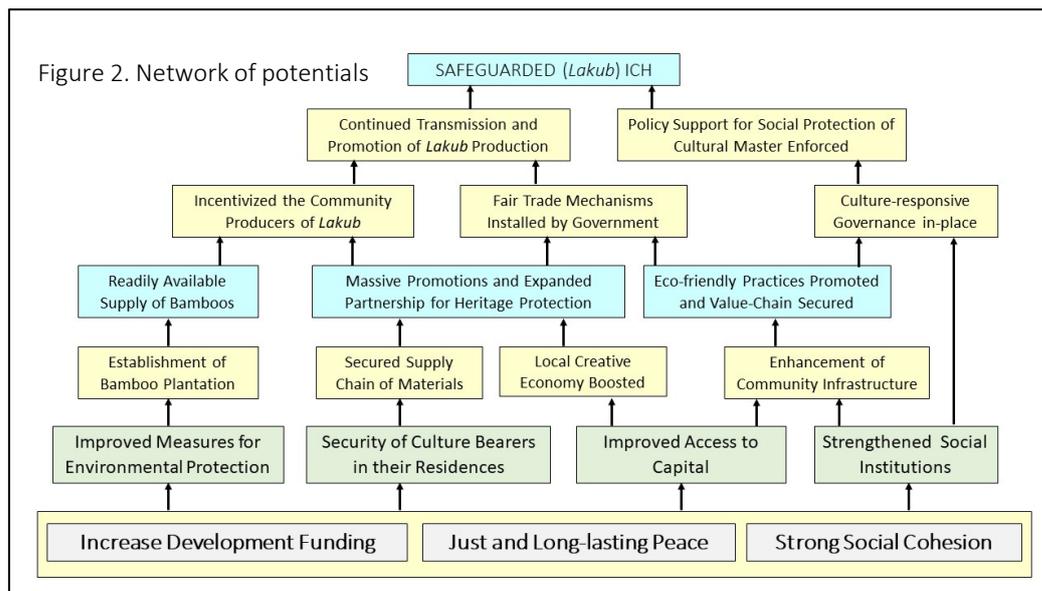
The situation of “**displaced culture bearers (transferred residences)**” which is caused by the violent armed conflict is likewise linked to the socio-economic conditions that dissipate the production, acquisition, usage and appreciation of Lakub as an ICH element.

The network of constraints and the interlocking negative conditions that threatened the sustainability of the element can only be addressed by a culture-based, comprehensive and integrative strategy for the restoration of a Culture-of-Peace in the basal communities where people are optimistic of achieving “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear”.

Conversely, the recent engagements of the cultural masters in the production trials of Lakub in relation to this research project is very uplifting. Indeed, hope springs eternal.

There are three primary pre-conditions to the proposed all-embracing safeguarding measures as illustrated in Figure 2: Network of Potentials.

- a) **Just and lasting peace;**
- b) **Strengthened social cohesion; and**
- c) **Increase in funds for development**



*The Network of Potentials serves as facilitative forces that shall restore the feasibility and sustainability of the Lakub as an ICH element of the Meranaw.*

The three primary and positive prerequisites shown above are the major conditions that could lead to the towering inspirations of the culture bearers to build-back confidence and re-engage in Lakub production. Moreover, it can facilitate the installation of **fair-trade policies** and mechanisms for **fair compensation of cultural masters** which shall be reinforced by **culture-responsive governance**.

Thus, the sustained safeguarding of the ICH element requires the strong partnerships and cooperative endeavors of the various stakeholders.

As explained, the community needs to realize the network of potentials that are still feasible and workable at present. Government and the community leaders must endeavor to address the roots of historical injustice and build the strong foundations for a **just and long-lasting peace**.

Meanwhile, an increase in **development funding** would assure the implementation of **improved measures for environmental protection** that would then facilitate the **establishment of bamboo plantation** leading to the **readily available supply of tamlang bamboos** to the community of Lakub producers.

**Environmental protection** and the **massive promotions and expanded partnership for heritage protection** could very well facilitate the **incentives for the community of culture bearers** for the continuing production of Lakub as an ICH element.

The **security of culture bearers in their residences** and the **improved access to capital** could lead to **secured supply chain of materials** as well as the **boosting of local economic enterprises**, and to the implementation of **massive promotions and expanded partnership for heritage protection**.

The **improved access to capital** reinforced by “**strengthened social institutions**” would lead to various positive effects such as: the **enhancement of community infrastructures**, the **strengthened security and greening of the value-chain**, as well as the implementation of “**culture-responsive**”

**local governance**” which is equally responsible for the installation of **fair-trade mechanisms** in the people’s’ engagements in the market of cultural products.

**Fair Trade Mechanisms and Culture-responsive governance** would address the long-standing needs for **social protection of cultural masters**. And, together with **expanded incentives for cultural producers**, the continued transmission and promotion of the ICH element is definitely assured.

In ending, the necessary pre-conditions for the sustained safeguarding of the Meranaw ICH are: **strong social cohesion, the promotion of eco-friendly practices, and stable value-chain** as well as the **improved access to capital** and secured access to **culture-responsive governance**.

#### Part Four: Summary of Findings

For decades, the Meranaw cultural masters have confirmed that the inherent value of *Lakub*, as a creative cultural expression, is essential and unique to the Meranaw society. The fundamental value is likewise derived from a unique production process --- an activity characterized as a free expression of experience in a form delightful and permanent, mediating communication, between and among the bearers of culture. And this value is premised on the verity that “Meranaw art is not separated from life”. The artistic expression cannot be separated from the artists and the artists cannot be understood without their culture.

Cultural value then can be thought of as reflecting the meaning embodied in or expressed by this ICH element. Moreover, the cultural significance is a socially constructed phenomenon and that the determination of this value cannot be divorced from the social context in which it occurs (Peralta, 2000).

On the other hand, the current study has affirmed that the viability of *Lakub* is unquestionably threatened, both in pre- and post-conflict situations. The concrete situations in the *Lakub*-producing Barangays in the municipality of Marantao have exposed a number of disturbing realities and unpredictable truths, and from which the following conclusions are drawn.

First, amid the experiences of war, the generations of culture bearers and cultural masters without doubt, continue to survive and have endured valuing their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) in relation to the ICH element. However, the need to support them by ensuring that they can avail of the various social protection is crucial. This is an urgent agenda that must be pursued in order to continue the safeguarding of the ICH element.

For the time being, despite the seemingly discouraging testimonies of cultural masters who had ceased to produce *Lakub*, the fervor and aspirations of the culture bearers still prevail. Most of the interviewed cultural masters in Marantao have categorically expressed that the practice of *Lakub* production will persist if the favorable pre-conditions, such as fair-trade and increased access to capital, can be achieved.

Second, amid the seemingly stable situation that exists at present, the probable occurrence of conflicts in the area is still valid. Definitely, the efforts to address the roots of conflicts in Mindanao have to be expanded in order to mitigate the diverse manifestations of conflicts.

During the conduct of the field interviews in relation to this study, some cultural masters had expressed their vehement reactions as to the wearing of face masks and face shields by the assistant researchers. For the most religious of the residents in the barangay, only the wrath of Allah, the almighty and the most powerful (and not the COVID-19 pandemic), is the penultimate condition that everyone should be afraid of.

Such is a case of conflict in ordinary situation rooted on culture. Thus, albeit not desirable at all, conflicts in Mindanao could still be considered as normal phenomena. Thus, the raising of the capabilities of the community to effectively address the conflict situations must top the list of development concerns.

Third, the need to put to place urgent safeguarding measures including the mitigation of conflicts and raising stakeholders' readiness in disaster preparedness (in pre-, during, and post- conflicts situations) must be a priority concern in culture-responsive governance. Hence, in the arena of environmental protection and heritage conservation, disaster preparedness is an urgent agenda, in both pre- and post-conflict scenarios. Inter-agency convergence programs for ICH safeguarding, in cooperation with the Meranaw communities, are thus recommended to facilitate disaster preparedness as pre-requisite for the continuous safeguarding of the Meranaw ICH element such as the Lakub.

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**Project Team:**

Nestor T. Horfilla

**Lead documenter**

Pepito P. Sumayan

**Local researcher and coordinator**

Salman D. Ibrahim

Hassanain O. Magarang

**Local youth researchers**

Renee C. Talavera

Kris Anne G. Cortez

**NCCA Cultural Communities and  
Traditional Arts Section**

## ANNEX

### 1. REFERENCE MATERIALS USED IN THE PROJECT: SOME CASE STUDIES IN JAPAN

- Case Study in Okinawa (1)
- Case Study in Okinawa (2)
- Case Study in Okinawa (3)
- Case Study in Yamagata
- Case Study in Akita
- Legislation

## CASE STUDY IN OKINAWA (1)

# Reconstruction of Ryukyu Dance after World War II and Its Challenges<sup>1</sup>

**OHSIRO Manabu**

*Professor of Gifu Women's University (Former Professor of University of the Ryukyus)*

### Postwar reconstruction

The end of World War II in Okinawa came on June 23, 1945. In Okinawa, where the war was fought on the ground, one out of four people in the prefecture lost their lives in the grueling battle. Okinawa suffered a tragedy of the loss of several dancers including Seiju Tamagusuku, the treasure of Ryukyu dance and *Kumi Odori* (combination dance). The people of Okinawa, who had lost their houses, separated from their immediate family and were overwhelmed by despair, left hope to *Uta-sanshin* (singing and playing a three-string lute) and dance.

Immediately after the end of the war, the Okinawa Advisory Council, the first central political organization in Okinawa, was launched in Ishikawa City on August 20, 1945. Through Seiken Toyama, the Director of Culture of the Advisory Council, an Okinawan dancer was invited by Major Hannah, the Government Education Officer of the U.S. Navy. He was asked if there was anything he wanted, and when he answered that he wanted food and a house, he was told not that, but that if there was something he needed for a play or dance, he would make it come true. As part of the U.S. military's cultural policies, Major Hannah wanted to use Okinawan performing arts to comfort U.S. military personnel, and he also wanted to use Okinawan performing arts to heal the devastated people in Okinawa. He procured costumes, tools and cosmetics.

On December 25, 1945, the 1st postwar "*Heiwa Engeikai*" (peace show) was held on the grounds of Shiromae Elementary School in Ishikawa City (now Uruma City). The stage was very humble, covered with planks on top of drums, but it is said that there were several 1000 spectators. The stage dances included familiar songs such as "*Hamachidori*" and "*Yotsudake*". Although it was the same old dance since prewar periods, the audience was deeply moved. Among them, the *Kumi Odori*, "*Hana-uri no en*" seemed to have had an impact. In "*Hana-uri no en*," the separated families of *Morikawawanoshi*, *Otodaru* and *Tsurumatsu* were reunited after more than 10 years. The hope of reuniting families separated by World War II was repeated in the "*Hana-uri no en*". The audience watched the *Kumi Odori* through their tears. Although Okinawa had become a scorched battlefield, they realized that performing arts were not ruined, and through performing arts they felt grateful to be alive and confirmed the joy of living. There is always something like a desperate spirit among the people of Okinawa to inspire themselves with *Uta-sanshin* and dance, and to

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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was originally prepared as a presentation for the 'Working Group Session for Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (31 July-3 August 2019)'.

inspire the community (villages and towns). It is no exaggeration to say that entertainment culture is the heart of Okinawans.

In April 1946, the Okinawa Civilian Administration established the three government-run theatrical groups of *Matsu* (pine), *Take* (bamboo), and *Ume* (plum) for traveling performances. The *Matsu* group toured mainly the central area of Okinawa with Koyu Shimabukuro as the leader and Kiji Hachimine as the deputy leader. The *Take* group toured mainly the northern area of Okinawa with Ryosho Taira as the leader and Nozo Miyagi as the deputy leader, while the *Ume* group toured mainly the southern area of Okinawa with Inkichi Iraha as the leader and Seigi Tamagusuku as the deputy leader.

The theatrical group members became public servants as technical officials of the Arts Division of the Okinawa Civilian Administration. However, the government-run theater groups *Matsu*, *Take*, and *Ume* were dissolved in April of the following year, and the private management of the theater groups (free show) was permitted. Those actors who had performed Okinawan plays and Ryukyū dance before the war came back from the battlefield. They set up theatrical groups one after another, and before long, there were too many groups.

On the other hand, full-fledged movie theaters were built around 1951, and 8 years later, the number of movie theaters in the prefecture became 121, and the entertainment of the people in the prefecture shifted from plays to movies, and then to television. Due to the decline of the theatrical groups, the retired actors and actresses became dancers and established the Ryukyū Dance Institute to train pupils. Every institute was full of students learning dance and as a result, many female grand masters were born. It was the dawn of the new era of female dancers.

In November 1953, *Okinawa Geinodan* (Okinawa Performing Art Group) was organized and participated in the 8th National Arts Festival (an art festival organized by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture) and performed a total of 5 times at Yurakucho Video Hall, Hibiya Public Hall, etc. In addition, Ryukyū dance performances on the mainland have gradually increased, for example, in November 1955, when a performance given in the 10th National Arts Festival at Nippon Seinen-Kan was awarded the Encouragement Prize in the dance category. Recently, Ryukyū dance has been actively performed not only in and outside the prefecture but also overseas.

Ryukyū dance was designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Property of Japan (the preservation group is *Ryukyū Buyo Hozonkai* (Ryukyū Dance Preservation Association)) on September 2, 2009. I once had a chance to interview an elderly person who watched the *Engeikai* held on December 25, 1945. He said "Okinawan performing arts is strong!" "*Engeikai* encouraged me! I was given hope to live!" and "No naval gun can burn up intangible cultural properties!" I think these words say it all.

## Issues

I would like to summarize the current situation and issues of Ryukyū dance. Looking back, newspapers greatly influenced the preservation and promotion of traditional performing arts such as Ryukyū dance in Okinawa after the war, such as the Top Ten Rookie Performing Arts Festival (it was later renamed as the Traditional Performing Arts Selection Committee) hosted by

The Okinawa Times and the Ryukyu Classic Performing Arts Contest hosted by the Ryukyu Shimpo. At present, Ryukyu dance and Ryukyu classical music (*Uta-sanshin*, *So* (Japanese stringed instrument), *Fue* (Japanese flute), *Kokyu* (Chinese fiddle), and *Taiko* (Japanese drum)) are roughly divided into two groups, one belonging to the Okinawa Times group and the other to the Ryukyu Shimpo group.

In June 1954, with the aim of restoring the culture destroyed in the Battle of Okinawa (World War II), the Okinawa Times held the "Okinawa Times 1st Top Ten Rookie Performing Arts Festival" with the aim of preserving traditional performing arts as a cultural heritage and continuing and developing them as more sophisticated ones. Later, the names were changed to Art Festival, New Face Award for Fine Arts, Best Traditional Arts Award for Fine Arts, and Traditional Performing Arts Selection Committee, but for young Ryukyu dancers and Ryukyu classical musicians, the Award for Best New Artist (Rookie of the Year Award, Excellence Award, and Grand Prize), Top Ten, and Grand Prix (Ryukyu dance and Ryukyu classical music grand prizes) were established, and the selection committee members have carried out the selection process. By carrying out the project and having the winners perform on the stage, the prosperity and the expansion of traditional performing arts have been promoted. The Top Ten was discontinued in 1958.

The Ryukyu Shimpo Hall was completed in March 1965. As a result, entertainers who participated in the Okinawa Times contest were split, and some of them started to participate in the Ryukyu Classic Performing Arts Contest hosted by the Ryukyu Shimpo. In August of the following year, the Ryukyu Shimpo organized "Ryukyu Classic Performing Arts Contest" with the aim of fostering successors to Ryukyu performing arts and preserving and inheriting traditional performing arts. In the Ryukyu dance and Ryukyu classical music categories, Rookie of the Year Award, Excellence Award, and Grand Prize were established, and the selection committee carried out the selection process. The winners participated in stage performances and the Ryukyu Traditional Performing Arts Festival.

Both programs are still held today and have produced many dancers and musicians. Both of them play an important role as a gateway to success for entertainers. After winning the Rookie of the Year Award, Excellence Award, or Grand Prix (Okinawa Times only), the entertainers sharpen their skills and become a teacher under their grand masters several years later, then become a master and work as a substitute teacher and so on, and eventually become independent and open an institute (*Dojo*). Then, as a grand master they take pupils, train them, sent them to a contest, and make them win a prize. They raise their reputation as a grand master by producing many award winners. Most of the people who currently own an institute as a grand master have gone through this process.

