Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage: First Nations of the Americas

Studies in Collaboration with Indigenous Peoples
from Greenland, North and South America

editors:
Laura Van Broekhoven
Cunera Buijs
Pieter Hovens

Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden

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Sidestone Press

Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde Nº. 39

ISBN 978-90-8890-066-2

Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com
Sidestone registration number: SSP SSP55960002

Published in Cooperation with the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden
www.volkenkunde.nl

Lay-out: P.C. van Woerdekom, Sidestone Press
Cover design: K. Wentink, Sidestone Press
Cover photograph: Jeroen Nooter. Thomasihe Umerineg during East Greenlandic consultations in Tunumiit festive dress and curator Cunera Buijs in the exhibition in Leiden.
Back cover photograph: Laura Van Broekhoven (caption p. 163); Bernadette Engelstadt (caption p. 46); Jeroen Nooter.

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Proceedings of an Expert Meeting National Museum of Ethnology Leiden, The Netherlands

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Contents

Foreword

From Consultation to Collaboration

Ann Fienup-Riordan[1]

The chapters that follow are testament to the growing commitment and passion of museum professionals in the twenty first century to share the collections in their care with the descendants of the people and communities from whom these collections originally came. This has not always been the case, as the histories of particular collections and relations with particular Indigenous communities make clear. Museum doors were largely shut to Indigenous people as recently as the 1970s, with a handful of notable exceptions (Driscoll, this volume). In 1989, I was allowed access to the Museum of the American Indian (now the National Museum of the American Indian) in New York. That same year two Yup'ik friends sought to visit the same collection and were denied because they lacked academic credentials.

Consultation with Native informants and community representatives by anthropologists and museologists has been taking place since the days of Franz Boas in the early 1900s. Native men and women were brought into collections to answer specific questions in preparation for museum exhibitions, and sometimes put on exhibit themselves. Consultation is still considered a valuable tool in many museum contexts, where Native co-workers share information but final decisions remain in museum hands.

The essential question explored by contributors to this volume is when does cooperation move beyond one group providing ideas and understandings to another to the co-conceptualization and co-commitments of true collaboration. In different ways each chapter confronts the range of practical, ethical, and political constraints that shape museum work today. True collaboration, as many note, is the joint shaping of representations. These deep collaborations offer powerful alternatives to more conventional research approaches (Oosten, Driscoll, and Buijs, this volume).

I am a cultural anthropologist who came to museum work late in life, and the changes I have seen since my first museum visit in 1989 are profound. Curiosity inspired that first trip. I had seen photographs of Yup'ik masks housed at the Museum of the American Indian, and I wanted to learn more. Back in Alaska, I shared these photographs with Yup'ik friends. Their response was transformative: they wanted these masks brought home for their young people to see. Repatriation was not the issue, as ownership of masks was not the goal. Rather,

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"visual repatriation" was what they sought - the opportunity to show and explain traditional objects to contemporary young people. Thus began work on the Yup'ik mask exhibition, *Agayuliyararput/Our Way of Making Prayer*, which opened in the Bering Sea community of Toksook Bay in January 1996.

I have described our exhibit-making process in detail elsewhere (Fienup-Riordan 2000:209-245). The important point here is that throughout the process we were fortunate to have a team of Yup'ik men and women who guided every aspect, from giving the exhibition its name to choosing which masks to display and how to organize them. Our exhibition grew from the Yup'ik desire to see these old things brought home. We found willing partners in the museum community - both in the United States and abroad - and together we mounted an exhibition that none of us could have created alone.

Prior to the opening of the mask exhibit, Yup'ik Elders worked with photographs of objects, but few entered museums to see the real thing. Since then, Yup'ik men and women have had unprecedented opportunities to visit museums and view collections. Like the mask exhibit itself, these visits were initiated by Yup'ik community members with the generous cooperation of the museums involved. Perhaps our most rewarding museum expedition was work at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin in September 1997. I had learned of their rich Yup'ik collection, including more than two thousand pieces gathered by Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882-83, on a research visit prior to the mask exhibit. Peter Bolz, the museum's curator of North American collections, visited Alaska for the opening of the mask exhibit, and when we asked if a Yup'ik delegation could come to Berlin, he agreed. On arrival he warned us that some of his colleagues were concerned for the safety of the objects in their care as no group our size (six Yup'ik Elders and myself) had ever asked to work through an entire collection. Peter welcomed us nonetheless, and staff opened their doors to make our work possible. The Elders stayed three weeks and looked at all 2,000 pieces. During that stay the concerns of museum staff turned to appreciation as they witnessed the Elders' excitement at seeing the remarkable things their ancestors had made and that, without the museum's care, would be dust. Just before our departure, Elders expressed their profound gratitude for the opportunity the museum had given them. Our eldest group member, Wassilie Berlin, thanked Jacobsen for undergoing harsh surroundings to collect these objects as well as the museum for keeping them safe, so that they would be there for his children and all those who came after them.

Our trip to Berlin was expensive, costing over $20,000, and the logistics not for the faint of heart - especially getting U.S. passports for Elders with multiple names and dates of birth. The results, however, were worth all our time and effort. Working closely with Yup'ik language expert Marie Meade, we later published two books combining photographs of what Jacobsen had collected and the knowledge Elders shared: *Yup'ik Elders at the Ethnologisches Museum Berlin: Fieldwork Turned on Its Head* (Fienup-Riordan 2005) and *Ciuliamta Akluit/*

Things of Our Ancestors (Meade and Fienup-Riordan 2005). We dubbed the first, lavishly illustrated, "visual repatriation," as it brought home to Alaskans images, stories, and information surrounding Jacobsen's remarkable legacy.

The present volume describes equally inspiring collaborations, some dubbed "virtual repatriation" and "digital repatriation". Driscoll (this volume) is certainly correct that the Internet offers unparalleled potential for linking communities with museum collections, allowing quick and easy access worldwide. This process is not uncomplicated, as such easy access can work against Indigenous models of circulation. To date the focus has been on the act of giving back, with less attention paid to what happens once these digital objects are returned (Bruchac 2010). How communities put these new cultural objects to use remains to be seen.

Agayuliyararput opened doors, and those who entered found an unimagined array of artifacts, which most had viewed only briefly when they were young. All were deeply moved by what they saw. Elders also recognized the potential power of museum collections to communicate renewed pride and self-respect to a generation of young people woefully ignorant of the skills their ancestors used to survive. In 2003 the Calista Elders Council (the major heritage organization in southwest Alaska) began working with the Anchorage Museum on another major Yup'ik exhibition, *Yuungnaqpiallerput/The Way We Genuinely Live: Masterworks of Yup'ik Science and Survival*. Like *Agayuliyararput*, our exhibit-making process was highly collaborative, involving a 12-member Yup'ik steering committee, museum professionals, and anthropologists. We also worked with the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry to create a dozen interactives designed to give visitors an opportunity to experience firsthand the natural materials and techniques Elders described. Although team members' backgrounds and viewpoints varied widely, all came to the table with a common purpose - to enable Yup'ik community members to share their heritage in new and exciting ways.

I am proud to have been part of this diverse team, and in the exhibition catalogue I again described our exhibit-making process (Fienup-Riordan 2007:3-6). Yet I hesitate to admonish museum professionals, "This is the way it should be done." We were able to accomplish what we did because of the decades of experience Yup'ik community members and I had working together in museums. It is no exaggeration to say that *Yuungnaqpiallerput* was twenty years in the making, beginning with that first trip to the Museum of the American Indian in 1989. How, then, should younger curators move forward to create the bonds of friendship and trust on which successful collaborations depend? The answer, I think, is captured in many of the working relationships described in the following pages, where best efforts are made to both reach out and keep listening.

As many also note, power relations still favor museums. While Yup'ik community members requested objects to include in *Yuungnaqpiallerput*, the conservators working in many lending institutions were the ones who ultimately

determined what the public could see. Over half the objects we originally requested were denied, as the dominant view in most museums continues to place primary value on the material well-being of objects and their preservation for future generations.

Over the last two decades, as the desire of Native people to view museum collections has grown, conservation standards have shrunk what some museums are willing to loan, especially as we learn more about how climate and travel adversely affect these collections. Museums today differ widely in their response to this paradox. Among the most thoughtful I have encountered was that of the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. The steering committee for *Yuungnaqpiallerput* requested a drum in the museum's collection to open their exhibit. The drum had been collected on Nelson Island in the early 1900s, and at our first steering committee meeting, Elder Paul John told a long story about the drum's maker. Frank Andrew concluded, "The reverberation of the drum kept everyone together."

We requested the loan of the drum, and the Peabody Essex Museum at first agreed. On consideration, their conservators deemed it too fragile to travel. I spoke at length to their curator about how much that particular drum meant to Yup'ik community members. After long thought the museum sent us a letter, which they wanted our Elders and steering committee members to read and sign. The museum said that they viewed themselves not as the drum's owners but as its caretakers. They told us that the drum might be damaged if it made such a long trip but that they were willing to loan it for the Anchorage venue if we wanted it sent home. Steering committee members read and signed the letter, and in 2008 the drum safely traveled to Anchorage for all to see.

Our experience with the Peabody Essex Museum highlights an important theme running throughout this volume. From the Yup'ik point of view (and many Indigenous peoples worldwide) objects are not primarily seen as material remnants of ancestral lives, but as persons themselves, possessing awareness and capable of responding to human action, with whom contemporary Native people feel kinship. For Yup'ik people these objects are like Elders, and their role is to teach. How can they carry out this mentoring role if they remain hidden from view?

There is a flip side of the positive ownership of our exhibit by Yup'ik community members. Our exhibit originated in the Yup'ik desire to bring old things home for their younger generation to see. Had we not done the exhibit the way we did, had the Yup'ik community not been involved from the beginning, the results of all our planning might not have been simply neutral, they could have been hurtful. If, as non-Native researchers, we work without community involvement, we take away authorship, undercut ownership. Collaboration is much more than a matter of respect. An outsider's exhibition, however accurate, runs the risk of putting Native people at arm's length from the objects of their past.

Finally, Laura Peers (this volume) speaks of the need for museums to secure funding before going to source communities. I would turn this on its head and encourage source communities to seek the funding or, better yet, work in partnership with museums to secure support. Peers is correct that museums must wait for as well as respond to community requests. I have no doubt these requests will be made. If the period between 1990 and 2010 has been a turning point in relations between museums and source communities, then I would predict that the best is yet to come. The transformation of museum practice into research with rather than research about Native peoples - as embodied in this volume - holds the potential to reform museum landscapes in unprecedented ways.

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Introduction

Cunera Buijs[1] *and Laura Van Broekhoven*[2]

This volume is the result of an "expert meeting" *Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage, First Nations of the Americas* held in November 2007 at the National Museum of Ethnology (NME) in Leiden, the Netherlands. The museum invited leading Indigenous as well as non-Native professional experts in the field from the Americas and Europe. In a round table setting, the participants were invited to discuss a great variety of aspects involved in working with cultural heritage, material culture, museum objects, photography collections, shared heritage, repatriation, and cooperation with source communities and foreign museums. The meetings lasted three days and provided the participants ample opportunity to share their knowledge, thoughts, critique, doubts, and wishes. Since then we have been developing what we now call SK&CH projects at the NME.

Community Consultations as they were set up at NME Storage Facilities during 2009 Kari'na en Tareno Consultations (this was the first follow-up of the 2007 expertmeeting) (photo Laura Van Broekhoven)

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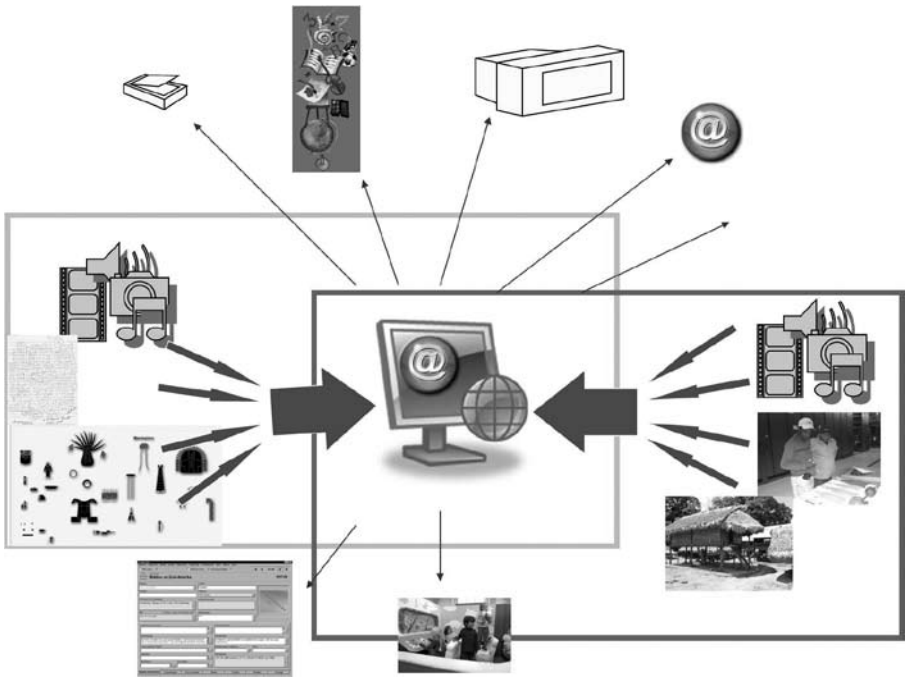
The aim of this event was to learn from successful cases from Greenland, Canada, and North America in order to develop new strategies and knowledge for cooperation with Native counterparts. During our meetings we analyzed and evaluated existing projects; we talked about constraints, difficulties, and misunderstandings; but most of all we focused on successful examples of co-operation. From all that it became very clear that through SK&CH projects, usually whatever the outcome of the exchange of ideas will be, both parties gain knowledge, develop their own profession, and gain understanding and respect for different ways of dealing with material culture. The NME in Leiden has a great deal of experience in working at an international level; we are seen as forerunners in cooperation when it concerns Africa (Mali in particular), Afganistan, and Indonesia. Nonetheless these were usually projects that were taking place at the international location (they were geared towards setting up museums, restoring architectural buildings, performing archaeological excavations, and making exhibitions together). The projects were extremely succesfull in setting up long term partnerships, usually with our most "logical" partner institutions: national museums overseas or universities. Many of the projects have been able to continue, largely thanks to our director's great willingness to invest in these projects, and thanks to the individual curators' initiative. Nonetheless, as a museum we also want to start exploring ways to work with source communities. And not only that, we want the working with source communities to become part of our museum policy. We want to explore ways of working in the postcolony and be part of the development of a postcolonial museum praxis. Nonetheless, we did not want to dive into the endeavor without first thinking through what we were setting out to do. Therefore we explored what had been done so far in Europe and abroad by inviting different experts in the field to guide us in our thinking and be partners in our efforts.

The expert meeting became the starting point for the policy of "multiple vocality or multiple voices and community consultations in Leiden". Laura Van Broekhoven had been working since 1990s on community archaeology projects in Mexico and Nicaragua; she had been looking into ways of developing a postcolonial praxis in the field of collecting and researching since 2001. Seeds were planted, and since becoming curator of our Middle and South America collections Laura started to look for areas where we could think of setting up more community based museum projects. The Suriname collections of the NME seemed to be screaming for attention. They had hardly been worked with as former curators were specialists on Mexico and the Andean area. The University of Leiden had the most brilliant specialists who had been working for several decades on the documentation of languages and cultures in the Suriname area. More specifically Eithne Carlin inspired us to start thinking about the development of projects with the Amerindian communities of Suriname. So in 2007 one Wayana and one Kaliña-Creole were invited to be part of our expert meeting and to share their thoughts of how we could start setting up a SK&CH



Set up of the project as presented at the expert meeting, and as conceived before 2007 consultations. The project was completely altered at its start in 2009-2010 (graphic Laura Van Broekhoven)

project. As you can read in the article on the 2007 consultation (Laura Van Broekhoven, this publication), our initial ideas of a multimedia project consisting of many (too many) different aspects changed during the 2007 visit (since our community curators had much better ideas than we had initially) and we decided to concentrate on inviting representatives from different Indigenous communities to come and do research with us on our collections. During several weeks in 2009 and 2010 community curators came to visit our museum. We have decided to take it one step at a time, and the project is developing while we go along.

Cooperation with the Greenlandic National Museum in Nuuk has a long history that has been vested in the involvement of Cunera Buijs and her predecessor curator Gerti Nooter. Recently cooperation with the regional Tasiilaq Museum has been developed. To formalize already existing contacts, in 2007 a memorandum of understanding (MoU 17 October 2007) was signed by the directors of the National Museum of Greenland (Nuuk) and the National Museum of Ethnology (Leiden). Future cooperation, shared projects, and research are being initiated. The first project concerns a visual repatriation of the Dutch photograph collections from East Greenland: we have named it "Roots 2 Share". It is intended to be a joint cooperation of the already mentioned

Greenlandic Consultants Thomasine Tarkisimat, Thomasine Umerineq, Gideon Qeqe, Paulus Larsen and Åge Kristiansen discussing East Greenlandic harpoons with curator Cunera Buijs in the NME in Leiden. This was a follow up of the 2007 expert meeting now connected to the visual repatriations project Roots 2 Share, a cooperation between the NME, the Museon in The Hague, Tasiilaq Museum and National Museum in Greenland. (Photo Jeroen Nooter 2010)

Greenlandic and Dutch museums; the Museon in The Hague recently joined and wrote a subsidy proposal for the project, to be able to develop a website for the photography collections on which Greenlanders (and others) can add their own information to the images. Two exhibitions in the Netherlands will be built, of which the one in Leiden will be made in cooperation with the Greenlandic counterparts and will travel to Greenland.

Historically there has been an extensive scientific interest in the lifestyles, knowledge, cultures, histories, and worldviews of Indigenous peoples. The majority of the great museums and universities of the world have built magnificent collections of art and artifacts from the Indigenous peoples of the world. An increasing number of Indigenous peoples are now calling upon the museums and universities to return at least parts of their collections and/or the knowledge about these collections. They demand that the artifacts and knowledge their ancestors shared with researchers are made accessible to them.

The Indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States, from an international point of view, together with the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand and Australia have been forerunners in this process of linking scientific research with political and ethical debates. This has led to ethical debates that call for a dialogue with Indigenous peoples, interaction of academic institutes with source communities, and the development of collaboration. In Canada and the US

these debates have proven to be essential for the development and maintenance of relations between academic institutions and Indigenous peoples. Although for some time the European academic world tried to keep itself at a distance, the necessity to deal with these questions is increasingly accepted in European institutes too.

Strong, sustained, and mutually beneficial relationships with source communities are critical to universities and museums. The process of building these relationships is complex and requires mutual input. Depending on the source community in question, different solutions are called for. At an international level many research institutes such as universities and museums are now looking for ways to work with source communities in a framework of knowledge repatriation and other access-gaining practices. Knowledge repatriation can roughly be defined as returning information in the form of documentation such as pictures, statistics, documents, and archives that were once collected for scientific, administrative or other purposes to the community from which it originated. They are repatriated to be used by that community for their own purposes.

Despite initiatives like East Greenlanders visiting Pierre and Bernadette Robbe from the Musée de L'Homme in Paris to build a museum *umiak* (a large skin boat) in the 1980s; or Yupik Elders visiting the Berlin collections of their ancestors, initiated by Ann Fienup-Riordan (1997); museums in Europe still

Greenlandic Consultants Thomasine Tarkisimat and Åge Kristiansen explaining in the stores in Leiden the use of a harpoon for seal and narwhal hunting in East Greenland. This was a follow up of the 2007 expert meeting now connected to the visual repatriations project Roots 2 Share, a cooperation between twee Dutch and two Greenlandic museums. (Photo Jeroen Nooter 2010)

have a long way to go in open-minded communication and cooperation with source communities. In their cooperation museums often look for like-minded partners such as national museums or research institutes that speak the same jargon, that think in similar (museological or research) ways, assuming that it facilitates communication. And it does, but it does not mean that it adds multiplicity of voice. In our search for multiplicity of voice, in our search for a postcolonial praxis and in our search for maximizing visibility for source communities, we have learned that inviting alternate voices makes for more complex and interesting stories to tell, also for our broader public. We have learned that through these projects, curators, source communities, and objects alike are awoken from their sleep in our institutes. And through this process our collections get second lives, and multiple meanings and realities attached to them. That does not mean that the old attributed meanings, the 18th- and 19th-century attributions, need to be replaced by new meanings in any way. But it does mean that we start looking for ways of facilitating intercultural interoperability so that room is made for communication even when we live, think, and talk from different conceptual spaces.

The Expert Meeting *Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage, the Americas*

The expert meeting in Leiden resulted in this volume. Some of the presentations of participants of the expert meeting were not included in the volume and the article of Duane Anderson, who was not participating the meetings, was added.

On the first day of the conference several experts from the field introduced the general topic of *Knowledge Repatriation, Ethics and Politics*. Each presentation was followed by a general discussion round intended for Q&A and the exchange of experiences. This set the conditions for building a dialogue and getting to know each other's fields of interest.

The opening presentations were given by Jarich Oosten, Gerard Persoon and Jane Sledge. Here museums were presented as closets of colonialism, and the situation of Indigenous peoples, their rights, and a politically and socially precarious situation was painted. Jane Sledge presented on the sort of projects developed at the National Museum of the American Indian, and lessons learned from those. We were reminded by Jarich Oosten that repatriation is still sometimes resisted because objects are deemed to be important for museums, although at the same time, other contributions made clear that objects are not always treated as important by the same institutions. Sometimes it seems that ethnographic "collections are more 'important' in museums as a display of the collecting culture's power to acquire and keep them than as objects of knowledge" (Laura Peers, closing statement).

The second day was dedicated to the presentations of various case studies from the field. A total of nine cases were presented followed by a discussion round on the formulation of the making of a strategic policy for the university and the museum.

The third day focused on the reformulation of a number of projects proposed by the museum in collaboration with the university. Especially the input and discussion of the three projects of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden will help to develop cooperation on shared collections with local counterparts in the Americas in the future. Practical proposals, decisions, and agreements for cooperation have been made, and the project with our Surinamese community curators (coordinator Laura Van Broekhoven, Eithne Carlin and Jimmy Mans) has started, as well as the joint project for cooperation on shared collections and research with the National Museum of Greenland (coordinator Cunera Buijs), which was presented at the International Conference of Arctic Social Scientists (ICASS VI) in Nuuk, August 2008.

The SK&CH expert meeting has brought out a wide range of projects and by considering these, presenters reminded us that what is needed and what is "good practice" can vary a great deal; we have considered the global distribution of Indigenous peoples and the very different realities and priorities of these communities. The many languages and accents in this meeting have been a reminder of that diversity, and have forced us to think more broadly about what is "good practice".

We have considered several primary shifts in thinking within museum anthropology:

- The shift from the assumption that museums exist to house relics of dying cultures to seeing museums as resources for living cultures
- The shift from museum staff being authorities on Indigenous cultures to acknowledging that Indigenous people are the authorities on their own cultures
- The shift from thinking about museum objects as things to thinking of them as potentially animate, as embodying sets of relationships
- The shift from museums working in isolation to working in partnerships

The Structure of the Volume

These themes were further explored in the articles presented in this volume. Part 1 deals with issues of shared heritage and repatriation in the Arctic. Daniel Thorleifsen and Aviâja Rosing Jakobsen's articles deal with the constraints of colonial relationships between Denmark and Greenland. Chancing longstanding relationships resulted in the repatriation of a large number of objects and unique material culture from Denmark to the National Museum in Greenland. New or completed efforts to repatriate photograph collections to Greenland are described in the articles of Leise Johnson and Cunera Buijs. The authors

describe comparable and often moving reactions from the local community in recognizing ancestors on the photographs. Buijs also mentions the Dutch case of human remains in the West Fries Museum in Hoorn. Human remains were treated differently in the article of Jarich Oosten. He analyses the Inuit attitudes towards deceased ancestors, burial rites, and human remains in Inuit culture: "(…) objects and the bones out on the land should be respected." Oosten's article deals also with material culture, oral traditions, Christianity and the concept of *Qaujimajatuqangit* (Inuit knowledge) in Nunavut. Bernadette Driscoll Engelstadt highights a series of exhibitions and collaborative efforts over the past three decades in the Canadian arctic; she mentioned case studies from Canada and Alaska and the US. Her article gives us more insight in the process leading to the recent visits of Inuit into museum collections all over the world.

In Part 2, we find several articles dealing with collaboration with cultural heritage and First Nations in North America. Duane Anderson gives an overview of 40 years of cooperation, starting with the protection of ancient burial grounds leading to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the changing Indian-white relations. One of the good practices and the future developments in respectful and open communication and cooperation between Native people and museum curators and scientist is provided by the inspiring article of Clifford Crane Bear and Lea Zuyderhoudt. Pieter Hovens describes the difficulties museum curators were faced with in dealing with different often striving demands from Native source communities and museums as institutions. Museum practices and regulations in European museums often cause limitations in the cooperation with local communities who ask for access to the collections or for repatriation of sacred objects. Farideh Fekrsanati describes the constraints and challenges in dealing with new ways of conservation and restoration, influenced by Native participation and advice, and the advantages of this new way of dealing with collections in the museum stores.

In Part 3, about South America, Laura Van Broekhoven's article deals with the many different aspects of museum work in cooperating with source communities: Native consultants from Surinam visiting the collections from their ancestors in Leiden, and establishing cultural centers in Surinam. An inside view on the aims and meanings of these cultural centers in Surinam is provided by the article of Eithne Carlin, Samoe Schelts and Marius Merenke. Andreas Schlothauer's remarks deal with the constraints of registering and documenting enormous Native collections within a museum setting. The (digitized) organization of museum collections plays an important role in providing access to local source communities and is still a complicated matter in many European museums, Dutch museums included.

Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future

One of the most important developments in the future of the museum profession will be the changing relationships between museums and Indigenous peoples. This relationship will remain crucial and central in the work of both parties and in the establishment of new long-term and shared partnerships that are based on respect and mutual consideration for each other's points of view. In 2008, the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden introduced the policy of "multiple voices", listening to and housing stories and opinions from different cultural backgrounds and scientific or political angles into their general museum policy, formulated in the mission statement of the museum. The wish to change the somewhat paternalistic attitude into the policy of "not about them without them", connecting to the discussion "they versus us" and "authenticity versus modernity", came from all different departments within the museum in Leiden, and was not only the result of this expert meeting. However, formulating this policy of shared partnerships is not the end of the story. A lot of work still has to be done and the new policy meets several difficulties in its implementation into museum practice. Yet, cooperation with source communities is promising in future developments for both parties.

Acknowledgements

Neither the expert meeting nor this volume would have been possible without the support of representatives of several source communities, scientists, participants of the expert meetings, and contributors of this volume. We would like to thank the participants for their enthusiasm, their belief in the idea of organizing these meetings, and for traveling all the way from Greenland, Alaska, Canada, and Suriname to the Netherlands. We would like to thank the contributors of this volume, Christoph Rippe and Taco Hidde Bakker for transcribing the recorded discussions; the members of the Dutch Research Group Circumpolar Cultures and colleagues and students from the Faculty of Humanities, the Faculty of Archaeology, the Faculty of Social Sciences of Leiden University ; Tamara Chase for correcting the English language of most of the articles in this volume; Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad for her comments and edits of the discussions; Jeroen Nooter for providing photographs of the Greenland consultations; and Nel van Hove from the NME for providing the organizers with all thinkable support. Permission to publish or reprint illustrations of Jette Bang was granted by the Danish Polar Center in Copenhagen. The financial support by the following institutions are gratefully acknowledged: Leiden Ethnological Fund, Leiden University Fund, CNWS (Research School of African, Asian and Amerindian Studies), the Dutch Embassy in Suriname, the Association for Canadian Studies in the Netherlands, National Museum of Greenland, Nuuk, and the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

We are grateful to Steven Engelsman, director of NME and its administration for supporting us and providing this opportunity to share thoughts and knowledge with participants from so many cultural backgrounds, varying from the cold Arctic to hot Surinam. Also for the participants it was a unique event, meeting representatives with different cultural backgrounds.

Related Collections

Sharing East Greenlandic Material Culture and Photographs

Cunera Buijs[1]

Introduction

A few museums in the Netherlands house small but important collections of photographs and objects from the Arctic. Today, these collections become of new interest to the source communities, especially to the people whose ancestors made and used these objects or are represented in the photographs.

This paper discusses the semantic differences related to these collections between various parties claiming to have rights to them. Through "shared collections" Native communities and museums in the Netherlands are related to each other. The relationships between these parties correspond to the semantics and functions of the objects themselves, as they are transformed in time and space.

In the first paragraphs of this article the meaning of historical photographs to Greenlanders today is discussed. I present an overview of the East Greenlandic collections in the Netherlands. During the 1960s and 1970s, the position of the anthropologist in the field became an issue of debate, and the first ethics of collecting were formulated following the American examples that led to the establishment of NAGPRA (the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act) in the 1990s. I discuss the process of a kayak returned to Greenland in the 1980s, and a highly political case of contested culture in the Netherlands in the 1990s, with the repatriation claim from the Greenlandic government for the presumed Greenlandic human remains preserved in the West Fries Museum in Hoorn. The final part of the article deals with the challenges of sharing collections and developing new partnerships based on mutual respect.

Photographs from East Greenland

In 2001 I visited Tasiilaq (Ammassalik) and Diilerilaaq (Tiniteqilaaq) in East Greenland during my Ph.D. research on clothing and identity. As a research method, I used old photographs from the collection of the Dansk Polar Center Copenhagen and the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. These photographs depict Tunumiit (East Greenlanders) in their apparel. I showed the historical photographs to Tunumiit in order to get information on the changes and developments in dress from the end of the nineteenth

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century up to the present day. It turned out that this photo collection was of special interest for many East Greenlanders. They recognized ancestors and added their names and other information connected to the people involved, explaining to me the kinship relations, which are often confusing for an outsider. Greenlanders I was not acquainted with came to my door and asked for the old photographs, adding that they would like to see them very much since their grandfather was said to be in these pictures:

> *This is my grandfather. He lived years ago in Tasiilaq, Itiimiini. I have never seen him. In that time we did not have photo cameras. I was named after him. (Interview 2001)*

> *It was said that my great grandfather was a piniartorsuaq [great hunter]. His name was Kuitse. He was a famous angakeq [shaman] too. He was a very special person. His photograph is published in an old famous book on East Greenland. He killed a polar bear with a knife. He has several scars on his torso from the polar bear attacking him. He killed many polar bears. (Anna Kuitse Kuko, interview 2001)*

Anna Sophia Jonathansen, a ten-year-old girl descended from an East Greenland family, lived with her mother and stepfather in Nuuk, the capital on the west coast. Anna Sophia started to cry when we looked through the photographs from the 1960s from Diilerilaaq. She heard her mother, Martha, describing her beloved grandfather Lars Jonathansen: "He was a good person, *ii ajungikajut, natineraq*, he was a good father to us." Anna Sophia started to cry:

> *I never met my grandfather, I have no memory of him. I am so sorry for him for the way he died [Lars drowned while fishing on the Sermilik Fjord in 1998]. (Interview Martha Jonathansen 2008)*

Martha's aunt lived in Nuuk as well and she was so pleased to see the photographs from the time when she was a small girl. She had a remarkable knowledge of the past and was a good storyteller. She recounted details about fishing in wooden rowing boats on the Sermilik Fjord; about the children's life fetching water, visiting their nieces and nephew all the time. She remembered the old days when she would sit near her father and mother while they cooked seal meat:

> *Now, we in Nuuk have all the things we want. We have beautiful houses, dishwashers, full size HD TV screens, you name it! Now, we can even visit the new modern equipped swimming pool. But Diilerilaaq [a small settlement] has something different. When I visit the village I go over to all the houses, visiting all my relatives. All the houses are empty. Then I find them. The women are sitting together in one of the houses, playing cards, natuatenit. The small communities are being talked about as backward. But they have something different. They have "community". I mean, they are really "living together". In Nuuk you can live in your nice house without seeing anybody for a week. (Dora Jonathansen, interview 2008)*

After every visit I went over to the local photocopy machine to make prints for them on their request. Later on, I received so many requests for copies of the photographs that I changed the strategy in order to save time and noted the numbers of the photographs being asked for and I sent them to the people afterwards, when I was back in the Netherlands.

In 2001, at the opening of the newly renovated National Museum of Ethnology (NME) in Leiden, we organized a small exhibition with 20 printed photographs from the 1930s from East Greenland, made by a Dutch scientist Jacob van Zuylen. His son Peter Van Zuylen generously provided this private collection of previously unknown photographs and donated scans to the NME. The Van Zuylen exhibition was requested by Greenlandic counterparts in Denmark and Greenland and traveled to the Grønlandernes Hus in Copenhagen, Odense, and later on to the National Museum in Nuuk and the Tasiiilaq Museum in East Greenland. In 2008, the exhibition traveled again to Greenland to be displayed in the Narsaq Museum. The small exhibition generated considerable attention.[2] The experiences with the small Van Zuylen exhibition prove a similar and considerable interest in historical photographs, especially depicting East Greenlandic ancestors. Gradually I became convinced that this old photo collection was shared heritage and belonged in Greenland.

The aim of this article is to rethink the Dutch collections from the North and to shed light on the historical context in which they were created. How are these collections valorized by Greenlanders and what do they mean to the Netherlands? How should we interpret this historical background today and the cultural contexts involved in this "shared cultural heritage"?

East Greenland Collections in the Netherlands, an Overview

In the Netherlands, the Arctic is not very well represented in the museum collections and only three Dutch museums house major collections from the High North. These small but for the Netherlands important collections are in the possession of the National Museum of Ethnology (in total 4,000 objects from several circumpolar peoples, Sami and Siberians included), the Museon in The Hague (about 1,700 objects, most of them from the east coast of Greenland), and there are around 600 objects from the Canadian Inuit from the former America Museum Kuijck now in the possession of the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam.

The Greenland collections at the NME contain 1,700 objects, of which 1,000 are from East Greenland. Around 300 Greenlandic objects dating from ca. 1650-1900 were obtained through an exchange with the National Museum of Copenhagen in 1926 and a recent purchase from the 20th century. The

2 With the help of the director Rie Oldenburg it was published in the Greenlandic newspapers. She arranged for the exhibition to travel to the small settlements in South Greenland. Afterwards the photo exhibition traveled between the museums in Qaqortoq, Aasiaat and Sisimiut. In 2009 the exhibition was again on display in the Tasiilaq Museum.

first half of the 20th century was a time when the directors of museums had cooperative contacts frequently and exchanged collections easily. The early series in Leiden, which were exchanged with Copenhagen, are an example of this practice. These predominantly nineteenth-century collections were often gathered by civil servants working in the Danish colonies. The documentation was limited and a static description of the foreign society comes to the fore. Evolutionary theories and principles dominated still in the museum realm, inspired by the German *Kulturkreise*. Cultures evolved from "primitive" (in those days synonymous with "non-Western") to complex industrial societies (being Western cultures, stressing their "otherness"). Contradictorily, this perception violated the uniqueness and characteristic properties of the foreign cultures. The Native perceptions connected to their material and immaterial culture and identity were overlooked or neglected.

In the twentieth century, collections purchased from art traders and grants from private individuals appear in the museum registers. After the Second World War, university professors granted some small collections to the museum, including a minor but interesting collection of Canadian Inuit objects granted by Van den Steenhoven, a Dutch juridical scientist, in 1957. Van den Steenhoven lived among the Inuit for one year while working on the Native ideas and perceptions of law. After 1960, museum anthropologists were active in the field and combined research with collecting activities. In this context it is interesting to mention the work of Professor and Curator Adriaan Gerbrands, albeit the fact that he had no connection to the Arctic. Gerbrands did fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in the period 1967-1978. In that period, structuralism was in Leiden the mainstream theoretical approach, from J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong and Rassers. Gerbrands, who was more an ethnographer than a theorist, had great interest in individual woodcarvers and their personal choices and individual styles.[3] For the first time the names of the individuals were mentioned. Differences in artifacts from individual woodcarvers were discovered in a time that focused on primitive art as a general category. His approach changed the museum's work enormously, strengthened the connection between the museum and the university, and inspired the next generation of curators.

3 His book based on fieldwork among eight Asmat woodcarvers *Wow Ipits* caused a revolution in Dutch anthropology. Gerbrands broke with the Western perception of the anonymous "primitive man" and he brought to the fore the individual in non-Western society, personality that can also be found in the work of Margaret Mead and other anthropologists during the 1950s to 1970s. An example can be found in the publication and film about the woodcarver Matje Mos (Gerbrands, 1990). Gerbrands was the founding father of ethno-cinematography in the Netherlands.

The focus on individual makers and users of objects can also be seen in the work of NME curator Nooter.[4] He conducted fieldwork in East Greenland in the period 1965–1990. Just as Gerbrands, Nooter combined anthropological research with collecting and this resulted in more than 700 Inuit objects being acquired in Leiden and about 500 in The Hague. He was convinced of the advantages of the combination of collecting and research, for the museum collection as well as for the scientific research in the field of material culture, and in a way also for the Greenlanders earning money by selling objects. Simultaneously, Nooter's attitude characterizes his open manner of cooperation with and respect for the Greenlanders.

The NME still collects during fieldwork with the aim to study and exhibit change in society and in material culture. The work of the curators also focuses on connected intangible heritage. The Leiden artifacts from the 1970s to 2008 combined with the 1960s objects from the Museon compose a unique East Greenland collection in Europe. The museum's older East and West Greenland series have an intrinsic value. Yet it cannot be denied that they have become of more interest because twentieth-century "modern" objects have been added to them, broadening these older collections with a comparative perspective.

The 1930s: Tinbergen and Van Zuylen

The artifacts in the Museon in The Hague were collected in the Tasiilaq (Ammassalik) area of East Greenland during the International Polar Year (IPY) of 1932-33 by the Royal Dutch Meteorological Expedition, mainly by Dutch biologist and Nobel Prize winner Niko Tinbergen. Tinbergen was an ornithologist and he and his young wife were additional members of the expedition, meaning that he did not do meteorological research and he had his own research program studying bird behavior in East Greenland. Tinbergen wrote a dissertation on his ornithological research and he gathered a biological and an ethnographical collection for the Museon in The Hague. Tinbergen published a popular book *Eskimo Land* in the Dutch language in 1934, which brought him a lot of personal attention from the media. Due to his Nobel Prize he is still a well-known and famous scientist in the Netherlands.

It is quite unknown that the leader of this 1932 IPY expedition, Jacob van Zuylen, stayed one year longer than the other members to continue his meteorological research. Jacob van Zuylen was very close to a few East Greenlandic

4 The individual Greenlander came to the fore in his publication *Moses Akipe, a remarkable Greenlander* [*Moses Akipe, een opvallende Groenlander*], not only in the names of Greenlanders mentioned in the texts and captions of illustrations in other publications and in exhibitions he organized, but he also noted the names of the makers and users of the objects he bought for the museum.

Figure 1. Salo and Mala Boassen in their house in Tasiilaq with their guest Jacob van Zuylen during Christmas 1934. (Photo: unknown photographer, Jacob van Zuylen collection, NME/ Private Collection.)

families. During his extra year in Tasiilaq he stayed at the household of Salo and Mala Boassen. He made 250 black and white photographs in Tasiilaq, Kuumiit and Diilerilaaq dating from 1932-34.[5]

The 1960s: Nooter and East Greenland

Gerti Nooter became a curator at the Museon in 1960 were he got acquainted with the Greenland collection. He was impressed and inspired, not only by Tinbergen's collection, but also by the way in which the biologist conducted his research and by the organization of his travels in this vast white wilderness. Tinbergen's method of operation and his experiences in East Greenland became a source of inspiration for Nooter. Tinbergen and his wife lived among the Greenlanders. They ate all types of Greenland food, for instance seal meat; they learned the Greenlandic language; they hunted and fished together with the Inuit; they used sealskin boots, which they had to repair more than once; and in summer they traveled by kayak, which they bought from the Greenlanders.

Nooter became connected to the NME as a Native American and Arctic curator during the years 1970-1990. He collected about 700 objects from Greenland for the Museon and about 700 for the NME. The Nooter photo-

5 The ca. 250 glass negatives from the Van Zuylen photograph collection are in the possession of his son Peter van Zuylen, who made this valuable material accessible in digitized form owned by the NME. The photographs were on display for the first time in 2001 in the NME and they published for the first time in 2004 (Buijs 2004).

graph collection contains about 4,000 black and white photographs (of which 1,000 from 1967-68 are in the possession of the Museon and NME) and 8,000 slides (in Leiden, most of them made by Nooter's wife Noortje Nooter). His main region of interest was East Greenland and he did field research there eight times[6], including a one-year stay in 1967-68 together with his wife and their three small children.

Nooter was interested in continuity and change in material culture. This is understandable taking the fast changes of Danish colonization, modernization, centralization, and industrialization in Greenland into account. The East Greenlandic culture changed rapidly. Western influence and modernization left their traces in the Native material culture.

Nooter was not focused on salvage anthropology; he did not describe the Greenlanders as a disappearing culture. In his view, a culture was an ever changing, adapting and transforming phenomenon, and anthropologists and museum collections should follow this change diachronically. This meant that Nooter collected plastic household utensils next to harpoons and sealskin kayaks. Nooter was influenced by functionalists like Malinowski, but also by evolutionists like Herskowitsh (1948) and Harrison (1930). The upcoming movement of cultural relativism can also be seen in his work.

In 1967 Nooter conducted ethnographical fieldwork in Diilerilaaq, a small hunting community in East Greenland with 250 inhabitants.[7] During this more than one-year period, he carried out extensive research, collected objects, and made a compilation of black and white photographs which are now of historical importance for the Tasiilaq region.

The Diilerilamiit still conducted a life of hunting seals, narwhals and polar bears, and of fishing trout, salmon, *ammassat* and other species. Men hunted and fished, while woman collected mussels, seaweed and berries as a welcome completion to their diet. Life was in a way still "traditional" and based on mutual relationships between men and women, and between families. Although some major changes were taking place, the economy was still predominantly self-sufficient. Simultaneously, Western goods were incorporated into the Native culture. In daily life, for example, kayaks were being used but so also were wooden rowing boats; after 1970 boats with outboard motors came into use.

The Nooter family lived amidst the Diilerilamiit and shared almost every thinkable aspect of life. The Elder children went to the local school in Diilerilaaq and learned Danish as well as the Greenland language. In winter Gerti accom-

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6 Nooter visited East Greenland in 1965, 1967-68, 1970, 1973, [1975 Upernavik, West Greenland], 1977, 1979, 1982 and 1986 [1990 Nuuk, West Greenland].

7 The official orthography of the village was *Tiniteqilâq* during the 1960s, an important period for Nooter's research, and can be found as *Tiniteqilaaq* today on the map of Greenland. The official name of the East Greenland district is *Tasiilaq* (in former days *Angmagssalik* or *Ammassalik*). Today, many *Tunumiit* (East Greenlanders, stemming from *Tunu*, which means the back, backside or east) prefer their own spelling and write *Diilerilaaq*. The inhabitants of the village of Diilerilaaq call themselves *Tiniteqilamiut*, which is in East Greenlandic language *Tiniteqilaamiit* or *Diilerilamiit*.

Noortje Nooter and Cornelia Kajammat each with one of the children of Cornelia in their amautit, Diiderilaaq 1967. (Photo: Gerti Nooter, Museon.)

panied the hunters during their activities out on the frozen land. He studied the hunting techniques which the men used, and the equipment they needed to catch seals, narwhales and polar bears. If possible he collected hunting items. He photographed the hunting activities and the use of hunting weapons, the making of equipment, traveling, and the return home be it successful or unsuccessful. The earning of money on a larger scale than before had its influence on the lives, economy, and culture of the Diilerilamiit. Nooter wrote down his experiences in a diary and used his notes later for his articles or books about this East Greenlandic society and its culture.

Towards the Ethics of Collecting

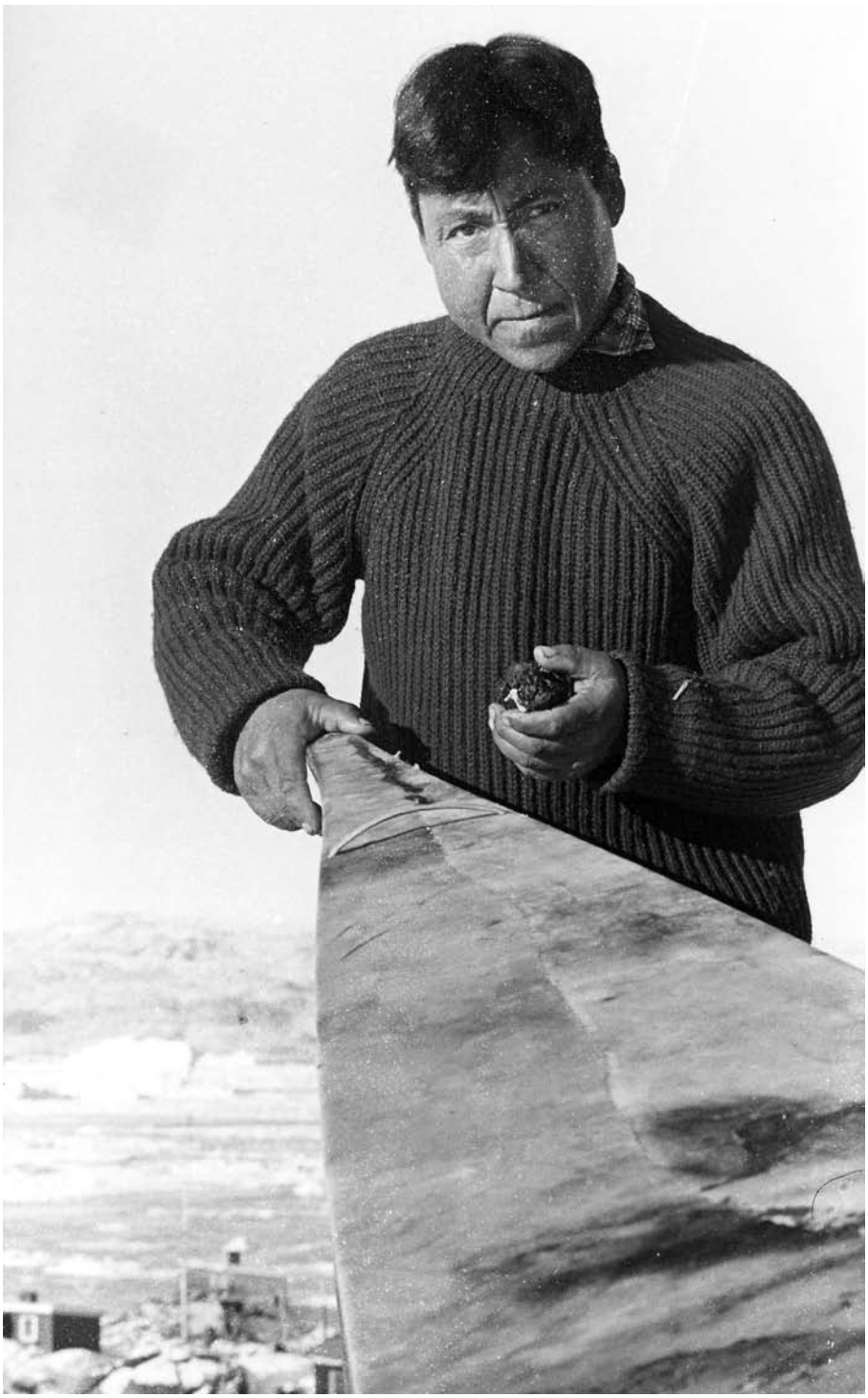
Themes in Nooter's work are improvisation, innovation, and change in material culture; social and cultural change connected to change in material culture; changing authority patterns; and the ethics of collecting (Nooter 1976, 1980, 1984).

Nooter not only studied the process of change in material culture, but the social consequences innovations could have for society attracted his attention as well. In the case of the development of the simplified harpoon, the social consequences were obvious. No longer was it the older, more experienced hunters with high status who were able to bring in a large quantity of seals or narwhals. Now the younger hunters, who were stronger and who wished to have European motorboats, caught sea mammals easily, gaining prestige and wealth. This

brought about changes in the social structure of the settlement. A new category of rich inhabitants emerged, and the prestige and status of the older hunters decreased. Nooter was deeply impressed by the influence material change had on the community. His studies are condensed in the collections of objects he gathered. They breathe an atmosphere of change and transition.

In the 1970s, the ethics of anthropological fieldwork and of collecting Native artifacts became a new topic of interest, where previously ethics were not paid much attention. During the study in anthropology, the method of field research focused on the role of the researcher himself, not as an actor disturbing the Native society, however, but as an actor disturbing the field situation and therefore influencing his or her own field results. The considerations reflected the attitude of universities and scientists towards science, valuing Western science as far more important than the damage done to local Native communities. Nooter was one of the first museum anthropologists to be aware of the unequal power relations between foreign researchers and the local communities. He incorporated ideas about ethics in his museum work. As a rule he refused to buy objects which were not yet replaced within the society. This was motivated by the idea that hunters in Diilerilaaq could become trapped in a situation in which they had sold their equipment and would no longer be able to provide seal meat for their families:

> *Shortly after our arrival, a young hunter named Boas Boassen (born 6 August 1939) came to me and asked whether I wished to buy a kayak. He said that for some time he had had two kayaks, because his father had made him a new one. The old kayak dated from 1959 and was somewhat smaller than most kayaks. During our conversation I gathered that Boas used the new kayak and had loaned the old one to Apapagei Larsen. Apapagei had lost his own kayak during a very heavy storm in February, when it had been blown away by the wind. On the basis of this information I told Boas that I could hardly buy this kayak, because it would leave another hunter, Apapagei, without a kayak and therefore without food. In saying this, I introduced a foreign element based on my own norms. Boas was unquestionably quite free to request to return [sic] his kayak and to sell it to me, which he made perfectly clear in the presence of other hunters. The conflict between Boas' values (freedom to dispose of his property) and mine (no freedom to make a disruptive purchase) was solved in an unexpected way. In August, one of Apapagei's sons was on the Sermilik fjord, quite far from Tiniteqilâq, when he suddenly saw an empty kayak among the ice floes. He paddled over to it and saw immediately that it was his father's kayak, drifting about almost undamaged. He took the kayak in tow and returned it to the settlement, where the villagers initial panic (an empty kayak means a drowned hunter) rapidly turned into surprise and joy. A few days later, Boas came to me again and asked whether, now Apapagei had his kayak back, I wanted to buy his old one. I did so. (Nooter 1975:160)*



Aron Kristiansen is greasing the seams of his kayak with seal blubber to make them watertight, Diiderilaaq 1967. (Photo: Gerti Nooter, Museon.)

Nooter distinguished seven types of collecting, all with different consequences for the Native society: (1) the disruptive purchase; (2) the substitutional purchase; (3) the transforming purchase; (4) the conservational purchase; (5) the "throw away" purchase; (6) the "out of fashion" purchase; and (7) the "export" purchase.

An example of the first type, a purchase that could have been *disruptive*, was given above. A purchase is called *substitutional* when the collector asks the maker of an object to make a new one and he buys the old one: the collector prevents a part of the material culture from becoming extinct. The *transforming* purchase leads to change: the seller does not replace the object, but uses the money to buy a Western object in the local store. Canadian museums loan Indian ceremonial artifacts to the tribe when they need the objects to perform their rituals in the proper way, thus the object can be saved for the future (by means of a "*conservational* purchase"), whereas without museum intervention the objects probably would have vanished. Objects without general use or meaning in society, artifacts for special occasions such as leather masks for Mitartut festivals, will be *thrown away* after use; gathering these objects has almost no influence on the Indigenous culture. This also holds true for objects that are "*out of fashion*" and will probably also be thrown away and disappear from society. *Export* purchase is the buying of objects made for sale outside the community, such as tourist products or modern Native art (Nooter 1975).

Moses Akipe and Gerti Nooter are transporting a captured bearded seal, Diiderilaaq 1967. In the captions kept in the collection archive, which Nooter himself wrote, he informs us that the East Greelanders wanted him to be photographed and invited him for this picture to be made. (Photo: Museon.)

Nooter was also aware of the fact that outsiders were rich compared to Greenlanders in that period as far as money is involved: this can be defined as an unequal power relation, therefore Nooter never bartered for a purchase and accepted the price Greenlanders asked for their products. As a result, he often paid more than tourists or than Greenlanders selling amongst themselves. Nooter tried to avoid the ethical dilemmas and the negative effects for the East Greenlanders in the effects a purchase might have for the local community. Obviously, every purchase - and the research itself - has influence. Even the "thrown away" category of objects developed into a new and now lively part of the material culture of Greenland: masks are a highly popular souvenir and important part of Greenland's material culture and tourist art today.

Sailing Back – a "Dutch Kayak" in Greenland

In 1983, the NME returned a valuable eighteenth-century kayak from the Netherlands to Nuuk in Greenland, to stay there "eternally". Nooter worked together with Emil Rosing, the director of the National Museum of Greenland for many years. In 1983 the Nuuk Museum opened an exhibition on kayaks, and included a loan from Leiden to fill in one of the gaps in the exhibition. On this occasion Nooter and Rosing translated together the book *Old Kayaks in the Netherlands* (Nooter 1971) from English to West Greenlandic. The exhibition as well as the book was very popular and attracted a lot of attention, and became the starting point for new interest in kayak building and kayak rowing, no longer within the context of hunting but as a spare time activity in Greenland. Since then, championships in kayak sailing and kayak races are being held.

The old kayak from Leiden, however, had to be a grant to the museum in Greenland, stressing the cooperation and partnership. Yet the Dutch minister of culture did not give his permission. An eternal loan was the best possible option for the return of this small part of the historical material culture that Greenland had lost. Today, repatriation is still a disputed and difficult topic in museums in the Netherlands. It is even more complicated when human remains are involved.

Whose Heritage? – Contested Culture

On 24 November 1998, Jonathan Motzfeld, the first minister of Greenland, protested strongly against the exhibition of human remains in the Netherlands. In the Kunsthal in Rotterdam the exhibition *Botje bij botje* (Bone to bone) had recently opened to a general public and would last during the winter of 1998-99. Human remains from several hundreds of individuals in the possession of 10-15 Dutch museums were on display. The organizers explained that "during unmemorable times all over the world people thought to abstract from human remains special powers both from their beloved or from their most hated ene-

mies" (Vanvugt 2000: II). Skeletons, sculls, separated bones, but also hair, teeth, and skin were sometimes decorated and transformed into pieces to be adored or to be feared. Often these decorated or undecorated "artifacts" were put on spots to be seen in the context of the "traditional" culture or they were hidden and not to be seen. The human remains often derived from living people who were captured alive from another neighboring culture, yet, after being killed, expected to be part of their own culture. There were also remains deriving from archeological excavations, dug up in foreign countries or in the Netherlands, sometimes with the permission of the local communities or national governments but often without. These remains have been kept in scientific collections in Dutch museums and Kunst Kamers (cabinets of rarities) for decennia or sometimes for centuries (Vanvugt 2000: I-IV; see also Oosten, this volume).

One of the trophies on display in Rotterdam was the mummified skin from the head, torso, and one arm from a supposed Greenlander. Accidentally, at the moment the Greenlandic government had sent an official request for repatriation, the human remains were loaned out to Rotterdam and exhibited. The possible Greenlander was from the collection of the West Fries Museum in Hoorn. Being a municipality museum, the council and the mayor of the municipality of Hoorn were the official owners of the remains. The Greenlandic government invited the director of the NGO Arctic Peoples Alert to mediate. The curator of the West Fries Museum in Hoorn was against repatriation, although he stated that the issue was "discussible", being afraid to create a precedent that would lead to a great number of repatriation requests to several museums in the Netherlands. The case attracted the attention of the Dutch press and an ongoing stream of articles appeared in the Dutch newspapers. The amount of visitors of the museum in Hoorn increased. Arctic Peoples Alert and the West Fries Museum took their positions and an unbridgeable situation was the result, placing the Greenlandic government in an inconvenient position.

In addition, the West Fries Museum asked for advice from the Commission for Museological Ethical Code (*Commissie Museale Gedragslijn*) from the Dutch Museum Foundation. The official point of view was reported in a letter dated January 20, 2000: the Dutch Museum Foundation advised only to return human remains to a local community after tracing living descendants from the deceased, following the instructions of the Dutch Law on the Transfer of Corpses (*Wet op de Lijkbezorging*). In the case of the Greenlandic remains, it would have been very difficult to prove blood relationships with Greenlanders living today, since the DNA was too much damaged.

Peter Bettenhaussen, curator at the Museon in The Hague, asserted that the standpoint of the Dutch Museum Foundation was unsatisfying and unfair towards local Native communities. He stated:

> *What about the advice of the commission itself?, about that I am to be honest ashamed: a nice example of Dutch merchants or clergymen mentality. 'Having is having and getting that's the art of it', seems to be their conclusion. Nor a*

> *role as pioneer, neither an example of good practice for the international museum-world, that The Netherlands likes to pride oneself on, but, old-fashioned conservatism under the show of ethics and justice. Restitution, yes, but only if the official request comes from the genetic proved descendents! A generous judgment, which, if consequently being followed, blocks the path to a satisfying solution, because the Greenlanders had until far back in the previous century no time and definitely they had no knowledge of something like recording a registrar's office.*[8] *(Bettenhausen 2000:VI)*

On 11 July 2000, the council of the municipality of Hoorn decided to grant the Greenlandic request, after DNA research proved the scientific evidence for the supposed Greenlandic roots. It is interesting to note that the council made one condition for the return of the human remains: the Greenland government was not allowed to put the remains on display, but had to rebury them conforming to the customs of their Native inhabitants, despite the fact that there was no mention of a funeral in the request from the Greenlandic government, as far as I know. This new aspect in the case – preserve and exhibit the remains in the National Museum of Nuuk or rebury them in the graveyard or at the original burial site in West Greenland – derived from advice that the municipality council requested from the Danish Embassy in Copenhagen about the Inuit's attitude towards their deceased fellowmen. The soul of the deceased would only have rest when the person was buried, stated the representative of the Embassy, according to the Inuit culture's philosophy (Raadsbesluit 12. reg.nr. 99.01622, signed 11 July 2000).

The issues of repatriation, exhibiting, preserving, and keeping Inuit human remains (in museums in general and at the National Museum in Nuuk) or reburying them, were topics of discussion within Greenland (See also Aviâja Rosing Jakobsen, this volume). It is not so that all Greenlanders have the same opinion about these complicated matters. Some Greenlanders were hardly interested in the matter, or they claimed that the issue was for them personally not very relevant and the remains in their opinion did not have to be returned from Hoorn to Nuuk. One of them said:

> *I do not mind these human remains from Greenland [in the Netherlands]. I do not take offense to it. They may stay in the Netherlands. That is my personal opinion. When a person dies, then there is nothing left. There is no life after death. If I die, Nederland may have my 'Greenlandic' remains in turn. Then the problem is solved. But with the Qilaqitsoq mummies [from the 17th century in Nuuk] it is different. There is so much very interesting and hardly known clothing there and*

8 Greenlanders know the names of their ancestors, a knowledge that goes far back into the 19th century and is passed on by means of oral tradition. These genealogies go back to the founders of many settlements in Greenland. Greenland had already in the 18th century birth registers of the missionary stations of the Lutheran church, but only in the places were an early church had been established.

> *tattoos and many other interesting information about our past. This is really our Greenlandic heritage. (Personal Communication 2008)*

Let us go back to the "mummified Greenlander" in Hoorn. How did this person come to Hoorn in his kayak two centuries ago? Did he sail all the way from Greenland, get lost, die in his kayak and wash ashore in Hoorn? It is hard to believe. Or was he – like the story tells - kidnapped by West Friesian whalers and brought to Hoorn on a whaling vessel against his will? Today, it is still difficult to separate fiction from facts and thorough historical research still has to done (see Nooter 1971).

About one year later, on February 21, 2001 the Institute of Forensic Medicine of the University of Copenhagen reported the results of the physical research to the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A radiocarbon analysis showed that the human remains presumably dated to around A.D. 1670 or between A.D. 1725 and 1800. The deceased had an entirely terrestrial food intake, in contrast to the Inuit lifestyle. The genetic analyses were not successful in extracting and demonstrating DNA, because the DNA was too much damaged due to a treatment in the past with chemicals. The conclusion was that the specimen was probably not of Greenlandic origin (Lynnerup & Simonson 2001).

In addition, the Greenlandic government renounced their repatriation request. The curators of the museum in Hoorn, however, doubted the integrity of the physical research, arguing that the DNA was too much damaged to be sure of the research results and "the whole situation became too much politicized". Probably, they argued, "the Danish Institution provided the Greenland government an elegant way out". The museum in Hoorn therefore refused to change the texts providing information on the human remains, as the Greenland government had requested, still relating the remains "possibly to Greenland. After all, you never know…." (curator of the Hoorn Museum, personal communication, 2004).

Today, the mummified human remains are on display in Hoorn. The museum employees removed the mummified body from the loft, were the kayak is situated, and exhibited them in the *Chirurgijns Kamer* (the Surgeon's Room) in the historical context of the medical practices in Hoorn in 17th and 18th century.

Native Perceptions and Valorization

In April 2007, I visited Tasiilaq and Diilerilaaq together with my colleague Herman de Boer to make film recordings on climate change for our exhibition *When the ice melts, consequences for the Polar Peoples*. We brought with us about 100 prints of the Nooter photographs from East Greenland. We visited the *qaranisa itua*, the old people's house, and several Greenlanders at their homes, and showed the photographs while Herman made film recordings.

The aim was twofold. We tried to gather information on climate change by showing photos of the fjords, hunting and fishing grounds, glaciers, and the Greenlandic inland ice. We asked about the winters and the summers of the past, using the photographs as a tool or research method. Secondly, we wanted to get an impression of the interests of East Greenlanders in types of photograph, for instance what selection would Tunumiit make to have published in a book to return to their area as cultural heritage?

I returned in 2008 and was able to gather some additional information on the reactions to the photographs. Women looked longer at the photographs depicting people, they mentioned the personal names and explained the relationships between the people in the photographs, relating them to themselves. Men took more time to study the photographs showing material culture, explaining the Indigenous names of harpoon heads, fishing equipment, and the details of kayaks. Men were also more interested in the landscapes, and they added the names of the hunting grounds and the old place names, relating them again to individuals:

> *This must be Saputit, further north in the Sermilik Fjords. We used to put our fishing nets in summer on the western shore. The other families were camping on the other side putting their tents close to the river. (Paulus Larsen, Diilerilaaq, 2007)*

Men and women shared the interest and enjoyment of recognizing ancestors and relatives in the photographs. Many of them requested copies, which were sent to them later.

For objects it is even more difficult to get an impression of the valorization of the objects and Greenlandic perceptions of this. Terto Kreuzman, a young researcher from Greenland, discusses the importance of historical clothing being kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden:

> *We have very few [of these historical women's coats from Greenland] and not as beautiful as this one. Not so linked to the past as this one. This hood is very narrow and very long. We have other ones, like those [modern ones], they are very different [from the old ones]. We have three or four from the 18th century, but the National Museum of Denmark keeps those. It is important to collect information on how clothing changed, or how it continued, because Inuit religion and cosmology are taboo, have been 'taboo-ized'. We do not talk about it anymore, since Christianity was introduced. We have a missing link related to our identity. Part of our history got lost. It was not allowed to be talked about, because it's about other beliefs. We Greenlanders today have too little knowledge about our history, about our lives, why it is like this today. The wholeness, oneness [of culture], is gone nowadays, because we stopped talking. We are not allowed to talk about the oneness of our society, of our beliefs, of our lives, of our community and so. We are colonized, we are Europeans now [in a way], though feeling we have missing links at the background of our lives. (Terto Kreuzman, filmed English interview 2006)*

Partners and Source Communities – Related Collections

The relatedness of photographs depicting Greenlandic men and women of the 1930s and 1960s can be found in the museum objects as well. The first question Greenlanders pose when they look at a photograph of one of the objects from our collection, is: "Who made it? Was it Elias Tarkisimat or Robert Umerineeq?" Seeing a stone sculpture of a walrus they say: "It is made by Eigil Tarkisimat, isn't it?" For Greenlanders this information is of vital importance. Indigenous knowledge is always personal. Traditional knowledge about the weather conditions, snow and ice, conditions for sledding and snow mobile driving, all thinkable information can be traced back to individuals. General statements and generalizations are therefore not very interesting to Inuit, since they miss the connection to the person.

When an object arrives in the museum the relationship with the individual and the personal use is in a way destroyed. New interpretations and new relationships are added or created. Objects for use are now transformed into museum items or "masterpieces" and with them Europeans tell the story of other cultures. Museums are, according to Professor Rooyakkers from the Meertens Institution in Amsterdam, "identity machines"; the term "othering machines" is also used. This new identity of the objects is hardly relevant to the Native community and Native peoples are tired of the mistakes curators and anthropologists make (see discussions in this volume). Perhaps it is time for Indigenous peoples to participate themselves in recording and documenting, being able to give their own interpretation.

Yet, because the NME documented the personal names, the material culture from the 1960s can be traced back to relationships, kinship ties, and to a personal use. People can be found in the NME photographic collection by name and kinship relations. So in a way the photographic collections are "related". We can define them as "related objects". The collections of objects are related to people as well. It is this relatedness, as I experienced myself in East Greenland, that the Greenlanders are now most interested in. This personal information is now very much appreciated by the Greenlanders living today and has to be made available for the local communities.

The museums in Greenland and the Netherlands also have a "relationship" though these "shared" collections. These are a starting point for future partnerships (see also Gabriel and Dahl 2008). A joint project and cooperation with local counterparts in Greenland and in the Netherlands would be most welcome in the future for both parties.[9] In October 2007, the National Museum of Greenland and the NME signed a Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation and sharing knowledge on collections and research. The Museon and the

9 IPY co-research on material cultures with Greenlandic and Siberian cooperation was endorsed by the International Polar Year (IPY) Committee.

Tasiilaq Museum will be co-partners.[10] What type of projects we are going to organize in the future still has to be developed, however sharing photographic collections will be the first joint project. The aim will be the visual repatriation of the images of the ancestors of the East Greenlanders and providing a better access to their own cultural heritage.

In Diilerilaaq we found an enthusiastic Greenlandic friend who will help us when I and a colleague from Nuuk and from the Tasiilaq Museum return to East Greenland. Next time, we will organize a meeting in the *kaatersortapik*, the community house, with a computer and a beamer, to show a selection of the photographs to the local community. We will register on film the reactions of the audience for research. Afterwards we will visit the individual families at home to get additional information on the photographs and on their perceptions in reaction to this material and we will film the interviews. The aim is to investigate the meaning and the value of the historical photographs for individual Greenlanders and for the communities. What do these objects mean

Paulus Larsen, Gideon Qeqe, Thomasine Tarkissimat and Thomasine Umerineq during a visit at the Museon in the Hague looking at photographs and objects from their cultural heritage. (Photo: Govert de Groot, 2010)

10 Longstanding cooperation will be the result of the memorandum, starting with a joint project on Nooter's photographs. The information will be translated into Danish and Greenlandic. On a website, Roots2Share.org, hosted by the Museon, the local population can possibly add their own comments. Consultations with Greenlanders visiting the collections in Leiden were organized in November 2010 . The results of interviewing, filming and analyzing will be published in a photo book, and several traveling exhibitions and workshops may be the output of the project.

to Greenlanders? And what does it mean that these collections of objects and photographs are in the Netherlands and often not accessible to the source communities? The valorization of cultural heritage, the place that it might have in society, as well as the choices Greenlandic men and women themselves would make in selecting photographs to return to Greenland still has to be topic for research.

Conclusion

The historical and cultural background of the Netherlands and contemporary Dutch culture play an important role in the establishment of Arctic collections and sometimes inform us better about our own Western society than about the Arctic Native culture of origin. These collections have a role to play within the Netherlands, but they are also of great importance for history and cultural identity in Greenland. Sometimes objects are contested, discussed, disputed, or even ignored. Their return may be requested. Sometimes the request is refused but these objects may also be loaned, granted, or repatriated.

The meaning and semantics connected to these collections in both counties differ. In western European museum practice, Arctic objects are precious materials, requiring care and conservation to preserve them for the next generations. For the Dutch public visiting exhibitions about Greenland, objects are stereotypes, narrating a story about a foreign, exotic culture, telling of survival and a harsh climate, and despite strong efforts by curators to show cultural change, the exhibitions often leave an impression of a static culture.

Some Greenlanders consider these collections as their cultural heritage, belonging to their community, materials to be claimed back. Some are highly interested since these objects tell the story of their past; others have no interest in them at all. Objects may trigger an alternative history or a personal account. Sometimes source communities discover unknown objects in the museum stores, things that are forgotten today and that modern Greenlanders have never seen before. These items and experiences stress their forgotten roots and help to strengthen their cultural identity. Other Greenlanders may recognize tools, hunting equipment, and clothing, which belonged once to their ancestors. Photographs may depict beloved grandparents, late aunts, and people may even recognize themselves in their youth. Photographs help to reshape precious memories of deceased relatives they may never have seen in the flesh, and the reactions are often emotional and moving.

Handling objects and seeing photographs are personal experiences, relating people to their past. Greenlandic informants often express their gratitude towards the Dutch people who visited their area so far from home, taking so much effort to collect and document their culture, although others criticize this. By talking and rethinking the past, memories are linked to the present and acquire new functions and meanings in the Greenlandic society of today.

Museum collections in the Netherlands are now the main basis for sharing knowledge and developing partnerships with the source communities in Greenland. In the projects we develop new ways of cooperation. East Greenlanders can help museums to transform ethnographic objects and historical photographs into meaningful material providing them with a new emotional context and content. Developing the relationships between the Arctic source communities and their material culture, intellectual culture, and cultural heritage preserved in the Netherlands, will be the core business of museum work to come.