The Ryukyu entertainment industry was at its height of prosperity, and many grand masters in the Ryukyu dance industry formed schools and factions easily, and many of them called themselves *Kaishu* (owner), *Iemoto* (schoolmaster) or *Soke* (originator). In particular, after Okinawa's reversion to Japanese rule in 1972, this trend was accelerated. Many dancers thought, "if that person started a school or a denomination, I would try to stand up too", and many schools and denominations were born. As a result, an increasing number of dancers called themselves *Kaishu*, *Iemoto*, or *Soke*. Soon after receiving a master's license from the grand master, some dancers broke away from the grand master and identified themselves as *Kaishu* or *Iemoto* without inheriting the art. In other words, they receive a license from an individual dancer.

It is said that *Kaishu*, *Iemoto*, and *Soke* have the right to grant licenses, and some dancers use this right arbitrarily to grant licenses to teachers and masters, thereby increasing the number of members. This situation makes me feel that the dancers are using their qualifications as a teacher or a master to expand the authority of the school. This is a big deviation from the original purpose of the qualifications, which is deeply related to succession of the artistic skills. These grand masters and teachers half handed down the arts that *Kaishu* or *Iemoto* inherited from their predecessors. It is no exaggeration to say that there are now too many denominations and schools in Ryukyu dance. It can be said that the above is the issue of the succession of Ryukyu dance.

For reference, let's look at the case of Ryukyu classical music. There are strictly three schools of Ryukyu classical music: the *Tansui* school, the *Afuso* school, and the *Nomura* school. Classical music has a score called "*Kunkunshi*," based on which the method of recitation has been established, preserved and handed down to the present. The three schools' preservation organizations examine the titles called teacher and master and give a license to the successful candidates. *Sokyoku* (music played by *So*) is also performed based on *Kunkunshi*, and is managed (including granting of a license) or performed by a preservation group (organization). In other words, in the case of Ryukyu classical music, licenses for teachers and masters are given by groups, while in Ryukyu dance, licenses are given by individual dancers.

## CASE STUDY IN OKINAWA (2)

### Reconstruction and Challenges of Crafts (dyeing and Weaving) after World War II<sup>1</sup>

YONAMINE Ichiko

*Chief Curator, Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum*

Nice to meet you. I'm Yonamine, a curator at Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum. I would like to give you an overview of the recovery of Okinawan crafts, particularly dyeing and weaving, after the war.

#### I. Dyeing and Weaving in Okinawa - Present –

Before I talk about the postwar recovery of Okinawan dyeing and weaving, I would like to tell you about the current state of Okinawa.

If you look at the world map, Okinawa is a group of small islands that are even smaller than a point. The red mark on the map is a typical production area of dyed or woven textiles. As you can see from the picture on the right, Okinawa has various types of traditional dyeing and weaving inherited since the Ryukyu Kingdom period.

There are three recognized individual holders and three recognized group holders of Important Intangible Cultural Properties. Individual recognized holders are called Living National Treasure and include Toshiko Taira for *Bashofu* (cloth made from Japanese fiber banana), Hatsuko Miyahira for *Shuri-no-ori* (Shuri textiles), and Yuko Tamanaha for *Bingata* (Okinawan traditional dyeing that applies resist dyeing with rice paste). There are 13 dyed or woven textiles designated as Traditional Craft Products by the Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry. While producing dyed or woven textiles in these production areas, they are training successors. Also, there are people who continue their activities as artists without belonging to the production area.

#### II. Dyeing and Weaving in the Ryukyu Kingdom Period

Well, I will introduce the dyeing and weaving of the Ryukyu Kingdom period.

There were dyed or woven textiles shipped from overseas and dyed or woven textiles domestically produced in Ryukyu. Ryukyu traded widely from the 15th to 16th centuries with

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1 This manuscript was originally prepared as a presentation for the 'Working Group Session for Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (31 July-3 August 2019)'.

Ming, Japan (Sakai, Hakata), Korea, Thailand (Ayutthaya), Malacca and Luzon, and various textiles came from these countries. The dyed or woven textiles pictured here date back to the 17th century, when Ryukyu gradually limited its trading partners to Ryukyu, China and Japan. Dyed or woven textiles produced in Ryukyu included embroidery, direct drawing with post-dyeing, foil stamping, tie-dyeing, *Bingata*, pre-dyed *Bashofu*, *Jofu* (ramie fiber cloth), *Kasuri* (resist-dyed textile) and *Hanaori* (floating weave). Embroidery, painting, foil stamping and tie-dyeing have lost their techniques due to the collapse of the Kingdom.

### **Embroidery**

The characteristic of this technique is the embroidery thread covering the surface, but not the back of the fabric. However, this technique has been lost and many people did not even know there was embroidery in Okinawa until recently.

### **Direct Drawing**

There was a technique to draw patterns directly on the cloth with pigments. On the left is the costume of the goddess. Others are entertainment costumes. Painting stopped after the war.

### **Foil stamping**

This is the Ryukyu collection of the American Smithsonian Institution. It's from the 19th century. The pouch has a butterfly pattern dyed with gold leaf. This foil stamping technique has also disappeared in the process of modernization.

### ***Bashofu***

On the right is *Bashofu*, a representative fabric of Okinawa. *Ryukyu Basho* is a plant found all over Okinawa. Cross-section of the *Basyo* will form an annular layer. This kind of scenery of making *Bashofu* was seen all over Okinawa before the war. *Bashofu* was used as clothing regardless of rank or gender. It was also the material of the samurai's *kamishimo* (a ceremonial dress) in the Edo period.

### ***Tsumugi* textiles**

*Tsumugi* was often woven in Kumejima. The picture on the left is a scene from thread making.

### ***Kasuri* textiles**

*Kasuri* is one of the characteristics of Okinawa's textiles. Various *Kasuri* patterns are still woven in various parts of Okinawa. There are several types of *Kasuri*, such as a combination of *Kasuri* on a lattice pattern, *Kasuri* between a striped pattern, and *Kasuri* made of only *Kasuri*. Although there are many *Kasuri* weaving techniques around the world, Japan, India, Indonesia, and Okinawa (Ryukyu) are the only places where the technique called double ikat (the warp ikat crosses weft ikat) is used. *Kasuri* textiles of the Kingdom era were sold in the towns of Osaka and Edo via Satsuma in Japan.

***Hanaori* (Float weaving)**

Another characteristic of Dyeing and Weaving in Okinawa besides *Kasuri* is the various types of *Hanaori* technique. In this weaving the threads float to create a pattern. In Okinawa, it is called *Hanawi*. The photo shows warps floating and wefts floating. If you look at the picture, you'll see the difference.

***Bingata***

*Bingata* is a technique to dye patterns on cloth. *Bingata* is characterized by its dyeing procedure, in which rice paste is used to create a part to resist dyeing and then the textile is dyed in multiple colors. There are two ways of dyeing; One is to use a pattern paper when applying glue, and the other is to use a tube bag with glue to draw patterns.

**III. Dyeing and weaving after the collapse of Kingdom**

After the collapse of the Kingdom, the age of modernization and Japanization came to Okinawa. Over the past 40 years, the number of orders for *Bingata* decreased gradually, and the number of dyers decreased from nearly 40 during the Kingdom era to more than a dozen. While there are declining dyeing and weaving techniques, there are dyeing and weaving techniques aiming to industrialize by organizing a union in each production area. Examples include *Jofu* and *Tsumugi* textiles. Factories equipped with looms were also constructed.

**IV. Postwar Reconstruction****Lost cultural property**

The southern part of Okinawa Island was devastated by World War II. It's not just landscapes that have been lost. Weaving machines, dyeing tools and materials were also destroyed by fire. People involved in dyeing and weaving, people who ordered fabrics, and their houses were lost.

**Postwar reconstruction**

In 1945, soon after the war ended, the people of Okinawa were taken prisoner and returned to their homes in 1946.

Haebaru was the first textile production area that was restored. I heard that textile production resumed as a side business of agriculture from around 1947. Haebaru was a subcontractor for textiles of Naha city before the war. In other textile production areas, U.S. military bases were built nearby, and it seems that some textile workers started engaging in military work and went out of business. There was no military base in Haebaru, so they had to concentrate on agriculture and textiles. However, after the war, Haebaru was reborn as a new textile production area by inviting engineers from Naha.

In the 1960s, each municipality began to focus on the promotion of specialty products other than agriculture. In Shuri, Naha City, textiles were restored mainly by the women's association. Weaving machines and other tools and materials were obtained from Haebaru, which was industrialized earlier. Yomitani aimed to revive the *Hanaori*, which was discontinued before the war, as a new local industry. In Ogimi village, they have revived from the cultivation of bananas (banana trees) that were burned to eradicate Malaria. The dyeing and weaving collection housed at the Ryukyu Government Museum (predecessor of our museum) plays a major role as a reference material for restoration.

### **People involved in the postwar reconstruction**

Among the people involved in the postwar restoration of dyeing and weaving, there are those who have been engaged in the work since before the war and new participants. Among the dyers that exist since the Kingdom era, there were some who died in battle or others who went out of business, but Sekikou Chinen (1905-1993) and Eiki Shiroma (1908-1992) revived *Bingata*. Painters and housewives who had not been involved in *Bingata* gathered in the work studio in Shiroma and grew up there. Kosei Maeshiro (1887-1966) and Koken Urasaki (deceased) who engaged in textile production in Naha (Tomari) before the war taught people in Haebaru to make *Kasuri*, and made efforts to foster textile production in Haebaru after the war. Since the residence in Maeshiro became the land for the U.S. military, the studio was reopened in another place.

In 1897, Shuri Ward Women's Business School was founded in the present Shuri, Naha City. It later became Okinawa Prefectural Girls' Technical Art School. The graduates of the school were involved in the postwar reconstruction. After the war, Hatsuko Miyahira (1922-) used what she learned there to lead Shuri textiles. Sada Yonamine (1909-2003) worked at a kindergarten and as a member of the Committee for Livelihood Improvement. After that, she participated in the *Hanaori* restoration project in Yomitani, where she taught younger people. Toshiko Taira (1921-) was not a graduate of the Technical Art School but went to Okayama during the war, where she learned the basics of textiles from Kichinosuke Tonomura (1898-1993), a specialist of a folk craft, after the war. After returning to her hometown of Ogimi village, she engaged in making *Bashofu*. Since the end of World War II, each of these three women has made an effort to develop dyeing and weaving in their respective regions, and their unique work has been highly appreciated and recognized as an Important Intangible Cultural Property. We must not forget the contribution of many women in the postwar reconstruction. In particular, the main work of the *Bingata* production was done by men, but after the war, many women joined the *Bingata* production.

### ***Bingata* tools at the time of reconstruction**

As many materials for *Bingata* were lost, substitutes were used for the restoration of *Bingata*. A cartridge case is used for the nozzle of the glue bag, and the pattern is dyed on cotton cloth obtained from the flour bag. It seems that lipsticks and crayons were used for coloring.

### Support from researchers

The reconstruction was supported by many researchers or collectors of Okinawa and textiles. Toshio Tanaka visited Okinawa between 1939 and 1940 to survey textiles there. This *Kirejicho* was donated by Tanaka to Okinawa in 1952. Pieces of cloth brought back from Okinawa are pasted on the *Kirejicho*. He writes, "I hear that everything has been burned down. I hope this will help revive the world of beautiful textiles in Okinawa again".

In 1921, Yoshitaro Kamakura (1898 – 1983) was assigned to Okinawa Prefectural Women's Normal School and Okinawa Prefectural First Girls' High School, where he devoted himself to the study of Ryukyu Art. About 600 sheets of the *Bingata* paper pattern collected at that time were donated to Okinawa for the revival of *Bingata*. This paper pattern is currently stored in our museum.

## V. Looking back on the 70 years since the end of World War II

Let's look back on the recovery of dyeing and weaving in 70 years after the war. I think it will be divided into three generations. The first generation was involved in dyeing and weaving right after the war. They experienced the war and became key persons in the postwar reconstruction. Around that time, in 1958, a craft course was established at Shuri High School, and the successors of dyeing and weaving were trained. In 1968, the Ryukyu Industrial Research Institute set up a division in charge of dyeing and weaving and handicrafts to provide technical guidance to each production area. In 1972, Okinawa returned to Japan. The second generation was active around that time. It's the period after the U.S. rule and the return to Japan. Around that time, dyeing and weaving associations were established in various places, and Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts was established in 1986. From 1996 to 2000, the designation of Important Intangible Cultural Property continued and four Living National Treasures were designated. It can be said that Okinawa's dyeing and weaving was widely known as Japanese dyeing and weaving. The third generation is the generation that is the grandchild or disciple of the second generation.

### First generation

The first generation made textiles right after the end of the war as a souvenir for US military personnel. They dyed small things like Christmas cards, tapestries and ties.

It was still a long way until dyeing of Kimono and Obi started.

### Second generation

The second generation is the children and pupils of the first generation. Their goal is to create highly regarded works in the Japanese kimono market. They started to create new expression works.

### Third generation

The third generation is the grandchildren of the first generation and the generation who studied dyeing and weaving at universities. They do not know not only the postwar reconstruction but also the period of U.S. rule. Some people used dyeing and weaving techniques as their means of expression.

One of the current challenges is that the number of Japanese wearing kimonos is decreasing and the demand for *Tanmono* (a piece of cloth for making a kimono or obi) is decreasing. The third generation creators are considering various ways of using dyeing and weaving techniques, and are looking for ways to spread the appeal of dyeing and weaving to a wide range of people. Another issue is the change in the essence of dyeing and weaving in Okinawa. The traditional dyeing and weaving they learned is the one that has changed to meet the needs of the times. Compared to dyeing and weaving in the Kingdom era, it is very different.

### **Expectations for the future**

Our museum is engaged in the reproduction of kingdom-era textiles. We are investigating old art and craft works and trying to use the materials and techniques of the time as much as possible. People from the first generation to the third generation participate in this project. As we proceeded with the project, we gradually came to understand the sense of beauty in Okinawa. We expect that new works will be created among young people based on what they have learned and what they should be conserved.

## CASE STUDY IN OKINAWA (3)

### The Battle of Okinawa and Postwar Reconstruction<sup>1</sup>

- 74 Years of Postwar Measures and History of Okinawa from the Viewpoint of Cultural Administration –

**SONOHARA Ken**

*Curator, Okinawa Karate Kaikan  
(Former Chief Curator, Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum)*

#### 1. Introduction – Overview of Okinawa Prefecture –

- Position: 1000 km east to west (longitude 122 to 133 degrees east) and 400 km north to south (latitude 24 to 28 degrees north).
- Size: 50 inhabited islands and 110 uninhabited islands. Approx. 160 islands in total. (There are various theories.)
- Total area: 2,281 km<sup>2</sup>, which is 0.6% of the area of the whole country (44th place/As of March 2019).
- Total population: 1,445,000 which is 1% of the total population of Japan (25th place/April 2019).
- Per capita prefectural income: Approx. 2.16 million yen. The national index: approx. 70% (47th place/2019)
- Nature: It was part of the continent until 200,004,000 years ago and now is a continental island as a result of uplifts and subsidence. Species of animals and plants are closely related to continents, and many have evolved independently on small islands. This is an "experimental field of evolution" of creatures trapped in islands, and we can find many precious animals and plants.
- History: Before 1872, Ryukyu Kingdom was a trading country in East Asia that lasted for 450 years.
- Culture: Formed an original culture under the influence of China, Japan, and Korea, which were tributaries.

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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was originally prepared as a presentation for the 'Working Group Session for Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (31 July-3 August 2019)'.

## 2. What is the Battle of Okinawa?

### (1) Characteristics of the Battle of Okinawa

- Historical and cultural heritage from the Kingdom era was lost by what is called "Typhoon of Steel."
- Many ordinary people were mobilized to build air bases and camps, and enormous lives were lost.
- Operation Prolonged Bleeding (strategy of desperation): A long, fierce battle between Japan and the United States was waged on a small island. As a result, there were more casualties in the ordinary people than in regular soldiers. Also, a variety of incidents occurred in the path of refuge to the south where militaries and civilians went together, such as forced mass death, suspicion of espionage, forced removal from *Gama* (natural cave), and food robbery by Japanese army.
- The land of the residents was taken away, a U.S. military base was built, and the rule by the U.S. forces began. It continued for 27 years after the war.