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Curators, Collections, and Inuit Communities

Case Studies from the Arctic

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad [1]

The past thirty years have witnessed a dramatic transformation in the museum world as Indigenous communities and museum curators have begun to work in a more collaborative manner on the ethnographic collections brought together by explorers, traders, missionaries, and ethnographers during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This transformative period is the product of a confluence of factors, including improved means of transportation and communication; cultural, educational and political developments in northern and southern communities; initiatives undertaken by curators, researchers, and cultural institutions, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous; and current technological innovations which have enabled a more closely integrated approach to collection research, allowing museum collections to be shared with a much wider audience, particularly in northern communities. This paper highlights several exhibitions and collaborative efforts which serve as markers in this transformative period.

The late 1970s: A Personal Reflection

As a graduate student researching Inuit caribou fur clothing, I studied ethnographic reports, catalogue documentation, and Inuit fur clothing in four North American museum collections (Driscoll 1983). Despite several months spent in the cold storage rooms of the National Museum of Man in Ottawa (now the Canadian Museum of Civilisation) and the attic of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, I knew I had much more to learn; so with the support of my advisor, George Swinton, I traveled to two Inuit communities, Igloolik and Arviat (Eskimo Point), in the Canadian Arctic. Only then, while in conversation with Inuit seamstresses or participating in a workshop preparing caribou furs, or photographing a young girl "dancing on sealskins" to soften the hides for her grandmother to sew, did I come to appreciate the breadth of community knowledge - and the depth of individual knowledge - invested in Inuit clothing production.

As I joined seamstresses on the cold linoleum floor of the elementary school in Arviat, the women softened dried caribou furs by hydrating, scraping, and chewing the hide. By scraping and drying the thick back muscle of the caribou, women transformed the animal muscle into strong, water-resistant sinew used

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Elders (left to right) Margaret Tangik Egotak, Mary Okheena, Ruth Nigionak, and Elsie Nilgak study archival photographs for research project, Ulukhaktok. (Photo: BDEngelstad.)

for thread (*ivalu)*. During interviews in their homes, seamstresses cut out clothing patterns, describing the tailoring of men's, women's, and children's clothing, as well as variations in regional design features, such as the shape of the hood, the design of the front flap (*kiniq)* and back tail (*akuq*) of women's parkas. By working directly with seamstresses, and taking part in the social life of the community, I began to appreciate the *living art* of Inuit clothing design. I came to recognize, too, the intimate connection that links Inuit women and their skill as seamstresses with a profound sense of responsibility in creating warm clothing for loved ones, and their pride in creating not only functional, but aesthetically beautiful, articles of clothing.

Looking back, I now understand how this experience bridged the divide between my knowledge of Inuit clothing, acquired indirectly through studying ethnographic reports and museum collections, and the direct knowledge and cultural practice of Inuit women producing clothing in their home communities. Although this gap between institutional and community knowledge existed as an accepted practice within the museum world, initiatives from individual curators, museums, and Inuit cultural leaders began to close that gap, reframing museum practice and restoring to ethnographic collections a more holistic sense of social history and cultural identity. These initiatives have laid the groundwork for restoring to Inuit communities a fuller knowledge of the ancestral legacy held in distant museum collections.

With improved access to transportation and communication across the North as well as technological advances in digital imaging and increased use of the Internet in schools and communities, museum curators today are continuing to reach out to northern communities, actively embracing the spirit of cultural repatriation. By organizing exhibits to travel to northern communities and hosting community researchers to study ethnographic collections, historical museum collections are becoming more readily accessible to their communities of origin; and by developing local museums, cultural heritage programs, and training youth in oral history techniques and video production, Inuit communities are laying a stronger claim to recording and preserving their own cultural history.

The heightened collaboration between Canadian museums and First Nations in the wake of *The Spirit Sings* exhibition (1988, see Cooper 2008:20-28), as well as the philosophical foundation and *modus operandi* of the Smithsonian Institution's Arctic Studies Center (established in 1988) and the National Museum of the American Indian (opened in 2004), provide compelling models of institutional change, redefining the educational role of museums by directly linking communities and museum collections. In effect, a series of key initiatives involving arctic collections over the past thirty years serves to demonstrate the rich potential for developing closer relationships between museum collections and Indigenous communities.

Linking Communities and Collections: A Recent History

The acquisition of Inuit artifacts by *qallunaat* (Western) collectors may be viewed in three major historical periods: exploration; ethnographic fieldwork; and museum collections. In the search for the Northwest Passage, explorers acquired Inuit objects for personal use or as souvenirs of their encounters with local populations. As European and American whalers, traders, and missionaries worked more closely among Inuit, they tended to collect more extensively. These artifacts, often donated to museums by the collector or family descendants, comprise significant collections from areas influenced by, or in some cases isolated from, sustained Western contact. From the late 1880s through the 1920s, scientifically trained ethnographers, including Edward Nelson, Franz Boas, Vilhaljmur Stefansson, Diamond Jenness, Knud Rasmussen, and Kaj Birket-Smith, carried out extensive fieldwork among regional groups of Inuit across the Canadian Arctic and Alaska. The ethnographic collections they acquired, initially described and illustrated in scientific publications, comprise the arctic holdings of several prominent museums from Washington to New York, Ottawa, Toronto, London, and Copenhagen. Throughout the 20th century, artifacts from these collections have been exhibited in these museums for the almost exclusive benefit of metropolitan audiences.

Despite the exhibition of selected artifacts, the bulk of arctic collections lay dormant in museum storerooms throughout much of the 20th century. For example, the remarkable collection of Inupiat tools, hunting equipment, clothing, and dance regalia brought together by Edward Nelson in the 1880s at the request of the Smithsonian Institution was presented as a comprehensive exhibit only in 1982. Entitled *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo*, the exhibit, organized by Curators William Fitzhugh and Susan Kaplan, opened in Washington, D.C. and was shown in major museums in Alaska as well as across North America. The *Inua* catalogue remains a significant record of the Nelson collection and its exhibition (Fitzhugh and Kaplan 1982). In addition, a smaller mini-*Inua* exhibit traveled to Native communities throughout Alaska (as well as in Canada and Greenland), providing northern viewers the first opportunity to see these artifacts made by Inupiat ancestors a century before (Fitzhugh and Kaplan, 1983).

In the wake of *Inua*'s public success, the Smithsonian Institution opened negotiations with several museums in North America and the then-Soviet Union to organize a boldly ambitious project, *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska* (Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988). Bringing together artifacts from American, Canadian, and Soviet institutions, the exhibit highlighted the cultural production of Indigenous societies across Alaska and northeastern Siberia, discussing regional and pan-Arctic crosscurrents of social, cultural, economic and linguistic influences. Again, a smaller exhibition of these artifacts traveled to northern communities throughout Alaska (Chaussonnet 1995). In 2004, *Crossroads of Continents* was also developed as a web-based exhibit, preserving its legacy for yet another generation of viewers (www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/features/croads).

In 1988, the Smithsonian Institution created the Arctic Studies Center (ASC), supporting one of the most active programs of archaeological and ethnographic research in the circumpolar regions. In an effort to make Smithsonian resources more accessible to Native communities in Alaska, and to facilitate closer working relationships with Native researchers, the ASC established a regional office in Alaska at the Anchorage Museum of History and Art in 1993. In addition to developing exhibits, supporting collection research, directing field studies, and maintaining an active web presence (www.mnh.si.edu/arctic/html/alaska), the ASC in Anchorage sponsors a community outreach program working with Native Elders in developing an oral history archive. The Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian has also begun to highlight its arctic collection through exhibition, publication, web-based programming, and by promoting academic and community research of the collection (Ganteaume 2010).

Maintaining a close working relationship with Inuit communities across the Canadian Arctic, museum curators in southern Canada have long sought opportunities to link museum collections with northern communities. With the

hiring of Jean Blodgett, the first Curator of Inuit Art in Canada, the Winnipeg Art Gallery (WAG) began to work more closely with Inuit artists and community art cooperatives in in presenting exhibitions and building its collection of Inuit art; assuming the curator's position in late 1979, I continued to work closely with Inuit artists and communities. In conjunction with the 1980 exhibit, *The Inuit Amautik: I like my hood to be full*, exploring the theme of maternity in the design of the *amautik* (woman's parka) and in contemporary Inuit art, seamstresses Annie Napayok and Charlotte St. John led two sewing workshops in which participants constructed traditional and contemporary styles of the amautik (Driscoll 1980). In 1987 the seamstresses reviewed historical collections of Inuit fur clothing, travelling to museums in Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal. At a meeting of Pauktutiit: the Inuit Women's Association at Taloyoak (formerly Spence Bay), Annie Napayok shared photographs of fur clothing from the museum collections with fellow delegates who at the time were unaware that such extensive holdings of Inuit caribou fur clothing existed in Canadian museums (personal communication, 1988).

In addition to hosting artists for exhibit openings and workshops, the WAG began an active program of curatorial travel to interview artists in their home communities (Driscoll 1980, 1981, 1982a, 1982b,1985; Blodgett and Bouchard 1986). In conjunction with the exhibit, *Inuit Myths, Legends, and Songs,* the Gallery collaborated with the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) in Baker Lake (Qamanittuaq) to create a series of five programs of artists' interviews for northern broadcast. When the WAG hosted the Smithsonian exhibit, *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo*, Elder Joe Curley guided the IBC camera crew through the exhibit, describing the tools, hunting equipment, and domestic artifacts from Alaska, and relating them to objects used by Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. The filming was conducted entirely in *inuktitut.* When asked how it was going, IBC Director William Noah quietly replied, "I think this is the best program we've ever done" (personal communication, 1984). The Winnipeg Art Gallery continues to collaborate with Inuit artists and northern art cooperatives with an active exhibit and publication program devoted to contemporary Inuit art under the direction of Curator Darlene Wight.

In 1994 the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) organized a major exhibition, *Threads of the Land,* drawing from the Museum's extensive collections of Inuit, Dene, and Nlaka'pamux clothing. In preparing the exhibition of Inuit clothing, Curator Judy Hall invited two teams of seamstresses to study the Museum's Inuit clothing collection. Elder Elsie Nilgak, Alice Omingmak, and Julia Ogina from the community of Ulukhaktok (Holman), spent a week reviewing the clothing collection from the Copper Inuit region acquired by the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE) more than 75 years earlier. Videotapes of their research sessions, prepared by the CMC staff, were forwarded to the Copper Inuit communities of Uluhaktok, Kugluktuk, and Cambridge Bay, extending the benefit of the visit to local seamstresses, students, and commu-

Elsie Nilgak, Alice Omingmak of Ulukhaktok examine Inuit clothing collection with Judy Hall, curator, and Julia Ogina at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, November 1994. (Photo: BDEngelstad.)

nity residents (Hall et al. 1994; Speak and McCarthy 2000; Driscoll-Engelstad 2005). A selection of museum artifacts acquired by the CAE in the early 20th century was placed on exhibit in Cambridge Bay (Judy Hall, personal communication, October 2008).

Despite the increase in museum exhibitions and catalogues dedicated to Inuit ethnographic material, a comprehensive inventory of Inuit ethnographic collections in museums does not yet exist. Few institutions have published inventories of their arctic holdings, leaving researchers and community scholars to depend on personal communication and research visits to ascertain the extent of a museum's collection. For example, while reviewing the arctic collection of the Berlin Ethnological Museum in 1994, anthropologist Ann Fienup-Riordan was surprised to find the museum staff unpacking the extraordinary Yup'ik artifact collection acquired by the Norwegian adventurer Johan Adrian Jacobsen in 1882-83. Returned to the museum after its removal from Berlin in the Second World War, the collection was virtually unknown to Yup'ik communities. In collaboration with Yup'ik educator and cultural historian, Marie Meade, Fienup-Riordan organized a delegation of Elders to visit the collection in 1997. The results of the Yup'ik Elders' study are documented in two comprehensive publications (Fienup-Riordan 2005; Meade and Fienup-Riordan 2005).

After contacting several museums, Bernadette Miqqusaaq Dean[2] and Rhoda Karetak eventually located the exquisite beaded parka belonging to their ancestor Nivisanaaq at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Known by the whalers' nickname Shoofly, Nivisanaaq was a prominent figure in the Inuit community gathered at the American whaling station at Cape Fullerton on the west coast of Hudson Bay and appears in numerous photographs of the period taken by Captain George Comer, A.P. Low, and the independent photographer, Geraldine Moodie (Burant 1998:76-87; Calabretta 1984, 2008a, b; Dean 2010:259; Driscoll 1984:40-47; Eber 1989:114-123; Ross 1984; White 1998a, 1998b:88-97; www.mysticseaport.org). In the summer of 1999 Dean and Karetak traveled to New York to examine Nivisanaaq's parka first-hand; in the course of their study, they also discovered related clothing articles belonging to Nivisanaaq in the museum storage. Following their visit to New York, Bernadette Dean organized an exploratory tour for a group of Inuit Elders from Nunavut to study Inuit museum collections in Toronto, Ottawa, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. Their journey was recorded by Isuma Productions of Igloolik, under the direction of noted filmmaker, Zacharias Kunuk. The film production, entitled *Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit* (2006), concludes with the group meeting with Inuit youth in Ottawa. Through powerful personal statements, the Elders describe the emotional impact of their journey and their renewed respect for the strength, fortitude, and skill of their ancestors. At the 15th Inuit Studies Conference at the Musée du quai Branly in Paris, Ashley Paniyuk Dean, a student (now teacher) who accompanied the Elders group, shared photographs of artifacts uncovered during their tour, again recounting the powerful impact of the project on the participants.

Linking Communities and Collections: Future Prospects

Certainly no modern technological development offers a greater potential for linking Inuit communities and museum collections than the Internet. By joining institutional and community knowledge with the technical resources of web-designers, the Internet can provide comprehensive access to museum exhibitions, collections, photographic archives, and catalogue documentation. As institutions increase their use of the web to publicize collections and extend the reach of exhibitions, Inuit communities are becoming more fully aware of

2 Bernadette Miqqusaaq Dean contributed to both the discussions and the conference. Two of her pieces were particularly relevant to the meetings (1) "Somebody's Daughter": This presentation provided a visual overview of a collaborative workshop for young Inuit women and elders held at a camp outside the community of Rankin Inlet, Nunavut. The annual workshop focuses on sealskin sewing techniques and clothing production; and (2) "Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit": A documentary film (2006, 49min 24sec) directed by Zacharias Kunuk and Bernadette Dean; produced by Isuma Productions, Igloolik, Nunavut. The film features Inuit elders on a research visit through five major museums in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Toronto, and Ottawa to study historic Inuit ethnographic collections.

the rich cultural heritage preserved within these institutions. In addition to providing digital images and archival documentation of museum collections, web-based programs can extend the audience, scope and time-frame of exhibitions by preserving the exhibit in cyberspace beyond its physical presence in a museum gallery, as well as by providing supplemental exhibit programs for use in schools and communities.

In recent years, an increasing number of museums with arctic collections have enabled viewers to access their collections and exhibitions via the Internet. Marking the centennial anniversary of Robert Peary's 1908-09 expedition to the North Pole, viewers on the website of the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum at Bowdoin College were able to follow the expedition's daily progress, reading the online journal with excerpts from diaries kept by expedition members (www.bowdoin.edu/arctic-museum). The Mystic Seaport Museum in Mystic, Connecticut, has organized a comprehensive online exhibit of historical photographs taken by Captain George Comer during whaling expeditions to the west coast of Hudson Bay (www.mysticseaport.org). The program complemented the Museum's in-house exhibit of Inuit artifacts and whaling history, entitled *Frozen In: Captain Comer and the Hudson Bay Inuit*, which was on view until October 2009. The New Bedford Whaling Museum also offers access to its photographic archives of Alaskan images through its website (www.whalingmuseum.org/newbedphoto).

In addition to web-based exhibits, digital imaging of ethnographic collections, and archival documentation, several prospective areas of collaboration between institutions, curators and communities remain to be more fully developed in the coming years. First, ethnographic artifacts provide a significant resource for community-based interviews with Elders; recording these interviews will ensure the preservation of knowledge within the community. Second, many museum collections contain exceptional and even unique or atypical artifacts long removed from their community of origin. A comprehensive review of museum collections in conjunction with community cultural leaders would identify these artifacts and make known their existence within the larger community. Third, many museum collections contain artifacts that have been damaged over the years. A challenging, if somewhat controversial, area of collaboration between museum conservators and communities would be a program to repair, restore, and/or replicate these objects within the communities with the knowledge and skill of Inuit artisans and seamstresses. Such a program for the repair and replication of ethnographic material would provide skilled seamstresses and artisans with the opportunity to work directly with historical patterns, ensuring that traditional knowledge and production skills are maintained in the community and shared across generational lines. As illustrated in several instances, the presence of historical artifacts in their communities of origin has served to stimulate the production of lost or neglected patterns of clothing, tools, and

ceremonial objects by restoring the design templates removed from the community with the collection of the original artifact (Driscoll-Engelstad 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1996, 2005; Steffian 2006:39).

Conclusion

The history of geographical exploration and scientific fieldwork in the Arctic throughout the 19th and 20th centuries prompted many museums to acquire extensive collections of Inuit ethnographic material. With modern advances in transportation and communication technology, these museums now face an unparalleled opportunity to reconnect these artifact collections with their communities of origin. Through traveling exhibitions to northern communities, and research visits to museum collections, Inuit Elders and cultural leaders are beginning to restore the cultural knowledge of the community to museum collections. Likewise, the institutional knowledge contained in ethnographic reports and present in the museum's catalogue documentation is able to fill additional data. Linking community and institutional knowledge replenishes gaps of knowledge on both sides, restoring to the object a fuller sense of its cultural and historical context. Digital imaging, catalogue documentation, and web-based programming now enable museums to provide Inuit students, Elders, and community residents with greater access to the artifacts and archival records held in the museum's care. With the vision and will to dedicate sufficient resources to this effort, museums are embarking on a new era of collaboration with Inuit communities and cultural leaders, bridging the geographical divide that has long separated Inuit from the ancestral legacy held in museum storerooms. It is an era which will fulfill the promise of transformational change in museum practice and ensure community access to museum collections.

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Speaking Images

Digital Repatriation of the Jette Bang Photo Collection to Greenland

Leise Johnsen[1]

During the years 2004–2006 the Jette Bang photo collection from 1936-1962 has been scanned and registered and made accessible to the whole world. The project was called: *The returning of the Jette Bang collection to Greenland.* The photo collection holds some 12,000 pictures, of which most can be viewed at www.arktiskebilleder.dk. Using the Internet it is now possible to open the archives to the public.

When the photographer Jette Bang (1914–1964) travelled to Greenland for the first time in 1936, she had just finished her training as a photographer at Jonals Co., a large and successful advertising studio and photo company in Copenhagen. At that time, Greenland had been colonized and monopolized since 1721, meaning that nobody could enter the land without permission by Grønlands Styrelse. The limited flow of information and pictures, as well as the geographic position of the colony, made Greenland and the Greenlanders stand out in a glow of adventure and mystery. Jette Bang was fascinated by the "primitive" Greenlanders, their closeness to nature and the way they lived their lives. Primarily this was what she wanted to photograph and show to the outside world. Besides this Jette Bang introduced modern photography to the ethnographic figurative language and her pictures remain relevant to people today.

Jonals Co. was a creative and innovative photo company. The photos produced by the bureau's photographers were known by their effects with light and shadow, unorthodox angles, dynamic compositions and an incredible sharpness. The photos Jette Bang produced in Greenland clearly contain these elements. In addition these images contain an extreme intimacy and hypnotic fascination. The photos are far more than a photographic ethnographic document.

Jette Bang travelled and worked in Greenland in the years: 1936, 1937, 1938–39, 1945, 1956, 1961, 1962 and 1963.

The collection covers an epoch-making period in Greenlandic history – the transition from traditional to modern society. The collection is unique in quality and size, and covers all of Greenland. In addition to this the collection is rich in ethnographic and cultural elements and indisputably holds the key to historical as well as personal memory. The collection is an important part of the Greenlandic as well as the Danish cultural heritage.

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Photograph taken by Jette Bang in one of Greenland's former mines.

Cultural heritage is a concept that flourishes in the debate concerning Greenland and Denmark. Often it is the material cultural heritage that is up for debate but within the last couple of years, focus has fallen on the immaterial cultural heritage. Immaterial cultural heritage covers elements that do not have a material manifestation, including personal and collective memories.

The concept 'cultural heritage' implies a kind handing over or transfer of culture to future generations. Since the immaterial cultural heritage is not physically accessible or visible in any way, it has to be activated through cultural events by means of which a dialog can make the basis to accumulate knowledge, memories, information and experience. Memories are part of the immaterial cultural heritage and therefore a cultural value. The Jette Bang collection is an important element in the activation of memories and thereby key to material cultural heritage.

Charlotte Poulsen, Itiileq 1936. (Photo: Jette Bang.)

To activate the Greenlanders' memories and to collect new information concerning the photos among the local people, I planned a touring exhibition to all the local museums of Greenland during the spring and summer of 2006. The exhibitions were called *KINAANA,* which is Greenlandic and means "Who is that?" Each museum received photos that reflect its local area.

The following section contains some of the people related to the exhibition and the stories they told me.

The journey started in Nanortalik in South Greenland. The local museum is spread over several buildings from the colonial times. When I arrived, lots of people had already seen and identified people in the photos. One afternoon I was sitting in the museum when a little, old and beautiful woman entered the room. She had been told that there was a photo of her in the exhibition. I recognized her from one of the photos, taken in 1936 at Itilleq, one of the small islands outside the coast of Nanortalik. Her name was Charlotte Poulsen, she

was 80 years old and she immediately started to tell her life story, about a life with 10 children, the summer camps and the removal from the small islands to Nanortalik. She cried and laughed during the hour we talked. At the end I asked her what it was like to see herself in the photo. Her answer: "It is very nice, it makes me remember. If nobody asks me about that period, I don't say anything." The photo had given her a reason to remember and to tell her story.

Further up the West Coast in Qeqertarsuaq at the Disko Island in Disko Bay the exhibition opened in February. The museum leader had invited the elders for the opening and a lot of information was ready for me already. Some of the exhibited photos came from the mining village Qullissat. By accident I met Agathe Kaspersen, born and raised in Qullissat. She agreed to meet me at the museum. When she entered the exhibition room she was quiet for some time while looking at the photos. She started her story with a very exact knowledge about all the buildings, what they where used for and who lived in them. Her personal story contained dramatic events, something that is quite normal for the average Greenlander. Her mother died when Agathe was only five years old, leaving her father with three small kids; her smallest brother was given away since her father could not take care of him. Her father became ill with TB and was gone for a couple of years, and luckily got well again. She had many details about the work in the mines, the working conditions and the people living there. The mine was closed down in 1972 and people moved away. In November 2000 Qullissat was hit by a flood and almost all the buildings were washed into the sea. So the photos and people's memories and stories are the only thing left to verify the place's existence.

Travelling further north I reach Upernavik. A few days after my arrival, I arranged a *kaffemik* and met with the elders of the community to talk about the photos. During my work with the collection I had seen a lot of photos in which people were smoking cigarettes, and have often wondered how so many people could get their hands on cigarettes in these remote places. Hans Larsen, one of the elders, had the solution for my question. His story:

I remember when Jette Bang came here in 1936. I lived then in one of the small outposts. All the kids were so afraid of her. My friend Jens and I ran and hid behind a chimney. Then we saw that she was handing out cigarettes for everyone, even the kids, and we came forward. Cigarettes were rare in those days. You could buy one at the time in the shop in Upernavik, but hardly any could afford that. So we quickly overcame our fear. She also took our picture.

So this was the reason for all the photos of people smoking. Besides this story many others came to life that afternoon in Upernavik.

The last stop on my journey was Tasiilaq on the East Coast of Greenland. At the exhibition I met Maren Josvasen, born and raised in the town and now working in the community office in town. She was a well of information both concerning people's identity and local knowledge in general. I also met Karl Pivaat in Tasiilaq. We were going through the photos on my laptop, when all

Caroline with her infant daughter and son Ulrik, Tasiilaq 1937.

of a sudden he became silent and then cried out "That's my mother Caroline carrying my sister! And my brother Ulrik at their side." He called out for everybody to see his family. By comparing the year we discovered that it is Karl himself in the photo. He told me that his mother died when he was 9 years old and commented: "Nobody loves you like your mother, right!" It was obvious that his mind moved back in time. Karl had been working as a coast skipper for many years and shared a lot of stories about life at sea, the Second World War and the period when the American Military had their bases on the East Coast of Greenland.

The photos worked as a key to people's personal stories and evoked memories and feelings; they froze the moment in time and called back feelings and memories attached to it. They enabled the spectators to remember things and incidents that they thought were forgotten or unimportant. Everybody I have

spoken to has been clearly surprised to see the photos that they did not know existed. At the same time they are very proud to be represented through the stories and the life the photos show, as recognition of the lives they had lived.

Besides the incontestable value on the personal level, the photos also document local history as well as ethnographical detail. Many of the local schools have used the exhibitions in their lessons. In Sisimiut a class had been to see the exhibition. In the KINAANA book, which each museum had for comments, all of the pupils had written their names and date of birth into the book. By that action they acknowledged the continuation of the photos and the timeline. Their own history is bound to the photos.

On a national level the photos document a collective cultural past and are thereby a treasure for all Greenlanders:

The photos are alive and tangible proves for the fundament of the transition of the Eskimo culture to present time. This proves contains a very high value, especially in the Globalize world around us, we are beginning to sense.

This quote comes from the communication I have kept via www.arktiskebilleder.dk. Normally people contact me to comment on names, places and dates relating to the photos. Following on from this contact I asked about relationships and different meanings. This quote is just one of many telling the same story. Beyond being documentation and proof, the photos create dialog and must be seen as a future resource both as material cultural heritage and as a facilitator for immaterial cultural heritage.

Jette Bang wished that her photos could bring something good to the Greenlanders and so they have. Not only as a tool in the search of identity in a local and international way, the collection can also shake the stereotypical image and create a new and more nuanced image.

One afternoon I went with a couple of elders to see the exhibition, and one of them said spontaneously *"Qujanaqaaq maanimmat!"* meaning something like: "Thank God she was here!" This was a direct reaction to what they saw and experienced, because the photos showed sides of their past lives and enriched the present life. This is the finest manifestation the repatriation project of the Jette Bang collection can receive, recognition of the importance of the photos, not only in the present but also in the future.

The KINAANA exhibitions were very well received all over Greenland both by the local people as well as the press and media. I was interviewed by newspapers, radio and television in Greenland and in Denmark. The photos clearly struck people. The photo database www.arktiskebilleder.dk was in December 2008 the second most visited website in Greenland.

The National Museum in Copenhagen has successfully repatriated parts of the Greenlandic collections to the National Museum in Nuuk as well as to local museums all over Greenland. Greenland has been blessed with local museums in each village containing cultural history from the regions. These museums,

most often situated in the old trading houses, function as a kind of cultural village anchor. All the local museums have access to the photo database, as have all local people in Greenland.

While travelling with the exhibition I asked the museum staff if they wanted the collection back in Greenland and all said "no thank you". I also posed the question to the staff at the Greenlandic National Museum in Nuuk who also said "no" to receiving the collection physically, mainly because of the lack of storage rooms and of capacity in general. They were very satisfied that the collection was made accessible for the public and for science.

The importance of the Jette Bang collection is not who owns it, but who makes it useful. In the digital form in which it now is, it belongs to everyone. But we must always seek to activate and communicate through and with the photo collections, both the Jette Bang collection as well as all the other collections still laying in the archives around the world.

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Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage

Jarich Oosten

In recent years, sharing knowledge and cultural heritage have become important topics in the discourse of ethnographic museums and anthropological institutions on the relations between researchers and Indigenous people. These debates developed only in the last decennia due to the efforts of the Indigenous people to make their voice heard in international debates. For many centuries their views had been ignored, but in the second half of the twentieth century they began to make their impact on academic discourses. In that period a growing political and cultural self-consciousness developed among many aboriginal peoples. They feel that anthropologists and museum curators have robbed them of their knowledge and material culture and have not given too much in return. Especially the issue of the removal of human remains and funeral deposits from aboriginal lands has been an issue of much controversy. Early anthropologists and curators were usually perfectly aware that the aboriginal people greatly resented these actions.

Franz Boas who conducted research among the Inuit of Baffin land as well as among the American Northwest Coast Indians, notably the Kwakiutl, observed: 'It is most unpleasant work to steal bones, from a grave, but ... someone has to do it' (Freed et al. 1988:12). As Indian resistance was strong to these activities, George Hunt, Boas' assistant in his research among the Kwakiutl, asked Boas to obtain permission from the superintendent of Indian Affairs. Boas wrote him 'I should like Mr Hunt to collect at some places … where the Indians would not raise any objections since … the identity of the people buried [there] are no longer known … I should like to have your statement that objection cannot be taken to collecting in such places' (Freed et al. 1988:12). Then Boas informed Hunt that he could go ahead. The reasoning is quite similar to arguments today when repatriation of human remains can be refused if the claimants cannot prove that these are the remains of their ancestors.

In his book *Give me back my father's body* (1987) Kenn Harper from Iqaluit describes the sad story of Minik, a young boy in a group of Inuit taken by Peary from Qanaaq (Thule), Northwest Greenland, to New York at the request of Boas. In 1897 the group was housed in the American Museum of Natural History in New York providing the young anthropologist Alfred Kroeber with an opportunity to make a study of Inuit culture without the trouble of having to go into the field (see Kroeber 1900). Unfortunately some of the Inuit soon fell ill with pneumonia, and Qisuk, Minik's father, died in 1898. The museum decided that it would be good to preserve his body for the sake of science. But it would also be a pity to miss an opportunity to study Inuit mourning behavior

and burial customs so a fake funeral was organized that allowed observation of this cultural behavior. It was only much later that Miniq discovered that he had never buried his father, and that his father's body was still preserved in the museum. His attempts to claim the body were not successful. Minik himself was repatriated to Northwest Greenland in 1909. But he felt no longer at home in his own land. He returned to the United States in 1916, and two years later he died in his early thirties in 1918.

Kenn Harper's book illustrates how far researchers at that time were prepared to go for the sake of science. The ideas and values of the participants might be studied, but should not affect the process of the research itself. Disdain for aboriginal ideas and values left deep scars among aboriginal people who now wish to exercise control over the research activities of academics. Today, a research permit of the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) is required for research in Nunavut. Approval by and involvement of the local community is considered an important feature of any research. A guide for researchers that can be downloaded from the NRI site is aptly titled *Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities* (Nickels et al. 2006).

Some academics and museum curators still feel that the new political awareness of aboriginal people and the new ethical rules resulting from it are hampering their work. They see them much more as an obstacle to academic research than as an opportunity to work together with aboriginal people. Other scholars and curators acknowledge the necessity to share knowledge and material objects with Indigenous people. On the basis of my own experiences in Nunavut, northern Canada, I consider cooperation between insiders and outsiders as very fruitful. Relationships between academic institutions and the aboriginal people should be developed so that aboriginal people can bring forward their points of views and find them represented in academic debates and institutions. In this short paper I will discuss the problem of sharing knowledge, then that of sharing objects.

Nunavut

Inuit feel that they have been studied from an outsiders' perspective that does no justice to their own perspective. In *Negotiating Research Relationships with Inuit Communities* (Nickels et al. 2006:2) it is stated, 'Inuit often feel that scientists do not make enough effort to consider Inuit knowledge and perspectives when framing research questions and designing studies. Inuit occasionally dismiss as unnecessary and irrelevant studies (especially those on harvested wildlife species) that they believe Inuit already possess. A common perspective is that Inuit have the answers to many of the questions scientists propose to investigate.'

Inuit often feel that they are better qualified to do research on their own culture but lack the training and resources to do so. Therefore they look for scholars who will assist them in presenting their own perspective. In *Uqalurait*

(2006) Bennett and Rowley present an oral history of Nunavut that gives precedence to the aboriginal perspective in presenting the recollections of Inuit Elders. Today, the Nunavut government plays an important part in the development of research agendas, particularly in research on Inuit *Qaujimajatuqangit*, Inuit knowledge that has proven its value in the past.

The concept Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (often abbreviated as IQ) was coined in the 1990s when Inuit decided to replace the modern notion of 'Inuit traditional knowledge.' It refers to Inuit knowledge that had been handed down from the ancestors. It embodies fundamental ideas and values about life and survival. The development of the concept Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit expressed a new valorization of the Inuit cultural heritage and a rejection of the notion that modernization implied an unconditional acceptance of *Qallunaat* (white people) ideas and values.

From the start, the notion of Qaujimajatuqangit raised intensive debates. Did it refer specifically to the knowledge held by the Elders, or did it encompass the knowledge of all Inuit? The question has never been resolved completely. Because Inuit Elders are held in high esteem because of their experience and knowledge, they are usually considered to be the ones who should be consulted on questions concerning Inuit knowledge. But people are well aware that the Elders have more experience with the life out on the land than with specific problems of modern society. Thus, while their recollections of shamanic beliefs and practices will not be challenged, their views on the modern schooling system or on women's shelters may be subjected to intense debate in Inuit society.

Elders, as well as youths, acknowledge Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit as an important part of the Inuit cultural heritage that should be preserved. The Nunavut Government also holds this position. The Nunavut Social Development Council (NSDC) recommended: 'Traditional Inuit laws, practices and beliefs, including those pertaining to spirituality and shamanism, need to be researched, recorded and shared' (NSDC 1998:12). Research on Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is perceived as a way to recover a cultural heritage that will enable Inuit to create a modern society based on their own traditions and values.

Oral Traditions

In 1994 we began to prepare an oral traditions project at Arctic College in Nunavut in cooperation with Frederic Laugrand of Laval University and Susan Sammons and Alexina Kublu of Arctic College. We set up courses of three weeks with students and Elders. We thought it would be more rewarding if Inuit students would interview their Elders than if Qallunaat did so. For an Inuk Elder there is little point in passing on his knowledge to a white person, who does not hunt on the land and does not really understand the intricacies of Inuit cultural life. But it is important to pass on knowledge of the old tradi-

tions to young people who risk losing their language and culture. Therefore we decided to act as facilitators and assist the students in preparing interviews with Elders and discuss the results with them. In the first course in 1996 we developed a suitable format for the oral tradition courses. We informed the Elders as well as the students that results of these workshops would become available to all of them and decided that all participants in these workshops would have copyright. Students and Elders were happy with our format and we prepared various books (published in English as well as Inuktitut by Nunavut Arctic College), which present the results of these workshops.

Because Elders are so much respected, students were not comfortable asking them so many questions. The Elders were very helpful and they encouraged the students not to be shy but to ask questions. In the first course Elisapee Ootoova from Mittimatalik told the students, "You shouldn't be afraid to ask us any questions, because we are not at home" (Oosten and Laugrand 1999a:4). When one of the students Nancy Kisa told Saullu Nakasuk from Pangniqtuuq that she could talk about anything she wanted, Saullu answered: "I want you to ask questions".(Oosten and Laugrand 1999a: 63). The students often found it hard to prepare questions, and we often heard the complaint, "I'm out of questions." When during the interviews a student ran out of questions, another student would come in giving time to the interviewer to think of some new questions. This helpful process led to a feeling of trust among the students. All participants were aware that the situation was artificial, but had great potential for the transfer of knowledge. At the end of the second week of the first week of the first workshop , one of the students, Susan Enuaraq, suggested that we remove the chairs and tables in the room. The formal setting evoked too much the setting of a school. Students as well as Elders thought the context of the school less suitable for a transfer of knowledge from Elders to youths. So we changed the setup of the room and the situation became much more relaxed. The students and teachers sat on the floor while the Elders sat on a couch. Various other methods were used to create a more comfortable environment for the interviews. For example, strings were handed out so that students and Elders could play cat's cradle while they were talking or listening. Tea and snacks were served during the sessions.

The Elders felt more comfortable and also voiced their criticism of the modern school system. Ootoova stated:

> *In our community, school started in 1963. It seemed to be good then. .... It turns out it was wrong of us to agree to send them to school when the teaching material was irrelevant to the North. We were wrong in some ways and right in other ways. It is good when one learns to read and write in English, to be able to understand the language. But they were not taught about the lifestyle in the North. ... They are not taught our way of life in our community. They are not taught what to do when food becomes scarce. ... Back then, before our children went to school, they tended to be relaxed more if they had been playing outside. Now they sit in school*

> *all day. You probably get students who can't settle down, because they have a need to be outside. They are in the building all the time. ... They should be taught in Inuktitut if they're going to be in the North. (Oosten and Laugrand 1999a:26)*

The students made life stories of the Elders and used the information they acquired for new questions. Once Saullu had told them she had much experience as a midwife, this became a central topic of the interviews. Saullu demonstrated various techniques she had used as a midwife.

Inuit qaujimajatuqangit is very much embedded in practice and often Elders feel more comfortable with demonstrating traditional techniques than just discussing them. Elders emphasize the significance of their words and they are reluctant to discuss things they are not completely sure about. Saullu Nakasuk stated, 'I'm only telling you about what I've experienced. I'm not going to tell you about anything I haven't experienced.' And she added: "Even if it's something I know about, if I haven't experienced it I'm not going to tell about it." Pauloosie Angamalik explained in a similar vein "Having heard about it just once. I have already stated that I can say that I don't know anything about it if I have only heard about it just once. If at a later time someone were to tell me about it like it really is, and though I did not intentionally lie, I would be like someone who had lied. Thinking about my own reputation, I have this as a continued practice" (Oosten and Laugrand 1999a:5).

The format developed in the first workshop was successfully applied in various other workshops on traditional law, health, childrearing practices, cosmology, the transition to Christianity, survival on the land, and dreams. Facilitated by various specialists in those fields, those workshops resulted in a rich treasure of IQ, published in Inuktitut as well as in English by Nunavut Arctic College (see appendix for the various publications). Some of these volumes can be downloaded without charge from the website of Nunavut Arctic College in Iqaluit (http://nac.nu.ca/Online_Publicatons). At first, it was suggested we would take out the format of answers and questions and present the results as a body of 'traditional Inuit knowledge', but we decided to preserve the format of the dialogue as it had the great advantage that all knowledge presented retained its personal nature: it can always be traced to a particular Elder. Moreover, the contextual nature of the knowledge becomes clear. Knowledge is always reproduced in forms oriented to a specific context taking into account the audience, the occasion etc. It cannot easily be generalized or objectified. No Elder claims that his views represent Inuit knowledge as a whole. His or her words represent the views and experiences of a particular Elder. But if this Elder is a respected and well-known Elder, his views and experiences carry great weight.

Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit is very practical in its orientation. It is concerned with survival. Inuit wish to preserve the knowledge that allowed their ancestors to survive on the land. IQ implies a fundamental awareness that the land and its animals have to be respected. It the past these values were articulated in rules of life pertaining to land, animals, birth and death. After the adop-

tion of Christianity, most of these rules were no longer observed, but the need to respect the land and its animals is still widely acknowledged by Elders and younger people alike. Inuit Elders often emphasize a close connection between the weather, the land, the animals, and human behavior. If human beings misbehave, the weather, the land, or the animals will retaliate. Lucaasie Nutaraaluk from Iqaluit observed:

> *I believe we are disciplined for our actions through the weather. Ottawa and Montreal are perfect examples [this interview was conducted right after the ice storm of 1997]. I believe a lot of people just see that as an act of nature or a scientifically explainable act, but to my mind they are being disciplined for what we have done. Anytime there is too much wrongdoing being committed we get disciplined in various ways such as earthquakes. Even here in Iqaluit if we start fighting too much there could be an earthquake or really bad weather could come upon us (Oosten et al. 1999:5).*

The land is shaped by the thoughts of people, and when the land is good to you, you have to reciprocate with a gift. Margaret Uyauperk Aniksak from Arviat stated, "If people are careless and the earth is damaged, then surely, healthy growth will not occur. The earth is shaped by people's thoughts … Any land you have been to previously must be given something as a token of receiving something good in return" (Bennet and Rowley 2004:119). This perception is widely shared in the South Kivalliq area In a workshop in Arviat in 2007, Margaret Hannah from Arviat stated that even as Christians you should give a token at certain places, probably out of respect for the hardships suffered by the people who had lived there. At a meeting in Churchill in 2008, Henri I&luarnik from Arviat suggested that an Elder who was not feeling well should give a token to the earth if she had just returned to the place where she had grown up.

The land is not only inhabited by animals, it is also the place where one may find old camp sites and graves, and it is also thought to be inhabited by countless non-human beings such as *ijirait*, a non-human inland people closely associated with caribou. In an oral tradition course in 2000, Agiaq Kappianaq from Iglulik advised the students to always be very cautious while travelling out on the land as there many dangerous places:

> *Is it because the Elders have experience with these places that we are cautioned not to go near them?*
>
> *Agiaq***:** *Yes. We should not go there even today. Even though we have become Christians, the land hasn't changed.*
>
> *Why can't we go there?*
>
> *Agiaq: Because those places have beings that live around them. When people, through experience, have learned about these places, they caution others about them. If a person knowingly decides to challenge this knowledge and goes there,*

> *he will lose their strength. It is usually hills and high places that are dangerous. (Oosten and Laugrand 2001:81)*

Kappianaq emphasized one should not only concentrate on Christian tradition:

> *I know we are not going to live the lives of our ancestors. Once what we have said here is recorded and written, these things will continue to be known. I know we are not going to be able to talk about everything and not everything will be written down. I am very happy that you are asking about what we remember and what we have experienced. If we just concentrate on Christianity and not other beliefs, I don't think this will be very helpful to future generations. (Oosten and Laugrand 2001:77)*

Obviously Elders do not share everything they know. Much knowledge, especially knowledge relating to shamanic traditions, is not easily passed on to young people. Elders feel that young people are not yet able to cope with that kind of knowledge. Yet in one of the workshops, *The Transition to Christianity*, Victor Tungilik, an Elder from Naujaat who had practiced as an *angakkuq* (shaman)in the past, related how he had become an angakkuq, how he had practiced and why he had decided to stop being an angakkuq (see Oosten and Laugrand 1999b) But he is an exception and most Elders who have been trained as angakkuit in their youths prefer not to disclose too much about their abilities in the past. From the workshops it became quite clear that many Elders still have extensive knowledge of the shamanic traditions of the past.

This was one of the reasons why after several years we opted for another format bringing together groups of Elders to discuss sensitive topics such as shamanism. We organized these workshops out on the land as the Elders thought it provided a better context to discuss these sensitive topics. In this format we acted as facilitators again, suggesting topics to be discussed by the Elders. We emphasized that we wished to record the richness of the tradition, stressing that the Elders should feel free to discuss whatever they wished. These workshops posed other problems as much traditional knowledge is not intended to be shared at all. Knowledge is precious and sensitive and preferably handed over to relatives or trusted friends. It enhances success in hunting and powers of survival. It may lose its effectiveness if it is communicated in another context than that of serious need. The first workshop was held out on the land in Rankin Inlet in 2000 and hosted by Ollie Itinnuaq. As the central topic was shamanism, no young people were present. The Elders discussed various features of shamanism and gave a demonstration of the divination technique of *qilaniq* (head lifting). In the next workshops the same format was observed, but younger people were also admitted so they would be able to learn from the Elders. Elders adapted to this format and gradually the instruction of younger people became

an important part of the workshops. In the workshop in Kugaaruk in 2005 another demonstration of qilaniq took place in the school and younger people were taught the practice.

Demonstrations of traditional techniques such as qilaniq trigger the memory in other ways than speaking, and practices convey other information than words. In 2002 a series of demonstrations of traditional practices was organized by Elders in a workshop in Rankin Inlet for the community.

Such workshops can help Elders to deal with the hardships of the past. In 2006 we facilitated a workshop on the Ennadai Lake relocations involving the Ahiarmiut people. The recollections of these past hardships triggered strong emotions but also helped the Elders to come to terms with a traumatic past. The recording of traditional knowledge is an important endeavor that can be conducted by anthropologists and aboriginal people in partnership.

Anthropologists never can assess which knowledge should be shared. But they can at last facilitate processes of transfer of knowledge and assist in the return of knowledge that was recorded in the past to the cultures of origin. But it is up to the aboriginal people themselves to decide which knowledge they want to transfer and to whom they transfer this knowledge. What will happen with this knowledge cannot be predicted. But we may expect it to have lasting effects. Saullu Nakasuk from Pangniqtuuq stated: "It is not possible to forget the words of our Elders, when we had our Elders as the ones who would give us instructions. Even so, what one heard as a child keeps coming back even though it is not always on your mind" (Oosten and Laugrand 1999a:6).

Objects

Knowledge is often embedded in practices and objects. The collection of ethnographic and archaeological objects has always been an important feature of Qallunaat research in the North. Qallunaat usually had limited knowledge of the ideas and values pertaining to these objects. Many objects were collected by anthropologists and museum curators in ways that are no longer acceptable today. Indigenous people were often put under considerable pressure to give up or sell objects they valued. Funerary objects and human remains were often just taken without asking anyone's permission. In the past Inuit were not buried in northern Canada. A corpse was deposited out on the land. Stones were placed around it, but it was not covered, so it would be devoured by dogs or wild animals. Burial deposits, usually personal belongings and miniatures, were placed beside the corpse. After the corpse had been devoured by animals, only the bones and the objects remained. Archaeologists and anthropologists felt free to pick up these objects and add them to their collections.

In September 2007 Peter Irniq, former commissioner of Nunavut, asked academic scholars at a meeting in Quebec to support a claim to repatriate human remains and burial deposits taken from Nunavut. When he stated his claim Peter Irniq was particularly referring to the human remains taken by the Danish Fifth Thule expedition.

In 1921-1924 the Danish Fifth Thule expedition visited Northeast Canada. Collection of objects was an important goal of the expedition. Its leader Knud Rasmussen traded many objects, and Therkel Mathiassen, the archaeologist of the group, conducted many excavations. His archaeological activities were especially criticized, and he was accused of causing illness and death among the Inuit because of his actions out on the land.

In traditional Inuit culture ownership was not defined in any legal sense. Emil Imaruittuq, an Elder from Iglulik, explained: "Anything that is really yours is *nangminiq*. You also use nangminiq for your immediate relatives" (see also Schneider 1985:190 on namminiq). He explained that the word might refer to anything you had made yourself as well as to your children and relatives. When people were buried with their personal effects "they would include things that were dear to the person, their *nangminillarik*" (Oosten et al. 1999:141). The word nangminiq refers to a strong relationship to an object or person. Other Inuit were aware of these relationships and usually chose to respect them. Elders often stress that theft was rare before the Qallunnaat arrived. Nutaraaluk from Iqaluit related: "In the old days, they always returned everything and I never saw people keeping things for themselves" (Oosten et al. 1999 141). A relation to an object implied a relation to its owner. If one did not know who had owned or used an object, caution was required. Especially out on the land people had to be careful. Jose Angutinngurniq related:

> *Old campsites are called maturniit. If something sad happened in those places, we should not return there. This is what I heard. I heard this all the time, even up to today. Still today, out of respect, I try not to camp in those places. There are tent rings; they are not to be used again. They are there to stay. You should try not to use the rocks that were used to pitch a tent, whether caribou or seal skin. Rocks were used to tie the skins down. They are not to be used again, because the spirit of that rock might come to you. They are there to stay. You have to put something around the rock, and not touch it. If you are going to use it, you have to move it. (Kugaaruk workshop 2004)*

Especially personal clothes had to be treated with care. In the same workshop Otto Apsaqtaun from Kugaaruk related:

> *In the past, nobody was allowed to wear my clothing. I was not allowed to wear anyone else's clothing. Today this has been broken. I'm living just like everybody else. In the past, I was not allowed to wear women's clothing, and women were not allowed to wear my clothing.*

According to Mary Anguti from Kugaaruk these rules are still very much alive: ‘

> *I have heard and seen people follow tirigusungniq [ritual injunctions imposed on a person]. Some people were very careful following these rules. People would tell me not to wear somebody else's clothing when I was young; not boots, or socks, or anything. I was not to wear somebody else's clothing' (Kugaaruk workshop 2006).*

When a person died his clothes should not be used again. Rasmussen (1929:199) related:

> *The dead are buried with their belongings, which are laid beside the grave. This applies both to men and women. A dying person may, however, give away his or her possessions to any favoured friend, but all that is not so given away must be laid by the grave. Apart from the implements proper, various articles in miniature are made for men, such as kayak, sledge, harpoon, bow and arrows, cup, these miniature objects being placed at the feet of the corpse. For women, a small lamp, meat fork, pot, cup and real needles and thimble are made; these are likewise laid at the feet. These things are made on the day before the na*ce*vik, or the stricter death taboo, comes to an end, and are placed in position on the day it ends. This is said to be done in order that the deceased may possess something. With these miniature objects the soul passes to Takanaluk as soon as the death taboo ceases.*

> *After the mourning period was over, 'all who have taken part in the setting of the stones round the grave, or have been in the house visited by death, must throw away their clothing and leave their snow huts with all inside, including the ilupEr*q, or skin hangings used to line the walls of the snow hut' (Rasmussen 1929:200). His or her personal affairs were deposited at the burial site.*

The land was scattered with graves, and people would know where the graves of their relatives were and visit those places. A visit to the grave of a dead person was considered as beneficial for the living person. Rose Iqallijuq from Iglulik related:

> *Whenever we went to the land where my namesake was buried, my mother would always take me to the grave […] Now you can see me as an old lady: there were times when I almost died but I was able to recover because of visiting that grave. As a matter of fact, I was given the sacrament of last rites on two occasions when I was comatose. Both times I was able to recover, and so I know that it helps to visit the grave of your namesake. (Bennett and Rowley 2004:5)*

Peter Suvaksiuq from Arviat related how he was cured by honoring the wishes of the deceased and visiting their graves:

> *On an island there is a grave there. He used to tell people to stop there for tea. Three years ago while I was alone I went down there for tea. I wanted to find out what it was like. I took a thermos. The grave was exposed. You could see the bones. They weren't covered at all, at Qikiqtarjuat, just a little way from here. I had tea*

and I said I was tired of being sick. The next day I got rid of my sickness. (Arviat workhop 2003)

The human remains and burial deposits objects should be left alone. Guy Kakarniut from Kugaaruk related:

My father used to say if I wanted something from a grave, I was to replace it with something else. I was not to take it freely. I was to replace it with something else, if I really need something that was on a grave. My son took something from a grave. Because he was only a child, he gave me something from a grave, but I had to return it. I told him that we were not to take anything from the dead. (Kugaaruk workshop 2004)

And in the same workshop Agnes Iqugaqtuq recalled:

You should never take anything from a grave. When I was a child, we started to look around after we put up the tent. We went to get some water. We didn't think seriously about graves when we were children. We went to get water. We would try to walk fast and not waste any time. There was a cup. I picked it up and took it home. We lived in a tent. I said, "Look at this cup. It's beautiful!" My mother smiled and said, "Did this come from a grave? How did you get it? Put it back where you got it from." So I put it back where I had picked it up. This happened when I still lived with my mother. There was a cup I saw. It was beautiful. I took it home and gave it to my mother. My father said that it belonged to a grave. He said, "There was a grave out there. Put it back!" It was a very beautiful cup, but I had to return it.

Thus objects and the bones out on the land should be respected. There was an old custom to turn the bones found on the land (see Oosten et al. 1999:34). Bones are scattered over the earth and bleached by Sila (see Rasmussen 1929).

The objects belonged to the dead, and the dead should be left in peace out on the land. The land did not belong to anybody. Inuit were a nomadic people and there were no territorial boundaries. A hunter could go anywhere, but if he did not know the land, the dangerous places, the graves, the rules to be followed, he would hunt at his own peril.

Conclusion

Qallunaat archaeologists, anthropologists and museum curators were not aware of Inuit perceptions, ideas and values pertaining to objects. Funerary deposits were often removed regardless of Inuit views and objections. Scholars were well aware that their behavior was not acceptable to the aboriginal people. They were smart enough to realize that even in terms of the morality of their own society their behavior was questionable, but their academic convictions and ambitions were such that they persisted in their activities. Whatever has happened cannot be undone easily and now

a dialogue between scholars and aboriginal people has to be developed to restore trust between the different parties and solve the complex issues with respect to ownership of these objects.

When discussing the repatriation of objects with aboriginal people, we should explore their history, how these objects were used and acquired, and the ideas and values concerning these objects in the past as well as the present. When we develop such a dialogue we should be aware that we cannot solve these issues only by legal procedures. We are dealing with values, with moral and cosmological perspectives that are changing all the time in our culture as well as in other cultures. Moral and cosmological perspectives of other cultures have the same validity as those of our own. Trust between aboriginal people and academic scholars can only be restored if scholars are prepared to respect aboriginal ideas and values.

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Appendix

(http://nac.nu.ca/publications_for_sale)

The Repatriation of Greenland's Cultural Heritage from Denmark to Greenland

Aviâja Rosing Jakobsen[1]

Introduction

In 1979 Greenland acquired home rule and on January 1st 1981 all matters relating to museums and the protection of ancient monuments became the responsibility of the Greenland government.

Immediately hereafter, Greenland home rule initiated the law for the formation of the Greenland National Museum. Shortly afterwards, negotiations and an informal sharing of opinions started with the Danish National Museum prepared to transfer important parts of the Greenland collections from Denmark to Greenland.

During the colonial period of Greenland (1721-1979), large quantities of ethnographic and archaeological objects relating to prehistoric and historic times were collected and brought to Denmark by Danish officials, missionaries and other arctic explorers.

Since the early 20th century, there has been a growing Greenlandic demand for the return of these collections. The main argument has been that the people of Greenland should have immediate access to the Greenlandic cultural heritage and their own past. This would provide Greenlanders with an historical awareness of their importance in relation to the formation of Greenlandic identity.

History

In 1966, as part of the nation building process in Greenland, the Greenland Provincial Museum in Nuuk was transformed into the Greenland National Museum & Archives. Negotiations were initiated with the National Museum of Denmark in order to get substantial parts of the Greenlandic collections returned. The Greenland National Museum wanted to be able to a) establish public exhibitions on Greenlandic prehistory with the best available materials; b) establish collections in Greenland for scientific study; c) support students at the University of Greenland with a prehistoric and historic background; d) attract foreign researchers; e) support local museums with objects to loan; and f) obtain a database on prehistoric sites to be able to protect the sites all over Greenland from destruction.

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In 1982, Greenland celebrated the arrival of the first Norse people in the year of A.D. 982. On this occasion, Denmark gave as a gift a unique and extremely important Greenland art collection of 160 watercolor paintings from the second half of the 19th century made by Aron from Kangeq, and 44 paintings made by Jens Kreutzmann from Kangaamiut (Bahnson and Haagen, 1994).

Some of the objects that have now been returned to Greenland were exported by expeditions to Denmark as early as the 17th century, while others were gathered in the 19th century and early 20th century by Danish colonial administrators and clerics. Danish employees working for the KGH (Royal Greenland Trading Company) and Danish clerics bought objects from the locals or obtained objects probably by exchanging them for daily goods such as coffee or tobacco and European fabric clothing.

The Danish cleric Frederik C. P. Rüttel, who did missionary work in the Ammassalik district in 1894–1902, wrote in his diary that he was disappointed when he arrived in the Ammassalik district to see the Indigenous people wearing European clothes mixed with original Inuit clothes of fur and leather. The unspoiled Indigenous culture had, in his eyes, vanished, and he supposed that the Gustav Holm Expedition in 1884 and probably the Norwegian hunters and other European whalers at this time had also traded furs and locally-produced objects for ammunition and rifles (Rüttel & Bobé 1917).

The "Native" objects were collected for use in exhibitions in Europe, providing educational information about Greenland and its people, however, these were also on display as trophies and collector's items. In the first place, the objects were collected for scientific reasons. Like elsewhere in the world where European colonies arose in the 1700s and 1800s, it is worth studying how the colonized peoples were exhibited, as it explains the colonizers' attitude towards "savage" people at that time. In my opinion this provides us with interesting information about Western scientific traditions. Today, the methods and traditions of studying - in this case Inuit and Greenlanders - as "objects" tell us a lot about the attitude of the European scientists at that time. Academic dissertations and other scientific articles from the 1800s and the beginning of 1900s are good examples of the common attitude. In these cases our ancestors are described as savages. I am not saying that the written material is not correct, but seen from a present perspective it lacks a lot of information that we need nowadays to get proper access to our own history and culture. In many ways foreign researchers and early scientists overlooked or misunderstood the Indigenous concepts of *Inua* and *Sila*, the Inuit holistic point of view. The tangible part of the cultural heritage is mostly described, however there is a gap in information relating to the immaterial part of the cultural heritage. Since the Inuit Institute, now Ilisimatusarfik (University of Greenland) was founded in the early 1980s, new Greenlandic scientists have been educated. It is now their responsibility to develop new theories and methods for the study of the spiritual culture and immaterial cultural heritage of Greenland.

Practice

As a consequence of the collecting process in the early period, the National Museum of Denmark has until recently owned and housed six important types of collections of cultural heritage originating in Greenland: a) archaeological collections relating to paleo- and neo-Eskimo cultures which consist of 28,000 objects from everyday life and archaeological material from the Viking age settlers, the so-called Norse people; b) ethnographic objects including Greenlandic men and women's costumes and ornaments, implements for making garments, house furnishing and implements, men's tools, sealing and fishing implements, art and magic ornamented objects from the late 19th – early 20th centuries, numbering 1,158 objects in total; c) water color paintings from the middle of the 19th century, 160 made by Aron from Kangeq and 44 made by Jens Kreutzmann from Kangaamiut; d) archival information on prehistoric sites all over Greenland; e) collections of oral material, including drum songs; and f) all human remains, consisting of 1,646 individuals of both Inuit and Norse origin.

In the years following the establishment of Greenland home rule, a committee was appointed for Danish-Greenlandic museum cooperation. The agreement of collaboration for the transfer of Greenlandic cultural heritage from Denmark was signed in October 1983 and took effect on January 1th 1984. This committee consisted of three people representing the Greenlandic home rule and three representing Denmark with the director of the Greenland National Museum as chairman. The primary aim of the committee was to monitor the process of repatriation and work out principles for dividing the Danish collections. The committee members developed the following five principles: 1) both Greenland and Denmark would hold a representative collection of objects from Greenland; 2) both collections would contain ample material suitable for popularization, research, study, and teaching; 3) collections or groups of objects naturally belonging together would remain together - in cases where this was impractical, temporary or permanent loans were to be negotiated between the two museums; 4) should the Greenlanders wish the return of special finds or objects of importance for their cultural identity, such wishes should be respected; and 5) the historical interests of Danish museums would be similarly respected.

Due to the sensitive character of human remains, the committee decided not to divide this material between Denmark and Greenland, and to repatriate the entire collection representing 1,646 individuals of both Inuit and Norse origin. But even though this collection has been transferred to Greenlandic authority, it remains in Danish institutions, together with all of the zoological materials and some very fragile preserved Norse clothing from medieval times, since Greenland does not yet have the facilities to house them. It is important to emphasize that this practical solution was a Greenlandic suggestion. We own them, and we are also responsible for their use in national and international

research, but they are still curated by Danish museums. We do however have stricter rules regarding human remains than zoological materials, due to the sensitive character of human remains. Whenever a researcher applies for access to Greenlandic human remains, staff at the Greenland National Museum evaluate the research proposals.

In the period of 1984-2001, the committee prepared several proposals for the repatriation of cultural heritage originating in different parts of Greenland, and altogether 35,000 objects out of the total of some 130,000 objects have been transferred to Greenland during these years. The repatriation of the Greenlandic cultural heritage is of vital importance for the Greenlandic people. It means that we now have access to study our own history, whether one is a scientist, a student, or the man in the street. It means that people are free to ask for information about their ancestor's handicraft or kayak. There may be limitations due to the unavailability of information: often the name of the maker is available, the year that the object was made and the time it was used, however not all the relevant information was always collected. That is an important point to make, because it says something about the way scientists worked in the past. The meaning of the *inua*, the sense and the holism behind the objects, did not get much attention.

Several Greenlandic-written books are published by ordinary Greenlanders. The books testify of their ancestor's history, personal histories and subjects like building kayaks or dog sledges and sewing traditional clothing. Photographs taken in the 1800s and 1900s are of great importance for Greenlanders. If possible people want a photograph of their beloved ancestors to be hung on the wall in the living room. To know one's ancestors and to be able to see them makes one's identity stronger and connects people to their history. The old photographs also tell their own story, especially about how people lived in the 1800s. This is important documentation which is studied intensely. In the Greenland National Museum we take advantage of it in making exhibitions on older times in Greenland. Historical photographs tell us about the development of the Greenlandic society. Photographs of the past taken by foreigners, which are being kept in European museums like the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden in the Netherlands, are also of great importance, and these photographs stimulate collaborative study of personal histories in East Greenland.

New Challenges – Domestic "Problems"

As the cultural objects were repatriated to Greenland a new problem arose: local Greenland museums requested the return of objects from their region to their museums. In short: they claimed domestic repatriation. In Greenland we have 16 local museums and to consider these claims seriously, we have had to evaluate the professional skills of the museums making these claims.

The local museums must have local professional standards, a long record of professional work, and demonstrate ability to take care of the objects on loan. We do have professional directors of local museums who are excellent at their work, but they often lacked professional expertise in areas such as conservation, and this is very important for preserving cultural objects. The storerooms of the local museums do not always meet the conditions necessary in storing valuable cultural objects. Local museums do understand these standards, and today it is no longer a problem. In a few cases the cultural objects belonging to a region are transferred to a local museum as a loan or put on display for a temporary exhibition.

The 15th-century mummies from Qilakitsoq were a sensation when they were excavated. The discussion about displaying the Qilakitsoq mummies was heated at that time, especially in Uummannaq were the director of the museum pointed out from an ethical point of view that it was the best to return the mummies to their burial place:

> *My opinion is that they ought to get back to their burial place instead of some of them being displayed in the Greenland National Museum. Their family and journey companions buried them and laid them to rest at this particular place. I know the mummies have contributed to valuable knowledge about the history of Greenland. There have been several books published about the topic, among others by scientists. I respect their work and I respect the men who found the mummies. Without further explanation – and I know that several people agree – I now state my opinion about the mummies. (Karl Kruse 1990)*[2]

Aqqaluk Lynge, who is president of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC, Greenland) and vice-chair of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UN PFII) describes the way Inuit share the hunt in an article and contrasts this Native custom with several "hunting-types" the colonizers had when they came to Greenland in the 1700s:

> *First they hunted our souls; they took away our religion and the Inuit converted to a new and foreign religion. The second hunt was the commercial bowhead whaling which decimated our stocks, which never recovered. The third hunt is the skeleton hunt; all the skeletons that were taken away from Greenland has now given back to Greenland. The fourth hunt is the hunt for our non-renewable resources. (Lynge 2008)*

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2 Sivisuumik eqqarsaatigisinnarlugu matumuuna isumaga nalunaarutiginiarpara Qilakitsumi inuit toqungasut paniinnarnikut pillugit.
Uanga isumaqarama maanna Nunatta Katersugaasivissuani saqqummersitat iliveqarfimminnut utertittariaqartut. Tamatumunnga pissutigaara inuit ataqqillugit eqqissiffimminni uninngassasut, saqqummersinneqaratik. Ilaqutaasami imaluunniit angalaqataasa ilisimavaat tassaniittussanngortillugit.
Nalunngilara inuit taakku arfineq-pingasut nunatta oqaluttuarisaaneranut assut soqutiginartunik tunniussisimasut. Atuakkallumi ilisimatuuniit allanneqarsimasut tamanna takutippaat. Tamakku ataqqivakka, Uummannarmiullu taakkuninnga nassaartut aamma ataqqillugit.
Annertunerusumik oqaaseqarnanga kissaatiga – aamma nalunngilara inunnit arlaqartunik tapersersorneqarlunga – matumuuna inoqatinnut apuuppara.

Lynge states that it is a shared hunt, but first it was taken away from Greenlanders, and then negotiated and given back to Greenland. The fifth sharing is the hunt for power: in the 1700s the land and seas were taken from Greenlanders by the Europeans, in the early 1950s Greenland was made a part of Denmark, and in the 1970s Greenland demanded and eventually negotiated a form of home rule which shared some of the power. In the new millennium Greenland is back at it with another self-government commission composed of both Greenlanders and Danes; this process resulted in self government established in June 2009. Lynge says that there seems to be a pattern, first the European removal from Greenland of what belongs to Greenlanders, and then they want to give it back by negotiating, he says that there is no meaning in sharing and negotiating a matter like stolen artifacts, religion and land (Lynge 2008).

Cultural Objects outside Denmark

In the 1980s, the Greenland National Museum made a survey of all museums in North America and Europe for information on their Greenland collections. The museum did not ask for repatriation of the objects, but it was important for the museum to locate the objects in case we wanted to study them.

A few items or collections from foreign museums have been repatriated: the Netherlands (Leiden) has returned one of the oldest kayaks in the world, and Norway (Oslo) has returned a large archaeological collection from East Greenland. Information on the important French (Paris) ethnographic collections from East Greenland is available for us. The American Museum of Natural History (now the Smithsonian Institution in Washington) has returned the human remains of some Polar Inuit who were taken to the US at the end of the 19th century, where they died. Their remains were brought back 100 years later and buried close to the local cemetery (Harper 1986).

At the time when the repatriation work started, the opinion at the Greenland National Museum and Archives was to get back objects from European (and American) museums. In the 1980s there was a general thought among politicians and government officers to get as many objects back as possible, especially from European museums. It was at the beginning of the Greenland home rule government and this attitude was connected to the nation-building process.

In the above-mentioned article of Aqqaluk Lynge about "sharing the hunt" (2008) he says that the colonial power takes away Greenlandic cultural heritage and gives Greenlanders another substitute or artificial identity and later on, Greenlanders have to negotiate to get their cultural heritage back. According to Lynge, this makes no sense, because it is Greenlanders' belief that it belongs to Greenlanders even when it is placed far away from Greenland. The question is how this sublime material is treated by scientists. In that sense Greenland has to make very clear and strict rules for using this material outside Greenland and

an understanding with Greenlanders' comprehension of Greenland's history. It provides a basis for mutual respect and cooperation between museums, universities, and research institutions.

The Outcome

Throughout the whole process, Greenland National Museum has informed UNESCO about the progress of repatriation of Greenland's cultural heritage. UNESCO was impressed by the way Denmark and Greenland dealt with such a difficult issue and published the Danish-Greenland experience in a small publication in the hope that other countries with similar problems could learn from it (Bouchenaki 2004).

Today, the repatriation of Greenlandic cultural heritage stands out internationally as being very successful, as it was based on cooperation and mutual respect and without actual claims having been raised. UNESCO describes it as "an impressive example of cooperation between a country and a former colonised territory" (Bouchenaki 2004:10).

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The Greenland Collections

Repatriation as a Starting Point for New Partnerships

Daniel Thorleifsen[1]

In the last decades the world has witnessed an increased focus on the repatriation of cultural heritage, both by Western societies, Third World countries, and among Indigenous peoples, followed by an increased number of claims for repatriation. Repatriation has been a great wish among many new independent states and Indigenous peoples who had lost essential parts of their cultural heritage during colonial times. The debate over to whom cultural heritage rightfully belongs has been a continual point on the museological and political agenda all over the world.

The often-heated debate between the parties involved - scientist, curators, representatives of the Indigenous peoples and postcolonial nation states - expresses that there are no single or unequivocal answers to this question. The problem is that the same object can be seen simultaneously as the cultural heritage of both parties: of the nation state, museum or private collection which has the object in possession, and of the applicant who claims it by virtue of his or her position in the culture of origin.

In the relationship between former colonial powers in Europe and its former colonies, legal instruments do not encompass repatriation, therefore the claimants are calling upon ethical and postcolonial considerations instead. On account of this lack of legislation, repatriation is sometimes denied with arguments about the legality of its appropriation, or claims have been complied with on an entirely voluntary basis.

Consequently repatriation is a complex phenomenon, which touches upon a lot of different approaches. Since most of the disputes relate to material appropriated within a colonial or otherwise occupational context, repatriation is not restricted to museological implications, but is connected with a wide variety of political, legal, ethical, and cultural issues, including international policy, human rights, identity, and cultural matters. The parties in repatriation disputes are just as multifarious: representatives of Indigenous communities, Third World countries, Western nation states, scientific communities, representatives of the UN system, and a wide variety of other non-governmental organizations. Based on their individual starting point all these parties may seem to have legitimate claims to the cultural heritage.

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Nuuk Conference 2007

In February 2007, the Greenland National Museum & Archives in Nuuk, Greenland, hosted an international conference on the repatriation of cultural heritage. The conference appealed to researchers and museum curators, representatives of Western governments, Third and Fourth World populations, UN agencies, and other inter- and non-governmental organizations. With this conference we wished to facilitate not only a multi-disciplinary exchange, but also a multi-cultural dialogue. We aimed at creating understanding and mutual respect between the parties involved in repatriation in order to work out solutions and modes for collaboration in the future.

However, the repatriation of thousands of archaeological and ethnological objects, artifacts, and human remains from Denmark to Greenland in the 1980s and 1990s had an enormous importance and far reaching significance to our understanding of ourselves today, to our identity and our cultural background. We have had a good experience of collaborating with our former colonial power, Denmark, in the issue of repatriation of cultural heritage. Some groups within Greenland assumed mistakenly that objects were given back under special conditions. This was one of the reasons to organize the conference on this topic at the Greenland National Museum and Archives in Nuuk in 2007. On the contrary, the longstanding relationship with Denmark resulted in the repatriation of extensive collections. It proved that repatriation can be much more than a subject of conflict; it can also provide a potential starting point for new and rewarding partnerships.