### The spirit of "*Kampone Kuenukusa* (People who survived naval gunfire)"

- People who had narrowly escaped death after the war were called "*Kampone Kuenukusa*" because even naval gunfire was not able to kill them, and they became leading figures in the postwar reconstruction.
- Collecting remains and building a memorial tower (330 memorial pagodas built in each prefecture, municipality, and district)



*Moutains of cartridges in the Battle of Okinawa, 1945 photo by U.S military, presented by Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum(OPPMM )*

**(2) Still-ongoing remains collection and unexploded ordnance disposal**

- The collection of the remains of those who died in the Battle of Okinawa and the disposal of unexploded ordnance by U.S. forces are still ongoing.

**(3) War experiences of people still unable to speak**

- It was such a terrible experience that even 74 years after the war, people cannot talk about their war experiences.

**3. Cultural Reconstruction after the War - Preservation of Cultural Properties and Museum Activities –**

**(1) Establishment of facilities for the protection of tangible cultural properties and museum facilities as a base for cultural reconstruction, and their footprints**

- From 1945 to 1965, the period of war-damaged cultural heritage and materials collection and exhibition activities

Okinawa Exhibition Hall established by the U.S. military in August 1945 (During the Battle of Okinawa)

367 items including the bell of the former Shuri-jo Castle, which escaped war damage, were collected and exhibited. "In order for the U.S. military to recognize Okinawa, it was necessary to build a museum to show the high level of Okinawan culture in the history." (Willard A. Hanna)

- In April 1946, the Shuri City Folk Museum was established by the residents of Okinawa. (From prison compound.)

Higashi Onna Museum established by Okinawa Civilian Administration

Shuri Museum established by Okinawa Civilian Administration (Perry Centennial Hall): 1,387 items in 1954

- 1966 to 1973: The beginning of educational activities (New buildings were constructed and the auditorium was utilized)

GRI Museum (1966 ~): Promoted diverse cultural activities (cultural courses)

Okinawa Prefectural Museum (Renamed with the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese administration in 1972)

- 1974 to 1987: The period when educational activities were fully launched

- \* "Museum culture course" (once a month) started in 1974.

It counted 500 times in February 2019.

- \* In 1977, "Curator" and "Education Promotion Officer" were established. The Education Promotion Officer is in charge of materials publication, public relations, cultural lectures and friendship groups.

- \* The 1st Mobile Museum (Kumejima island) was held in 1980.

It was held in Taketomi-cho (Iriomotejima Island) in 2014.

- 1988 and later: The period of multifaceted development of educational activities

Okinawa Prefectural Museum (1972)

Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum (2007)

**(2) Enactment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (1954) by Ryukyu Government, some aspects of designation, and the footprints of the Ryukyu Government after its return**

**(i) Enactment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1954**

- It was established in imitation of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (1950) of the Japanese government.

- Maintenance and restoration of historic sites by the U.S. civil government

Restoration of Sonohyan-utaki stone gate, sacred site (designated as a World Heritage Site in 2000), the stone gate of Sogen-ji Temple, the main gate of Enkaku-ji Temple, and so on.

**(ii) Status of cultural property designation during the era of the Ryukyu Government**

- The purpose was to win designation as a historic site as soon as possible to stop the outflow of cultural properties.

- In order to prevent the stone walls of the castle ruins (*Gusuku*) from being used as materials for road maintenance, it was urgent to have them designated as cultural properties (historic site).

- 11 pieces of *Sanshin* were among the first to win the designation as Tangible Cultural Properties.

- Only one Intangible Cultural Property (Crafts and Performing Arts) "Kumiodori, 5 play performances made by Chokun Tamagusuku" was designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Property in 1965.

- There were 11 Intangible Cultural Properties related to industrial arts for which subsidies were provided.

1957: *Shuri-ori* (\$167)

1969: *Kijyoka Bashofu* (\$100)

1965: Kumejima *Tumugi* (\$210), Yomitansan *Hanaori* (\$60), Miyako *Jofu* (\$60), Ryukyu musical instruments *Shamisen* (\$150), Ryukyu furniture (\$65), Yaeyama *Jofu* (2 x \$75), *Bingata* (\$180), Shuri striped weave (\$40), Ryukyu pottery (\$120)

Classifications		Tokuju	Jubun	Tokushi	Shiseki	Total
Tangible Cultural Properties	Structures	9	18			27
	Sculptures	6	4			10
	Paintings		1			1
	Crafts	4	13			17
	Ancient documents/ Classical Books	3	6			9
Historic Site				6	38	44
Scenic Beauty						9
Natural Monument						43
Buried Cultural Properties						18
Important Folk Materials						1
Important Intangible Cultural Properties						1
Total		22	42	6	38	180

*Cultural Properties Designated by the Ryukyu Government*

Tokuju : Special Important Cultural Property

Jubun : Important Cultural Properties

Tokushi : Special Historic Sites

Shiseki : Historic sites

(iii) Designation of Natural Heritage (Natural Monument) lost in development

(iv) Standards for designation at the time of transfer to Okinawa Prefecture after reversion

- Cultural Properties promoted from 'resignation by Ryukyu government' to 'national resignation'

Historic sites, natural monuments, and intangible cultural properties were promoted to national resignation (based on the content of research and the necessity of maintenance projects, as well as the high uniqueness in Japan).

Tangible Cultural Properties were just shifted to prefectural designation (because uniform standards throughout the country were not recognized, and uniqueness was low).

(v) Reconstruction of Intangible Cultural Heritage (performing arts and craft culture) by private sector

- Creation of "Okiten" (Okinawa Art Exhibition) by The Okinawa Times

(newspaper company) (1949)

- Holding of a rating contest for performing arts culture sponsored by a newspaper company (1966 ~)

The Ryukyu Shimpo sponsored the Ryukyu Traditional Performing Arts Contest (Ryukyu dance, Japanese flute, *Taiko*, *Uta-sanshin*, *Kokyu*, *So*), granting three awards: Rookie of the Year Award, Excellence Award, and Top Award.

The Okinawa Times sponsored "The Okinawa Times Award for Fine Arts (Traditional Performing Arts Category) for Ryukyu classical dance, Ryukyu classical music, and six categories of Ryuku classical instruments," granting four awards: Rookie of the Year Award, Excellence Award, Top Award, and Grand Prix.

- Recovery and expansion of performing arts groups (in cooperation with Newspaper Company Division)
- Securing income by teaching performing arts culture to immigrants to Hawaii (\$50 an hour)
- Presentation by policy-makers to the U.S. military and Americans (Inauguration of the *Eisa* (folk dance) Contest)
- Restoration of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Performing Arts and Crafts) (*Bashofu*, *Shuri-ori*, Yomitansan *Hanaori*, Miyako *Jofu*, etc. were designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage after Okinawa's reversion to Japanese rule (1972).)

#### 4. Measures by Okinawa Prefecture for the Creation of "Peace Culture"

##### (1) Measures to promote peace in order to convey the historical lessons learned by the people of Okinawa through the war

##### (i) Enactment of the Memorial Day on "June 23" and holding of the Memorial Ceremony for all the war dead in Okinawa

- In order to deeply remember the misery of the war, to wish for a lasting peace so that war would not occur again, and to comfort the souls of the war dead, "June 23" was specified as "Memorial Day" by the "Okinawa Prefecture Ordinance on Memorial Day" making it a holiday for the people of Okinawa.
- Since 1952, the prefecture (Ryukyu Government) has hosted a memorial service for all the war dead in Okinawa, which is continued by Okinawa Prefecture after Okinawa's return to Japan.

##### (ii) Establishment and operation of the Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum

- It is the first prefectural "Peace Museum" in Japan (It opened in 1975)

- Exhibits testimonies as part of "Storytelling by Writing" in order to pass down the war experiences of the Okinawa residents.
- By reading the testimonies of the Okinawa residents (textual display), which is the "words of life" of the people who narrowly escaped death, the audience relives their feelings.
- At primary, middle and high schools in the prefecture, special peace classes are held under the "Okinawa Memorial Day (6.23)" program.
- In 2000, a new museum was established with expanded facilities, exhibition contents, and staff organization.
- The museum is a base for students on school trips from outside the prefecture to learn about peace. (1,621 schools, 247,000 students / 2011)

**(iii) Establishment and management of the Cornerstone of Peace**

- In 1995, the Cornerstone of Peace was laid to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the end of the Asia-Pacific War (as a memorial for denying war regardless of friend or foe and embodiment of the "spirit of Okinawa")
- The names of the war dead are additionally inscribed every year (241,525 people as of January 2019).

Breakdown:

In Okinawa:	149,502 people	
Other Prefectures:	77,436 people	Japanese total: 226,938 people
United States:	14,009 people	
United Kingdom:	82 people	
Taiwan:	34 people	
North Korea:	82 people	
Republic of Korea:	380 people	Foreigners total: 14,587 people
Total:	241,132 people	

**(iv) Creation and operation of the Okinawa Peace Prize**

- The Okinawa Peace Prize was established in 2001 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japan, with the aim of creating a new international peace from the Okinawan point of view by leveraging the unique characteristics of Okinawa, and to honor individuals and organizations that have contributed to the creation and maintenance of peace in the Asia-Pacific region, which has a deep geographical and historical relationship with Okinawa
- Successive award winners: 9 organizations      The 1st (2018) to the 9th (2002)

(v) **Support for overseas human resource development (Support for museums in Okinawa Prefecture)**

JICA Grassroots Technical Cooperation Program "Okinawa and Cambodia 'Peace Museum' Cooperation Project" (Peace Memorial Museum/2009-2011) and "Okinawa and Cambodia Cooperation Project for the Establishment of Museums for the Creation of 'Peace Culture'" (Our museum/2012-2015). Human resource development program for museum staff in Cambodia.



*The Cornerstone of Peace and Okinawa Prefectural Peace Memorial Museum, presented by OPPMM 2000*

## CASE STUDY IN YAMAGATA

### Safeguarding Activities of Rosoku Noh (Candlelight Noh) Project<sup>1</sup>

-As Seen From the Successor of the Kurokawa Noh-

**ENDO Shigekazu**

*Secretary General, Kurokawa Noh Preservation Association*

#### I. Circumstances that lead to *Rōsoku* Noh

Looking back in the historical background, the changes in social structures and living habits of the Japanese people seen starting from the 1960's have an influence on the circumstance behind the *Rōsoku* Noh. Due to the rapid economic growth after WWII, the situation of the farming industry that was the base of living of the Kurokawa people greatly changed the close-knit society that continued unchanged for hundreds of years and many people started to choose jobs other than farming. Also, the diversification of lifestyle led to changes in personal beliefs and ways of living. This decreased the interest and awareness towards religious beliefs, local traditional habits and cultures.

This situation also influenced the Kurokawa Noh. For example, some residents of Kurokawa region showed less interest in the local festivals and Kurokawa Noh. Even among the Noh troop members (*Ujiko*), some felt that the "Kurokawa Noh" was only for the Noh performers. Especially in Ōgisai Festival, the greatest festival of the area carried out on 1 and 2 of February, people belonging to the community where that year's *Toya* is selected have to cooperate with each other starting from mid-January for many ceremonies and preparation for the festival. However, some people tended to refuse to participate using their job as excuses. There was a great difference in the feeling towards Kurokawa Noh even among the *Ujiko* belonging to the same region, and the successors of Kurokawa Noh feared that this will affect the transmission of the art in the future. Also, among the women who moved into Kurokawa due to marriage, many participated in the festival in the backstage such as preparing festival foods, but they had no chance to see the Noh itself. We thought it was also important to give the women in Kurokawa a chance to get to know and familiarize themselves with the Noh.

However, during the 1980's to the beginning of the 1990's, the performers were busy attending to performances outside the Kurokawa region as a part of enlightenment program as the "National Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property". The performances had become heavy loads on the performers who had to take leaves from their jobs to attend the performance. Performers requested less performances outside the region, but at the same time, the revenue from the performances played a great part as economical support for the activities of the Noh troops, and replenishing the props and costumes.

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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was originally prepared as a presentation for the 'Meeting for Study of Emergency Protection of ICH in Conflict-Affected Countries in Asia (8-11 December 2018)'.

## II. Beginning of the *Rōsoku* Noh Project

The project started out in 1993 from ideas gained from conversations made among the staffs of Kurokawa Noh Training Centre and Noh performers concerning the situation of Kurokawa Noh. The younger and middle-aged performers became the center of this project.

The idea behind this project was that we wanted people to watch Kurokawa Noh in Kurokawa region, and by locally organizing the performance, we wanted to allot the revenue to the safeguarding and transmission of Kurokawa Noh. Also, we thought that the newly created communication among the performers, local residents, and visitors from outside the region will bring new vitality and awareness towards the transmission of the art.

The greatest festival in Kurokawa, “Ōgisai Festival” had a lottery to limit the number of observers of the Kurokawa Noh to maintain smooth conduct of the ceremonies and there were many people who could not see the Noh during the festival. Therefore, we thought the *Rōsoku* Noh was also a good occasion for those who could not win the lottery to have a chance to watch the Kurokawa Noh.

As the presentation of the event, we came up with the idea of conveying the atmosphere of the Ōgisai Festival by preparing two parts to the event: first part, Kurokawa Noh under the candlelight as in the actual festival, and second part, “Ōgi-zen” (currently called “Exchange Meeting”) where guests can interact with performers and staffs of the Kurokawa Noh while enjoying the festive foods eaten in Ōgisai Festival. The staffs were organised as volunteers and many younger people from the Kurokawa region that had not been formerly involved in Noh, elder generation of women who prepared the local food, as well as younger performers participated.

## III. Reasons that *Rōsoku* Noh was Able to Continue

One example of success seen in *Rōsoku* Noh is the confidence and feeling of unity we gained through active participation of younger generation of Kurokawa. Being able to successfully conduct the event by ourselves gave us confidence and we felt great energy from the younger people. Each staff brought together their knowledge from their profession and job for the success of the event. Recently, there are cases where young people newly start out as performer of the Kurokawa Noh after participating in the *Rōsoku* Noh as staff.

The communication between staffs from outside the Kurokawa region and the successors or participation of young people that had no ties with the shrine or those who had always been backstage made people feel closer to the Kasuga-jinja Shrine and Kurokawa Noh. Also the system where the chairperson of the *Rōsoku* Noh Execution Committee changes every year encourages the new chairperson to make a better festival than the previous year and every year, new ideas are being realized. Flow of guests from outside the region creates communication and we can expect synergistic effect such as promoting the local farmed goods. Executive committee chairpersons after returning to their own troops, serve as leaders for training of younger generations and for organising the troops, and the system has become a part of the base in transmission of the Kurokawa Noh.

#### IV. Current Situation and Future Scopes of *Rōsoku* Noh

We have been conducting the *Rōsoku* Noh under the motto of “Kurokawa Noh in Kurokawa” and to convey the atmosphere of the Ōgisai Festival. The festival celebrated the 25<sup>th</sup> festival this year, but we are currently discussing on the continuation of the event due to the yearly decline in number of audiences.

We have not succeeded in developing a new target of guests (especially the younger generation), and the age range of the audience is getting higher every year. This is a major disadvantage for an event held in a very inconvenient place to reach from the Tokyo Metropolitan area, as well as the weather and the cold winter. Continuing decrease of the visitors are foreseen unless we change, and we cannot no longer be optimistic leaving the causes of the decreased visitor to the bad weather. The decline in number of visitors are lowering the executive committee’s motivation too. The preparation works do not get less even if the number of visitors decrease, so the burden on the Noh performers are starting to reach its limits (especially the event being held after the Ōgisai Festival). For the past few years, the members of the executive committee are talking about changing the date of the event. Many are starting to strongly believe that this change will trigger the crowd as it used to be when the event started.

There are many difficulties to solve to continue the event under the current conditions, however, we believe that creating and conducting new ideas that can be fed back to the “Ōgisai Festival” will lead to the future transmission of the intangible culture that is to be passed down in our region.