The repatriation debate so far, as expressed in the media as well as at a number of international conferences and publications, has focused on a range of different aspects. Apparently it seems as if these different initiatives remain isolated within their own scientific, juridical or political sphere instead of contributing to the other fields. It was time to combine these different approaches in seeking to create an understanding of the different opinions held by the individual parties in the repatriation disputes in order to work out constructive solutions and modes of collaboration in the future. There was (and still is) a current need not only for a cross-disciplinary approach but also a multi-cultural dialogue on repatriation issues. It was our wish to unite these different approaches in viewing repatriation as a cultural, political, legal, and scientific phenomenon with far reaching implications.

The conference was divided in 4 main sessions:

1. The legal status of cultural heritage: whose property? Whose heritage?
2. The politics of repatriation: does cultural heritage matter?
3. Ethical considerations: repatriation as a ritual of redemption
4. Preservation or reuse? Repatriation as a challenge to museums

The main subjects in the papers and discussions were a) the legal instruments of return and restitution; b) repatriation within a colonial context; c) repatriation between nation states without former colonial dependencies; d) repatriation from nation state to Indigenous peoples; and e) human remains and material of religious significance.

The results of the conference were published in the book: *Utimut. Past Heritage – Future Partnerships: Discussions on Repatriation in the 21st Century* (Gabriel & Dahl 2008). The framework, the meetings, and the dialogues during the conference stimulated mutual understanding between different actors toward preparation. This resulted in resolutions and recommendations for future partnerships. Unfortunately the participants of the conference did not manage to compose a document with recommendations we could all agree upon.

What we Learned from the Conference

The conference, with a number of inspiring presentations and the subsequent discussions, juxtaposed our experiences of the Greenland-Denmark repatriation case. The Greenland National Museum and Archives learned that every country and all people have the right to own parts of their cultural heritage, to be able to represent its own past and cultural distinctiveness. States and peoples should acknowledge that important relationships between peoples and their cultural heritage exist, irrespective of legal ownership. You must acknowledge that cultural heritage is important in relation to cultural revitalization, which in accordance to the UN Draft Declaration is a vital right of Indigenous peoples, but the same holds true for newly independent states and people in general.

Peoples who have lost substantial parts of their cultural heritage must additionally acknowledge the legal title that museums often hold to their collections, and that museums have an obligation to preserve their collections in accordance to museum policies and ICOM's Code of Professional Ethics. You must also realize that when all objects have been returned to their place of origin, nothing remains abroad to tell the stories of past cultural encounters, injustices and thefts. In order to avoid similar events in the future, it is of the utmost importance that such memories are being preserved and visible to all mankind.

Museums must follow the guidelines of the ICOM's Code of Professional Ethics and must be willing to initiate equitable partnerships and relations with the museums in countries or areas that have lost substantial parts of their cultural heritage. Cooperation results in sharing knowledge and documentation with the museums in the countries involved, and with the peoples of origin. Museums have to be prepared to initiate dialogues for the return of cultural property to the source communities. This must be undertaken in an impartial manner, based on scientific, professional and humanitarian principles as well as applicable local, national, and international legislation. Preferably, the repatria-

tion will be supported at a governmental or political level. In order to reach an agreement, it is necessary that the countries and source communities are equally willing to engage in such partnerships.

Besides repatriation, partnerships should include the country or the people of origin in the process of interpreting their own Native cultural history, and provide peoples access to the collections. Different models for partnerships in repatriation may include, but are certainly not limited to: 1) dividing collections into two equal parts; 2) pro-active ways of assisting countries or people of origin in investigating what cultural heritage is available abroad in foreign museums, and private and cultural institutions - this could include the construction of databases, which enables countries or people of origin to have if not physical access at least knowledge of their cultural heritage; 3) returning copies as a preliminary action in circumstances where museum facilities are lacking or are unsatisfactory in terms of preservation; 4) establishing shared collections "on tour", which could certainly be rewarding to both parties; 5) repatriation in exchange of other collections, for instance archaeological or ethnographic and ethnological material in exchange for more recent cultural heritage or knowledge; and 6) expand the notion of *universal museums* by offering the donation of cultural heritage from metropolitan museums to former colonial areas, for instance offering Danish cultural heritage valuable to the understanding of Danish-Greenlandic cultural encounters in the colonial period to the Greenland National Museum & Archives.

In situations where a country or people of origin have lost substantial parts of their cultural heritage and wish to retrieve part of this heritage for museum purposes, museums can initiate repatriation based on the following principles: i) collections should be divided in order to provide that both the present legitimate owner of the collections and the country or people of origin would hold a representative collection of cultural heritage; ii) both collections will contain ample material suitable for popularization, research, study and teaching; iii) collections or groups of objects naturally belonging together must remain together; iv) the country or people of origin could wish for the return of specific finds or objects of importance for their cultural identity and such wishes must be respected; and v) the historical and scientific interest of present legitimate owners of the collections should be similarly respected.

In the case that human remains or material of sacred significance are claimed, it is important that museums acknowledge that the country or people of origin might consider such material as particularly sensitive. Acknowledging this must include the removal of the material from public display. If displayed they must be presented with great tact and respect. Regular consultation with the affected community should ensure that the display remains culturally appropriate. Museums must provide particular demands for special storage facilities, for instance sacred rooms or accessibility for ceremonial activities. If the two par-

ties are unable to come up with an agreement regarding the suggestions above, the return of such material must be considered. Museum policies should clearly define the process for responding to such requests.

The Greenland Repatriation

During the Greenland colonial period (1721-1953) Danish and Norwegian civil citizens - the employees in the Danish-Norwegian colonial administration and trade, church, and health care institutions - lived in Greenland. The Scandinavians and other people from abroad collected not only large numbers of objects, but also very important ethnographic artifacts and other material from Greenland, as well as from other Inuit societies in the Arctic. These materials ended up in different places in Europe. Most of the objects were stored in royal collections and museums in Denmark. Some collections were transported to other museums in Scandinavia and to other parts of Europe. During the 1980s the Greenland National Museum established initial talks with the Danish National Museum in order to transfer some important parts of the Greenland collections to Greenland. This collaboration resulted in the repatriation of an ethnographical collection of 1,158 objects, an archaeological collection of c. 28,000 objects, and some excellent collections of early Greenlandic art.

Repatriation is inextricably bound with the restoration of cultural pride and identity. Appropriation of the cultural heritage from other cultures in the past must be seen from an historical perspective, taking the special circumstances into account. The perspectives on human beings and on non-Western cultures of that time must be taken into consideration. In a Danish colonial context, similar to other European colonial powers, the appropriation and exportation of Inuit ethnographical objects, artifacts, and human remains developed among other disciplines in the name of the science. The appropriation should benefit science in the study of human development and evolution. Some artifacts were clearly from plundered graves. This appropriation effort increased at the same time as the gradual obliteration of the Inuit culture. Repatriation has been a great wish among Greenlanders, who lost essential parts of their cultural heritage during colonial times. Because of the repatriation of thousands of archaeological and ethnological objects, artifacts, and human remains in 1980s and 1990s, today we have immediate access to specific aspects of our own prehistory. The repatriation had an enormous importance and far reaching significance to our understanding of ourselves today, to our identity and our cultural background.

Our own cultural background as Inuit and the experiences we have had in the last centuries, and also observing the world outside Greenland, have taught me that you cannot reach a peaceful world without respect for other cultures. Explanations for tensions and conflicts between different cultures are usually lying in our way of viewing other peoples and their recent and past cultures.

If we cannot respect others as much as we respect ourselves we will never be able to understand one another. Visitors of Greenland have often characterized Greenlanders as a hospitable and a humble people. But if humility is a good inherited characteristic, humiliation will be the worst vice. There was a time in world history when the appropriation of other people's cultural heritage was a display of power, where the fittest, strongest, or a winning party in a war plundered and captured cultural heritage. I wish that such humiliations would now be a thing of the past.

To Greenland, the repatriation of cultural heritage from Denmark was much more than the subject of conflict. It was the potential starting point of new and rewarding partnerships as well. Negotiations were initiated with the National Museum of Denmark in order to get substantial parts of the Greenlandic collections repatriated. The two museums in Greenland and Denmark agreed quickly on the basic principles of how to divide the collections, and the political leaders in both countries agreed on these principles. The basic principles were: 1) Greenland should have representative collections illustrating all aspects of Greenland's prehistory from all parts of the country; 2) both collections (in Denmark and Greenland) should contain ample material suitable for popularization, research, exhibition, and teaching; 3) collections or groups of objects naturally belonging together should remain together - in cases where this was impracticable, loans or permanent loans were to be negotiated between the two museums; 4) Greenland should have special, unique artifacts or objects of importance for the cultural identity and material relating to religious matters; 5) information on all objects should be transferred, as this is probably the most important part of any collections; 6) enough material should stay in Denmark for further research and for the promotion of Greenland in exhibitions at the Danish National Museum; 7) important material which illustrates the history of the Danish National Museum's activities in Greenland should stay in Denmark as part of Danish history; 8) researchers at the two museums should always be able to have loans from the other museum without problems; and 9) an electronic database on all prehistoric sites in Greenland should be established.

Epilogue

Due to the Greenland collections in Denmark, the Greenland National Museum wanted to establish public exhibitions on Greenlandic prehistory with the best available material. It sought to establish collections in Greenland for scientific study to support students at the Greenland University with prehistoric and historic material and to attract foreign researchers. It was important to establish the foundation for future research into Greenland's cultural history in Greenland, also to support local museums with materials loaned from Greenlandic collections. It was a wish to make the Greenlandic museum and Greenland into a

country and culture internationally visible in exhibitions throughout the world. One of the goals was to obtain a database on prehistoric sites to be able to protect the sites from destruction. We have succeeded on most of these points.

Now it is a great wish for me that the Greenland National Museum will succeed in establishing similar cooperation with other museums especially in Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, France, and the US, in repatriation issues and the transfer of Greenland's cultural heritage. The primary goal of repatriation should never be the transfer itself, but the establishment of working relationships that can be beneficial to all parties involved, regarding, for instance, common exhibitions and the sharing of knowledge in future research projects.

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Collaborations with Native Peoples in the American Southwest and Midwest: 1967-2007

Duane Anderson[1]

Introduction

Indian-white relationships experienced profound changes during the last half of the twentieth century. These were brought about by an increased sense of self-awareness on the part of Native peoples, coupled with ever-evolving and often bungled government policies. The struggle over Civil Rights and the related Red Power movement drew out the more radical element whose often desperate deeds helped spread dissatisfaction and disagreement in the Indian world. As a result the government was gradually forced to reorient policies favoring increased self-determination for Native peoples during the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations. Landmark legislation was eventually passed including the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA); the Indian Self Determination and Education Assistance Act; and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) - often over strong objections from many sectors of the dominant society.

Throughout this period university trained archaeologists and museum professionals often found themselves at odds with tribal leaders over the conduct of archaeological excavations and the storage, study and exhibition of sensitive archaeological and ethnographic materials including human physical remains. Never before had anyone questioned the value of scientific inquiry or the appropriateness of such activities. With the passage of NAGPRA came an ongoing struggle over ownership of the past. Rather than drawing on positive models of communication and cooperation in crafting the legislation, NAGPRA paved the way for high stakes legal struggles as many universities and museums were brought kicking and screaming into compliance with the law. Confrontation was often more common than cooperation resulting in winners and losers when judgments were handed down and subsequently appealed.

With the period of turmoil described above as a backdrop, this paper provides an overview of seven diverse projects that took place from 1967-2007. The first which involved the protection of ancient burial grounds came about under extremely adverse circumstances a decade and a half before the passage of NAGPRA. Other projects including the development of museum exhibits

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and outdoor interpretation; the fostering of Native arts; and the protection of a tribal icon were smooth and easy from the beginning. All of the projects discussed have four things in common: (1) they focused on the creation of partnerships of mutual benefit; (2) they are of lasting value and significance to the tribal groups involved; (3) they are of general scientific, historical, or artistic importance; and (4) they carefully avoided the pitfalls inherent in either ignoring Native concerns outright, or engaging in disputes arising out of prescriptive federal legislation.

Protecting Ancient Burial Grounds

For many years American archaeologists went about their business of digging archaeological sites with little concern for the dignity of contemporary Native American groups. In the late 1960s Indian activism became widespread as frustration grew over unemployment, treaty rights, racial inequities, and land claims. Embedded within their dissatisfaction was the charge that even their dead were not receiving equal treatment, as evidenced by their remains being excavated and put on public display in museums.

I was director of a museum and planetarium in northwestern Iowa when I heard from the State Archaeologist of South Dakota in 1967 that my institution should prepare to be raided by the Sioux because we had skeletal remains including those of the widely-publicized Turin man (Fisher et al. 1985) on display. The last thing I wanted was a demonstration in front of the museum, so I prepared reports on all of the human physical remains in the museum's collections and sent them to the State Archaeologist at the University of Iowa where they could be officially housed by the state until some resolution could be found to the issues being raised by the Indian community.

The severity of the situation became clear to me in 1972 when I went to Sioux City at the request of the director of the Sioux City Public Museum to investigate a report that human bones had been discovered on a hilltop outside of town. When I arrived members of the radical American Indian Movement (AIM) had occupied the hill and refused to allow access to the area. Earlier, the local museum director and a Native American newspaper reporter approached the AIM group in an effort to calm the situation down, but a struggle ensued. The museum director was struck twice in the face and the news reporter was stabbed twice in the arm. Upon learning this, I recorded the site from a distance and notified the State Archaeologist that he had a problem in western Iowa. Unfortunately, there was no resolution to the problem because the State Archaeologist refused to consider reburial of the remains. As a result, the bones were taken to the Rose Bud Reservation in South Dakota for reburial and the remaining portion of the site was left unprotected for the next four years (Anderson et al. 1978:184-185; Anderson et al. 1979).

A few years later (1975) I inherited the problem and a host of others when I was named State Archaeologist of Iowa. A good deal of communication between Indians and archaeologists had been accomplished in the interim, but the attorney general rendered an opinion stating that each of the 99 county coroners in the State of Iowa would have authority over remains discovered in their respective jurisdictions. The situation was quite ambiguous at best as there was no law that specifically dealt with the disinterment of human physical remains, whether by archaeologist, looters, or by accident.

Within a short time after I became State Archaeologist, I received a call from the Governor's office directing me to western Iowa where road graders constructing Interstate 25 had encountered an ancient cemetery. When I arrived, representatives of the Yankton Sioux, Omaha, and Winnebago tribes were on hand along with the county coroner, a group of looters, and state and local police. After some discussion, the Indians named Running Moccasins (Maria Pearson) as their representative and authorized her to speak for them and to oversee the recovery of the remains (the highway alignment and public knowledge of the site precluded preservation in situ). After the county coroner announced his intention to remove the skeletons with heavy equipment, I was given permission to proceed. We conducted the fieldwork with 24 hour police protection and analyzed the remains in facilities at a local community college. Upon completion, we reburied the remains of some 50 individuals in a local township cemetery.

The crisis-turned-opportunity eventually resulted in the following outcomes: (1) the enactment of the first state law in the country dealing specifically with ancient burial grounds (1976); (2) the establishment of an Indian Advisory Committee to deal with the reburial of ancient human skeletal remains (appointed by the Native American community at large); (3) the establishment of state cemeteries for the purpose of reburying remains; (4) the study and reburial of over 500 skeletons gathered from various institutions state-wide; (5) a landmark publication that served as a model for interaction between Indians and archaeologists dealing with inadvertent discoveries of burial sites (Anderson et al. 1978); and (6) the preservation of sites in situ on state lands as well as private held property (Anderson et al. 1979; cf. Anderson and Tiffany 2005).

The down side was the charge by many other American archaeologists that we gave away the farm by yielding to pressure from the Indian community (Anderson 1985a). The argument took the form of science versus religion (destroying data versus reburying loved ones whose graves had been violated). The Iowa system was tested twice (Anderson, et al. 1980; Anderson et al. 1983) and each time the law gained broader support (over 30 years after the Iowa law was passed, it is still an effective preservation tool even though most of the original players have been replaced (Anderson 2005; Anderson and Tiffany 2005; cf. Gradwohl et al. 2005).

Iowa Hall

In 1978 officials at the University of Iowa announced plans to close the second oldest museum west of the Mississippi River (the sixth largest university natural history repository in the United States, established in 1858) in order to make room for classrooms and lounges for the Home Economics Department. Alumni, faculty, staff and public outrage forced the administration to reconsider their decision, and after the Museum's executive committee submitted a report outlining prospects for the Museum's future (Anderson, et al. 1980). The plan to develop "Iowa Hall" (a major permanent exhibition dealing with the natural and cultural history of the state) was eventually approved, and the director of the museum worked with faculty members in anthropology, biology, botany, and geology, to plan exhibitions on the natural history and cultural heritage of the state. The author was assigned the task of working with Native American representatives to assemble relevant collections, secure necessary funding, and plan exhibitions on 12,000 years of cultural history in the state.

A grant was submitted to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for exhibits and a diorama depicting the Mesquakie Indians ca. 1840 - a time when the Tribe had officially been placed on a reservation in Kansas after being displaced from their original territory. The exhibition focused on refuge groups of Mesquakie who ignored the order to relocate and remained in the tributaries of the Iowa River and surrounding regions. To our surprise, NEH rejected our proposal. As little information was provided, one of the members of our advisory committee joined me on a quick trip to Washington, D.C. to see why the proposal was rejected. The grants officer was somewhat dismissive of the proposal, mentioning mistakes in fact and saying that the exhibit as outlined sounded like a "Poor Pop Art Parity."

"What kind of mistakes?" asked the Mesquakie representative? "Well," the NEH grants officer responded, "The proposal calls the lodge you plan to build a 'Wickiup'. That's a Mohawk term." The Mesquakei representative leaned over the table and looked the grants officer in the eye and said in a low but determined voice, "We call them Wickiups…" He paused, "And what do you mean by a 'Poor Pop Art Parity'?" The grants officer was frustrated and embarrassed at this point and didn't respond directly. He was told that the Mesquakies considered the plan to recreate a fall scene with a cattail mat covered lodge was both accurate and appropriate. The Mesquakei representative added that the exhibition as a whole was extremely important to his Tribe because in 1856 Governor Grimes, operating out of the Territorial Capital (the restored National Landmark located next door to the Museum), and the Territorial Legislature allowed the Mesquakies to purchase land and move to their current settlement located near Tama, Iowa. Shortly after we returned to Iowa City we were informed that the proposal had been approved.

The Mesquakie representative's father, one of the last fluent speakers, came to Iowa City while the exhibit was being constructed and narrated the audio portion of the exhibit in both Mesquakie and English. Iowa Hall opened to the public with much fanfare in 1985 (Anderson, Scott A. 1985). The Mesquakie exhibition remains in pristine condition and has delighted and educated the public for nearly two and one-half decades (see Laird 1989:50-57 for a description of artifacts on display). As a footnote, one of the artifacts found in the Museum's collection was a feathered cape owned by Mesquakie Chief Poweshiek in the late 1830s (Anderson 1985b). After extensive research, it was determined to be the sole well-documented specimen of its type representing a "lost tradition" of cape making in the Great Lakes region of the United States and Canada (Lurie and Anderson 1998; 2000).

Ioway Indian Village

At Living History Farms, Inc., in Des Moines, Iowa, farms had been developed for various periods of European history including the Pioneer Period, 1850s, 1900s, and a Farm of Today and Tomorrow. All that was missing was an "Indian Farm" which I was asked to help create. After considering the possibilities we decided to reproduce a portion of a settlement occupied by the Ioway Tribe ca. 1700 because there were good records of their villages in the state dating to that period (Anderson 1973). The Ioway were descendents of the archaeologically known Oneota manifestation that occupied nine Midwestern states and gave rise to such groups as the Kansa, Missouria, Osage, Ponca, Oto, and Omaha, among others. I asked members of our Indian Advisory Committee on ancient burial grounds to assist with the oversight of the project and to help make contact with Ioway Indians on reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma.

The project involved clearing an area for the village, cutting willow saplings and sheets of bark from the equivalent of 100 elm trees to make two lodges (original villages contained as many as 100 lodges). We prepared fields for garden plots and planted corn, beans, squash, and tobacco using seeds obtained from the genetic repository at nearby Iowa State University. Once the basic elements were in place our crew collected local clay, made period-style pottery, butchered road killed deer from Interstate 80, tanned hides, and made a variety of artifacts including bows, arrows, stone and bone tools, cordage and woven bags made from basswood fibers, and bone gaming pieces. We also obtained metal trade axes, brass kettles, and glass beads appropriate for the period for use at the site. When the site was finished, we trained local volunteers to maintain the site and interpret it for the general public (Anderson 1982).

When the advisory committee visited the finished village one member recommended that we remove the menstrual hut (historically documented place where young girls were isolated prior to puberty initiations), and that we take down the scalp pole (with horse hair "scalp") and remove the medicine bundle

hanging from a tripod in the center of the village. Committee members did not want to reveal sensitive information (puberty initiation), or religion (medicine bundle), or give the impression that the Native peoples were savages (scalp pole).

When it came to the dedication of the site, a five-member delegation from the Ioway Tribe of Oklahoma made the trip. While none of the members had ever been to Iowa, eighty-three-year-old Solomon Kent, lineal descendant of one of the great Ioway chiefs, said that his grandfather had told him stories about stories of the days when he lived in the southwestern part of what later became Iowa. He blessed the site and gifts were exchanged between the Ioway, officials at Living History Farms, and members of our advisory committee.

At the time, I wasn't sure that the village or the program would last through the ten-year expected life span of the lodges, but to my amazement and delight, when I returned in 1996 for a ceremony marking the twentieth anniversary of the Iowa burial law I found the village was in fine condition and still functioning in the way it was originally intended.

Sunwatch National Historic Landmark

For seventeen years the Dayton Museum of Natural History quietly conducted archaeological excavations at a large circular village of Fort Ancient cultural affiliation located along the Great Miami River on the southwest side of Dayton, Ohio (Heilman, et al., 1988). As excavations progressed, portions of the village were reconstructed, partly as experimental archaeology projects, and partly with the idea of opening the site to the public. The site has been referred to as an "American Woodhenge" because of astronomical alignments that can be observed when the rising sun casts a shadow from a fifty foot cedar post in the center of the village. The alignments gave village priests the ability to predict such things as the solstices and the first day of planting.

I joined the Museum in 1986 at a time when the institution was preparing for the observance of its 100 year anniversary. Plans called for the expansion of the main museum and the construction of a visitor center at the archaeological site that was named SunWatch in recognition of the solar alignments that were discovered. Because the site dates to ca. A.D. 1350 it is not possible to directly associate the village with living tribes, therefore, a diverse committee made up of local Native Americans was given the task of advising museum officials as the project progressed.

The project was designed in a way that required the visitor to walk from the parking area up a broad ramp flanked by Native plants utilized by village inhabitants. Inside, the visitor walked on a path through a mini-forest and into the lobby. To the left was an audio visual program telling about the excavations and what had been learned at the site. On the right the forest trail led into the exhibition area where a scale model of the reconstructed village was wired in a

way that the visitor could see that the site was laid out in concentric circles: the stockade; circle of thatch-roofed houses; a zone of underground storage pits; and a plaza with the center pole in the middle. By pushing a button a person could see various alignments and visualize how the village functioned during a yearly cycle.

Other exhibits featured stone tools, bone implements, pottery, two full sized cut-away houses, a model of an underground storage pit, mannequins cast from living Native people, a priest wearing a reconstructed turkey-feather cape, and the first facial reconstruction of a Fort Ancient Indian based on skeletal remains recovered from the excavations.

When visitors exited the visitor center they could walk out on a second story deck and look at the partially reconstructed village located immediately to the south. From there, a hard surface walkway led through the garden plots and into the village where, depending on the day, one could take either a guided or self-guided tour through the village.

Within two years the site went from a closely guarded secret, to a public attraction drawing 17,000 visitors per year (Heilman, Turnbow, Anderson 1990). By the time the site opened it had been designated as National Historic Landmark.

Members of the Indian Advisory Committee worked tirelessly behind the scenes through every aspect of the planning and construction of the center. Once the village was opened to the public they assisted with "living history" interpretation at the site (e.g., pottery making, hide tanning, bone tool making, Indian games, gardening techniques, food processing, and ceremonial dances). When we could not get the Department of Transportation to erect a "SunWatch" sign on the nearby Interstate highway the advisory committee stepped up and accused the agency of discrimination toward Native peoples (the sign was quickly approved and installed). When another Native group wanted to politicize the site over the treatment of human physical remains the Indian advisory committee steadfastly supported the museum and worked with the staff to secure a grant from the National Science Foundation to construct an underground repository for the remains excavated at the site, thus allowing them to be reburied on-site in a way that they might be retrieved for future study.

Chief White Antelope Blanket

The Chief White Antelope blanket, housed at the Indian Arts Research Center at the School of American Research (recently renamed the School of Advanced Research) in Santa Fe, New Mexico, is one of the most sacred icons of the Southern Cheyenne Tribe. It is believed to have been removed from the body of Chief White Antelope at the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado in November 29, 1864. Its significance to the Cheyenne people is paralleled by its artistic

and art historical significance to the people of the world as it is generally regarded as the finest example of Navajo weaving created during the Classic Period (Anderson 1999a; Anderson 2002a; Reed and Anderson 2007).

The tribe learned of the existence of the blanket the 1940s and asked for its return, but the private non-profit group that owned it (Indian Arts Fund, Inc.) denied their request. The School of American Research obtained the Fund's collection in 1967 and incorporated it into the holdings of the newly established Indian Arts Research Center. Time passed, and in 1996 Cheyenne tribal Elders inquired about the blanket and were invited to travel to Santa Fe to see it firsthand. Subsequently, the Tribe requested that the blanket be brought to the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation in Watonga, Oklahoma, as Chief Joe Antelope, White Antelope's grandson, and other tribal leaders wanted to see it. Chief Joe Antelope was 90 and in poor health, unable to travel.

In February, 1997 the largest assemblage of Elders and chiefs in recent memory gathered at the Indian Baptist Church to recite prayers and sing songs as the blanket was passed through purifying smoke of a braided rope of sweet grass (Anderson 1999a). Amid dears and much emotion, Chief Joe Antelope told how his grandfather was "downed by the soldiers" as he stood praying in front of his lodge. He said the blanket was then "stolen away," adding that he hoped the blanket would "be put to some good purpose." The old chief passed away three months later.

Some thought the blanket should be returned to the Tribe. Other Tribal members were not confident that it could be properly housed in climate controlled conditions, or provided with enough security. The blanket could not be recovered under the provisions of the Native American Graves Protection Act because it was made by the Navajo and it was not a funerary object, even though White Antelope was wearing it when he was killed.

At the School of American Research I proposed raising an endowment sufficient to allow the blanket to travel back to the Tribe every four years for ceremonies. The blanket would be protected and available to researchers in the interim, and each visit to Oklahoma would be special, as opposed to having it on permanent display at Tribal headquarters. When we were in the midst of raising funds we were notified that the Chief who had replaced Chief Joe Antelope had died, and we were requested to bring the blanket back to Oklahoma. This time the blanket was displayed in the local gymnasium and was accessible to a much larger cross section of the community.

In the intervening years, the endowment has been put in place and the blanket has returned for a third time to Oklahoma. A special convocation was held at the Indian Arts Research Center in 2004 in which experts in a variety of fields joined with one of White Antelopes lineal descendents in studying and assessing the significance of the blanket. In 2007 a definitive work was published

documenting, in so far as possible, the attribution of the blanket to White Antelope. It was based primarily on the chemical analysis of 19 dyes extracted from the blanket (Reed and Anderson 2007).

Native Convocations

In 1994 I initiated an experimental program at the School of American Research in Santa Fe that was designed to bring Native artists together to assess the status of their particular art traditions and publicize their findings. The program was based on the School's highly successful Advanced Seminar program established in 1968 that brought prominent scholars to Santa Fe to exchange ideas in concentrated week-long sessions. Their goal was not just to summarize what is known, but to advance ideas for future research. Similarly, the intent behind the Native American Convocation program was to put the Native artists in the driver's seat and let them take charge of the future of their traditions rather than simply respond to market influences.

The first convocation was on the micaceous pottery tradition (pottery made of mica rich clay) that had been shared historically by Pueblo, Navajo, and Apache groups. Participants were selected by hiring a journalist to visit reservations, pueblos, trading posts, art fairs, and galleries and asked which artists practicing in the tradition were most respected and why. At the conclusion, we sat down with one of the leaders in the tradition who was on campus with a fellowship and tallied the results. The ten highest scoring potters were invited to participate.

Prior to their week on campus each artist was asked to produce two pottery vessels: one traditional piece; and another that explored new horizons. The convocation began with the artists viewing, handling, and commenting on historical pieces in the Indian Arts collection. The exercise was designed to get the participants excited and involved and make them feel comfortable commenting on art. In subsequent days artists were asked to present their work, comment on their motivation for their traditional piece, and tell what inspired them in the shaping of their experimental work.

At the conclusion of the convocation participants traveled across northern New Mexico in vans and visited each of the artist's "studios" (everything from formal studios to kitchen tables and outdoor ramadas) and artists told or demonstrated how and where they worked, and shared information about clay sources, fuels used in firing, tools used, and tricks of the trade they had learned through experience. The last stop was on the Jicarilla Apache reservation where participants conferred and requested assistance from SAR staff in staging the first Micaceous Pottery Market. Arrangements were made in a Santa Fe hotel and convocation participants invited everyone they knew who were practicing in the tradition.

Fifty artists responded and brought over 500 glistening golden ceramic vessels and sculptures to the market. They gave demonstrations on pottery making and sold their wares to an admiring public. Another outcome was the first book length treatment on the pottery tradition (Anderson 1999b). The Micaceous Pottery Tradition was the last tradition in the American Southwest to make the transition from utilitarian ware to art, and it is the only one where the transition was documented.

In subsequent years, convocation have continued, encompassing a variety of topics including Southwestern basketry, Navajo weaving, Hopi and Zuni kachinas, Indian painting, Pueblo embroidery, and Pueblo jewelry. All have drawn from a broad cross section of artists from throughout the Southwest, and most have resulted in publications advancing public understanding of the art forms from the Native perspective.

Rain Gods and Revivals

Outside of the formal convocation program at the School of American Research, I began a series of collaborations with local Pueblo groups. One involved a study of the oldest continuously practiced figurative art tradition in the Southwest—the so-called "Rain Gods" made by potters at Tesuque Pueblo. The little figurines were condemned in the early days of anthropology as being cheap, worthless, and semi-obscene. In 1889 prominent American anthropologist, William Henry Holmes, said the figurines were "entirely vicious" and represented a "debasement" of "the refined and artistic wares of the ancient Pueblos". Today, however, we see the rain gods as the Indian's way of adapting to the tourist trade after the arrival of the railroad in the 1880s. Over the last 125 years the rain gods have become closely linked with tribal identity and have emerged as a vehicle for individual self expression.

Rain god makers were invited to bring examples of their work to the Indian Arts Research Center where they talked about their figurines and told stories of rain gods made by their mothers and grandmothers. This was followed by a series of individual interviews conducted at the Pueblo. As the manuscript developed, individuals read and commented on various sections, and one of the participants wrote the Foreword for the book (Anderson 2002b).

When I was changing positions from the School of American Research to the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture in Santa Fe, two of my colleagues and I were in the midst a project to document the history of the Santa Ana pottery tradition and to aid potters in their efforts to revive pottery making at Santa Ana Pueblo for the third time.

I met regularly with ladies in the "pottery house" at Santa Ana on Saturdays where they ground and sifted volcanic ash for tempering material and watched as they helped each other make, decorate, and fire pottery. I circulated questionnaires and conducted interviews and verified notes from previous visits.

As was the case with Tesuque artists, Santa Ana ladies were invited to visit the Indian Arts Research Center and to the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture to study and sketch historical pieces. Afterwards, they were provided with an illustrated catalog of pottery vessels in the two collections. At the time the book was released (Harlow, Anderson, and Lanmon 2005) the Museum opened a major exhibition of Santa Ana Pottery showing the history of pottery making at the Pueblo from the 1700s to the present.

In the planning of books on Tesuque and Santa Ana pueblos, tribal approval was obtained in advance, and book royalties were contributed directly to the tribes in support of their pottery programs.

Conclusion

Several lessons can be drawn from America's experience with Indian-white relations during the latter half of the twentieth century: (1) No individual or group has exclusive ownership of the past; (2) science versus religion arguments will never be settled; (3) federal legislation should be based at least in part on models of communication and cooperation that work; and (4) universities and museums should enter into meaningful mutually advantageous long-term partnerships in dealing with projects involving Native peoples. With respect to the latter point, it is worth mentioning that all successful projects are based on trust and mutual respect. Both Native and non-Native leaders should recognize that a diversity of opinion exists within all groups and they should be prepared to explore options candidly and search for meaningful ways to compromise.

Acknowledgements

While this article was written from the author's point of view, it should be obvious to the reader that the diverse projects described herein could not have been completed without the help, insight, guidance, and encouragement of literally hundreds of people. People in government, academia, Native artists, tribal members, and members of the public all interacted constructively to share ideas, create opportunities, and foster mutual respect, assistance, understanding between Native groups and the dominant society. Rather than try to name names, I refer the interested reader to the literature cited for a better idea of what was done on each project. When I began my career the only collaborations I planned to engage in were with my colleagues in archaeology and the museum field. As it turned out, circumstances dictated that on-going collaborations with Native Americans were to become a major part of my professional career. I was at the right place at the right time, and am much richer for the experience.

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Conservation's Role in Building Relationships with Source Communities

Farideh Fekrsanati[1]

Introduction

Conservation represents an area where the most direct influence on cultural materials is taken within the field of museums and collections care. Traditionally in Europe and North America conservators are regarded as more concerned with the physical health of collections and therefore with the tangible values they represent. The physical stability and authenticity of the materials entrusted to their care stands central to their decision-making process with the aim of "preserving cultural property for present and future generations" (Code of Ethics CAC and CAPC). Conservation treatment can result in considerable influence on the composition, the appearance, and integrity of these materials and therefore conservation decisions are taken with great care. Intrusive treatment strategies can have a dramatic influence on the physical appearance of cultural property and added material may influence the future interpretation of items. Preventive conservation strategies may include methods of care and preservation that could stand in contradiction to beliefs and requirements of the originating cultures. Traditionally conservators are trained according to scientific and technical aspects of the profession and generally adhere to a code of ethics which inform their decision-making process and conduct as professionals, though these guidelines are not static and are subject to change as the profession evolves over time. In more recent years, working with the cultural inheritance of living cultures and the growing demand of community members to participate in the decision-making process has moved conservators to evaluate their approach to their profession and has given cause to new developments within the field. Museums as a community of professionals have recognized the need for changing the way they conduct business with respect to the involvement of source communities. But it is important to emphasize that change is not a matter of one department versus another or one discipline versus another. The museum as a community has to evolve and develop ways of conduct that are supported by the institution as a whole. This article will explore, using existing literature sources, the importance of including conservation into the process of establishing relationships to source communities which can have a fundamental influence on the way museum business is conducted, especially because it might stand in contrast to the traditional understanding of conservation.