FIGURE 1: STRUCTURE OF CANDLE NOH EXECUTION COMMITTEE

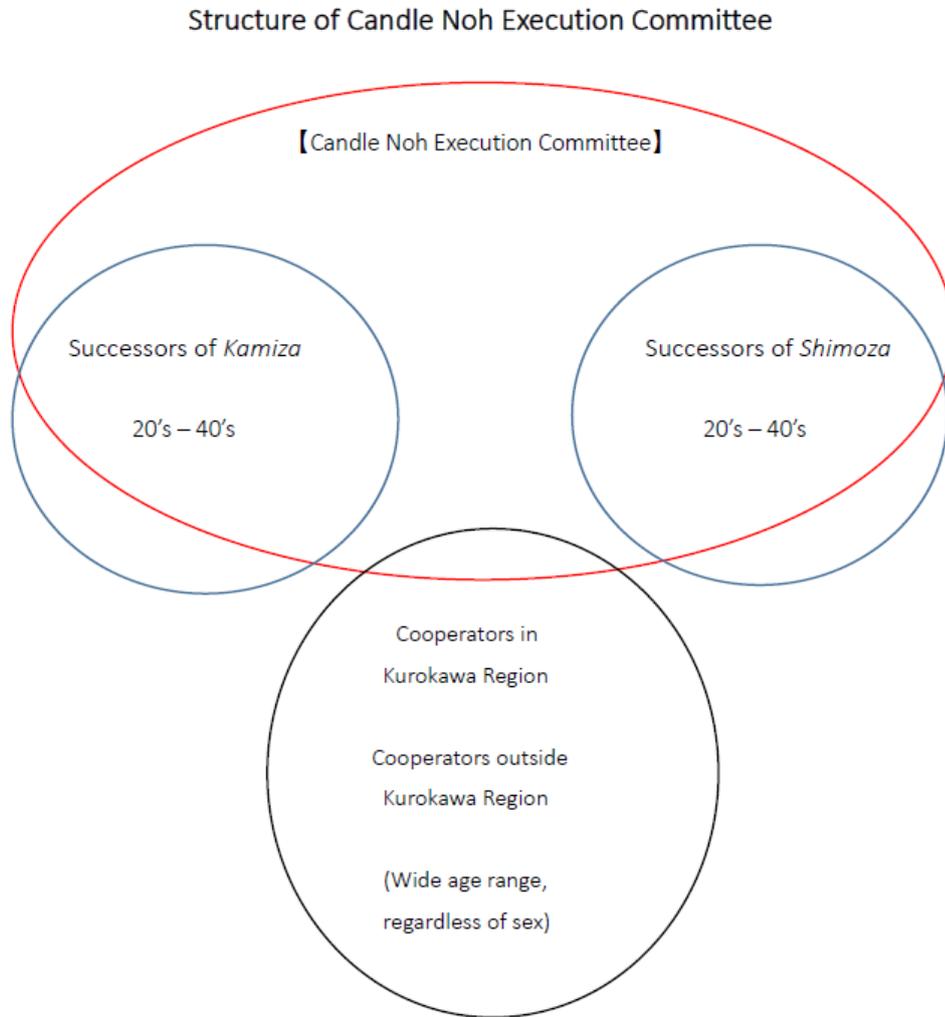
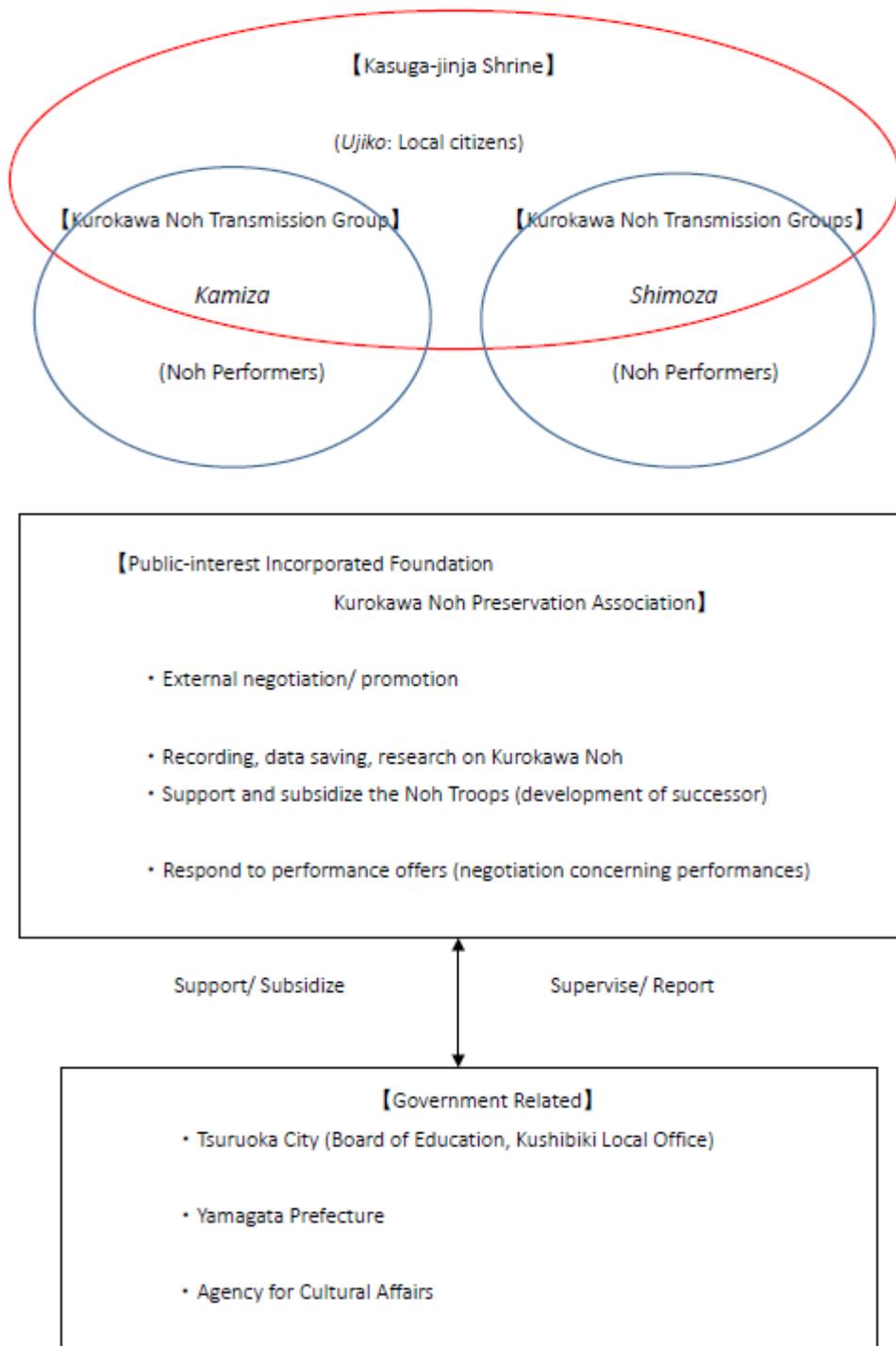


FIGURE 2: STRUCTURAL DIAGRAM OF THE REGION AND GROUPS RELATED TO KUROKAWA NOH

Structural Diagram of the Region and Groups Related to Kurokawa Noh



## CASE STUDY IN AKITA

# Safeguarding, Transmission and Exhibition of Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property in Japan "Oga no Namahage"<sup>1</sup>

IGARASHI Yusuke

*Oga City Tourism, Culture and Sports Department, Tourism Division*

### I. Summary of Oga City

Oga City is situated in Akita Prefecture, in the northern Tohoku region of Japan's main island Honshu. The city can be found in the northern part of Akita Prefecture in the north-easterly Tohoku region, located almost exactly at the centre of the prefecture's coastal side, with the Oga Peninsula heavily protruding into the Sea of Japan. The municipal area stretches 23.88km east to west and 24.36km north to south, with a total land area of 241.09km<sup>2</sup>, and the city had a population of 26,321 (as of 31 October 2020).

Due to its oceanic climate, it has warmer winters and cooler summers than elsewhere within Akita Prefecture. Moreover, snowfall in winter in the Oga area is considerably less than that in the inland areas of the prefecture. The city has designated symbols to reflect its distinguishing features: The *Camellia japonica* as the city's flower, the grey heron as the city's bird, the Japanese cedar as the city's tree, and the sandfish as the city's fish. The municipal area boasts an abundant variety of flora and fauna, and the majority of the area has been designated as the Oga Quasi-National Park. Furthermore, in accordance with the geopark concept, which is now a global initiative being led by UNESCO, the crustal movements that contributed to the formation of the Japanese archipelago and the cultural environment nurtured by the earth formed by such movements have been evaluated and have led to the area being certified as the Oga Peninsula and Ogata Geopark.

The main industries are agriculture (primarily rice planting), fishing, and tourism based on the area's rich nature and scenery, onsen (hot springs), and sea bathing. It is also extremely rich in cultural assets, with a total of 73 national, prefectural, or municipal-designated cultural assets, including the Akagami Shrine Goshado and Ruins of Wakimoto Castle (as of March 2020). Among these cultural assets, the *Oga no Namahage* ritual is seen as an important means of connecting the community, transmitting culture, and achieving significant tourism successes.

### II. The *Oga no Namahage* Ritual

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1 This manuscript was revised based on the presentation at 'Workshop on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage on the Verge of Extinction' co-organized by IRCI and Vietnam National Institute of Culture and Arts Studies (VICAS) in 2016.

The *Oga no Namahage* ritual takes place on the evening of 31 December, the last day of the year, across almost the entire Oga Peninsula. Young residents put on costumes made from straw (known as *kede*) and masks and go around the houses in their communities asking, ‘*naku ko-wa inegaa?* (Are there any crybabies around?)’ and ‘*Namakemono-wa inegaa?* (Are there any lazybones around?)’. According to traditional custom, every house politely offers hospitality to the *Namahage* in the form of food and alcohol, and in turn, the *Namahage* will exorcise misfortune from their home, cleanse impure hearts, and pray for bountiful harvests and catches from the sea. The people dressed as the *Namahage* perform Shinto rituals of consecration at the respective shrines and places in their district before touring the houses, becoming *Namahage* only once their minds and bodies have been cleansed.

The *Namahage* ritual is believed to have already been in existence by the Edo period, when a figure named Masumi Sugae recorded in drawings the ritual taking place in the district of *Oga no Miyazawa*. This is the oldest traceable record of *Namahage* that we have today. The *Oga no Namahage* is a folk ritual that has carefully been passed down from generation to generation in the region, and is deeply embedded in people’s normal lives; it remains to this day, albeit changing with the times and in each region. Therefore, it was designated an important intangible folk cultural property of Japan in 1978 under the name ‘Oga’s *Namahage*’, and was inscribed on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists in 2018 as one of the cultural properties belonging to ‘Raiho-shin, ritual visits of deities in masks and costume’, along with similar rituals in Japan.

The *Namahage* ritual has been frequently shown on domestic television and other media, gaining recognition nationwide as the ritual that nowadays best represents Akita Prefecture. In a survey of Oga City residents that asked what they were most proud of in their city, over 40% cited *Namahage* in their response. While the *Namahage* ritual is a remarkable tourism resource, there are also challenges arising from the fact that as a ritual that traditionally takes place only on the evening of 31 December, it cannot be transmitted with ease.

### III. The *Oga no Namahage* Ritual as a Cultural Property: Preservation and Transmission

The *Oga no Namahage* ritual is distinct from many other folk cultural assets found in Japan in how it is carried out. Rather than one major preservation society controlling how the ritual is performed across the municipal area, various organisations within the society carry out their own rituals independently. All sorts of organisations have taken on the practice of the ritual, from neighbourhood associations to parents’ associations of children’s associations and youth groups. There are several districts where the ritual is carried out through cooperation between several neighbourhood associations when the number of people is not sufficient because communities have reduced in size due to population decrease and other factors. On December 31, 2018, immediately after the UNESCO inscription, the ritual was held by 92 of the 148 neighbourhood associations in Oga City. This is a high figure, considering that not all neighbourhood associations hold the rituals.

Oga City initiatives designed to preserve and transmit the ritual largely comprise the following five efforts:

#### (1) Collecting old masks

One of the essential pieces of equipment in the *Namahage* ritual is the mask. The ritual involves intense movements both indoors and outside, and in many cases, the masks require mending every year. Some masks will have been passed down for a long time in some areas,

and they will be used carefully, while others will be replaced with new ones when the damage becomes noticeable. When this happens, the masks that are no longer needed are donated to the city in an attempt to preserve them. Thus, even after a long period of time, one can look back and see how masks that had actually been used in the past in that district looked like. Old masks have distinctive features relating to the industries and other facets of life of the district they represent, and are rich in their diversity: masks from coastal settlements have hair made out of seaweed, while bamboo baskets are used as the main body for masks from settlements in which rice planting was the main industry, and wood for those from mountain settlements. Most of the collected masks are exhibited in the *Namahage-kan* city exhibition centre. The masks that were actually once used demonstrate the regional diversity and give the viewer a sense of being present at the ritual.

## **(2) Hosting costume-making classes**

After the mask, the next most important piece of equipment to carry out the ritual is the costume. While the name given to the costumes differs slightly depending on the district, it is called the *kede* in most districts. *Kede* are made using straw gathered that year, and so require a certain length in the straw blade. This means that machine-cut straw cannot be used, and the costume makers use hand-cut straw in their work. *Kede* are made by weaving straw together, and a trial is being carried out to try and preserve the technique. *Kede*-making workshops are held every year for municipal junior high school students around November and December before the ritual is carried out, and these short courses are also held in regions where the organisers have been consulting on reviving the ritual or where there are no costumes for people to use. Each region has a slightly different way of weaving the straw, so considerable efforts are made to engage seniors from their respective districts to offer their services as teachers. (As of 2020, a costume-making class is not being offered, and training is only given individually. Currently, a workshop for how to behave as *Namahage* is offered for groups in the city upon request.)

## **(3) Creating records & publications**

The *Oga no Namahage* ritual is a folk ceremony that is deeply embedded in people's everyday lives having been passed down the generations, but it has also changed with the passage of time. For example, the 'alcohol' offered to the *Namahage* was traditionally understood to be Japanese sake or *doburoku* (a rustic variety of sake), but in more recent times has come to include beer and juice (minors often dress up as *Namahage*). Moreover, the masks have been updated and the dialogue between the *Namahage* and the people in the houses they visit has also changed, and the old customs are long gone. For this reason, there is an initiative to record the current state and style of the ritual on film whenever the opportunity presents itself. Another major challenge is that the original form of the *Namahage* is known differently as the ritual has been touristified and gained nationwide recognition, resulting in an initiative to create pamphlets and explanatory materials to accurately communicate the meaning and customs of the ritual.

## **(4) Financial assistance**

Carrying out the ritual helps to maintain links within the district. For this reason, assistance is provided in the form of subsidies to the neighbourhood associations carrying out the ritual not only to preserve cultural assets, but also to vitalise the districts.

## **(5) Recognition & Publicity**

The *Namahage* ritual is a cultural practice embedded in the region, and has become a commonplace event for city residents. Appreciation of the ritual from outside the city or prefecture, therefore, serves as an opportunity to see the region's culture in a new light and

also helps build local pride over the ritual receiving such recognition from all over the country. The ritual is carried out at the same time on 31 December in districts across the city, and because residents participate in the ritual in their own districts, there are hardly any opportunities for them to see how it is done in other districts. To rectify this, there is an initiative to exhibit the ritual in the Namahage-kan (discussed in greater detail below), and efforts are being made to educate people about the true nature of the ritual by creating pamphlets explaining the differences in practices between the districts along with other information. For greater ease of use, these pamphlets have been published on a website (URL: <http://www.Namahage-oga.akita.jp/>). Pamphlets have also been developed to explain manufacturing methods for the *kede* costumes, with the hope that they will help keep the ritual going.