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Current Code of Ethics

The following examples of codes of ethics reflect that today museums and the conservation profession are making an effort to recognize the right of multiple communities and many stakeholders to be involved and considered in the decision-making process and in the care of cultural materials. It is important to be aware that collections located in museums have significance beyond their materiality and physical existence.

The ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums states under articles:

> 2. *Museums that maintain collections hold them in trust for the benefit of society and its development.*
>
> 6. *Museums work in close collaboration with the communities from which their collections originate as well as those they serve. Museum collections reflect the cultural and natural heritage of the communities from which they have been derived. As such, they have a character beyond that of ordinary property, which may include strong affinities with national, regional, local, ethnic, religious or political identity. It is important therefore that museum policy is responsive to this situation.*

The E.C.C.O (the European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organizations) Code of Ethics for Conservator-Restorers states in its preamble that:

> *The objects, buildings and environments to which society attributes particular aesthetic, artistic, documentary, environmental, historic, scientific, social, or spiritual values are commonly designated "Cultural Heritage" and constitute a material and cultural patrimony to be passed on to coming generations. Since it is entrusted to the care of the Conservator-Restorer by society, s/he has a responsibility not only to the cultural heritage itself, but also to the owner or legal guardian, the originator or creator, the public, and to posterity.*

The AIC (American Institute of Conservation) Code of Ethics preamble states that:

> *The primary goal of conservation professionals, individuals with extensive training and special expertise, is the preservation of cultural property. Cultural property consists of individual objects, structures, or aggregate collections. It is material which has significance that may be artistic, historical, scientific, religious, or social, and it is an invaluable and irreplaceable legacy that must be preserved for future generations.*
>
> *In striving to achieve this goal, conservation professionals assume certain obligations to the cultural property, to its owners and custodians, to the conservation profession, and to society as a whole.*

The AICCM (Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material) states in its Code of Ethics for Practice of Conservation under:

> *4. Approach.*
>
> *It is recognized that the significance of cultural material may have a bearing on conservation decisions. Accordingly, without breaching the provisions of the AICCM Code of Ethics or Code of Practice, the AICCM Member shall ensure that cultural material in her/his care receives levels of conservation appropriate to its significance and available resources.*
>
> *5. Cultural issues.*
>
> *The AICCM member should be informed and respectful of the cultural and spiritual significance of cultural material and should, where possible, consult with all relevant stakeholders before making treatment or other decisions relating to such cultural material. The AICCM member should recognize the unique status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as first peoples, and as key stakeholders in the conservation of their cultural heritage material. When undertaking conservation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander cultural property, the AICCM member should recognize that the objects and the information relevant to them are of equal importance, and that conservation practice must adapt to cultural requirements, particularly in respect of secret/sacred items.*

The Canadian Association for Conservation of Cultural Property (CAC) Code of Ethics states:

> *The fundamental role of the conservation professional is to preserve and to restore, as appropriate, cultural property for present and future generations. The following are principles of ethical behavior for those involved in the conservation of cultural property:*
>
> *I. It is the responsibility of the conservation professional, acting alone or with others, to strive constantly to maintain a balance between the need in society to use a cultural property, and to ensure the preservation of that cultural property.*
>
> *II. In the conservation of cultural property, all actions of the conservation professional must be governed by an informed respect for the integrity of the property, including physical, conceptual, historical and aesthetic considerations.*

The current conservation codes of ethics furthermore position conservation not only as responsible for the preservation of cultural material itself, but also for safeguarding tangible and more importantly intangible requirements presented by the originating cultures. "As a result, the discipline of conservation is now considered a social as well as a technical and scientific process" (Peters 2008). In practical terms this means that conservators have to adapt their prac-

tice to the demands presented to them and to find ways and methods that enable them to consider and react to the various requirements and particularly those of source communities.

Despite efforts to change, the established conservation education programs in Europe but also in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand are still based on a highly scientific and aesthetic approach to conservation; conservators are still predominantly trained to understand their position as representing the objects. This does not prepare them for collaboration with communities and non-professional consultants or for demands rooted in consideration of cultural use or importance of the collections they are entrusted with.

From Ethics to Practice

If we "agree that in most cases, an object is significant because of the way people perceive it" and that "this perception will depend on how, when and why an object was manufactured, used, discarded (or not), and on what an object can reveal about these processes, and people related to them (Kopytoff 1986, Shanks 1998 in Peters 2008(1):187) then an object may not only represent a certain time and people in the past but also the connection to the present and the future". Peters continues that if we were to understand conservation as representing *people*, "the first logical question to follow would be: which specific group of people (connected to a given object) conservators are going to represent if this object has many different links to many different people who have different interests and expectations. The choices made by the conservator may affect how these aspects will be represented; by preserving, revealing, enhancing or recovering a given aspect of an object, conservators are in reality preserving aspects of what people do and did. However other aspects of significance may be compromised in the process" (Peters 2008(1):187).

This underlines the fact that conservators need to be aware of these interrelations in order to be able to make informed, responsible and relevant decisions. But conservators are not the only professionals involved in the decision-making process of preserving collections within a museum. Curators, collections managers, the museum management and public relations all also play a role in the interpretation and conservation of the material held by a museum. "Only by having an in-depth knowledge of the interests involved in the conservation process and of the impact this process may impart conservators will be able to assess and perhaps anticipate the implications of their actions" (Peters 2008(1):188). This is true for anyone involved in the process of preservation and care for cultural material. But how to acquire the needed in-depth knowledge of the interests involved?

Bernstein writes in *Collaborative Strategies for the Preservation of North American Indian Material Culture* that "a culture has an ethical right to participate in a museum's interpretation of its community for museum visitors. (…)

For decades, museums have paid non-Indian consultants to tell us more about collections, yet we have rarely afforded Native Americans this same opportunity. (…) While we physically preserve a sacred object in a museum, are we at the same time causing harm to the culture and the people it represents by holding an object out of context and away from the community responsible for its care and for the maintenance of the traditions it may represent? (…) Museums house "living" objects, and ultimately the care provided through past, present and future use of climate control, fumigants, consolidants, and handling regulations all may have an impact on the availability of objects as cultural patrimony and sources of pride" (Bernstein 1992).

Clavir divides the challenges presented to conventional conservation into four points:

> *1. The methods and scientific conclusions of conservation being the guiding practice of a museum. (…) 2. The ethics of conservation; is it ethical for a conservation professional (…) to agree to put objects at physical risk in order to facilitate the preservation of conceptual integrity or cultural significance? (…) 3. The authority of conservators as specialists in the storage, handling, and physical care of the museum's holdings (…) 4. The way many conservators work (Clavir 1996 and 2002)*

In practical terms this means that even though in some areas conventional conservation practice has begun to face these challenges, still allowing daylight into a storage facility or fresh plants next to collections for cultural reasons might stand in contradiction to common beliefs of best practice of conservation. Or allowing objects for ceremonial use within the community and with that taking the risk of physical damage to the current object for the benefit of the cultural value might be a difficult step to accept. Conservators are more and more asked to share responsibility and to allow other opinions next to the conventional best practice; conservators are no longer the sole authority in deciding the physical faith of collections held by museums. "As conservators, we need to be aware of the ideas we hold about how something should look, where those ideas came from, whether they're appropriate or accurate" (Smith 1993:24).

Other aspects to think of in the museum context are conflicts arising when restrictions such as gender limitations in viewing or handling material appropriate in the originating culture stand in contradiction to traditions or laws of the country holding the material in its museums, such as equal rights and anti-discrimination laws. In the Netherlands for example collections of the national museums are state property and with that, public property: this would grant the public in principle the right to see the collections in their entirety.

Considering all these aspects how is one to decide between conflicting information or demands, how can museums know what to represent, which aspect or aspects of a collection to consider, and which not? How are significance and its implications determined? How can museums learn especially when source communities are not locally present?

One way that seems to have proven useful in this decision-making process is through consultations with interested groups. So far there are very few examples within Europe but consultations with source communities of cultural materials have been used increasingly as a tool throughout the past 10-15 years predominantly in countries with large Indigenous communities present (Kaminitz et al. 2005; Clavir 2002; Odegaard 1996; Bernstein 1992). The process of setting up and conducting consultations is as varied and complex as the cultures and communities involved. Decisions as to who legitimately represents a people, community or culture are sometimes not easily taken. Especially when there are conflicting opinions and there is no one way or method applicable for a successful consultation (Johnson et al. 2005). However, over time these consultations and the expanded understanding they generate lead to better care of all aspects of a collection.

Some Examples

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) started in the early 1990s working with Native consultants assisting in the curation of the museum's exhibits. Before late 1991 the museum had no permanent conservators on staff but there was an awareness of conservation and related issues. During the early consultations, subjects such as appearance, gender handling restrictions, and specific repairs were discussed. In the following years with the establishment of permanent conservation staff, conservators began to be involved in collaborations with Native communities on a more regular basis and beginning in 2000 conservation consultations were incorporated in the overall process of Native involvement. This process was encouraged by the Assistant Director of Cultural Resources at the NMAI, Dr. Bruce Bernstein. The early experiences of the NMAI staff changed ways in which conservation had proceeded historically and paved the way for an overall shift in the way NMAI conservators now work (Kaminitz 2005).

The consultation processes at NMAI have evolved throughout the years and each new experience is another step in developing the interactions. "A loose structure for the consultations was developed, but the experiences varied greatly depending on the Native people involved, what they wanted to share with NMAI, and what their own goals and ideas were for their participation with the museum (…) the conservation department developed an understanding that

one of our responsibilities is to provide information to the communities, which can assist them in making decisions appropriate for the care of their cultural material" (Johnson 2005).

An integral part of the process is documentation, through audio taping, photographic and video documentation as well as note taking of each step of the consultation process and the resulting treatment collaborations between Native representatives and the conservation staff (Johnson 2005; Chang and Heald 2005). "Consultants and conservators often share a common interest in the materials and techniques used to make the items they are examining. Consultants were generous in sharing their knowledge on topics such as weaving techniques, dying, carving, silversmithing, or how to make rolled fringe. These consultations presented rare opportunities for NMAI conservators and curators to understand firsthand some of the technologies and philosophies that engendered the objects in the collection" (Johnson 2005). "On a conservation level we are establishing partnerships with people who have an engrained knowledge of the history, cultural value, materials, techniques, and repair methods, as it is not separate from who they are. These partnerships can only lead to the most informed and responsible treatment of these objects and a greater equity in the decisions that are required in caring for them" (McHugh 2008:14).

The information gained through these consultations has not only a profound influence on the decisions taken but also adds vital information and content to the objects discussed, not only with respect to conservation decisions but also with respect to curatorial and educational aspects of the collections which benefit the museum as a whole. Furthermore the consultations have given impulse to research into alterNative materials to be used for conservation. The documentation also serves as a long term reference to specific thoughts, requests and ideas that can be consulted also at later stages.

In New Zealand (an officially bicultural nation) conservators, Maori and non-Maori alike, don't separate the objects from their Indigenous social contexts. The official national policy and the accepted cultural ownership of Maori over their cultural heritage seem to produce a unique situation in New Zealand where the conservator's task is to give advice rather than to make final decisions (Clavir 2002).

The New Zealand Professional Conservators Group (NZPCG) formally recognizes the primary role of Maori in regards to taonga (treasure): Maori customary concepts empower knowledge of heritage and conservation values to chosen guardians, with respect to particular places and artifacts (…) all members of NZPCG shall recognize the special relationship of Maori to places and artifacts as described in the treaty of Waitangi. Generally speaking, consultation with Maori is seen as an integral part of biculturalism and, more particularly, of biculturalism in museums. (Smith and Winkelbauer 2006:129-130)

For example many museums have Maori staff that can facilitate the process and inform museums, and through that conservators of appropriate protocols with regard to Maori heritage. Consultation enables the preservation of *taonga* (treasures) in a manner considered appropriate by Maori, and requires respectful communication" that takes into account the desired outcomes and wishes of cultural stakeholders. It is however important to recognize that there is no single Maori viewpoint (Clavir 2002; Smith and Winkelbauer 2006). "Maori conservators have shown that preserving both the physical and the conceptual integrity of objects involves no inherent contradiction" (Clavir 2002:244).

In September 2007 the Canadian Conservation Institute organized the Symposium 2007 *Preserving Aboriginal Heritage: Technical and Traditional Approaches* in Ottawa. The goal of the symposium was to provide "an opportunity for Aboriginal people and conservation specialists to learn from one another — in an atmosphere of mutual respect — about traditional, technical, ethical, and intangible aspects of the conservation of Aboriginal material culture"(http://www.cci-icc.gc.ca/symposium/2007/index-eng.aspx#1, accessed Nov. 12th 2010). Around 400 delegates from different countries and with diverse affiliations came together to learn about building relationships and sharing perspectives and values, technical and traditional, tangible and intangible. The participants demonstrated the benefits of Aboriginal people, conservators and museum professionals working together. The Symposium contributions were partitioned in thematic subjects:

1. Mutual learning, respect and ethics
2. Collaborations: best practice
3. Technical and traditional approaches
4. Enhancing capacity

The presentations highlighted the connection between the materiality and the values of objects, and that objects are part of a living culture that embody the songs, dances, history, and spiritual values of the people who created them. Experiences of collaborations between Native people and conservators showed the benefits and contributions to the way conservation work is done but also how collaboration can contribute to regaining knowledge and skills (Cullen-Cobb, Kaminitz, MacKay, Parsons, Stable, and Thompson in the proceedings of the Symposium 2007). All agreed that understanding the cultural use and significance of objects is as central as understanding their materials and agents of deterioration. Respect for the object is the common ground for conservators and Aboriginal people. A shared respect for one another is also essential. Mutual respect also enables Aboriginal people to understand the value of conservation science and technology, including material analysis and treatment techniques. By taking the time to build relationships, conservators and other museum professionals and staff can better understand Aboriginal cultures. This understanding will enable them to develop better approaches for engaging Aboriginal peo-

ple in decisions about conservation, exhibition, and use, and result in museums that are more relevant to Aboriginal communities. By touching, examining, and handling museum objects, and using them in traditional ceremonies, Aboriginal people can learn about their unique cultural history.

Conclusions

Including conservation early on in the process of developing partnerships with source communities can be beneficial to the whole process within a museum. It enables the development of a common ground not only with the source communities but also within the different departments of the museum itself. Collaborations with source communities allow a museum to gain "greater knowledge about its collections and enhances its interpretive powers" (Bernstein 1992). Since museum conservation traditionally is concerned with the care of collections held by museums, and conservators often take decisions about the process of care and treatment of cultural materials, they are a vital part in developing productive partnerships between communities and museums, in connecting the tangible with the intangible. "Story telling was not what we thought a consultation would be about, and yet it was this intangible aspect of learning that was of primary importance to our understanding what we would need to know " (Kaminitz 2005(1):100).

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Leiden Links and Liaisons

Opportunities and Constraints in Sharing Knowledge on Dutch Museum Collections with North American Cultures of Origin[1]

Pieter Hovens[2]

The Dutch Museum Collections

The collection from Native North America at the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, The Netherlands, consists of almost 3,000 artifacts. Despite its modest size, it is substantial if compared to other European collections, and it is important because it contains early documented material. The range of the collection is extensive. Chronologically it covers the period from about 6000 B.C. to the present, and geographically all nine culture areas of the subcontinent are included. However, four areas are represented by what can be called a basic representative collection as they include artifacts from most spheres of life, from subsistence to religion, and spanning the 1880s to the present timeframe. This is the case for the Northwest Coast, the Plains and the Northeast. The Southwest collection goes beyond a basic collection as it is the largest and includes artifacts from almost all peoples in this region, totaling about 1,350 objects (cf. Kaemlein 1967). There are no really substantial and diverse tribal clusters of artifacts in the Leiden collection, only small groups of specimens from the Western Apaches, Gila River Pimas, Colorado River Yumans, (Yanktonai) Sioux and Blackfoot. The other Dutch museum collections from Native North America, much smaller in size and together totaling about 1,000 specimens, exhibit the same geographical and temporal characteristics. The only exception is a modest Innu (Naskapi) collection from Labrador, dating from the 1950s. The composition of the Leiden and Dutch collections is a major determinant of opportunities and constraints when it comes to sharing knowledge across cultures between the museums and the peoples whose cultural heritage they curate, the source communities.

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1 Paper read at the Conference "Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage: First Nations of the Americas" at the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, The Netherlands, November 28-30, 2007.

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The Curatorial Position

Until fairly recently North America was part of a larger curatorial area in the Leiden museum. The responsibility for the North American Indian collection was assigned to curators who were specialists in other (adjacent) regions and cultures. Thus the collections from the United States and Canada received little attention. In recognition of the scientific and cultural importance of this regional collection, a separate North American Department was created in 1991, and a half-time curator appointed. I was so fortunate to be asked to fulfill this position and limited my government job in ethnic minority affairs to half-time, thus evenly dividing the week. The consequence of this arrangement is that long-term absence for travel and fieldwork is not possible because of commitments to the position in the civil service. This situation is a second major determinant of opportunities and constraints when it comes to sharing knowledge.

With little previous scientific or practical background in material culture and art, I soon became aware of the privileged position I had assumed. The material manifestations of Native American cultures in their economic, social and metaphysical aspects in Dutch custody placed a serious responsibility on my shoulders. It required responsible material conservation, the development of knowledge regarding the collections, and the sharing of this knowledge with a wide public, explicitly including source communities. This approach was reinforced when I encountered a group of Elderly and some young Hopis visiting the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff in 1992. In this institution their culture and history, materialized in artifacts of daily life as well as religious beliefs, was stored, cared for, studied, exhibited, published, and shared in various ways. The Hopis' encounter with the artifacts obviously stimulated positive memories. Between the glass cases people told stories of cherished everyday life of long ago, and recounted beliefs and practices associated with objects of non-secular significance and the ceremonial context from which these originated. For many Indian tribes such an opportunity was not available at home where few old family heirlooms remained and the few still extant old religious objects were seldom used or seen. This experience also emphasized the importance of the development of tribal museums on reservations and the cooperation on such endeavors by mainstream museums.

Confronted with the constraints of the collections and the constraints of work in Leiden, I decided to focus on a program of work including:

The aggregation and further development of knowledge regarding the collections as a whole as well as in their constituent artifacts by making use of the expertise of Native and non-Native specialists, if possible through collaborative endeavors

The dissemination of information and knowledge about the collections to a wide public, explicitly including Native source communities, and scholars and experts from various disciplines, and museum visitors

This approach was implemented on three levels: collections, exhibitions, and research.

Sharing Knowledge: Collections

Concerned about the rapid processes of cultural change, many tribes decided to establish tribal museums or cultural centers in the 1970s. The main aim of these institutions was to protect and preserve material and non-material cultural heritage as a means of educating new generations in valued life ways and traditions, and in this manner to foster knowledge of and pride in one's own ethnic ancestry. Another major aim of at least some of these initiatives, often located near main routes of travel, was to address and try to correct still widespread popular stereotyping of Native Americans among the general population. By 1980 there were over 100 tribally operated museums and cultural centers in North America, and 20 years later their number had doubled. Many joined the North American Indian Museums Association, established in 1978 and based in Niagara Falls, NY (Brascoupé 1980; Horse Capture 1981; Fuller 1985; Cooper 1998; Erikson 2005; Cooper and Sandoval 2006).

From the eighties the Leiden museum frequently received enquiries from tribal museums and cultural centers into the institution's holdings of artifacts from their respective tribes. As it has always been our policy as a national museum to share such information, we always provided photographs of artifacts, documentation and ancillary information in such cases. In 1990 a Tigua Indian delegation from Texas requested and was given access to the collection to examine artifacts collected among their people in 1882. During short visits to the U.S. and Canada in the 1990s, several tribal museums were visited and informed about artifacts from their people preserved in Leiden. By the mid-nineties inquiries from tribal institutions ceased, probably caused by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) which required much of their time and energy (cf. Fine-Dare 2002).

Sharing collections occasionally runs into problems. The National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden was one of several European and North American institutions that refused a loan to *The Spirit Sings* exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary at the occasion of the 1988 Olympic Games. Arctic and North America curator Gertti Nooter hereby supported the criticism of Native peoples of their representation in museums and the lack of support for by the wider society of their political, economic, and social interests and rights.

The Leiden museum was the first museum in the Netherlands and one of the first in Europe to share its collections from all continents visually and virtually with the world by developing a digital database, called The Museum System, and incorporating it in its institutional website in 1999. Currently a program

for expanding it with additional data and making it more user-friendly is being developed. Other Dutch museums with ethnographic collections are beginning to follow suit[3].

In conjunction with an exhibition in 1998 on Native North America we published a booklet profusely illustrated with artifacts from the Leiden and other Dutch collections (Hovens 1998). Although published in Dutch, it was sent to a number of tribal museums in North America to make them aware of the collections from their communities in the Netherlands. Subsequently a digital publication on the fieldwork and collecting activities of Herman Ten Kate in the southern Great Basin in the early 1880s was prepared, including color illustrations of the artifacts from this region. It was then added to the museum's website (Hovens and Herlaar 1994; Hovens 2005). The relevant tribal museums in Colorado, Nevada, and Arizona were subsequently informed about this source.

In 1885 Ten Kate published a voluminous travel book in Dutch about his year of fieldwork on Indian reservations in the American West. It was translated into English and extensively annotated, thus providing Native and non-Native experts in the United States with an accessible major early source (Hovens et al. 2004). In this book Ten Kate discusses his strategies and experiences with collecting artifacts, and presents the knowledge he gained about their manufacture, use, meaning, and history. In 2010 an extensive English-language catalogue of the Ten Kate collection, containing about 450 artifacts, was be published, with almost all objects illustrated in color (Hovens 2010). A volume on masterpieces of Native North American art from Dutch museums and a history of collections is planned for 2011/2012 (Hovens and Bernstein i.p.). These projects are partially explicitly designed to open up the Leiden and other Dutch museum collections to as wide a public as possible, including the cultures of origin.

Over the years the Collections Management Department of the Leiden museum has been receptive to issues pertaining to the treatment of culturally sensitive artifacts. Several of our previous and current conservators worked at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington D.C., and recently attended a conference of the Canadian Conservation Institute on preserving aboriginal heritage, informed by ideas of Indigenous experts (CCI 2007). In the course of 2011-12 we will try to identify relevant issues in this field for the North American collection in Leiden, based on experiences at the NMAI (Rosoff 2003), in British Columbia (Clavir 2002), and elsewhere, and collaboratively develop a program of action in this domain.

3 E.g. the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, and the Africa Museum in Berg en Dal.

Sharing Knowledge: Exhibitions

Since Native Americans became involved in the civil rights movement in North America, some contemporary museums in Europe have entered a process of transforming themselves by replacing an imperialist and colonial museology with a self-reflexive, critical, and inclusive museology. The multi-venue Native North America exhibition of the Rotterdam Art Foundation and the Museum of Anthropology in that city in 1979 was its first manifestation in the Netherlands, and involved consultation of and cooperation with several Native experts (Hovens 1979).

In the 1970s the curator of the then joint Arctic and North American Department of the Leiden museum installed a bulletin board in the permanent gallery with clippings from tribal periodicals on contemporary Indian affairs. During the Columbus Quincentennial in 1992 Leiden staged a major exhibition about Herman Ten Kate's North American fieldwork and studies in the 1880s and 1890s, using a substantial part of his collection of which little had been previously shown. Consultation with Native groups was not possible because of the lack of funds and the short time of preparation as I had only been recently appointed. Because of the chosen design, the concept of the exhibition was unfortunately compromised, and the result substantially flawed (Govaert 1993). In 2008 a small Ten Kate exhibition was organized in the temporary gallery of the Arctic and North America hall, again presenting artifacts that had never been shown since they were collected, many as long as 125 year ago. In the new permanent galleries that opened in 2002, Native American views were considered in the presentation of several pipes, exhibiting stems and bowls separated from each other, drawing positive reactions from Native visitors.

In 1998 a large exhibition at the Leiden museum sought to address and tried to correct popular stereotypes of North American Indians, using many artifacts from Leiden and other Dutch collections. The plan to involve a Native expert who had offered to share tribal knowledge in the presentation of a group of artifacts from his people had to be abandoned when it became apparent that extensive re-arrangement of objects and re-writing of texts would result in an unbalanced representation of Native North American peoples, cultures and history. Knowledge, whether of Native or non-Native origin, seemed to be no longer the only or even the decisive factor in exhibition development. This resulted in an exhibition that accomplished the opposite of what it had set out to do, as reviews from Native and non-Native experts testify (e.g. Frankort and Van Santen 1999).

The experience with exhibitions on Native North America in the 1990s in Leiden has been an example of a wider tendency in the Western museum world to give exhibition precedence over research, exhibition managers over curators, and an approach to exhibitions more geared towards distraction than instruction, a commodity aimed at mass consumption (Terrel 1991; Turgeon

and Dubuc 2002:21). This experience shows that museums as institutions of Western culture are highly political, in their ideological and historical roots, as well as in their role in contemporary society. Their audience keeps expanding and now also includes Native peoples. The number of stakeholders, both within and outside the museum, has increased substantially. Multiple and competing agendas lead to a multitude of voices being heard and new power relationships being forged, the outcome of which varies by institution and exhibition (cf. Karp and Levine 1991; Peers and Brown 2003). This also holds true for the complete renovation of the museum and the new public galleries that opened their doors to the public in 2002. Ruth Phillips, former director of the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver, Canada, has concluded that few dynamic museum developments of recent years are informed or shaped by what the intellectual energies of the past two decades have yielded, or by the social agendas of museums that have achieved broad acceptance during that period. She convincingly argues that the innovative potential of contemporary anthropology museums lies in advanced programs of socially responsible research and representation that they can support and embody (Phillips 2005:85).

Sharing Knowledge: Research

As outlined before, because of the composition of the North American collections in the Netherlands and the specific position of the curator, there are limited opportunities for collaborative research. That is why the emphasis so far has been on knowledge repatriation, with a few exceptions.

Some time ago I made the acquaintance of a former tribal cultural preservation officer who was interested in the artifacts from his people that the museum curated. We supplied photographs so he could talk about the specimens with tribal Elders. Unfortunately there was little response. Partly this was due to the time that had elapsed since the artifacts were made and used in their original cultural context, over a century ago. To a certain extent, religious sensitivities regarding a few objects may have played a role. Through a different channel, but familiar to the Native community, the same material was provided once more to tribal Elders, again with little response. The sad fact is that much has been lost – ceremonial information is often the first casualty as individual practitioners die and are not replaced.

There are several unique artifacts in the Leiden collection that are related to religion, including two masks that are the oldest of their type extant in museum collections. These might hold special meaning for their source communities and photographs have been provided to them. Their specialists will have to determine what their contemporary significance to the community is, and we are awaiting their views in this matter.

It is the responsibility of curators to see to culturally sensitive conservation, and to gather and preserve all data regarding provenance of individual artifacts and whole collections. Especially information about when a specimen was acquired, from whom, and under what circumstances is especially important for academic as well as cultural reasons. Although the objects are the primary mediators of knowledge, preservation of field notes, sound recordings, labels, archival documents, correspondence, and photographs is thus equally important (Wilson and Parezo 1992; Feest 1993). It is the explicit policy of our museum to collect and preserve this additional material associated with artifacts, also in cases of new acquisitions.

The early generation of ethnographic fieldworkers and museums preserved much of the material cultural heritage of Native American peoples in the decades around 1900. However, one tends to forget that Native Elders from the early reservation period cannot be credited enough for sharing their knowledge of the manufacture, use, and meaning of these artifacts, although the fact that they shared this knowledge was frequently frowned upon by other tribal members. It is most unfortunate that these turn-of-the-century ethnographies are often only available to a limited extent to tribes, or sometimes hardly known to exist. Subsequent scientific studies, often carried out separated from the Native communities, have added knowledge in the course of time. It is therefore not only necessary but also high time that museums engage in a sustained process of knowledge repatriation by making these sources available to tribal communities.

The first major step we will make in this direction is the publication of Ten Kate's 450-piece North American collection, making use of the knowledge provided by Native Elders to early ethnographers and collectors, and the results of subsequent scientific research. A number of the English-language catalogues will be donated to tribal museums and cultural centers from source communities. The Blackfoot collections in the Netherlands are the focus of a communal research project of the Leiden museum, the Zeeuws Museum, and Leiden University, making use of Native expertise. First results have been published (Hovens and Van Santen 2007; Hovens 2009) and additional publications are planned. The results of the project will be provided to the Blackfoot museums and cultural centers in Montana and Alberta. For 2011/12 a book on North American Indian art is planned, showcasing 120 masterpieces from the Dutch collections, interpreted by Native and non-Native scholars, and Indian artists (Hovens and Bernstein, i.p.). This will also serve to make the Dutch collections known to the cultures of origin. The Sioux artifacts in Dutch museums are also in the process of being inventoried, and the subject of another research and publication project.

Currently the Leiden curators are being trained in developing digital publications for the Internet. Each project of the North American Department will result in such a publication, highlighting the Leiden and other Dutch col-

lections as an online virtual exhibit. They will become available over the next years, will be included in the museum website, and explicitly offered to tribal museums and cultural centers in the U.S. and Canada. It is hoped that these digital publications will subsequently be incorporated into a growing number of tribal and ethnic websites by links, using the Internet as a resource for cultural preservation and education of Indian and Métis children. It is one way of sharing knowledge with the peoples who made the unique and beautiful artifacts and art works that the museums in the Netherlands, Europe, North America, and elsewhere have the privilege to curate[4].

Cultural Property and Repatriation

Repatriation of cultural property is a complex and sensitive issue and merits consideration within the context of sharing knowledge. The Leiden and other Dutch museum collections of North American Indian artifacts were not acquired in the field as war booty. In almost all cases objects were acquired through purchase from private owners. Such acquisitions probably frequently took place under duress, because of the asymmetrical power relation between Indians and whites, and the tenuous economic situation of tribes on and off reservations in the late 19th and early 20th century. However, in many cases Indians sold personal property for cash to be able to buy Western trade goods they valued. In the great majority of cases, the artifacts came from the realm of private property, and Ten Kate several times laments that he was unable to acquire an object because its owner was absent. However, there is at least one exception in the Leiden collection involving communally owned sacred material (cf. Horse Capture 1989).

In the 1980s the traditional leaders of Zuni Pueblo made public their request for the return by museums and private collectors of their Ahayuda figures, carved wooden images of their Twin War Gods. In Zuni religion this divine couple possesses supernatural powers and bestows these on the Zunis to give them courage and protect them from harm. Ultimately they are regarded as the guardians of peace. The carvings are made annually and during a ritual are placed on an altar on a mountain. As the Ahayuda statues were and are communal ritual property and were never individually owned by any tribal member, such figures in non-Zuni possession were therefore acquired illegally.

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4 Some (inter)tribal museums and cultural centers also direct their websites to a wider public. Examples from both categories are the Alaska Native Heritage Center Museum in Anchorage (www.alakaNative.net), the Pueblo Indian Cultural Center and Museum in Albuquerque, NM (www.indianpueblo.org), the Osage Tribal Museum in Pawhuska, OK (www.osagetribe.com/museum), the Mid-America All-Indian Center in Wichita, KS, (www.theindiancenter.org), the Malki Museum in Banning, CA (www.malkimuseum.org), the Arvid E. Miller Library and Museum of the Stockbridge-Munsee in Bowler, WI (www.mohican-nsn.gov/TribalOffices/LibraryMuseum), the Apache Cultural Center and Museum in Fort Apache, AZ (www.wmat.nsn.us/wmaculture), and the virtual Museum of Métis History and Culture in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (www.metismuseum.ca).

Since their public request for repatriation, about fifty Ahayuda figures were returned to Zunis from American and Canadian museums and private collections.[5] The tribe was supported in this endeavor by the Justice Department under the Freedom of Religion Act. The Zuni Tribal Council regards repatriation as reparation of an unlawful act on the one hand, and as an honorable deed by museums, curators, and collectors on the other hand as it expresses respect for other people's religious beliefs. When replacing the returned Ahayuda figures on the mountain altar, the Zunis request the blessing of their gods for all those who contributed to their return (Ladd 1983; Ferguson and Martza 1990; Merrill et al. 1993; Anyon 1996).

The National Museum in Leiden had an Ahayuda figure in its collection. It was on public display in the permanent galleries for decades. As requested by the Zuni religious leaders, the statue was immediately removed from display and the tribe informed about its existence. When the curator looked up its provenance in the museum's archives it soon transpired that the dealer from whom it was purchased had declared that the carving had left Zuni "surreptitiously." This was an indication of its original clandestine acquisition on the reservation. In 1992 the curator met with a representative from the council in

Removal of the Ahayuda statue from public display in Leiden, March 1993. (Photo NME.)

5 These institutions include: the American Museum of Natural History, Arizona State Museum, Denver Art Museum, Logan Museum of Anthropology, Hearst (Lowie) Museum of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, University of Iowa Museum of Art, Wheelwright Museum, Winnipeg Art Gallery, and auction house Sotheby Parke Bernet.

Zuni to discuss the situation. It was agreed that the tribe would consider its position regarding repatriation from foreign countries, in several of which the presence of Ahayuda figures had been established.[6] The council would approach the museum when a course of action had been decided upon, and it was understood that the State Department of the United States might become involved in this process. No request for repatriation has reached the museum since then.

Repatriation is intended to mean "the return of ethnographic and archaeological materials, including skeletal remains, from a museum collection when the return is claimed or demanded as a right of possession by a Native American tribe, through its authorized agents" (Tisdale 1989:89). In The Netherlands no legal framework for the repatriation of cultural property like NAGPRA in the U.S. exists (cf. Fine-Dare 2002). The situation is comparable to a great extent to the Canadian situation where specific laws have not been enacted, and repatriation is based on voluntary arrangements between parties (cf. Bell and Paterson 1999; TFMFP 1992). In the Netherlands the repatriation of cultural property to countries and peoples of origin has had a modest, chequered, and not altogether encouraging history. In one early case, returned artifacts disappeared altogether or ended up in a private collection. Most recently a tattooed Maori head was repatriated by the Leiden museum to New Zealand, but its status as "human remains" played a significant part in the decision making process (cf. Mihesuah 2000). Human remains from Native North America in Dutch museum collections are extremely rare, and limited to one Hopi skull in an anatomical collection and a few Pueblo hair samples in the Leiden museum (Ten Kate 1886). When it comes to artifacts, more experience needs to be gained, and each individual request for repatriation will be approached and judged on its own merits, subject to policy development at the national level (cf. also: Tisdale 1989; Echo-Hawk, 1991; Feest 1995; Brown 2003:16-24; Cooper 2006:65-84; Luby and Nelson 2008).

Sharing Knowledge: Conclusions

Anthropology museums are becoming less object-oriented and more people- and community-oriented, less exclusively focused on the past and increasingly interested in contemporary issues in source communities. If museums of the early twenty first century want to fulfill a meaningful role in the contemporary globalizing world, they need to engage actively in a process of repatriating knowledge and developing mutually meaningful relationships with Native peoples. It is increasingly recognized that much knowledge about tribal artefacts is still available in Indigenous communities, and that historic objects have contemporary relevance and meaning in Native societies. It is important that museums try to complete the body of knowledge regarding artefacts in a collabora-

6 The Museon in The Hague also curates an Ahayuda figure.

tive and reciprocal way. Multivocality in exhibitions is an ideal that needs to be pursued in the years to come. The North American Department will continue to explore the possibilities and use the available opportunities in sharing knowledge for mutual benefit (cf. West 1993; Galla 1996; Sleeper-Smith 2009).

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A Place for Things to be Alive

Best Practices for Cooperation that Respects Indigenous Knowledge

Clifford Crane Bear & Lea M. Zuyderhoudt [1]

> *So for me, anybody, doesn't matter who you are and what you are, if you're African, if you're Oriental, if you're white, English white, with all the knowledge of that. What I am trying to say is, people that live and learn and inherit the stories of their grandfathers, or the Blackfoot, just say the Blackfoot: in the museum they should talk about their own history.*
>
> *We can tell what it is, where it is, how it's done and why it is done. For things like that, you need help from the Indigenous people, to explain it, to say: "This is what it is to me." And then others come in and show how to look after it, how to put it on display, so that both stories can be on it, to work together, listen. (CCB 2009)*[2]

People that live, learn and inherit the stories of their grandfathers and grandmothers can show how items in museum collections and exhibits have a meaning and a life of their own. This meaning is neither static nor simple. Objects may evoke a meaning that is shared among many people in the source community, but they may also mean something unique or different for each person asked. The maker of the object may have had special intentions for what the object should represent, for example with the purpose or person that the object was made for in mind. This meaning may or may not have been documented at the time the object was collected. To what extent meaning is publicly known and transferred within the source community may vary and change over time. Sharing knowledge on material culture is not only tied to unique sets of lifeways and oral traditions embedded in local narrative practices, but also to local debates and politics.

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2 This article is based on exchanges and presentations between Clifford Crane Bear and Lea Zuyderhoudt during the expert meeting *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage* in 2007, and on reflections shared and exchanged between them during two two-week work visits in June and October 2009, when Clifford and Lea worked with Blackfoot collections of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, the Netherlands, the Zeeuws Museum in Middelburg, the Netherlands, and the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Köln, Germany, for a range of research projects. Citations are statements by Clifford Crane Bear that he has chosen to share on tape and occasionally reformulate upon seeing the transcripts. They are, therefore, not in all cases literal transcriptions.

This implies that it is not trivially easy to work in sync with local voices and perspectives in museums inside and outside source communities. Those who try to build a bridge between cultures can greatly facilitate mutual understanding, but they often walk a fine line with respect to these debates and politics on both sides. This makes truly cooperative projects between museums and source communities all the more necessary. Amidst these dynamics and amidst the existing diversity of voices and areas of expertise, the museum can become a meeting ground for knowledge keepers from source communities, curators, and the general public; a place that breathes life and where one can experience a diversity and richness of objects, stories and meaning.

In the past decade local experts have gained an increasing role as First Nations liaisons, curators and visiting experts in the museum world. At the same time outsiders from national and international ethnology museums have found their way to local cultural preservation offices, heritage centers and archives. Documenting, studying, safeguarding and exhibiting dynamic and old traditions have become tasks in which community experts and outsiders increasingly work together. This work offers great opportunities, but also has its own hurdles and problems. In this paper Clifford Crane Bear reflects on these developments and addresses how these have played out in projects he has been part of. Together with Lea Zuyderhoudt he discusses best practices for sharing and safeguarding Blackfoot knowledge, and considers how museums can increasingly become a meeting ground for different perspectives, a place where Indigenous knowledge helps to make things more alive. One important element is to more structurally invite Indigenous people into museums, to contribute from the very start of a project or exhibit; another is to take existing power balances into account; and last but not least one needs to consider case-based ethics and case-based methodologies. Taking into account local practices, values and protocols, makes each situation different and new.

From Signs to Stories

> *Indigenous people should talk about their own history, their own artifacts and all that. And of course you are blamed, you are pointed at and we are told, and we are told over and over again, that our culture is lost, amongst other tribes and amongst other people. In the museum world when you go to that, the people that know everything are the anthropologists, or archeologists. They make the signs and get everything what they need to get their answers. If there is no written proof, then it doesn't exist. (CCB 2009)*

This statement refers to attitudes. Non-Indigenous curators and other scientists have been trained to work with materials and data, and with what has been written in the sources. There is a tendency not to accept information if it's not also present in the available literature:

> *It's right there where that respect is to hear the first voice, to not just say: "Ok, this is what you know," and then look in the books and tada, this is what it says in the book. But to ask the first voice or the first people that know about it is to have respect for them, to say: "What's your voice in this? What is it that you know?" (…) So that we can have a better understanding amongst our people. (CCB 2009)*[3]

It makes sense to ask, as much of what objects actually mean to Indigenous people cannot be found in the sources. Such a perception of meaning is based on a lifetime of experience in an Indigenous community. This is mostly unrecorded. The resulting situation is problematic. Curators working only with the "basic material" of objects risk isolating these objects from the stories they are part of and that they may refer to. This generates fundamental gaps between the tangible and intangible parts of Indigenous heritage. Outside, curators have struggled with this and have made many attempts to re-contextualize museum objects. However, this is hard to do when the object is all one has available.

When Clifford Crane Bear reflected on this, he gave an example of how curators could consider an object from his own nation, Siksika:

> *However when they make a sign, then they would say "There's one that has six tags here, and one has seven", and tada tada. That's what's in the material and that's it. And there is carving of zigzag lines, "Could," then they would say, "It could represent thunder to them," they say, "It could represent thunder". "We don't know", that's what they would say. (CCB 2009)*

> *But then an Indigenous person [would] have heard, and [would] have laid there as a kid, and listen to the stories of the people, and did other things, read about them when he got a little bit older, listen to the people at the Res [reservation] that, mostly the stories of how the Indigenous people were back then, about the number six and all that. So, for an Indigenous person that knows the stories and these, and wants to get his information right, he can talk about these things, because when we hear the stories of the lost boys [the origin story of the stellar constellation called Bunched Stars or Pleiades], the six lost boys, there, automatically I know why there are six there and automatically I know why there are seven [the origin story of the stellar constellation called the Seven brothers or Big Dipper]. Just like on our tipis there's six and seven [stars painted on top], or on our feathers, there's six or seven, or the right numbers that are on these things. To us, it means something. To another person, that's all they are. They are not, they are just, "Well the guy might a have seven of these and well he only had 13 of them, so he split them apart." Somebody could say that. But to us again, we know the numbers. So again, we put everything in there [in these objects], and we say, "Well the six are because of the six lost boys, or the six, the seven is because of the orphans or the seven boys that got chased up there by a bear," so. (CCB 2009)*[4]

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3 For more Blackfoot references with regard to first voices see citations in Zuyderhoudt 2007.

4 See also Clifford Crane Bear telling the story of Miohpokoiksi - The Six Lost Boys - The Pleiades in Canada's Virtual Museum (Crane Bear 2003)

These stories are rather widely known at Siksika. However, Clifford Crane Bear also pointed out that some numbers or symbols may have individualized meaning. He for example described how he worked for a year on a breastplate for a friend and relative, re-doing it six times, until all the numbers and symbols in there perfectly reflected the values and beliefs held to be important by this particular friend. There was a story and intended meaning behind every single detail of that breastplate. He also described grandmothers sewing moccasins for a grandchild and then beading designs on them, not as a job or work, but for the love of it, giving this with each bead, without any bad thoughts interfering. This is a different moccasin than what is usually presented in a museum tagged: "Plains, beads, leather". Experts from source communities can help to bring that world of experience, meaning and associations to life, for the museum visitor and general public who have experienced life in a different background. This could help to make the museum a meeting ground for the source community, visitor and curator, and anyone interested in the wider context of these objects.

Some best practices start at the moment of collecting. In some cases it is possible to learn more about the story behind an object and its details, from the maker or from the people who owned it. This can even be possible when buying the object from a "dealer" or gallery. The previous owner is often known and alive. For example, when buying items for the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Ethnology in Köln, Lea Zuyderhoudt was given the address of the previous owner of a white buckskin outfit in Browning, Ron Ladue. He spoke about the suit, about who made it, what were the ideas behind several of the details of this suit, why he sold it and why he loved it. This helped in checking whether the suit was sold and bought in a proper way and also helped understand some of the meanings of the object better. Ron Ladue for example pointed out that the suit had several features that would make it easier to put on for an older person (for example a zipper in the jacket). To him this was a clear sign of respect for the Elders. It was made having the comfort of an older person in mind, who might be a little less flexible in the arms and shoulders. The respect is old and traditional; the design features are new. As such the suit can be taken as a meaningful expression of both continuity and change. Knowing the story can help visitors to look at this object with new eyes. Even a short text panel can bring such an aspect of an object to life. Such practice needs to start when collecting and make it through into the final exhibit.

One important aspect is to keep it specific; mention the source of the information.[5] This leaves room for others to tell another story or to tell the story differently. Clifford mentions that knowing the specific source of certain information is an intrinsic part of correctly understanding that information:

5 For Blackfoot comments on this topic see for example Zuyderhoudt 2007.

> *To say: "I heard this guy say, I heard this other guy say…" These are the things [they say], and put them in such ways that you would always say where that information came from. And for me, I could be saying those things, but you know where the information came from. Because for an Indigenous person I think [that] would put [forward] the true meaning of it, and [help one] to really understand. (CCB 2009)*

> *This can make an exhibit into a conversation, with different voices talking together. "Respect for each other, cooperation with each other, listen to each other, leave your ego out there, and come in and be the same. My voice is this, your voice is that" (CCB, Leiden 2009). Respect is clearly the most important ingredient for non-Indigenous curators and Indigenous experts to have a meaningful conversation that will touch and enlighten the visitor, "so that both stories can be on it, to work together" (CCB 2009).*

Building Bridges

The turnover rate in museums of both First Nations liaisons and non-Indigenous curators tends to be high. There can be internal struggles on both sides of the bridge and those who want to share a story can get caught in between.

Working in an international museum that holds objects from different communities is not a simple task. During the expert meeting and in our work visits since that time, Cliff exposed the problem that "intellectuals" attach more value to written knowledge than orally presented present-day knowledge of Indigenous history and culture. People say "You lost it, so you cannot know it", which simply puts an end to any meaningful conversation on this topic.

The role of the museum should be to bring out the Indigenous knowledge that is so to speak earmarked for sharing, and to give it a central role when telling the story. Many things can be explained by curators and experts from outside an Indigenous community, but meaning, significance, values and beliefs are realms that do not show the same "signs" that can be easily read by outsiders. Much of this has to be explained by people from within the community itself, if possible with an eye for existing diversity.[6]

Bringing in Indigenous experts requires two things that need to be provided by museum boards and directors: 1) a safe and sufficient power base for the Indigenous experts to tell the story and be involved in the structure, content and design of exhibits from the very beginning; and 2) a safe and sufficient power base for the non-Indigenous museum curators to tell their part of the story and be involved in the structure, content and design of exhibits from the very beginning. When such structures are put in place and actively managed from above to persist, all the people involved can feel safe to share without any

6 See also Zuyderhoudt 2004 for more on the importance of taking into account of power balances.

need for mutual challenges of one another's knowledge or expertise, regardless of whether one's training and education have mainly been oral or in a written schooling system.

People that build bridges run a risk of getting walked upon from both sides. Museums can provide a safe ground for constructive debate if they create and maintain equal power structures, involve Indigenous experts, and ask advice on sensitive topics from the Elders in source communities. The main objective is to share Indigenous knowledge in a way that respects source community protocols on what information is public and what information is not. Finding this balance inevitably involves and requires Indigenous expertise, case-based ethics and case-based methods.

Clifford suggested letting the people speak for themselves for almost any kind of exhibit:

> *…in the museum world, I think yes, they should have more Indigenous people working for them, the Sioux, the Cheyennes, the Crees, whoever they want to work with them. I can't go over there and talk about the Crees. (…) I will talk only about the Blackfoot and that's it [claps hands]. So again, for me, that is very important, and then I went back, the Hutterites should talk about [their own life], farmers should talk about their own, ranchers should talk it, because they're the ones that do the job all the time they're the ones that [know]. (CCB 2009)*

Clifford emphasizes that small differences among and between people must be made very clear. There are considerable differences even within the Blackfoot Confederacy, which is composed of North and South Peigan, the Blood and Siksika people: "Even the Bloods, they are my relatives, but they live different than me." That is why it is important to make the first voice particular: say explicitly who said it, and not to be too definitive on what something ultimately means on the basis of one or even a few voices. Perhaps one day new voices will speak to provide additional layers of meaning:

> *Things are never just one thing… That's why I keep asking questions… It just tells me to ask more questions, more questions, more questions, to know what. There's more to them than just one voice (CCB 2009).*

Similarly there are also differences within communities and it is a challenge to find the keepers of the knowledge, of the stories and of the skill to make objects. Often but not always it is the Elders that will be the best place to start: "It is good to hear from the Elders, to come in, to show us". Especially with regard to choices being made on how to handle sensitive items such as ceremonial bundles, what to put on display and what not to put on display, the advice from Elders is essential:

> *the advice was to get the Elders in, the spiritual Elders, bring them in for two three days. Open the doors and ask the Elders what to do. The advice of the Elders is essential.*

The advice that will be given will be different in each setting, depending on the values, practices and traditions as they are alive in source communities.

The advice community members give is case-based and not to be generalized. This requires people to keep listening:

> *When we start to see that a Native person is not just a different person from a white guy in a museum. When we see that they come from a whole area, with different people saying different things, then we can start having a conversation, cooperation with each other. Listen to each other, leave your ego out there and be the same. My voice is this, your voice is that. (CCB 2009)*

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Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future

Setting up Community Consultations at the NME, Leiden

Laura Van Broekhoven[1]

Abstract

Due to historical reasons, the National Museum of Ethnology (NME) collections relating to Suriname and the Antilles make up a significant part of the museum's Middle and South American collections. Nonetheless, in the past decades the museum has not paid much attention to the Caribbean area or Suriname, since former curators mainly worked in areas such as Mexico and the Andean area. At this moment, however, the museum is developing projects around these collections, on the one hand because of their national and international importance and on the other hand because important stakeholder communities exist who can be directly involved in the disclosure of these collections.[2] The present project is the first systematic project where the goal is to study our collections from a perspective of plurivocality and to disclose the objects and their context in a multi-layered way. Firstly we want to start holding consultations with source communities, which in a later phase will hopefully develop into more educational products and if opportune into cultural centers on location, and possibly exhibits and new acquisitions.

Introduction

Since 2007, the NME has undertaken a joint collaboration with a number of representatives of the Indigenous communities of Suriname, or Sranan.[3] The project functions as a pilot in a *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage* (SK&CH) trajectory, which the NME wants to develop in the coming years.

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2 According to data from the Dutch Bureau of Statistics (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*), the Surinamese and Antillean community is the largest local stakeholder community of the region (amounting to about 14% of the population including The Hague and about 4% when we only consider Leiden locally). Leiden itself, although historically known for being an asylum town for migrants, presently only shows very low immigration levels compared to neighboring cities such as Rotterdam, Zoetermeer or The Hague. In the past the museum has developed some consultation projects with the Surinamese diaspora community in the organization of exhibits and festivals such as Global Experience (2003 – 2006).

3 The museum plans to proceed with similar consultations with diaspora communities from Suriname in the Netherlands.

In the long run, the museum wants to develop projects both with source communities of which we curate collections, and with different stakeholder communities such as local artists and representatives of the different diasporas (from Suriname, Ethiopia, Turkey, and Morocco) in and around the city of Leiden where the museum is based.

We have decided to divide the Suriname part of the SK&CH project into two parts. Initially we will work on community consultations geared towards our present collections, our collection policies, and the general opening up of these collections in a respectful, multi-layered, and multivocal way. The second part of the project is geared towards the involvement of the general Surinamese stakeholder community both in the disclosure of objects from these communities, the setting up of permanent and/or temporary exhibits, and in the making of new acquisitions. This second part would ideally involve both the diaspora communities and the source communities.[4]

In this paper, in view of the topic of First Nations of the Americas, I will limit myself to a discussion of the part of the project that is concerned with SK&CH projects with *Source Communities*. The working title of this part of the project is *Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future: Learning from the Elders* (De kennis van Gisteren, de Toekomst van Morgen: Leren van de Dorpsoudsten.)

Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future

In November 2007 two representatives of Surinamese stakeholder communities were invited to visit relevant parts of our collections as part of the expert meeting *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage*. The first representative, Basja Marius Merenke, was the sub-captain of Apetina, a Wayana village. Marius is of Tareno origin, but has married into a Wayana community and as such came to our museum as a representative of the community of Apetina. The second representative Erik (Samoe) Schelts is Creole from his father's side and Kari'na from his mother's side and has worked as an NGO worker in Wayana territory for extended periods of time.

In June 2009, four more representatives stayed at the NME for three weeks to study our Tareno and Kari'na collections; in the course of 2010 we brought over another four representatives from Wayana and Lokono communities.

4 We see these as two different trajectories of *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage* (SK&CH) with communities. One is the development of SK&CH with source communities, the other with diaspora communities (meaning communities that in the recent or distant past moved from Suriname to the Netherlands to settle here). The interests and developmental pathways of both types of consultations are very different. The Surinamese diaspora is of a very diverse nature, and its heritage is poorly represented in our collections. The Indigenous people's heritage, however, is represented in our collections, while consultations have not been performed so far. At other museums, consultations with source communities have proven to be an innovative way of building bridges between generations and between continents.

Samoe Schelts and Basja Marius Merenke look at some of NME Suriname collections during the 2007 pilot-consultations at NME storage facilities in 's Gravezande. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

Attinioew Panekke shows how arrows from NME collections are to be used during 2009 community consultations at NME storage facilities. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

2010 Wayana community curator Kapitein Samé Ikinaidu plays flute at NME research facility. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

Through previous experiences we have found that much like mutual respect, transparency and personal interest, continuity in collaborative enterprise is crucial for establishing multidimensional conversations or dialogs. Therefore we intend to build long lasting interpersonal relationships with representatives of the different villages in Suriname.

Sharing Collections

Much like the peoples of Suriname who, due to historical reasons, find themselves divided over two continents; their cultural heritage does too. The largest part is to be found at the Stichting Surinaams Museum (SSM) in Suriname. A second part is kept in the collections of the Dutch ethnological museums (more specifically at the NME; at the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam; and at the Museon in The Hague). Viewed separately, the collections merely provide a partial image of Surinamese-Dutch history, while together they complement each other in such a way that they should really be considered as one, and are of great cultural, historical, and social value. While the Dutch collections illustrate Surinamese history from the 1800s onwards, the Surinamese collections began to be collected around the 1950s. The Dutch collections concentrate almost solely on the documentation of the heritage of Indigenous peoples and Maroon collections, while the Surinamese collections are much more culturally diverse (although from a later date). In their totality, however, the Surinamese collections (both those parts that are kept as national collections in the Netherlands,

as well as those kept in Suriname) have hardly been studied or documented and therefore hardly used in joint exhibition or research projects. A missed opportunity, since the joining of the collections both in research projects and exhibits will certainly lead to a much richer and more nuanced view of Surinamese history and Dutch-Surinamese relations.

In their totality, the collections are to be considered authoritative for Suriname and to represent the Surinamese national cultural heritage; they are also important as a contribution for the whole Guyanese region. In both its neighboring countries, French Guyana and Guyana (formerly British Guyana), collecting activities were extensively undertaken, but to our knowledge much of the French and British collections, similar to the Dutch national collections, limit themselves to the documentation of Indigenous and Maroon cultural heritage and lack the diversity that make up the Surinamese collections in Suriname. We need to keep in mind that at a comparative level, this region, and especially Suriname, is authoritative in its cultural diversity and the way in which it deals with this diversity.[5] It is of great importance, therefore, that joint collaborative projects, exhibits, and research (both at a regional as well as at an international level) be developed further in the near future.

The NME Collections

The NME owns an important collection of Surinamese objects collected between the 18th and 20th centuries. Among these collections are collections from different ethnicities that live in Suriname such as Creole, Maroon, Javanese, Hindustan, Chinese, and Libanese peoples, but the collections mainly consist of collections that pertain to Maroon communities of Suriname and particularly to its different Indigenous peoples, in our case to the Trio, Wayana, Kari'na, Lokono, Akurio, Warao, and to a much lesser extent the Wai Wai.

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5 **Suriname is extremely diverse ethnically, linguistically, and religiously. Suriname's population of** 494,347 (July 2007 estimate) is made up of several distinct ethnic groups. Hindus form the majority with 37% of the population. They are descendants of nineteenth-century contract workers from the Indian states of Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh in Northern India, along the Nepali border. They were brought in by the Dutch colonial powers after the abolition of slavery. Another very important ethnicity is the Surinamese Creoles who constitute over 30% of the population. They are the descendants of West African slaves and (mainly Dutch) Europeans. The Javanese (descendants of contract workers from the former Dutch East Indies on the island of Java, Indonesia) make up 15% of the population. Surinamese Maroons (descendants of escaped West African slaves) comprise about 10% of the Surinamese population. They are divided into five main groups: Aucans, Kwinti, Matawai, Saramaccans, and Paramaccans. Chinese, mainly descendants of the earliest nineteenth-century contract workers, make up 14,000 of the population. Amerindians form about 2.5% of the population, the most important groups being the Kariña, Trio, Wayana, Akuriyo, Lokono, Sikiana, Mawayana, and Warao. **Boeres (derived from** *boer*, the Dutch word for farmer) are descendants of nineteenth-century Dutch immigrant farmers. Most Boeres left after independence in 1975; there is however a large number of *stagiaires* or interns and Dutch nationals who live in Suriname and make up around 1% of the population.

History of the Collections

The majority of the Surinamese collections of the NME were acquired during the course of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. During these early times of collecting about 80% of the Suriname collection was acquired through loans, acquisitions, trade, and donations.

The earliest collections formed part of the collections of the Royal Cabinet of Rarities (RCR)[6] and were collected between 1816 and 1883 when the collections were transferred to the museum (then named 's Rijks Etnografisch Museum). In those days the focus of the collections was on the countries and areas that had strong colonial ties with the Netherlands (for Middle and South America these were Suriname, the Guyanas, Brazil, and the Antilles). At the end of the nineteenth century the collection comprised around 2,600 objects (series 34 through 1240) of which 1,500 originated from the Tropical Lowlands of Suriname or Brazil. Around the same time a collection was bought from M.D. Kühn, chief of the Surinamese Medical Service.[7]

The first larger acquisition to the NME came from two important World Fairs: the 1878 World Fair in Paris and the 1883 World Fair in Amsterdam.[8] Here the museum bought large parts of the Dutch contribution to both World Fairs. From Suriname and the Antilles both utensils and jewelry were the main focus. Nonetheless, of the more than 4,000 objects the museum acquired at the *Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandels* exhibition[9] only 324 objects originated from South America (these included bracelets, clubs, water bottles, and so forth). Furthermore, some smaller collections from Suriname were purchased, such as in 1886 when 64 Warao and "Carib" objects were purchased from Dr. Ten Kate (series 564, 581, 623, 784).

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6 In total 10,000 objects were transferred from the RCR to the NME, of which only ca. 350 were from Suriname. Collecting and acquisition policies had changed by that time and the RCR collections – which were rooted in the old *stadhouderlijke collecties* - were seen as old-fashioned at the time and were therefore transferred to different ethnographical museums in the Netherlands.

7 Two boxes and a package containing objects from "Zuijd americaanse indianen, surinaamsche creolen, Caraïben, en […] van de Bosch negers" (South american indians, surinamese creoles, Caribs and […] maroons) from Suriname (ANH 854:z.nr./122/123 & ARA archives 2.04.01-4925; year 1824).

8 In 1883 two important acquisitions took place when the collections of the RCR were transferred to the NME and, at the same time, a significant portion of the Dutch entry of the 1883 Amsterdam International Colonial Exhibition was acquired. Hand in hand with the so-called opening up of the Indian provinces, the collecting of ethnographic objects took off in those years. Several expeditions, both civil and military, in Indonesia and Suriname yielded much material (Aceh, Bali, and Central Borneo for example).

9 World Fairs were held in Amsterdam in 1883, 1887, and 1895. The world exhibition of 1883 attracted at least one million visitors. The sponsor for the World Fair of 1883 was the French businessman Edouard Agostini, who was also responsible for organizing the 1878 Paris World Fair. The 1883 World Fair was officially called the International Colonial and Export and Trade Exposition, which was the first international colonial exhibition that was held especially to attract new investors to the colonial territories.

As we can see, the nineteenth-century Surinamese collections were for the larger part more or less coincidentally added to the collections. Since the larger part of the collections was brought together for state affairs such as the RCR and national contributions to World Fairs, rather than illustrating stories on South American cultures the collections speak volumes about the way the Dutch reflected on their colonies at the time, and specifically on how they depicted the population of these territories to the general Dutch public. In short, a picture is painted of exoticism, noble savages, and a pristine colonial paradise. The collection consists of randomly collected objects such as whips, clubs, spears, bows and arrows, basketry, toiletries, boats, houses, children's toys, and utensils. Through the use of dioramas, museums and cabinets of curiosity displayed the colonial territories to their public. They searched for "*de merkwaardigste voortbrengsels*" ("the most curious productions") from countries. Religious objects and objects intended for daily use (especially the ones that were considered "contaminated" because they showed European influences or inspiration) were hardly collected at all. Medicinal herbs, medicines, food, maps, and porcelain were not collected until later. Although some of the dioramas are of great documentary value, their colonial character should certainly not be underestimated in their interpretation. At the turn of the century, between 1895 and 1899, the NME entered the heyday of collecting. For Suriname, one larger collection, acquired from Baron Schimmelpenninck van der Oye (series 1054), is especially notable.

Then at the beginning of the twentieth century, many Surinamese collections entered our collections. There was no well defined acquisition policy developed yet in the first part of the twentieth century, therefore the categorization is quite variable. Usually it concerns individual chance acquisitions through donations or purchases. Initially the focus remained on Suriname and Brazil. From Suriname, some very important acquisitions are made in this time period: the Penard collection, de De Goeje collection, and the Appolonius Reynvaan collections are the most notable. The Penard collection (series 1817; 250 objects from Suriname) is unique because of the exceptional level of documentation that accompanies it: a box of newspaper cutouts, prints of scientific articles and unpublished manuscripts from the collectors, and in particular a large number of drawings and field notes by the Penard brothers on the semiotics and language of the Carib. We will discuss the collectors and their collections in more detail below. Nonetheless, around the third decade of the twentieth century, slowly a shift can be noticed both in region and type of collected objects: from mainly collecting Surinamese ethnographic collections, the attention shifted towards the collecting of the archaeological cultural heritage of the Andean,

Antillean, and Mesoamerican culture areas. This is partly due to a major transfer of collections from the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden to the NME[10] and to the shifts of interest in national policies.

At the start of the Second World War the museum was offered a legacy (*legaat*) of 850 Surinamese objects collected by Appolonius Reynvaan (1866-1939), alias "Poon, de Suriname kenner" (Poon the Suriname *connoisseur*). His headscarf collection is a very ample one, and to our knowledge he was an exceptionally precise collector. Nonetheless, the information about his collections has proven untraceable. The "cahiers" of fieldwork notes that were to have been transferred with the legacy (series 2452) have not been found. Apart from this major acquisition, the largest until then, there were hardly any new acquisitions until the end of the war. From then on a major shift in interest took place and there were few new noteworthy acquisitions for about twenty years. In 1949 Professor Martin donated over 90 Surinamese Maroon and "Indian" objects that presently form part of our permanent exhibits (series 2777). Around 1961 some headscarves and jewelry were purchased by Ger van Wengen (series 3975), an educational staff member at the time. In 1963 around 58 of these *anisas* (headscarves) were donated by the Museum in Paramaribo (series 3981).

Although in the years to come the Middle and South America collection would increase in size more than tenfold, the acquisitions relating to Suriname more or less died out. As we mentioned before, the focus by this time had shifted from the Circum Caribbean area towards Mesoamerica, in particular since the curator at that time mainly based his research and collecting activities in Mexico. Notable exceptions include a collection of Creole clothing from de Bruine in 1971 and Peter Kloos' unique Akurio collection that was bought in 1977 (series 5006; circa 90 objects). In 1985 some 100 objects were purchased from the STICUSA Foundation (*Stichting voor Culturele Samenwerking*) and were to represent the different ethnicities of Suriname. The most recent acquisitions were done by Fifi Effert among the Trio in 1995 (series 5816) and a Maroon and Wayana collection was donated by Thöne in 1991 (5660) and 1998 (series 5900).

Photography Collections

The museum also has important photographic collections that form part of its collections, but no exhaustive overview has been made that identifies the people and places portrayed in the pictures and albums. Currently, parts of the photographic collections are being investigated and scanned but a substantial amount of work still remains to be done regarding these objects. However, in light of

10 In 1903 the National Museum of Antiquities transferred their non-Mediterranean collections to the NME since at that time they did not consider these collections to represent the classical world. With this, great quantities of pre-colonial and Hindu-Javan masterpieces and archaeological collections were transferred to the NME.

the fact that photographs are often of great interest to source communities and diaspora stakeholder communities, the museum intends to give urgency to the documentation process of these collections. A start is now being made in the digitization of the earliest photographic collections and for example the Hoff collections, made by Cornelis Condré and Donderskamp while living with the Kari'na during the 1950s and 60s. This project originates from specific requests made by people of the area requesting copies of these items.

SK&CH Collection Selection

Within the context of *Yesterday's Knowledge, Tomorrow's Future*, the project aims to concentrate on collections that are of interest to both the Indigenous community representatives, and to the NME. Initially we planned to focus solely on the study of the De Goeje and Penard collections but during the initial phase of the project it became clear that it was preferable not to limit ourselves too much by looking at collections from specific collectors, since their scope might be overly limited.[11] To make selections of material to work with, we offer the

Penard exhibit at NME Leiden 2008-2010

11 Nonetheless many of the by-products that spring forward from this kind of disclosure that does focus on specific parts of collections have proven to be of great interest for the visiting communities. An example is the work done in regard to making a reconstruction of an unpublished manuscript of the Penard Encyclopedia, the digitization of the Penard archive, booklets, and notes, and the work done to "read" Kari'na iconography by using information from Penard's notes (Duymelinck 2006). The same goes for exhibits made at the NME in Leiden on the Penard brothers (2008-2009) and on the De Goeje collections (2003-2004).

community curators all the material we have from certain communities to look through and to make a selection; if that selection does not coincide with our own selection, the objects we would like to be looked at are added on too (as long as the community curators agree, obviously).

Project Proposal and Description

The project proposal and its ambitions have changed over time, growing and shrinking while we worked on it, turning it into a dynamic and organic project proposal. From the outset, the project focused on bringing together the collections of Suriname since, as we've described earlier, they are hardly to be understood or presented separately. Originally, the project was conceived as a joint collaboration between the SSM and the NME. Organizationally, however (and for this particular project) this did not prove a very fruitful cooperation, so it was decided to focus more on already established collaborations and to respond to the expressed wishes for collaboration made by Indigenous communities in Suriname (such as Apetina, Donderskamp, and Amotopo) to some of our colleagues at Leiden University. The museum in Leiden has the very fortunate and unique situation of being able to share its city with a University Linguistics Department which is at the forefront of the study of Surinamese Indigenous languages. This context enabled us to join forces with Eithne Carlin, a leading scholar in this specific field of expertise, and Jimmy Mans, a Ph.D. candidate currently conducting ethnoarchaeological research in the communities of Kwamalasamutu and Amotopo. As such, we arrived at setting up a project with the representatives of the source communities to share their knowledge on the museum's holdings with us, and developing a joint project concerning the collections. In doing so, we broke the pattern of museums working with similar-minded partners, such as national, regional, or local museums, universities or research institutes, so as to ensure an equal power relation in their collaborative efforts.

Miss Halipau Tawaikem and Arnold Arupa study Wayana earpendant during 2010 Community Consultations at Leiden NME research facilities. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

As our ideas continued to develop, and in the framework of the expert meeting, we came to realize that for the

project to be successful we needed to do more than try to arrange visits to our premises that were to result in add-on commentaries to our collections. If the museum was to embark upon this SK&CH project with Surinamese Indigenous communities we would need to find ways of incorporating their points of view while setting up the research questions and formulating the expected outcomes.

We decided that the project could serve on the one hand as a means to develop our own parameters under which we would like to work, being conscious of the fact that you only start to develop these ideas whilst being confronted with the praxis, thus making the project into a pilot study. We also decided on the other hand to use the project and consultations as a means to attach to it new fundamental research projects that would bring forward means for establishing methods for Community Based Intercultural Interoperability. So far we have not found funding for this part of the project.

The 2007 Pilot Consultations

The collections that were visited by our two invited guests Marius Merenke and Samoe Schelts in 2007 were two collections made in the beginning of the 20th century. They were collected respectively by the two Dutch ornithologists Arthur Philip Penard (1880-1932) and Frederik Paul Penard (1876-1909), and also by Claudius Hendricus De Goeje (1879-1955). The Penard brothers, born and raised in Suriname, wrote some of the most influential literature of their time on Surinamese ornithology, and, apart from their ornithological research also carried out extensive linguistic and anthropological research. De Goeje, holding a chair on Amerindian studies at Leiden University, was one of the world's leading experts on Wayana and Trio linguistics and material culture. His books still form the basis of all research in this area.

The Kari'na Collections of the Penard Brothers

The Penard brothers lived in Suriname during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Of French origin, the Penard family almost certainly descended from *refugiés*, French Protestants who fled from France to Holland owing to religious intolerance, and who, in the 17th century, settled in Suriname. They established numerous plantations, such as "La Liberté", "Ma Retraite", "La Simplicité" and several others. Some of these survive to the present day, although nearly all of them have now been abandoned.

Frederik Paul Penard, Senior, the father of the collectors, was a merchant of ample means at Paramaribo, and his wife, Philippina Salomons, had four sons, three of whom were interested in natural history--the eldest, Frederik Paul, born January 26, 1876; the second Thomas Edward, born May 7, 1878; the third, Arthur Philip, born April 6, 1880--all at Paramaribo.

The interest in natural history of Frederik and Arthur started in their early boyhood, but at the same time the first symptoms of a disease were manifested, and both boys had to leave school early--Frederik at the age of nine, Arthur at eleven--and were obliged to spend the rest of their lives in seclusion. (Haverschmidt 1949:56)

After their untimely early deaths, parts of their collections were sent to the NME. The collections concern Kari'na ceramics, textiles, wood, and gourd objects, which are being described and studied as part of the current project.