#### IV. The Namahage-kan Initiative: Operation and Exhibitions

The Namahage-kan is a tourist facility situated in Kitaura Shinzan, Oga City. The facility was established in 1999 with the intention of passing down and preserving the *Oga no Namahage* and enhancing local awareness about the ritual, while also functioning as a tourist site. The building was extended and refurbished in 2013 to help attract more visitors. Along with an exhibition introducing the *Namahage* ritual, the museum exhibits more than 150 masks used by the various districts in the city (including some that are in use even today). The museum's exhibition features the following:

- The *Namahage* Information Corner  
An exhibition of books, resources, and pictures relating to *Namahage* and information search points
- The Mystery Hall  
Footage and graphics of Oga nature and cultural life, introduced by a search device
- Namahage Tradition Hall  
A film is shown on a big screen on how the *Namahage* ritual is carried out on *ōmisoka* (New Year's Eve) (15 mins)
- Namahage Mask Woodcarving Demonstration Corner  
The sculptor Sensyu Ishikawa demonstrates how to carve a *Namahage* mask (these masks are not necessarily used in the ritual)
- Special Exhibition Corner  
The legend of the *Namahage* is explained using graphic panels  
Explanations of masks used in similar rituals overseas, and explanations of masks used in similar rituals around Akita Prefecture
- Namahage Line-up Corner  
Display of more than 150 *Namahage* masks (60 before refurbishment)  
Exhibition and collection take place concurrently

A designated manager system has been introduced to run the Namahage-kan. Although the museum building belongs to Oga City, which executes any extensions, reconstructions, and large-scale improvements, the business, daily management, and operational side of the museum are handled by the Oga Chiiki Shinko Kosha (Oga Regional Promotion Corporation) to improve the museum's operations and enhance its attractiveness to visitors. The museum maintains visitor numbers of between 120,000 and 140,000 per year, exceeding a total of approximately 2.5 million visits since the museum opened in 1999 (as of 31 October 2020). The museum is one of

the main tourist facilities in Oga City, and, in recent years, has attracted large numbers of tourist groups from Asia in addition to domestic visitors.

While the museum itself is positioned largely as a tourist site, the fact that the ritual is carried out at the same time and on the same day across the entire municipal area as previously mentioned means that it is rare for even local residents to have seen the ritual or masks from outside their own district. As the only facility demonstrating the true nature of the ritual and how it is carried out in other districts, it plays a hugely important role in passing on the essential culture of the *Oga no Namahage* ritual.

The Oga Shinzan Folklore Museum can be found next door to the Namahage-kan and is used to re-enact the actual ritual, because it is impossible to understand the ritual's atmosphere from exhibitions alone. Inside the museum is a renovated interior of an old private house (a registered tangible cultural property), similar to the houses visited by *Namahage*, which is used in *Namahage* ritual re-enactments. The ritual style is based on how the ritual is conducted in Shinzan district, where the facility is located. The folklore museum is run independent of the Namahage-kan and managed by Shinzan Shrine.

The *Oga no Namahage* is a well-known ritual in Japan, and towards the end of the year, there are many queries from people who say they would like to see an authentic ritual, or ask where the ritual can be seen on New Year's Eve. However, because the ritual takes place only on 31 December and involves the *Namahage* going around local residents' homes, it is extremely difficult for visitors who have come for sightseeing purposes to experience or observe the ritual, and there is no system in place currently to receive such visitors. Therefore, the Oga Shinzan Folklore Museum is a valuable place as the re-enactment makes it possible for visitors to experience the ritual with a real sense of being there at any time of the year. One problem, however, is that it was difficult for foreigners to understand the essence and significance of the ritual. Thus, in 2019, both facilities cooperated with the Japan Tourism Agency to develop an easily understandable English-language guide for foreigners and introduced a multilingual guide system using tablets and other devices explaining the exhibits and reproductions. The language guide is available in English, Chinese (traditional), and Chinese (simplified).

## Other

The *Namahage* ritual is a great tourism draw for Akita Prefecture and is well-known across Japan. However, the understanding about the ritual differs from its true essence in many ways, including in terms of the masks used and how it is carried out. Most Japanese people understand *Namahage* as a ritual where people wear demon-like masks to frighten children and make them cry. However, scaring children has always been only a tiny part of the ritual, and the grandfathers and fathers in the houses being visited protect the frightened children by assuring them that they are 'good' children. Another important aspect of the ritual is that it reconfirms the parent-child relationship. The ritual also has the educational aspect of teaching children that even if they think nobody is watching them, the *Namahage* are watching them and so they should not behave naughtily. Furthermore, the *Namahage* do not just focus on the children in a house; they also speak to the elders and ask them to stay well in the New Year. The ritual is carried out not just to reprimand children.

Most of the people who dress up as *Namahage* are local residents. Raising and caring for children and the elderly as a local community creates local ties. The *Oga no Namahage* is a very important

ritual for local people. It is, therefore, necessary to consider the ritual not only from the sole aspect of cultural asset preservation but also as an example of local Oga residents working together with the authorities to pass on and transmit the ritual. At the same time, it is the duty of those of us living in the present day to precisely communicate the true nature of the ritual.

## References

Yusuke Igarashi 2013 'Engagements for the Preservation, Transmission, and Display of the Important Folk Cultural property, "Oga no Namahage"', 2013 Study Tour Report Pp 32-39 IRCI and UNESCO Office in Jakarta

## LEGISLATION

## Brief Introduction of National Inventory Making of Intangible Cultural Property under the Japanese Law on Cultural Property

**OHNUKI Misako**

*Deputy Director-General, International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region (IRCI)*

Today, with respect to intangible cultural heritage, there are three kinds of inventory: (1) ‘a list of important intangible cultural properties’; (2) ‘a list of important intangible folk cultural properties’ and (3) ‘a list of holders for selected preservation techniques’. All of these are based on the Law for the Protection of Cultural Property, passed in 1950; the Agency for Cultural Affairs, a government organisation, is in charge of drafting and managing it.

World War II (WWII) began in 1939 and ended in 1945, leaving Japan a defeated nation. The earlier mentioned legislation was developed to protect both tangible and intangible cultural properties during the 5 years of turmoil after the war. Moreover, in 1949, a fire broke out at Horyu-ji Temple, the oldest wooden structure in Japan (registered as a ‘Buddhist Monument in the Horyu-ji Area’ in 1973 on the UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] World Heritage List), causing Buddhist mural paintings dating back to the late 7th century to burn down. This incident also triggered the legislation. Since then, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Property has repeatedly been amended following discussions in keeping with the trends of different eras and circumstances. In what follows, four main revisions are described.

### I. Inventory for intangible cultural properties in the Law for the Protection of Cultural Property

In 1950, when the Law for the Protection of Cultural Property was first passed, it only included provisions for intangible cultural properties ‘on the verge of extinction’. However, with the 1954 amendment, a designation and recognition system was put in place where, out of all traditional Japanese performing and technical arts, those of especially high artistic or historical value were designated as important intangible cultural properties, and the performers of these arts were recognised as their holders. In this way, a dual structure of designation and recognition was established where arts are ‘designated’ as such, and persons who perform them are ‘recognised’ as holders. The notion of separately acknowledging ‘arts’ and ‘holders’ is one of the most unique characteristics of Japan’s intangible cultural property preservation system.

Additionally, with the 1975 amendment, 25 years after the legislation was first enacted, a system for selecting and recognising preservation techniques for cultural properties, as well as a system for designating intangible folk cultural properties, were added. This is the second kind of inventory. With regard to intangible folk cultural properties – unlike typical manners and customs that represent fundamental characteristics of lifestyles and cultures – as well as folk performing arts that represent the historical transition of performing arts, those of particular significance were designated as important intangible folk cultural properties and were actively encouraged to be passed on to future generations.

Around the same time, regarding traditional techniques and performing skills considered essential for the maintenance of cultural properties (which hence require a measure for preservation), a provision for preservation techniques for (tangible) cultural properties (including repair methods) was added. This is the 'list of holders for selected preservation techniques' and is the third kind of inventory. Preservation techniques for cultural properties (including repair methods) often require accuracy, and thus must be understood from a perspective that differs from the conventional view of intangible cultural properties, which emphasises artistic value. Accordingly, out of traditional techniques considered fundamental to the preservation of cultural properties, those that require a preservation measure were chosen as selected preservation techniques in order to actively support succession.

In the 2004 amendment, to protect folk techniques that have been transmitted as manufacturing methods for tools and equipment related to local livelihoods and production, folk techniques were added to the list of intangible folk cultural properties in order to establish a similar protective measure for them, like that for the then-current folk cultural properties. Nearly 70 years have passed since the establishment of the original legislation, and several Asian countries, including South Korea and the Philippines, have enacted similar laws.

## II. The three kinds of inventory and their details

### 1. A list of important intangible cultural properties

Of all intangible cultural properties, those of particular importance have been 'designated'; at the same time, persons who own these skills have been recognised as 'holders' or 'holder groups'. The 'list of important intangible cultural properties' is an inventory that lists them. 'Holders' are more commonly known as 'living national treasures'. They are recognised as 'holders' of 'designated' techniques and skills; their 'recognition' becomes nullified when they die, and their names are removed from the inventory. Likewise, the 'designation' for disciplines in which there are no holders is removed. This inventory contains two items for the individual recognition of intangible cultural properties – (1) recognition of intangible cultural properties (performing and technical arts) and (2) holder recognition (performing and technical arts) – and two items for general and holder group recognition of intangible cultural properties – (1) intangible cultural properties (performing and technical arts) and (2) group.

Elements of information on individual recognition registered under this inventory include category, name of designation, date of designation, name of holder (real name, stage name, pen name), holder's date of birth, holder's date of recognition, holder's address and remarks (main awards, etc.).

As for general and holder group recognition, aspects of information registered under the inventory include name, designation requirements, names of holder and representative (performing arts division), names of holder group and representative (technical arts division), name and contact address of affiliated institution or group (performing arts division), office location of holder group (technical arts) and date of designation.

### 2. List of important intangible folk cultural properties

Out of manners and customs (production and vocation, rites of passage, entertainment and sports, social life [folk knowledge], annual observances, festivals and religious beliefs), as well

as folk performing arts (*kagura*, *denraku*, *furyu*, narratives, celebratory performances, *ennen* and *okonai*, arts introduced from abroad and stage performances), those of particular importance in understanding the Japanese people's transition to various lifestyles have been registered. Elements of information registered under the inventory include name of prefecture, designated name, location, holder group name and date of designation.

### **3. List of selected preservation technique holders**

Those who possess traditional skills and arts considered necessary to maintain cultural properties that require a measure for preservation have been registered. The registration information includes individual recognition (skills and holders) and holder group recognition (skills and holder groups).

## **III. Procedures for the designation, selection and determination of inventories**

### **1. Procedures and criteria for creating the inventory**

In what follows, I will present parts of the procedures and criteria for creating the three kinds of inventory. The procedure starts with a preliminary survey, followed by the selection of candidates, final determination and inventory registration.

First, a sufficient preliminary survey is presupposed in the designation, selection and determination of intangible cultural properties, as well as recognition of their holders and holder groups. For example, with respect to Inventory 1 (for important intangible cultural properties) and Inventory 3 (for selected preservation techniques), investigators from the Agency for Cultural Affairs are responsible for conducting a survey by themselves. In this case, it is critical for them to fully understand the research trends in relevant academic circles, as well as research information regarding the disciplines concerned. To put it another way, these inquiries enable a preliminary survey.

In terms of intangible folk cultural properties in Inventory 2, relevant cultural properties exist in large numbers across Japan. Thus, it is difficult for the investigators to carry out a full, basic survey alone. However, most of the intangible folk cultural properties have already been designated under the inventory of a prefecture or local municipality prior to designation by the central government, and basic surveys have already been carried out to a certain extent. Thus, in many cases, a survey report and video recordings are available, and a survey by the central government is realised based on the existing survey results.

Based on the survey's outcomes, the candidate property goes through an approval process by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, then by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), and finally reaches the decision-making stage. The minister of MEXT consults with the Council for Cultural Affairs regarding the legitimacy of listing the candidate in the inventory. The Council for Cultural Affairs discusses it with the Subdivision on Cultural Properties, then further requests that the Expert Examination Committee, which is composed of specialists in the pertinent area, to make a decision. Items that have been carefully deliberated by the Expert Examination Committee are reported to the Subdivision on Cultural Properties and the Council for Cultural Affairs, and ultimately, to the minister of MEXT. The central government then announces the designation and selection based on their proposal, and the candidate makes its way onto the inventory list.

In Japan, no explicit legal provision requires prior permission from related communities (such as the successor, traditional group or preservation society) to add the candidate to the inventory list. However, in the actual process of being incorporated into the list, consent from the concerned parties is obtained at every stage, from the preliminary survey to candidate selection and the final decision. In particular, in the case of intangible folk cultural properties, there is a ‘preservation society’ run autonomously and democratically by people in the local community, which takes a leading role in daily preservation activities. In turn, these activities are supported either directly or indirectly by other local communities, which are fundamental entities in terms of maintaining intangible cultural properties. This is another characteristic of Japanese preservation management for intangible cultural properties.

## **2. On the ‘Living National Treasure’ system**

‘Living National Treasure’ is commonly used to denote a person individually recognised as a holder of an important intangible cultural property. As mentioned above, an ‘intangible art’ (such as a performing or technical art) is designated as an important intangible cultural property; however, only its ideological importance is declared. To make it visually clear to the public and secure its succession, the presence of a holder who has acquired and can demonstrate the designated ‘art’ in a highly refined manner is vital. Accordingly, in Japan, when first designating an important intangible cultural property, its holder must be recognised at the same time.

Collecting information on candidates for recognition in the ‘Living National Treasure’ system

The process of recognising a holder for an important intangible cultural property involves understanding the designation candidate for an important intangible cultural property in each area of the art, and creating a list of candidates (reference material). It is crucial that this list encompass a wide range of individuals, including current and past holders, candidates from the next generation and candidates from subsequent generations. All kinds of information on prospective candidates needs to be recognised on a daily basis. Here are some examples.

- Health status: One cannot expect a holder to live up to expectations if he or she has a health issue.
- Awards: Only one index can represent the level of achievement in terms of artistry and skills.
- Presence of successors: Whether the candidate is active in handing down his/her artistry to future generations.
- Position in the circle: Whether recognising the candidate has a negative impact on the circle.
- Personality and vision

The responsible investigators shall collect such information on a daily basis. However, they cannot achieve this alone due to time and manpower constraints. It is therefore critical to always keep information channels open with academic experts and critics who are well-versed in the concerned domain, or officials from organisations in that domain. The major point in this regard involves collecting unbiased information and maintaining candidates’ confidentiality. Confidentiality, in particular, should be treated with great care.

#### IV. Criteria for entry into the inventory via designation and recognition

I will present part of the criteria in the appendix. It is vital to set up criteria for entry into the inventory. To create an inventory, it is necessary to fully consider a nation's ethnic composition and cultural elements, and to define the inventory according to them after much discussion between government officials and experts. They must determine, in a piecemeal fashion, the procedure of creating the inventory; where the goal of the inventory's making can be situated; how to choose the institution that will be responsible; the department and relevant persons; how to define intangible cultural properties and how to determine the associated categories; who the final decision-makers will be and what the criteria will be for registering candidates on the inventory list; who shall choose candidates and where the budget will originate. Many Asian countries have ratified the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage prior to defining these criteria in their domestic laws. If participation in an international framework is prioritised, domestic discussions may be delayed. In Afghanistan, there is the 2004 Act, but the Afghani government is planning to draw up a draft revision that includes elements of current intangible cultural properties. To this end, outside experts have already analysed this Act and are in the process of creating a proposal for articles on intangible cultural properties. As expected, this proposal states that the main issue regards the criteria for identifying cultural properties.

Needless to say, to identify domestic intangible cultural properties and list them, a certain budget, nationwide efforts (such as the appointment of experts for a certain period) and the development of criteria are required. In a multi-ethnic nation, a prejudicial survey that focuses too narrowly on particular regions and ethnic groups runs the risk of leading to valuation of the list; hence, some countries need to take a considerate and careful stance. If the central government takes the initiative in creating inventories and incorporates its political ideology into the policy, the outcome could become a source of controversy over rights and land issues between different ethnic groups. In some cases, the inventory might not fully cover the intangible cultural properties of ethnic minorities and small communities that do not have a good relationship with the central government; this may lead to a polemical situation. Remaining fully aware of these possibilities and taking action based on certain criteria has implications for the long-term preservation and management of Intangible cultural properties.

#### V. The concept underlying protective measures in the legislation

##### 1. Intangible cultural properties and cultural property preservation techniques

Individual holders of important intangible cultural properties receive a special annual subsidy of 2 million yen, while selected preservation techniques receive an annual subsidy of 1.1 million yen. These are used to cultivate successors and to enhance artistry and skills.

As for holder groups, they receive a certain annual state subsidy for public exhibits and successor training projects. In the traditional performing arts, exhibits on cultural properties are held in several facilities of the National Theatre, which is run by the Japan Arts Council (<https://www.ntj.jac.go.jp/english.html>); they are also running a unique successor training project. In the technical arts, the Japanese government takes the initiative in carrying out a video recording project and holds various exhibits. These video recordings are intended to maintain, in an easy-to-understand manner, the processes by which technical arts come into being (which are difficult to capture in the form of documents or photographs), to be used

for the preservation of technical arts as intangible cultural properties, and as educational materials for the training of successors, as well as research materials. Video production began in 1971, and more than 50 videos have been produced since then.

Intangible folk cultural properties have been locally transmitted across several generations, and the active participation of local people is critical in planning and carrying out preservation. Therefore, under normal circumstances, a government entity in a region in which the concerned intangible folk cultural properties survives plays a leading role in preservation, and the central government provides financial support. State subsidies are granted to projects led by local government entities; these projects include: successor training, renewing equipment and costumes, creating materials (such as brochures and introductory videos) to raise public awareness, lecture meetings and producing folklore records.

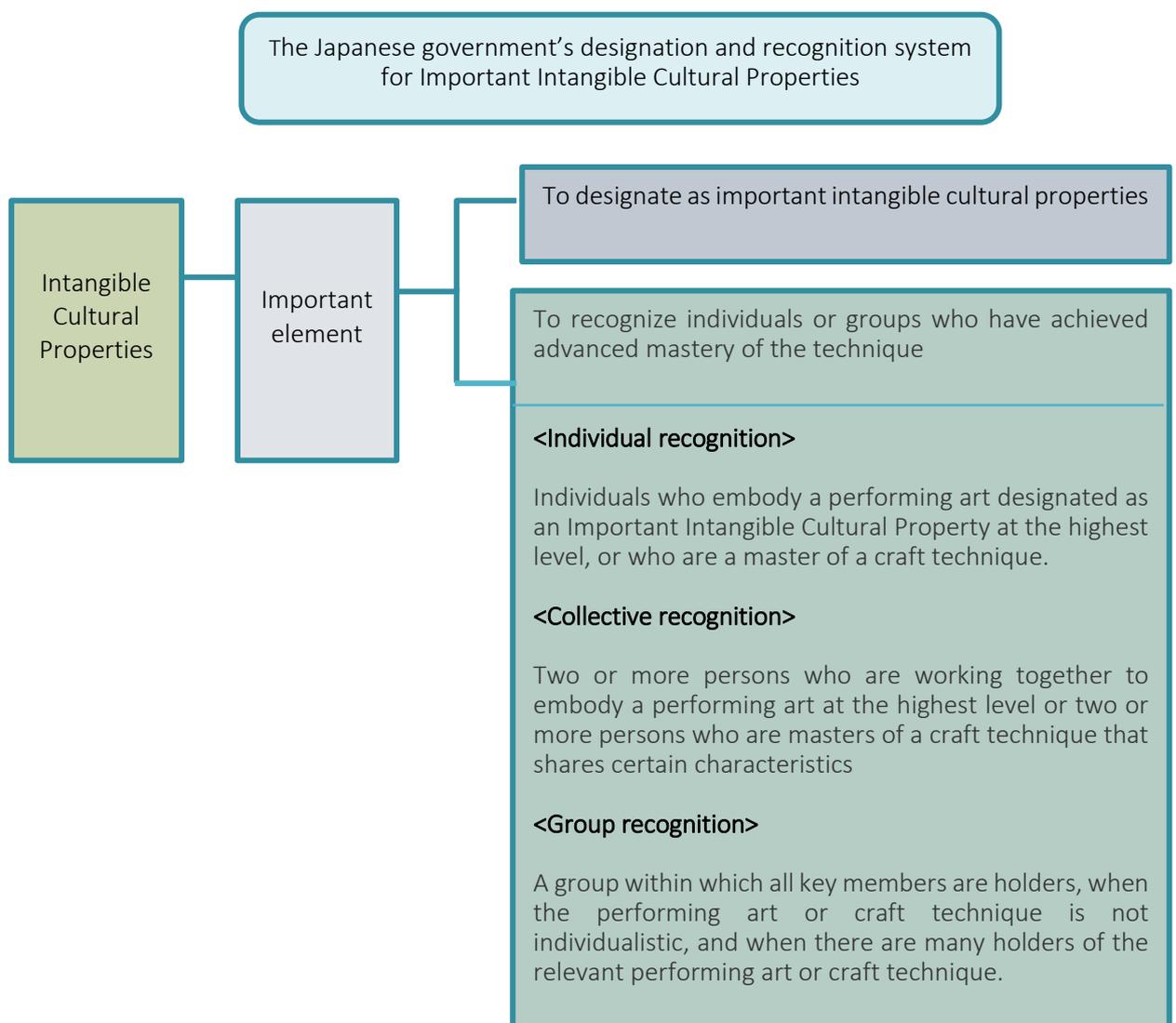


One event, in particular, triggered the making of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Property in Japan: the loss, by fire, of murals in the Kondo of Horyu-ji Temple in Nara Prefecture. The 1949 fire burned down 12 murals (i.e. precious cultural properties) and Buddhist paintings on the wall dating back to the late 7th century.

**REFERENCE1: THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT'S DESIGNATION AND RECOGNITION SYSTEM FOR IMPORTANT INTANGIBLE CULTURAL PROPERTIES<sup>1</sup>**

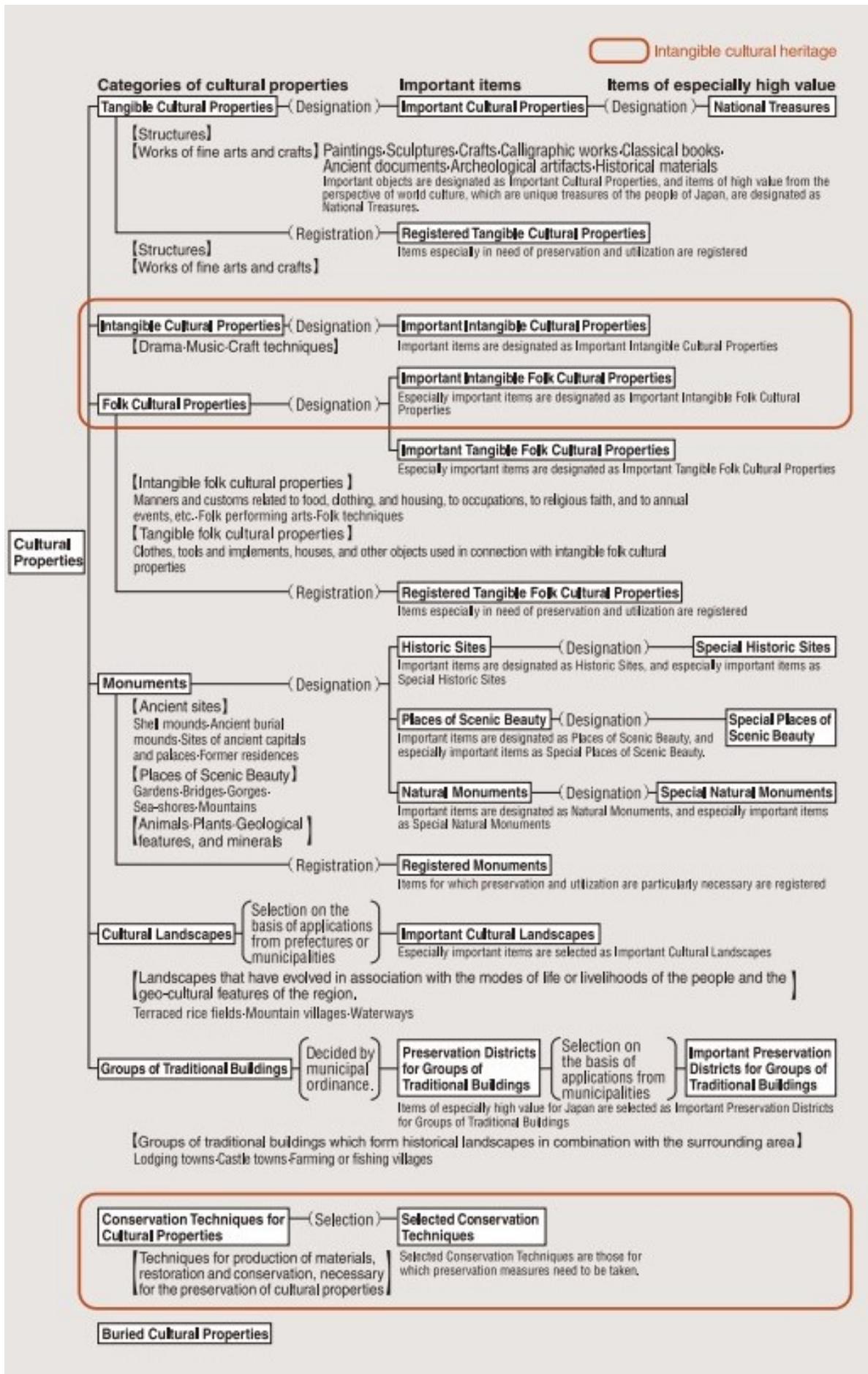
The Japanese government designates especially significant Intangible Cultural Properties as "Important Intangible Cultural Properties", simultaneously recognizing individuals or groups who have achieved advanced mastery of the technique as the holder or holders of that Important Intangible Cultural Property. Recognition of holders may take one of three forms: individual recognition, collective recognition, or group recognition.

Note here that in this provision, individuals who have achieved advanced mastery of the technique, that is, 'individual recognition' is so-called 'living national treasures' (formally called 'holder of Important Intangible Cultural Properties').



1 Translation from Pamphlet on Cultural Properties by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan ([https://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei\\_hakusho\\_shuppan/shuppanbutsu/bunkazai\\_pamphlet/pdf/pamphlet\\_ja\\_07.pdf](https://www.bunka.go.jp/tokei_hakusho_shuppan/shuppanbutsu/bunkazai_pamphlet/pdf/pamphlet_ja_07.pdf))

REFERENCE 2: FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL PROPERTIES PROTECTION



Reprinted from 'Protection System for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Japan' by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, Pamphlet, p.p 6  
([https://www.bunka.go.jp/english/report/publication/pdf/pamphlet\\_en\\_05.pdf](https://www.bunka.go.jp/english/report/publication/pdf/pamphlet_en_05.pdf))

***REFERENCE 3: LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY (LAW NO. 214, MAY 30, 1950)  
(EXCERPT)***

Translated by

Japan Centre for International Cooperation in Conservation National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (2001)

**CHAPTER I GENERAL RULES**

**Article 1: Purpose of the Present Law**

The purpose of the present law is to preserve and utilize cultural property objects so that the cultural quality of the nation can be enhanced, thereby contributing to the evolution of world culture.

**Article 2: Definition of Cultural Property**

(1) “An object of cultural property” in the present law shall be as follows: Buildings, pictures, sculptures, applied crafts, calligraphic works, classical books, ancient documents, and other tangible cultural products that are of significant historical or artistic value to Japan (including lands and other objects which are combined with these objects to create such value): archaeological and other historical resources of significant scientific value (hereinafter referred to as “Tangible Cultural Property”);

(2) Drama, music, applied art, and other intangible cultural products that are of a significant historical or artistic value to Japan (hereinafter referred to as “Intangible Cultural Property”);

(3) (i) Manners and customs related to food, clothing and housing, to occupations, to religious faiths, and to annual festivals, etc.: (ii) folk performing arts: (iii) folk skills: (iv) clothes, utensils, houses and other objects used therefor, which are indispensable to the understanding of changes in the mode of life of Japan (hereinafter referred to as “Folk Cultural Property”);

(4) (i) Shell mounds, tumuli, sites of fortified capitals, sites of forts, sites of castles, monument houses and other sites, which are of significant historical or scientific value to Japan: (ii) gardens, bridges, gorges, sea-shores, mountains, and other places of scenic beauty, which are of significant artistic or aesthetic value to Japan: (iii) animals (including their habitats, breeding areas and trails), plants (including their self-seeded areas), and geological features and minerals (including the areas where peculiar natural phenomena are recognizable), which are of significant scientific value to Japan (hereinafter referred to as “Monuments”);

(5) Landscape that has been created by people’s lives or occupations in their community as well as by the climate prevailing in such community, and which are indispensable to the understanding of the mode of life or occupation of Japan (hereinafter referred to as “Cultural Landscape”);

(6) Groups of traditional buildings of a high value, which form a certain historic configuration in combination with their environments (hereinafter referred to as a “Group of Traditional Buildings”);

2. The term “an object of ‘Important Cultural Property’” prescribed in the provisions of the present law (except for the provisions of Articles 27 to 29 inclusive, Article 37, Article 55 paragraph 1 Item (4), Article 153 paragraph 1 Item (1), Article 165, Article 171, and additional rules’ Article 3) shall include ‘National Treasure’.

3. The term “Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments” prescribed in the provisions of the present law (except for the provisions of Article 109, Article 110, Article 112, Article 122, Article 131 paragraph 1 Item (4), Article 153 paragraph 1 Items (7) and (8), Article 165, and Article 171) shall include ‘Special Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments’.

### **Article 3: Duty of the Government and Local Governments**

The Government and local governments shall, recognizing that cultural property is indispensable to the correct understanding of the history and culture of Japan and that it forms a foundation for cultural development in the future, sincerely endeavor to achieve the purpose of the present law so that the preservation thereof may be properly secured.

### **Article 4: Attitude of People and Owners**

The general people shall faithfully cooperate with such measures taken by the Government and local governments to achieve the purpose of the present law.

2. An owner of cultural property and other persons concerned therewith, being conscious that cultural property is a valuable national asset, shall preserve it with good care for the public and endeavor to promote its cultural utilization, such as by opening it to public viewing.

3. The Government and local governments shall respect the ownership and other property rights of the persons concerned in the enforcement of the present law.

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## **CHAPTER IV INTANGIBLE CULTURAL PROPERTY**

### **Article 71: Designation as ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ and the Recognition Concerned**

The Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may designate an important element of ‘Intangible Cultural Property’ as ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’.

2. In performing the designation under the provision of the preceding paragraph, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology shall recognize a bearer or a bearing body (an entity which is composed mainly of bearers of ‘Intangible Cultural Property’ and has its own representative elected by its statute; hereinafter the same applies) of the said element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’.

3. Designation under the provision of paragraph 1 shall be announced in the Official Gazette, and a person or a body to be recognized as the bearer or the bearing body of the said element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ (in the case of a bearing body, to its representative) shall be informed thereof.

4. Even after performing the designation under the provision of paragraph 1 the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may, if he considers there is still a person or a body eligible to be recognized as the bearer or the bearing body of the said element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’, perform supplementary recognition thereof.

5. The provision of paragraph 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to supplementary recognition under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

## **Article 72: Annulment of the Designation as ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ and of the Recognition Concerned**

Where an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ has lost its value as such, or where there is any other special reason, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may annul the designation of the said element as ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’.

2. Where a bearer is deemed to have become inadequate to act as such due to mental or physical reasons, or where a bearing body is deemed to have become inadequate to act as such due to a change in its constituent members, or where there is any other special reason, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may annul the recognition thereof.

3. The annulment of the designation under the provision of paragraph 1 or of the recognition under that of the preceding paragraph shall be announced in the Official Gazette, and a bearer or a bearing body of the said element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ shall be informed thereof.

4. Where a bearer has died or a bearing body has been dissolved (including having become extinct; hereinafter the same applies in the present and the following Articles), his or its recognition as such shall be deemed to have been annulled; and where all the bearers have died, or all the holding bodies have been dissolved, the designation as ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ shall be deemed to have been annulled. In these cases, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology shall announce such fact in the Official Gazette.

## **Article 73: Changes of Name or Other Information of a Bearer**

Where a bearer has changed his name or address, where he is dead, or where there is any such reasons as are prescribed by a MEXT ordinance, such a bearer or his heir shall report the fact to the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs in writing within twenty days as from the day when this took place (in the event of a bearer's death, as from the day when his heir came to know the fact), stating the matters stipulated by a MEXT ordinance. Where a bearing body has changed its name, its office address, or its representative, or where there is any change among its constituent members, or where the body has been dissolved, the same provision shall apply to its representative (in the event of dissolution, it shall apply to the person who has been its representative).

## **Article 74: Preservation of an Element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’**

Where the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs deems it necessary for the preservation of an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’, he may himself produce its record, train successors, and take any other appropriate measure for its preservation, and the State may grant a subsidy to cover part of the expenses required for its preservation to its bearer, its bearing body or a local government, or any other person deemed appropriate to take care of its preservation.

2. The provisions of Article 35 paragraphs 2 and 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to subsidization under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

## **Article 75: Opening to Public Viewing of an Element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’**

The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs may advise a bearer or a bearing body of an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ to open the said element for public viewing, and an

owner of the records thereof to open such records for public viewing.

2. The provision of Article 51 paragraph 7 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* where a bearer or a bearing body of an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ opens such an element to public viewing.

3. Where an owner of the records of an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ opens such records to public viewing, the State may grant a subsidy to cover part of the expense required for the said opening.

**Article 76: Suggestion or Advice on the Preservation of an Element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’**

The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs may make suggestions or give advice that is necessary for the preservation of an element of ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’ to its bearer or bearing body, or a local government or any other person who is deemed appropriate to take care of its preservation.

**Article 77: Production of the Record, etc. of an Element of ‘Intangible Cultural Property’ Other Than ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’**

The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs may himself, in selecting such an element of ‘Intangible Cultural Property’ as of special necessity, other than ‘Important Intangible Cultural Property’, produce the records thereof, preserve such records or open it to public viewing, and the State may grant a subsidy to an appropriate person to cover part of the expense required for opening the said element of ‘Intangible Cultural Property’ for public viewing, for recording it, or for preserving it.

2. The provisions of Article 35 paragraphs 2 and 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to subsidization under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

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**CHAPTER V FOLK CULTURAL PROPERTY**

**Article 78: Designation as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ and ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

The Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may designate an especially important object of ‘Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’, and an especially important element of ‘Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ as ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’.

2. The provisions of Article 28 paragraphs 1 to 4 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the designation as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

3. The designation as ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ under the provision of paragraph 1 shall be announced in the Official Gazette.

**Article 79: Annulment of the Designation as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ and ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

Where an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ or an element of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ has lost its value as such, or where there is any other special reason, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may annul the designation as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ or ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’.

2 The provisions of Article 29 paragraphs 2 to 4 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the annulment of the designation as ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

3 The annulment of the designation as ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ under the provision of paragraph 1 shall be announced in the Official Gazette.

#### **Article 80: Management of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’**

The provisions of Articles 30 to 34 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to a manager of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’.

#### **Article 81: Protection of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’**

Any person who intends to alter the status quo of an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ or to take any action that affects its preservation shall report his intention to the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs in writing, in accordance with the stipulations of a MEXT ordinance, at least twenty days prior to the date on which such alteration of the status quo or taking of any action affecting its preservation is to be implemented. However, the present provision does not apply to cases stipulated by a MEXT ordinance.

2. Where the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs deems it necessary for the protection of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’, he may give necessary instructions regarding the alteration of the status quo of or any act that affects the preservation of the said object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ for which a report has been filed under the preceding paragraph.

#### **Article 82**

Any person who intends to export an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ shall obtain the permission of the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs.

#### **Article 83**

Articles 34 *bis* to 36 inclusive, Article 37 paragraphs 2 to 4 inclusive, Articles 42, 46, and 47 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the protection of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’.

#### **Article 84: Opening to Public Viewing of an Object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’**

Where any party other than an owner or a managerial body (*i.e.* a local government or any other juridical person appointed under the provision of Article 32 *bis* paragraph 1 which is applied *mutatis mutandis* in Article 80; hereinafter the same applies in the present Chapter and in Chapter XII.) of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ intends to make an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ available for public viewing at an exhibition or at any other event to be organized by him, he shall inform the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs thereof in writing at least thirty days prior to the commencement date of making it available for public viewing, stating the matters stipulated by a MEXT ordinance. However, where an exhibition or any other event is to be organized by a national organ other than the Commissioner for Cultural

Affairs or by a local government at a museum or other similar facility that has previously been exempted from such information requirements by the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs (hereinafter referred to as “a facility exempted from an *ex ante* information-document for public viewing” in the present paragraph), or where an installer of ‘a facility that is exempted from an *ex ante* information-document for public viewing’ holds these events at such ‘a facility that is exempted from an *ex ante* information-document for public viewing’, it shall suffice if an *ex post* information-document is submitted within twenty days of the day after the final day of making an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ available for public viewing.

2. The provisions of Article 51 paragraphs 4 and 5 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to public viewing for which an information-document has been filed under the main text of the preceding paragraph.

#### **Article 85**

The provisions of Articles 47 *bis* to 52 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to opening an object of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ for public viewing.

#### **Article 86: Investigation into the Preservation of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ and Succession to Rights and Obligations of a Change of Owners and Others**

The provision of Article 54 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to an investigation for the preservation of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’, while the provision of Article 56 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the change of an owner of ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’, to the appointment of a managerial body for ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’, or to the annulment of the appointment thereof.

#### **Article 87: Preservation of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

Where the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs deems it necessary for the preservation of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’, he may himself produce the record thereof and take any other appropriate measure for its preservation, and the State may grant a subsidy to cover part of the expenses required for its preservation to a local government or any other person deemed appropriate to take care of its preservation.

2. The provisions of Article 35 paragraphs 2 and 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the subsidization under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

#### **Article 88: Opening to Public Viewing of Records of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs may advise an owner of the records of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ to open the said records for public viewing.

2. The provision of Article 75 paragraph 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* where an owner of the records of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ opens such records for public viewing.

#### **Article 89: Suggestions or Advice on the Preservation of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs may make suggestions or give advice necessary for the preservation of ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ to a local government or any other person deemed appropriate to take care of its preservation.

#### **Article 90: ‘Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Property’**

From among objects of ‘Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ other than ‘Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ (except those designated by a local government under the provision of Article 182 paragraph 2), the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may, in view of the value as cultural property, register in the Cultural Property Registry those objects that are in special need of preservation and utilization measures.

2. The provisions of Article 57 paragraphs 2 to 3 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to registration under the provision of the preceding paragraph.

3. The provisions in Chapter III Subsection 2 (except for the provision of Article 57) shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to an object of ‘Tangible Folk Cultural Property’ (hereinafter referred to as “Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Property”) registered under the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs. In this case, the “thirty days” described in Article 64 paragraph 1 and Article 65 paragraph 1 shall be read as “twenty days” and “Where alteration of the status quo is merely a maintenance measure or an emergency measure to be taken in the event of an unforeseen disaster, or where measures are taken based on an order that alters the status quo under the provisions of other legislations” described in the proviso of Article 64 paragraph 1 shall be read as “Where a MEXT ordinance stipulates this.”

#### **Article 91: Production of the Record, etc. of ‘Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ Other Than ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’**

The provision of Article 77 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to ‘Intangible Folk Cultural Property’ other than ‘Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property’.

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### **CHAPTER X PROTECTION OF PRESERVATION TECHNIQUES FOR CULTURAL PROPERTY**

#### **Article 147: Selection of Preservation Technique**

The Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may select such preservation techniques as are traditional techniques or craftsmanship that are indispensable to the preservation of cultural property and for which preservation measures shall be taken.

2. In making the selection under the provision of the preceding paragraph, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology shall recognize a bearer or a preservation body (*i.e.* a body (including a foundation) that primarily aims at preserving ‘Selected Preservation Techniques’ and has its representative or manager appointed by their own statutes; hereinafter, the same applies) of the ‘Selected Preservation Techniques’.

3. The recognition related to one selected preservation technique under the provision of the preceding paragraph may cover both a bearer and a preservation body.

4. The provisions of Article 71 paragraphs 3 to 5 inclusive shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the selection under the provision of paragraph 1 and the recognition under the provisions of the preceding two paragraphs.

#### **Article 148: Annulment of Selection or Recognition**

Where it is no longer necessary to preserve the ‘Selected Preservation Techniques’ or where there is any other special reason, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and

Technology may annul the designation concerned.

2. Where a bearer is deemed to have become inadequate to maintain such title due to his mental or physical problems, where a preservation body is deemed to have become inadequate to maintain such title, or where there is any other special reason, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology may annul the recognition of the bearer or the preservation body.

3. The provision of Article 72 paragraph 3 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to cases under the preceding two paragraphs.

4. Where all bearers have died and if the recognition under the preceding Article paragraph 2, was performed only of those bearers, where all holding bodies have been dissolved (including their dissolution; hereinafter, the same applies in the present paragraph) if recognition under the same paragraph has been performed only of those holding bodies, or where all bearers have died and all preservation bodies have been dissolved, if the recognition under the same paragraph has been made of both those bearers and those preservation bodies together, the selection of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques' shall be deemed to have been annulled. In these cases, the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology shall announce such fact in the Official Gazette.

#### **Article 149: Change of Name or Other Details of a Bearer**

The provision of Article 73 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to a bearer and a preservation body. In this case, "the representative" described in the latter part of the same Article shall be read as "the representative or manager."

#### **Article 150: Preservation of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques'**

Where the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs deems it necessary to preserve 'Selected Preservation Techniques', he may produce a record of that technique himself, train successors, or take any other appropriate measure necessary for the preservation thereof.

#### **Article 151: Opening to Public Viewing of the Record of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques'**

The provision of Article 88 shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to an owner of the record of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques'.

#### **Article 152: Assistance with the Preservation of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques'**

The State may give guidance, advice or any other necessary assistance to a bearer or a preservation body of the 'Selected Preservation Techniques', to a local government, or to those who are considered appropriate for undertaking its preservation.

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### **CHAPTER XI CONSULTATION TO THE COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS**

#### **Article 153**

The Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology shall consult the Council for Cultural Affairs about the following matters in advance:

- (1) designation as 'National Treasure' or 'Important Cultural Property', and annulment of such designation;
- (2) registration of an object of 'Registered Tangible Cultural Property', and annulment of such registration (except annulment of registration under the provision of Article 59 paragraph 1 or 2);
- (3) designation of a element as 'Important Intangible Cultural Property', and annulment of such designation;
- (4) recognition of a bearer or a bearing body of an element of 'Important Intangible Cultural Property', and annulment of such recognition;
- (5) designation of an object as 'Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property' or an element as 'Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property', and annulment of such designation;
- (6) registration of an object of 'Registered Tangible Folk Cultural Property', and annulment of such registration (except annulment of registration under the provision of Article 59 paragraph 1 or 2, when applied mutatis mutandis in Article 90 paragraph 3);
- (7) designation of 'Special Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments' or 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments', and annulment of such designation;
- (8) interim designation of an entity as 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments', and annulment of such an interim designation;
- (9) registration of a registered monument, and annulment of that registration (except annulment of registration under the provision of Article 59 paragraph 1 or 2, when applied mutatis mutandis in Article 133);
- (10) selection of 'Important Cultural Landscape', and annulment of such selection;
- (11) selection of an 'Important Preserved District for a Group of Traditional Buildings', and annulment of such selection;
- (12) selection of a preservation technique, and annulment of such selection;
- (13) recognition of a bearer or a preserving body of a preservation technique, and annulment of such recognition.

2. The Commissioner for Cultural Affairs shall consult the Council for Cultural Affairs about the following matters in advance:

- (1) orders on the management of an object of 'Important Cultural Property' or the repairs of 'National Treasure';
- (2) repairs of 'National Treasure' or taking measures to prevent its destruction, damage or theft, by the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs;
- (3) permission for the alteration of the status quo of or for any action that affects the preservation of an object of 'Important Cultural Property';
- (4) orders on the restriction, prohibition or necessary facilities for the integrity of the surroundings of an object of 'Important Cultural Property';

- (5) buying of an object of 'Important Cultural Property' by the State;
- (6) choosing from among elements of 'Intangible Cultural Property' other than 'Important Intangible Cultural Property', the record of which the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs shall produce or subsidize;
- (7) orders on the management of an object of 'Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property';
- (8) buying an object of 'Important Tangible Folk Cultural Property';
- (9) choosing from among elements of 'Intangible Folk Cultural Property' other than 'Important Intangible Folk Cultural Property', the record of which the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs shall produce or subsidize;
- (10) extension of the terms of order on the suspension or prohibition of such action as to alter the status quo of remains;
- (11) implementation of excavation by the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs in order to investigate Treasure Trove;
- (12) orders on the management of 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments', or on restoration of 'Special Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments';
- (13) implementation by the Commissioner for Cultural Affairs of the restoration or measures to prevent destruction, damage, decay or theft of 'Special Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments';
- (14) permission for the alteration of the status quo of or for any action that affects the preservation of 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments';
- (15) orders on the restriction, prohibition or necessary facilities for the integrity of the surroundings of 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments';
- (16) orders on the restitutio in integrum where permission for the alteration of the status quo of or for any act that affects the preservation of 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments' is not obtained or the conditions of such permission are not observed, or where a restriction or prohibition for the integrity of surroundings of 'Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments' is violated;
- (17) orders on the maintenance of 'Important Cultural Landscape';
- (18) proposals for the establishment, revision or annulment of a cabinet order under Article 184 paragraph 1 (limited to matters related to the administrative tasks listed in the same Article paragraph 2 Item (2))

## ANNEX

## 2. CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage  
Paris, 17 October 2003

The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization hereinafter referred to as UNESCO, meeting in Paris, from 29 September to 17 October 2003, at its 32nd session,

**Referring** to existing international human rights instruments, in particular to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966,

**Considering** the importance of the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development, as underscored in the UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore of 1989, in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of 2001, and in the Istanbul Declaration of 2002 adopted by the Third Round Table of Ministers of Culture,

**Considering** the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage,

**Recognizing** that the processes of globalization and social transformation, alongside the conditions they create for renewed dialogue among communities, also give rise, as does the phenomenon of intolerance, to grave threats of deterioration, disappearance and destruction of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular owing to a lack of resources for safeguarding such heritage,

**Being aware** of the universal will and the common concern to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of humanity,

**Recognizing** that communities, in particular indigenous communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance and re-creation of the intangible cultural heritage, thus helping to enrich cultural diversity and human creativity,

**Noting** the far-reaching impact of the activities of UNESCO in establishing normative instruments for the protection of the cultural heritage, in particular the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972,

**Noting further** that no binding multilateral instrument as yet exists for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage,

**Considering** that existing international agreements, recommendations and resolutions concerning the cultural and natural heritage need to be effectively enriched and supplemented by means of new provisions relating to the intangible cultural heritage,

**Considering** the need to build greater awareness, especially among the younger generations, of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage and of its safeguarding,

**Considering** that the international community should contribute, together with the States Parties to this Convention, to the safeguarding of such heritage in a spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance,

**Recalling** UNESCO's programmes relating to the intangible cultural heritage, in particular the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity,

**Considering** the invaluable role of the intangible cultural heritage as a factor in bringing human beings closer together and ensuring exchange and understanding among them,

**Adopts** this Convention on this seventeenth day of October 2003.

## **I. General provisions**

### **Article 1 – Purposes of the Convention**

The purposes of this Convention are:

- (a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
- (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
- (d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.

### **Article 2 – Definitions**

For the purposes of this Convention,

1. The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

2. The "intangible cultural heritage", as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) performing arts;
- (c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- (e) traditional craftsmanship.

3. "Safeguarding" means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection,

promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.

4. “States Parties” means States which are bound by this Convention and among which this Convention is in force.

5. This Convention applies *mutatis mutandis* to the territories referred to in Article 33 which become Parties to this Convention in accordance with the conditions set out in that Article. To that extent the expression “States Parties” also refers to such territories.

### **Article 3 – Relationship to other international instruments**

Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as:

- (a) altering the status or diminishing the level of protection under the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of World Heritage properties with which an item of the intangible cultural heritage is directly associated; or
- (b) affecting the rights and obligations of States Parties deriving from any international instrument relating to intellectual property rights or to the use of biological and ecological resources to which they are parties.

## **II. Organs of the Convention**

### **Article 4 – General Assembly of States Parties**

1. A General Assembly of the States Parties is hereby established, hereinafter referred to as “the General Assembly”. The General Assembly is the sovereign body of this Convention.

2. The General Assembly shall meet in ordinary session every two years. It may meet in extraordinary session if it so decides or at the request either of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage or of at least one-third of the States Parties.

3. The General Assembly shall adopt its own Rules of Procedure.

### **Article 5 – Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage**

1. An Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, hereinafter referred to as “the Committee”, is hereby established within UNESCO. It shall be composed of representatives of 18 States Parties, elected by the States Parties meeting in General Assembly, once this Convention enters into force in accordance with Article 34.

2. The number of States Members of the Committee shall be increased to 24 once the number of the States Parties to the Convention reaches 50.

### **Article 6 – Election and terms of office of States Members of the Committee**

1. The election of States Members of the Committee shall obey the principles of equitable geographical representation and rotation.

2. States Members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years by States Parties to the Convention meeting in General Assembly.

3. However, the term of office of half of the States Members of the Committee elected at the first election is limited to two years. These States shall be chosen by lot at the first election.
4. Every two years, the General Assembly shall renew half of the States Members of the Committee.
5. It shall also elect as many States Members of the Committee as required to fill vacancies.
6. A State Member of the Committee may not be elected for two consecutive terms.
7. States Members of the Committee shall choose as their representatives persons who are qualified in the various fields of the intangible cultural heritage.

#### **Article 7 – Functions of the Committee**

Without prejudice to other prerogatives granted to it by this Convention, the functions of the Committee shall be to:

- (a) promote the objectives of the Convention, and to encourage and monitor the implementation thereof;
- (b) provide guidance on best practices and make recommendations on measures for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage;
- (c) prepare and submit to the General Assembly for approval a draft plan for the use of the resources of the Fund, in accordance with Article 25;
- (d) seek means of increasing its resources, and to take the necessary measures to this end, in accordance with Article 25;
- (e) prepare and submit to the General Assembly for approval operational directives for the implementation of this Convention;
- (f) examine, in accordance with Article 29, the reports submitted by States Parties, and to summarize them for the General Assembly;
- (g) examine requests submitted by States Parties, and to decide thereon, in accordance with objective selection criteria to be established by the Committee and approved by the General Assembly for:
  - (i) inscription on the lists and proposals mentioned under Articles 16, 17 and 18;
  - (ii) the granting of international assistance in accordance with Article 22.

#### **Article 8 – Working methods of the Committee**

1. The Committee shall be answerable to the General Assembly. It shall report to it on all its activities and decisions.
2. The Committee shall adopt its own Rules of Procedure by a two-thirds majority of its Members.
3. The Committee may establish, on a temporary basis, whatever ad hoc consultative bodies it deems necessary to carry out its task.
4. The Committee may invite to its meetings any public or private bodies, as well as private persons, with recognized competence in the various fields of the intangible cultural heritage, in order to consult them on specific matters.

#### **Article 9 – Accreditation of advisory organizations**

1. The Committee shall propose to the General Assembly the accreditation of non-governmental organizations with recognized competence in the field of the intangible cultural heritage to act in an advisory capacity to the Committee.

2. The Committee shall also propose to the General Assembly the criteria for and modalities of such accreditation.

#### **Article 10 – The Secretariat**

1. The Committee shall be assisted by the UNESCO Secretariat.
2. The Secretariat shall prepare the documentation of the General Assembly and of the Committee, as well as the draft agenda of their meetings, and shall ensure the implementation of their decisions.

### **III. Safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the national level**

#### **Article 11 – Role of States Parties**

Each State Party shall:

- (a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
- (b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations.

#### **Article 12 – Inventories**

1. To ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated.
2. When each State Party periodically submits its report to the Committee, in accordance with Article 29, it shall provide relevant information on such inventories.

#### **Article 13 – Other measures for safeguarding**

To ensure the safeguarding, development and promotion of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, each State Party shall endeavour to:

- (a) adopt a general policy aimed at promoting the function of the intangible cultural heritage in society, and at integrating the safeguarding of such heritage into planning programmes;
- (b) designate or establish one or more competent bodies for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
- (c) foster scientific, technical and artistic studies, as well as research methodologies, with a view to effective safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular the intangible cultural heritage in danger;
- (d) adopt appropriate legal, technical, administrative and financial measures aimed at:
  - (i) fostering the creation or strengthening of institutions for training in the management of the intangible cultural heritage and the transmission of such heritage through forums and spaces intended for the performance or expression thereof;
  - (ii) ensuring access to the intangible cultural heritage while respecting customary practices governing access to specific aspects of such heritage;
  - (iii) establishing documentation institutions for the intangible cultural heritage and facilitating access to them.

**Article 14 – Education, awareness-raising and capacity-building**

Each State Party shall endeavour, by all appropriate means, to:

(a) ensure recognition of, respect for, and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society, in particular through:

(i) educational, awareness-raising and information programmes, aimed at the general public, in particular young people;

(ii) specific educational and training programmes within the communities and groups concerned;

(iii) capacity-building activities for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, in particular management and scientific research; and

(iv) non-formal means of transmitting knowledge;

(b) keep the public informed of the dangers threatening such heritage, and of the activities carried out in pursuance of this Convention;

(c) promote education for the protection of natural spaces and places of memory whose existence is necessary for expressing the intangible cultural heritage.

**Article 15 – Participation of communities, groups and individuals**

Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management.

**IV. Safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the international level****Article 16 – Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity**

1. In order to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance, and to encourage dialogue which respects cultural diversity, the Committee, upon the proposal of the States Parties concerned, shall establish, keep up to date and publish a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

2. The Committee shall draw up and submit to the General Assembly for approval the criteria for the establishment, updating and publication of this Representative List.

**Article 17 – List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding**

1. With a view to taking appropriate safeguarding measures, the Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish a List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, and shall inscribe such heritage on the List at the request of the State Party concerned.

2. The Committee shall draw up and submit to the General Assembly for approval the criteria for the establishment, updating and publication of this List.

3. In cases of extreme urgency – the objective criteria of which shall be approved by the General Assembly upon the proposal of the Committee – the Committee may inscribe an item of the heritage concerned on the List mentioned in paragraph 1, in consultation with the State Party concerned.

## **Article 18 – Programmes, projects and activities for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage**

1. On the basis of proposals submitted by States Parties, and in accordance with criteria to be defined by the Committee and approved by the General Assembly, the Committee shall periodically select and promote national, subregional and regional programmes, projects and activities for the safeguarding of the heritage which it considers best reflect the principles and objectives of this Convention, taking into account the special needs of developing countries.
2. To this end, it shall receive, examine and approve requests for international assistance from States Parties for the preparation of such proposals.
3. The Committee shall accompany the implementation of such projects, programmes and activities by disseminating best practices using means to be determined by it.

## **V. International cooperation and assistance**

### **Article 19 – Cooperation**

1. For the purposes of this Convention, international cooperation includes, inter alia, the exchange of information and experience, joint initiatives, and the establishment of a mechanism of assistance to States Parties in their efforts to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage.
2. Without prejudice to the provisions of their national legislation and customary law and practices, the States Parties recognize that the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is of general interest to humanity, and to that end undertake to cooperate at the bilateral, subregional, regional and international levels.

### **Article 20 – Purposes of international assistance**

International assistance may be granted for the following purposes:

- (a) the safeguarding of the heritage inscribed on the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding;
- (b) the preparation of inventories in the sense of Articles 11 and 12;
- (c) support for programmes, projects and activities carried out at the national, subregional and regional levels aimed at the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage;
- (d) any other purpose the Committee may deem necessary.

### **Article 21 – Forms of international assistance**

The assistance granted by the Committee to a State Party shall be governed by the operational directives foreseen in Article 7 and by the agreement referred to in Article 24, and may take the following forms:

- (a) studies concerning various aspects of safeguarding;
- (b) the provision of experts and practitioners;
- (c) the training of all necessary staff;
- (d) the elaboration of standard-setting and other measures;
- (e) the creation and operation of infrastructures;
- (f) the supply of equipment and know-how;
- (g) other forms of financial and technical assistance, including, where appropriate, the granting of low-interest loans and donations.

#### **Article 22 – Conditions governing international assistance**

1. The Committee shall establish the procedure for examining requests for international assistance, and shall specify what information shall be included in the requests, such as the measures envisaged and the interventions required, together with an assessment of their cost.
2. In emergencies, requests for assistance shall be examined by the Committee as a matter of priority.
3. In order to reach a decision, the Committee shall undertake such studies and consultations as it deems necessary.

#### **Article 23 – Requests for international assistance**

1. Each State Party may submit to the Committee a request for international assistance for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory.
2. Such a request may also be jointly submitted by two or more States Parties.
3. The request shall include the information stipulated in Article 22, paragraph 1, together with the necessary documentation.

#### **Article 24 – Role of beneficiary States Parties**

1. In conformity with the provisions of this Convention, the international assistance granted shall be regulated by means of an agreement between the beneficiary State Party and the Committee.
2. As a general rule, the beneficiary State Party shall, within the limits of its resources, share the cost of the safeguarding measures for which international assistance is provided.
3. The beneficiary State Party shall submit to the Committee a report on the use made of the assistance provided for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage.

### **VI. Intangible Cultural Heritage Fund**

#### **Article 25 – Nature and resources of the Fund**

1. A “Fund for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”, hereinafter referred to as “the Fund”, is hereby established.
2. The Fund shall consist of funds-in-trust established in accordance with the Financial Regulations of UNESCO.
3. The resources of the Fund shall consist of:
  - (a) contributions made by States Parties;
  - (b) funds appropriated for this purpose by the General Conference of UNESCO;
  - (c) contributions, gifts or bequests which may be made by:
    - (i) other States;
    - (ii) organizations and programmes of the United Nations system, particularly the United Nations Development Programme, as well as other international organizations;
    - (iii) public or private bodies or individuals;
  - (d) any interest due on the resources of the Fund;
  - (e) funds raised through collections, and receipts from events organized for the benefit of the

Fund;

(f) any other resources authorized by the Fund's regulations, to be drawn up by the Committee.

4. The use of resources by the Committee shall be decided on the basis of guidelines laid down by the General Assembly.

5. The Committee may accept contributions and other forms of assistance for general and specific purposes relating to specific projects, provided that those projects have been approved by the Committee.

6. No political, economic or other conditions which are incompatible with the objectives of this Convention may be attached to contributions made to the Fund.

#### **Article 26 – Contributions of States Parties to the Fund**

1. Without prejudice to any supplementary voluntary contribution, the States Parties to this Convention undertake to pay into the Fund, at least every two years, a contribution, the amount of which, in the form of a uniform percentage applicable to all States, shall be determined by the General Assembly. This decision of the General Assembly shall be taken by a majority of the States Parties present and voting which have not made the declaration referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article. In no case shall the contribution of the State Party exceed 1% of its contribution to the regular budget of UNESCO.

2. However, each State referred to in Article 32 or in Article 33 of this Convention may declare, at the time of the deposit of its instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, that it shall not be bound by the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. A State Party to this Convention which has made the declaration referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article shall endeavour to withdraw the said declaration by notifying the Director-General of UNESCO. However, the withdrawal of the declaration shall not take effect in regard to the contribution due by the State until the date on which the subsequent session of the General Assembly opens.

4. In order to enable the Committee to plan its operations effectively, the contributions of States Parties to this Convention which have made the declaration referred to in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be paid on a regular basis, at least every two years, and should be as close as possible to the contributions they would have owed if they had been bound by the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article.

5. Any State Party to this Convention which is in arrears with the payment of its compulsory or voluntary contribution for the current year and the calendar year immediately preceding it shall not be eligible as a Member of the Committee; this provision shall not apply to the first election. The term of office of any such State which is already a Member of the Committee shall come to an end at the time of the elections provided for in Article 6 of this Convention.

#### **Article 27 – Voluntary supplementary contributions to the Fund**

States Parties wishing to provide voluntary contributions in addition to those foreseen under Article 26 shall inform the Committee, as soon as possible, so as to enable it to plan its operations accordingly.

## **Article 28 – International fund-raising campaigns**

The States Parties shall, insofar as is possible, lend their support to international fund-raising campaigns organized for the benefit of the Fund under the auspices of UNESCO.

## **VII. Reports**

### **Article 29 – Reports by the States Parties**

The States Parties shall submit to the Committee, observing the forms and periodicity to be defined by the Committee, reports on the legislative, regulatory and other measures taken for the implementation of this Convention.

### **Article 30 – Reports by the Committee**

1. On the basis of its activities and the reports by States Parties referred to in Article 29, the Committee shall submit a report to the General Assembly at each of its sessions.
2. The report shall be brought to the attention of the General Conference of UNESCO.

## **VIII. Transitional clause**

### **Article 31 – Relationship to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity**

1. The Committee shall incorporate in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity the items proclaimed “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” before the entry into force of this Convention.
2. The incorporation of these items in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity shall in no way prejudice the criteria for future inscriptions decided upon in accordance with Article 16, paragraph 2.
3. No further Proclamation will be made after the entry into force of this Convention.

## **IX. Final clauses**

### **Article 32 – Ratification, acceptance or approval**

1. This Convention shall be subject to ratification, acceptance or approval by States Members of UNESCO in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.
2. The instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval shall be deposited with the Director-General of UNESCO.

### **Article 33 – Accession**

1. This Convention shall be open to accession by all States not Members of UNESCO that are invited by the General Conference of UNESCO to accede to it.

2. This Convention shall also be open to accession by territories which enjoy full internal self-government recognized as such by the United Nations, but have not attained full independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and which have competence over the matters governed by this Convention, including the competence to enter into treaties in respect of such matters.

3. The instrument of accession shall be deposited with the Director-General of UNESCO.

#### **Article 34 – Entry into force**

This Convention shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of the thirtieth instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession, but only with respect to those States that have deposited their respective instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval, or accession on or before that date. It shall enter into force with respect to any other State Party three months after the deposit of its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession.

#### **Article 35 – Federal or non-unitary constitutional systems**

The following provisions shall apply to States Parties which have a federal or non-unitary constitutional system:

- (a) with regard to the provisions of this Convention, the implementation of which comes under the legal jurisdiction of the federal or central legislative power, the obligations of the federal or central government shall be the same as for those States Parties which are not federal States;
- (b) with regard to the provisions of this Convention, the implementation of which comes under the jurisdiction of individual constituent States, countries, provinces or cantons which are not obliged by the constitutional system of the federation to take legislative measures, the federal government shall inform the competent authorities of such States, countries, provinces or cantons of the said provisions, with its recommendation for their adoption.

#### **Article 36 – Denunciation**

1. Each State Party may denounce this Convention.
2. The denunciation shall be notified by an instrument in writing, deposited with the Director-General of UNESCO.
3. The denunciation shall take effect twelve months after the receipt of the instrument of denunciation. It shall in no way affect the financial obligations of the denouncing State Party until the date on which the withdrawal takes effect.

#### **Article 37 – Depositary functions**

The Director-General of UNESCO, as the Depositary of this Convention, shall inform the States Members of the Organization, the States not Members of the Organization referred to in Article 33, as well as the United Nations, of the deposit of all the instruments of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession provided for in Articles 32 and 33, and of the denunciations provided for in Article 36.

#### **Article 38 – Amendments**

1. A State Party may, by written communication addressed to the Director-General, propose amendments to this Convention. The Director-General shall circulate such communication to all States Parties. If, within six months from the date of the circulation of the communication, not less than one half of the States Parties reply favourably to the request, the Director-General shall

present such proposal to the next session of the General Assembly for discussion and possible adoption.

2. Amendments shall be adopted by a two-thirds majority of States Parties present and voting.

3. Once adopted, amendments to this Convention shall be submitted for ratification, acceptance, approval or accession to the States Parties.

4. Amendments shall enter into force, but solely with respect to the States Parties that have ratified, accepted, approved or acceded to them, three months after the deposit of the instruments referred to in paragraph 3 of this Article by two-thirds of the States Parties. Thereafter, for each State Party that ratifies, accepts, approves or accedes to an amendment, the said amendment shall enter into force three months after the date of deposit by that State Party of its instrument of ratification, acceptance, approval or accession.

5. The procedure set out in paragraphs 3 and 4 shall not apply to amendments to Article 5 concerning the number of States Members of the Committee. These amendments shall enter into force at the time they are adopted.

6. A State which becomes a Party to this Convention after the entry into force of amendments in conformity with paragraph 4 of this Article shall, failing an expression of different intention, be considered:

(a) as a Party to this Convention as so amended; and

(b) as a Party to the unamended Convention in relation to any State Party not bound by the amendments.

#### **Article 39 – Authoritative texts**

This Convention has been drawn up in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish, the six texts being equally authoritative.

#### **Article 40 – Registration**

In conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations, this Convention shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations at the request of the Director-General of UNESCO.



National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, Japan  
**International Research Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region**  
**Under the Auspices of UNESCO (IRCI)**

2 Cho, Mozusekiun-cho, Sakai-ku, Sakai City, Osaka  
590-0802 Japan

Tel: +81-72-275-8050 Fax: +81-72-275-8151  
<https://www.irci.jp>