The Penard collections are accompanied by extensive documentation, consisting of published articles and non-published manuscripts. Recently, a number of boxes containing unique personal archival material belonging to the two brothers were found in the NME library. This material includes newspaper articles and numerous linguistic notes. Key to our project, the boxes also contain about twenty notebooks with drawings of Kari'na who had worked with them. The notebooks are filled with decorative motifs, which are also to be found on earthenware, gourds, wood, and braid work. Every drawing is accompanied by its name in the Carib language and an interpretation for the motifs is given. Moreover the notebooks also contain a number of recorded oral stories. It appears that the notebooks in fact contain information which was intended to have been bundled and published as an encyclopedia. The information from these notes was sent to a publishing house, but if the encyclopedia was ever really published is uncertain; no known copy exists today. This encyclopedia would have predated and been on par with the well-known work from 1931 by Ahlbrinck, the *Encyclopaedie der Karaïben, behelzend taal, zeden en gewoonten dezer Indianen* (Encyclopedia of the Caribbean, concerning language, morals and customs of the Indians). In fact, Ahlbrinck seems to refer to the Penard encyclopedia in his own encyclopedia at times. He is critical of the encyclopedia and questions its scientific quality on several occasions, for example:

> *The unsubstantiated opinions transcribed in the Encycl. p 109 and 110 about the religious beliefs of the Indians are irresponsible… From where – we ask ourselves – comes the evidence for these opinions established by the Encycl.*[12] *" (Ahlbrinck 1935:196)*

It is not entirely clear whether Ahlbrinck is actually referring to the Penard encyclopedia. In his *De Indianen in Suriname Karaiben, Wajana's, Wajarikoele's, Wama's. De Wet der Gelijkenissen* (The Indians in the Suriname Caribbean, Wayanas, Wajarikoele, Wama. The Law of Similarities) Ahlbrink does express admiration for the Penard brothers' energy but questions their scientific meth-

12 Onverantwoordelijk echter zijn de zonder bewijzen neergeschreven meeningen welk de Encycl. p 109 en 110 over de godsdienstige begrippen der Indianen meedeelt. … Waaruit blijken – zoo vragen wij – al die door de Encycl. opgezette meeningen.

ods once again: "Although I admire and respect the inexhaustable energy of the Penards, I am as with other things not in agreement with them[13]. (Ahlbrinck n.d.:23)

The Wayana and Trio Collections of Claudius Henricus De Goeje

Claudius H. De Goeje was born in Leiden in 1879, the son of M. De Goeje, a well-known Leiden University professor of Arabic studies. Through his work as a cartographer for the Royal Dutch Navy, De Goeje was able to travel to Suriname. Between 1903 and 1904 De Goeje took part in a number of reconnaissance expeditions along the Gonini and Tapanahoni Rivers. These were scientific explorations of the inlands of Suriname led by A. Franssen Herderschee. De Goeje was in charge of making the first topographical maps of the area. Apart from the topographic study he was also asked to describe and collect ethnographical artifacts of the Indigenous peoples they would meet on the way. As such, he was the first explorer to make contact with the Wayana and Tareno (Trio). In a consecutive expedition of the Toemakhoemak River in 1907 he collected a large quantity of objects, mostly domestic and daily items. Following his explorations, he wrote several articles and books that have remained standard references until today. In 1937 he organized what would be his final expedition to the southern border of Suriname where he lived in Taponte, a Wayana village, for nearly four months. Many of the objects the NME has in its holdings date from that final visit. In 1946 De Goeje accepted a position to become professor at Leiden University to teach languages and ethnography of Suriname and Curaçao, a position he would hold until his retirement. De Goeje died four years after his retirement in 1955.

Evaluation of the Visit to the Collections and the Archive

The visit to the collections started with looking at the archival information we have in our collections that documents both the De Goeje and Penard collections. Since a lot of the material that we consider extremely rare was Kari'na and not Tareno, Marius actually did not react to the material at all, remarking that he did not feel entitled to comment on any of it. He was very enthusiastic about the De Goeje booklets, but it was clear he would not comment on material before he had seen it. When our director, Steven Engelsman, welcomed Marius, he remarked how he hoped he would enjoy seeing the collections. Marius was not going to jump to any conclusions or formalities and remarked that he would let the director know what his opinions were, *after* seeing the collections. During

13 Alhoewel ik de Penards om hun onverwoestbare energie bewonder en respecteer, ben ik toch evenals in verschillende andere dingen, ook in deze met hen niet eens.

the visit a wide array of different objects were observed: ritual objects, feather collections, precolonial axes and nineteenth- and twentieth-century clubs, body-paint, fetishes, and hair decorations.

A number of objects in particular drew a lot of attention and inspired discussion on different topics. Some objects caused a "sadness" which resulted in discussions on the colonial past and Indigenous present. The fact that certain objects were in our collections (such as a European style knife mentioned below, and a *maluana* disk) led to discussions on repatriation, conservation, and restoration. The fact that many of the objects that were selected by us were either clubs, arrows or knives brought forward debate on issues of representation. One object we discussed extensively was an early twentieth-century maluana we have in our collections (inventory number 2352-189). A maluana is a wooden disk approximately one meter in diameter, used to hang in the ridge of the *tukuspana* or community house. The iconography on the maluana recounts the creation history of the Wayana. A well-known Wayana narrative tells how the Elders were able to master and capture the *kuluwayaks*, a hairy giant caterpillar said to roam the mountainous border area between Brazil and Suriname.

Maluanas are still manufactured and used today, but it was immediately apparent to Basja that this maluana had to be very old since he identified it as being made in a style of woodworking that is no longer used in Apetina today. Accordingly, he was extremely surprised to see this maluana in our collections. There were a number of additional reasons for his surprise. On the one hand he did not know museums were interested in collecting these kinds of objects or that these objects were preserved at a museum like the NME. More importantly, he said, these objects were not supposed to be preserved at all. Custom has it that these maluanas are to be interred with the *granman* that oversees the

Maluana collected by Claudius Henricus De Goeje around 1907. ***Objectnumber RMV 2352-189.*** *(Photo: Museum Volkenkunde Leiden.)*

tukuspana. This triggered the question of repatriation in the consultation, but to Marius it seemed clear that we had no idea of the potential negative consequences of having these kinds of objects in the collection. In his view, we were unknowingly putting ourselves at risk by having objects in our possession that were never intended to have been preserved. Marius proposed to take them home for us, give them a proper burial, and make a new one to replace the old maluana. His question, obviously, was a serious question that needed to be considered and that made it clear that questions of repatriation needed to be addressed by the project. I explained how I could very well understand his concerns, but that from a museum's perspective, when people mention repatriation, we tend to become somewhat concerned and edgy, but that at the same time it seemed to me we would need to consider his remarks very carefully. I explained how, in the past, the museum had had experiences with other cultures where objects had been ritually cleansed and spirits had been transferred to newly made objects. This, to Marius, seemed interesting as an idea, but he would prefer for the old object to be returned to Apetina, and for Apetina carvers to make a new Maluana for the NME. Marius, nonetheless, also thought it might be interesting for the future generations to be able to see the craftsmanship that existed at the time this specific Maluana was made. He pondered upon this for a while, and remarked that it might be possible to see if it would be possible

Mr Samé Ikinaidu and Halipau Tawaikem comment on Maluana collected by De Goeje during 2010 Community Consultations at NME Leiden research facility. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

to maybe find a solution in, for example, performing a ritual cleansing for the object and bringing over a *püyéi* or *piaiman* (medicine man) from Suriname to do this. We decided we should certainly try to involve the opinion of more people from Apetina and indeed bring over knowledgeable community curators on this matter.[14]

Another object that drew much attention was a Kari'na *püyéi* or *piaiman* rattle. In our database the object (inventory number 1817-198) is called a "kalebasrammelaar" (a calabash rattle) and is classified as an idiophone, a musical instrument. The object was collected by the Penard brothers and entered the museum around 1912. In the *Encyclopedie der Caraiben* Ahlbrinck refers to the object as an object that is used by "geestesbezweerders" or shamans (Ahlbrinck 1935: 399-408). Usually the rattle is used in rituals and ceremonies to serve as a communication tool when shamans seek to contact the spirits (Ahlbrinck 1931:405; Gillin 1936:169; Collomb 2000:35). According to some interpretations the handle of the rattle represents the tree of life, the axis mundi, and the hollow calabash the universe. Inside the rattle are stones, seeds, or pieces of tree root which represent ancestors or watery spirits. By rattling the objects, shamans activate the stones or spirits that assist them in their trance and journey to other worlds and realities. On the rattle there is usually an image of a power or totem animal. Often the objects are decorated with feathers.

Maraka collected by the brothers Penard at the beginning of the 20th Century. RMV object number 1817-198. (Photo: Museum Volkenkunde Leiden.)

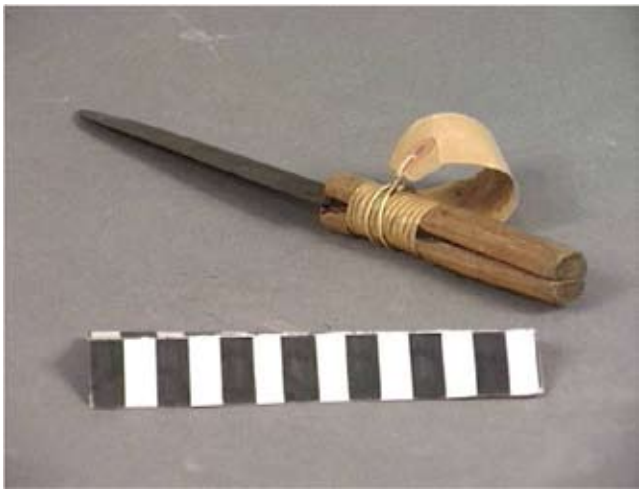
14 During our 2010 community consultations we were lucky enough to be able to indeed bring over a *püyéi* or piaiman from Apetina. He differed in opinion from the Basja in the sense that he did not feel it was necessary for this specific *maluana* to be returned or ritually cleansed for it to stay in our collections. We will report on the specifics of this meeting in upcoming articles.

When confronted with this specific rattle in our storage facilities, Marius and Samoe remarked that the rattle was damaged: it had a huge crack in it. While to our collections management professionals this was obviously due to the difference in humidity and temperature the object had been exposed to during the transportation from humid, tropical Suriname to the Netherlands, to Marius and Samoe it was clear that the object had burst because the white water spirit it hosts never wanted to be transported to the cold storage hangars in 's Gravezande.

The last notable object was a knife (inventory number 2352-153). During the visit, Marius looked at the knife that had previously never received any curatorial attention. It was collected from the Wayana by De Goeje around the turn of the century. Marius, clearly startled at seeing the knife, asked: "This knife, how did it get here?" The object number clearly identified it as an object collected by De Goeje. Whereupon Marius said:

> *But how could they have taken it from her? This must have belonged to a woman. I am sure, a woman that had nothing much else but this. From the little things she had, she made this knife. A knife that must have been the most precious object she had in her life. And then this braka (white man) comes and takes it from her.*

Marius wanted to know what it was exchanged for, what was given in return for this most precious possession. Was it money? Or did she just get a number of worthless sugar cubes in return. To provide answers to these questions, background research was required on an object initially described as a "European-



European style knife collected by De Goeje. **Object number RMV** *2352-153. (Photo: Museum Volkenkunde Leiden.)*

style-knife", 23.5 x 2.3cm long and made of iron and wood. Through the consultation, this object became a story of colonial relationships, dominance, fairness, ownership, and remembrance.

Many of the questions Basja posed, I could not answer directly without more research. What seemed interesting was that many of Basja's questions were not only of interest to him, his village or his people; they were the exact same questions with which we would investigate our collections. The difference being that we pose those questions for different reasons. In the end, Basja proposed we form a group of representatives that could return to study the collections. Long tables should be set up where representatives of all peoples of whom we own collections should be able to sit down and discover the objects, in the process asking their own questions: Who were the original owners? Which village did it belong to? How exactly did the collectors obtain the objects? How did the museum obtain the objects? Was the transaction that was done a fair one (in retrospect)?

Questions that preoccupied us could at once be discussed during such a research visit. What should the museum do with the objects now? How can the Indigenous peoples benefit from what the museums have in their collections?

Dialoguing away from Monologues

In the past decades, museums all over the world have been critiqued for the unidirectionality of their monologues on culture. Much like many other museums are doing, the NME is looking for ways to break that pattern and work towards the formulation of transcultural dialogs and sharing knowledge and cultural heritage both in the disclosure of our collections and in the setting up of projects, exhibitions, and publications.

During the course of the pilot project it became clear that we needed to take into account different aspects apart from the obvious research questions and more theoretical debates on heritage and source communities; important representational and conservational aspects were to be considered as well. First of all, personal backgrounds of the project members play an important role in the development of dialogs; another important factor is the differences of looking at heritage management; and thirdly the shared fields of interest should be inventoried.

We embarked on this project knowing that we needed to explore with an open mind what it was that we wanted. Thinking on the one hand that we knew what we were aiming for, but realizing that on the first try-out many topics would surface that we did not consider when we started designing the project. One of the reasons we wanted to hold an expert meeting at the beginning of the SK&CH trajectory was exactly this: we wanted to learn from good practice, learn from mistakes made in the past, and not need to reinvent the wheel. We

Kapitein Samé Ikinaidu performs cleansingceremony at Wayana showcase at Amsterdam Tropenmuseum display during 2010 Community Consultations. (Photo: Laura Van Broekhoven.)

certainly did not expect to be able to foresee all problems we will likely face in the sharing trajectory, which we intend to continue for the next couple of years.

Institutionalism and Personality of the Project Members

While working on these kinds of projects it always becomes apparent that while the communities and institutions are often each formally represented by a project partner, in practice the real dialog takes place by the representatives at an individual level. In our case that entailed on the one hand that I, as a curator at the NME, through the translations of Samoe Schelts, took part in a conversation with Basja Marius Merenke, subcaptain of the village of Apetina, Suriname. So the museum as an institution was represented by me, while Apetina as a village was represented by its subcaptain Basja Marius Merenke.

In our conversations and dialogs, many factors play an important part in our meetings and the results that spring from it. While institutional backup and policy is of great importance it seems that the specific research interests, personal background, and academic viewpoints of each member determine the extent to which the project is successful. My interest in research is geared towards establishing dialog and exploring ways of postcolonial interactions with

Indigenous communities. Similarly, Basja Marius has his own personal and professional goals in addition to his experience as a representative for his community. When we invited him he was commissioned on the one hand to represent his community and speak for his village, and on the other hand, as a representative for the Wayana, he speaks for his people "the Wayana". Leaving aside the inherent complexities of this representation at a general level, it was in this case seemingly even more complicated for Basja. Due to his transnational personal background, being Tareno by birth but married into the Wayana nation and now being sent to Holland to comment on Wayana cultural heritage. This example of transnationalism easily found its parallel in my own case: being of Flemish origin, married into the Dutch nation state and working as a representative of a Dutch national museum that manages Dutch national collections but that consist of Surinamese heritage in this specific case.

In planning the visit to our depots, for example, this turned out to be a good lesson. We had selected some material from De Goeje that Marius could look at, since they are the finest and best-documented pieces we have in our collections and we thought it would be of interest for him to see these objects. We assumed that because the Basja was of Tareno descendancy he would like to see material from the Tareno from the area where he was born. It turned out to be a wrong assumption. When some of the material that had been selected turned out to be Tareno, not Wayana, we – unintentionally- put the Basja in a difficult position. The situation was easily mended however, for each time Tareno objects were presented to the Basja he kindly declined to comment on these objects since he had not been authorized by the Tareno to speak on their behalf. In the end we altered our strategy to instead browse the museum database and find out which objects were best to be commented upon by the Basja, and continue from there.

Although it might be of interest to further explore the topic of how these transnational and transcultural aspects of both the Basja and I interplayed with our input into the formation of the project, I will not explore this further here since it really does not fall within the scope of this project. Both the Basja and I bring our personal histories into the project and its formation. On the one hand we are the appointed spokespersons of our communities (be it village or institute); on the other hand we bring personal aspects of our own histories to the table that determine how the project develops and continues.

Colliding Worldviews on Heritage Management

One important topic that we should consider is that setting up these kinds of projects means bringing together people with widely differing views on what cultural heritage means and what the sharing of this heritage implies. Obviously, there is no "our world" versus "their world", or an Indigenous society versus a museum society. Both are made up of individuals that represent different view-

points and opinions. Taking into account rules set up by the ICOM Code of Ethics, ISO 9000 standards and internal museum policies, we need to acknowledge that there are certain fundamental policies that rule our ways of dealing with objects. As such there are culturally and socially transmitted values that rule the ways in which objects and cultural heritage are dealt with in the source community we are dealing with here: Apetina. It is vital to be aware of the fundamental differences of viewpoints that lie behind the way the museum world thinks objects should be managed, represented, and cared for, and the way source communities consider these collections that are often no longer present in contemporary communities.

While from the occidental point of view cultural heritage has usually become "museo-facted" and objects are often supposed to represent historical truths, Indigenous peoples do look upon their heritage from different angles, considering the objects as ritually charged, embedded in family values, and embodying the individuals that made, used, and cared for the objects. In contrast in our museum, issues relating to these objects are mainly governed by questions of preservation, private or national property issues, monetary (e.g. insurance) value, authenticity and rareness, aesthetics, and empowerment (property/prestige). The questions that come forward for source communities may relate to the same topics, but usually do not. Objects are intrinsically bound to agents; they are part of someone's life and body. Indigenous peoples refer to use and disuse (more than to preservation at any cost); objects are often inalienable; sometimes they are private property or communal property, sometimes they are not considered property at all. Usually there is no direct monetary value attached to an object, and questions of authenticity and temporality are addressed only sporadically and differently as time is seen as cyclical and recurrent. Objects also represent moral values; stories and songs are embedded in them and form a vital part of the object. Objects embody their owners, and the communities and families they belonged to and are therefore inalienable. Questions of secrecy and "sacrecy" surround the objects and define the ways in which they can be handled, studied, exhibited, cared for, and addressed.

The policies on cultural heritage, therefore, differ greatly. What is cultural heritage? Is it universal property, or inalienable ritual heritage that should not to be decontextualized by collecting, restoring, or keeping it at all? Conflicting policies and positions that can be at odds with each other and a failure to see each other's point of view can very much inhibit any possibility of cooperation.

While for the museum world *Sharing Cultural Heritage* means sharing digital information, making exhibits together and setting up joint research projects, for Basja Marius this meant putting pieces where they belong, finding objects preserved that should not have been conserved at all and much less in the surroundings he found them in. During this first pilot study it became apparent

that we would need to address questions of restitution and repatriation. Many of the objects that were encountered brought sadness and raised questions of secrecy and "sacrecy".

Outcomes of the Visit

From the point when we started thinking about a *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage* project, we thought of certain aspects that we would like to develop. These ideas were still at an initial phase at the time we invited our first representatives, which was at the time we organized the expert meeting on SK&CH. Many of the ideas that ended up forming part of the project crystallized out of this first visit. While the community representatives were visiting the museum it seemed clear that we all had our own agendas, but luckily shared many interests as well. One of the products Eithne Carlin and I considered to be potentially of interest was an educational project for Surinamese schools. On their part, Basja and Samoe had talked about their interests and what they would consider to be important tangible results of the project. In discussing this, our interests converged on the educational dimension we had envisioned. Apetina had recently received a new school building and extracurricular activities were very much welcomed.

We ended up with a multi-disciplinary project that needed to be cut up into smaller subprojects, but which all had one encompassing goal in mind: the emancipation process and protection of the cultural heritage of the Indigenous peoples of Suriname.

Concluding Remarks

In the end several proposals were formulated to look for funding in order to ensure continuation to the project. One research proposal wanted to focus on fundamental research concerning Community Based Intercultural Interoperability (Combii). Another project concentrated on the educational part of the project and the setting up of a multimedia product for Surinamese schools and their education system. Yet another concerned the SK&CH trajectory of the museum and the inviting of community curators from Indigenous Surinamese communities so as to provide a follow-up to the proposals done by Basja Marius Merenke and Samoe Schelts during their 2007 visit. This latter project was funded by the NME and is presently (since 2009) being implemented. We will be reporting on those projects in different journals in the near future.

Questions that we should continue to pose are numerous: what does *Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage* mean? What is knowledge and how do we share it? What is cultural heritage and is it ours to share? Or are we just picking brains for our own gain and to document objects. While "on the SK&CH job" in 2009, and giving continuity to the 2007 project, we clearly noticed that

the project is felt to be of importance on multiple levels both by us, and by our community curators. We also noticed that opinions voiced by one representative (e.g. Basja Marius Merenke) did not necessarily correspond with opinions of other representatives (e.g. on the repatriation of the Maluana: during our most recent consultations it was clear that other representatives from Apetina did not agree at all that the object should be repatriated).

The ethnographic museum worldview in essence is a colonially constructed one. Our SK&CH project is guided by the intention to step away from unidirectional monologue since we think it leads to colonized knowledge transfer and in essence contributes to the colonization of memory. It is our conviction that localized knowledge exists that needs to be added to the information that makes up our existing frame of reference. We are, in fact, looking for a road that can contribute to the *decolonization of memory* and scientific and museological practice.

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Cultural Centers in the Amerindian Villages in Southern Suriname

Eithne B. Carlin, Samoe Schelts, Marius Merenke[1]

Introduction

There are presently eight distinct Amerindian groups living in Suriname. A useful division from both a geographical and an historical perspective is that of urban and coastal versus hinterland Amerindians. The former groups, consisting of the Kari'na (Caribs) and Lokono (Arawaks), are now highly acculturated and are fighting to retain at least some aspects of their former cultures; no mean feat considering that many skills pertaining to cultural manifestation have already been lost or drastically reduced, for example basketry, pottery, boat-building, and house construction. The latter group of hinterland Amerindians consists of two larger groups, namely the Wayana and Trio, and of four smaller groups who live among the Trio, the Mawayana, Sikïiyana, Tunayana (Katwena), collectively known to outsiders as Waiwai because they form quite a large Waiwai-speaking group, and the Akuriyo. Since the hinterland groups live in small villages and settlements relatively far from the urban centers the degree of acculturation there is somewhat less than that of the coastal groups but changes are now occurring at a rapid speed, in fact so much so that many of these groups are now beginning to realize that they stand to lose their languages and their cultures.

In this contribution we focus on the cultural setting of the six groups who live deep in the interior of Suriname. In section 2 we give a short description of these groups, who they are and where they live, in order to acquaint the reader with their lifestyles and subsistence patterns. In section 3 we consider the linguistic and cultural wealth of these groups, the changes that have been taking place in the villages and in the attitudes of the people to their own and the encroaching Western culture. In section 4 we look at changing attitudes to culture among the communities, and in section 5 we show how the idea of establishing cultural centers in the villages Kwamalasamutu and Apetina arose, on the one hand as a result of academic research and on the other hand as a reaction to changes in the economy in the form of recently established (eco-) tourism ventures. The advantages of these centers and the challenges faced are likewise discussed in section 5. Section 6 presents some preliminary conclusions. In the

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Appendix to this contribution we include an interview with the third author, Marius Merenke of Apetina, held on the occasion of his visit to the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden in November 2007.

The Hinterland Groups: Location and Demography

The largest Amerindian groups in the south of Suriname are the Trio with approximately 1,500 people and the Wayana with about 600 people.[2] The Trio live both in the east and the west of Suriname; the Wayana live only in the east along the Tapanahoni and the Lawa rivers, in the villages Palumeu, Apetina, and Kawemhakan respectively. In recent decades, the majority of the population of Kawemhakan has migrated across the border to French Guiana, mainly because of the better welfare services there, leaving at most 50 people still living in this village. The main Wayana village nowadays is Apetina (a.k.a. Pïlëoimë) on the Tapanahoni River, with some 400 inhabitants. Palumeu is a mixed village of approximately 300 people, half of whom are Wayana, the other half being Trio. In the east of Suriname, along the Tapanahoni River, there are two villages where the Trio live, namely Palumeu and (Përëru) Tëpu. The main villages and settlements in the west of the country are Alalapadu, on the Alalapadu creek, and Kwamalasamutu and Sipaliwini, along the Sipaliwini River. In addition, there are some six smaller settlements along the Kuruni and the Corentyne rivers. The smaller groups, consisting of the Mawayana, Tunayana (Katwena), Sikïiyana, and Akuriyo all live in the Trio village of Kwamalasamutu, with some 50 Akuriyo also living in Tëpu.

All these groups have the same subsistence strategies: they hunt, fish and gather fruits in the forest, and have agricultural plots where they plant cassava, other root vegetables, fruit, and cotton. The villages and settlements are all surrounded by rainforest, with the exception of Sipaliwini village, which lies on the southern savannah. The rainforest forms the backdrop against which they live out their lives, the forest being the provider of vegetal and meat food, building materials for their houses, boats, and the artifacts of their material culture. The concept of waste in the forest is very different from that of the Western world; various body-parts of the animals killed for consumption or otherwise, for example the bones of deer, the shells of tortoises, the teeth of wild pigs and jaguars[3], the seeds of various fruits, and the feathers of birds are used to make musical instruments or body adornments. Even the voice box of howler monkeys is kept and used as a container for small objects. The forest is often referred to by these groups as their "supermarket". In addition, the forest is also a laboratory where people are trained from a young age to recognize and utilize the vegeta-

2 Small Trio and Wayana communities are also found across the border in Brazil, and a Wayana community of approximately 500 is also resident in French Guiana.

3 Jaguars are the only animals that are never killed for consumption; rather they are only killed if they pose a danger to hunters or, for example, if they are too close to a village.

Apetina village in 2008. (Photo.: Eithne B. Carlin)

tion and the game resources; the average person can name up to one hundred species of one tree genus in less than five minutes. Nevertheless, the forest is like a double-edged sword and while providing physical sustenance, it can also kill. Hence a thorough knowledge of the forest is necessary for survival. This knowledge is passed from one generation to the next, it is a "lived knowledge", one that does not exist extraneous to their lives, rather it is part and parcel of "being Amerindian". Such is also the case with the spiritual life of all these groups: they do not distinguish between life on a religious plane and ordinary everyday life, rather they both co-occur and are intertwined. Thus the spirit world is an integral part of daily life in the village and beyond it.

Languages and Cultures

Culturally the groups are similar and although they share part of their histories, they differ in some fundamental ways, namely in their languages, cultural attributes, and cultural manifestation. These three aspects are discussed in the following section.

Three languages can be considered to be dominant in the southern region: Trio, Wayana, and Waiwai. The members of the Tunayana-Katwena, Sikïiyana, and Mawayana communities, who live in the Trio villages, speak Waiwai among themselves and Trio with the Trio. Moreover, some members of the older generations of these groups still speak their original languages in the home; there are about ten Sikïiyana speakers, 12-15 Tunayana speakers, and three Mawayana

speakers. Mawayana, which is now moribund, is the only Arawakan language spoken in southern Suriname. All the other languages belong to the Cariban language family. None of the six languages is mutually intelligible with the others, with the possible exception of Tunayana-Katwena which is a dialect of Waiwai and which is more or less understood by most Waiwai speakers. The smaller languages are on the verge of dying out; Trio and Wayana are less imminently endangered but nonetheless can be considered to be highly endangered languages in view of the negative attitude of the communities towards their languages and cultures that has been growing since the 1960s, when sustained contact and intense interaction with non-Amerindians started. Thus the last 50 years of living on the margins of Surinamese society in economic, developmental, and social terms has only led to a continuous reinforcement of the negative view of their own languages and cultures. Western languages, education, and cash economy are considered by the people themselves to be the factors that will bring them social mobility. There are four main factors involved in the evolution of this attitude, namely (a) indoctrination by missionaries; (b) more frequent and/or more sustained contact with the outside world in the form of governmental aid and development and conservation organizations; (c) the lure of Western goods and lifestyle attributes; and (d) a hankering after a (Western) education that is commensurate with the use of the goods in (c). As indicated above, the 1960s brought the commencement of an aggressive conversion to Christianity whereby (mainly Baptist) missionaries passed on not only the Christian word but also the message that most cultural manifestations, in particular dance, parties, the singing of spirit songs, the building of *tukusipan*s 'communal houses', *pïjai*-ism (something akin to shamanism) and the like, were evils that should be banished from their lives, and that all these were no more than symbols of the Amerindians' "Dark Ages". Language was not actually included in this list because it was needed for the conversion process. The New Testament has been translated into Wayana, Trio, and Waiwai.

Cultural Attributes

As regards cultural attributes, there would seem to be a core inventory consisting of feathered headdresses of different sizes and worn on different occasions, combs made from bone, bamboo and cotton, hair tubes, belts, various necklaces made from animal teeth or from *maramara* seeds, bracelets, leg bands and armbands made from colored glass or plastic beads, flutes made from deer bone or bamboo, percussion instruments, basketry, and ceramics. The locus of ethnic variation is then found in the manufactural and decorative detail. Each of the groups has some specialization, for example the Wayana are well-known for the *maluana*, a large round wooden disk that formerly was attached face-down at the top of the centre pole of the *tukusipan* 'communal house'. These *maluana* are made exclusively by men and are exquisitely painted with mythical figures

from Wayana cosmology. The Tunayana-Katwena are renowned for their durable cassava graters, in Trio called *simari*. A husband provides a suitable board, and it is the task of a woman to make it into a grater. A wooden board about 60-70 cm long and 30 cm wide is cut and painted with designs along the sides, sometimes with a large depiction of a lizard or alligator in the centre. Hundreds of chipped pieces of stone are then hammered into the centre section of the wood. The Sikïiyana, along with the Tunayana, make the most impressive headdresses. The Mawayana make a particular type of hair tube, the *mïmesoro*, which is a hollowed out bamboo tube covered with the *maramara* seeds and then hung with feathers; the Tunayana-Katwena used to make hair tubes from palm leaves and the very long feathers of the *ara* birds but not many people possess the skills now to make them. The Akuriyo are known for their necklaces of monkey or wild pig teeth and for the stone axes they now make for tourists. The Trio are also known for the elaborate headdresses they make. Of all the cultural artifacts, the Wayana *tukusipan* and *maluana* were the only ones seen by the missionaries as expressions of Amerindian cosmology and hence were banned.

Another form of cultural manifestation, apart from the material culture, is the oral traditions, a domain in which each single group excels. Again there seems to be a core invariant around which details differ. That is, the different groups have different permutations of very similar myths and stories. The motifs are often the same but each cultural group assembles the motifs in different ways. Extensive collections of the oral traditions of the Trio have been published in English, and in a bilingual book in Trio and Dutch (see Koelewijn and Rivière 1987; Koelewijn 2003); those of the Wayana from French Guiana have been published in French and Wayana (Chapuis and Rivière 2003). The first author of this contribution, a linguist, has been working with the southern groups for the last decade and has collected a number of myths and stories of the Trio, Wayana, Mawayana, and Tunayana-Katwena.[4] The larger part of the myth and story collection is in digital form as audio and video recordings. One of the main concerns that was felt during the research period was how to share the results in a useful and meaningful way with the communities who contributed the stories. The Trio and Wayana have an ambivalent attitude to their cultural wealth: on the one hand the oral traditions are regarded by the more "progressive" villagers as "funny stories" or even "children's stories", and on the other hand, older villagers feel pride in the fact that a foreigner has come to document their narratives and learn about them. Again, the more the oral traditions, in their entirety, are talked about on a meta-level, the more understanding and respect people show for them. Moreover, the people are always eager to hear the narratives and histories of other Amerindian groups and generally re-

4 The Tunayana-Katwena stories were recorded by Roland Hemmauer, a Ph.D student under the supervision of Carlin. We would like to thank the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for subsidies to carry out our research in Suriname.

Captain Same Ikinaidu in 2008 in Apetina recording the oral traditions of the Wayana for posterity. (Photo.: Eithne B. Carlin)

create their own version to be told among their own group. Thus, although the enthusiasm to preserve these traditions is lacking, some respect for pre-colonial life is still present.

Modern Times and Changing Attitudes

In the last decade the Amerindian villages of southern Suriname have witnessed an upsurge in (eco-) tourism, with even some locally-owned tourism ventures. Far from boosting either the economies of the groups or their self esteem, tourism has led to even greater dissatisfaction since most of the people perceive tourism to be a kind of voyeurism. The tourists come and want to see "authentic" Amerindians, preferably in traditional dress, living in this exotic rainforest. In fact many Amerindians have retreated from the uncomprehending gaze of the tourists, much to the discontentment of the latter who have their own idea of what they came to see and experience. The discrepancy between what the tourists want to see and how the Amerindians want to present themselves has led to the formation of camps within villages. The Trio and Wayana want to present themselves as modern people and not as the unknown exotic Other the tourists want to encounter. However, since their location, lack of technological knowledge and wealth do not match up to those of the Westerners, the already exist-

ing negative self-image has become reinforced and has led the people to adopt a rather helpless stance that the imminent loss of their languages and cultures is inevitable, and perhaps not even necessarily such a bad thing. However, money talks, and so at least some Trio and Wayana came to realize that if tourists are willing to pay for cultural manifestations then these can be organized. Then the question arose as to what constituted marketable culture, indeed culture in general. While progressing to the level of other Surinamese citizens, the Trio and Wayana have lost many of the skills required to make cultural attributes, for example the combs of homemade cotton, deer bone and bamboo are no longer made but have been replaced by plastic combs bought in the city. Likewise an understanding and appreciation of the symbolism found on many objects or associated with them has declined or disappeared altogether.

Having been given access to photographic material and sketches depicting objects of the material culture from the early twentieth century that is now housed in museums in Europe, the Amerindians have increasingly become more interested in re-installing their lost art forms, and in particular in using them to boost tourism; mainly in the form of making facsimiles, in miniature form or otherwise, to sell to tourists. However, a need is felt for a centralized location for storing both older objects and photographs and written texts pertaining to their cultures. Hence the idea was born of installing cultural centers in at least some of the villages. These cultural centers could then be used as local museums allowing the Amerindians to present themselves and their cultures that were to outsiders, and at the same time giving the local people access to a part of their own history.

The Cultural Centers: Advantages and Challenges

The blueprint of the cultural centers is the result of considering the multi-facetted uses required of a cultural centre. The advantages and challenges of cultural centers are given in the following section.

On the one hand, the centers could be visited by tourists and so by means of an entrance fee could generate some income. An exhibit would be in a temporally and spatially contained area, a place designated as "cultural", thus the Amerindians could live their lives as they do, that is striving after modernity, without outsiders demanding "authenticity" and tradition from them in their daily lives. At the same time, as stated above, the Amerindians would have a central role in deciding what they would exhibit. This way, any sacred or secret information not deemed suitable for outsiders could be excluded from the exhibition room. In contrast to the objects that are exhibited in museums in Europe, the objects for the cultural centers would be made specifically for the purpose of exhibition. In this way they would not be "dangerous" objects, as are those that actually belonged to someone, for example, a *pïjai* (a specialist not unlike a shaman). One of the main problems felt by the third author of this contribu-

tion (Merenke) was the fact that certain sacred objects were being displayed in museums without first having undergone ritual cleansing (see Appendix to this contribution). This ignorance of the protocol for sacred objects exposes the museum workers handling the objects to all sorts of dangers. In addition, from the Amerindian perspective, objects are not simply objects, rather they are created by someone in a certain context. The relation between an object, in particular a woven object, and its maker is a process. As the man weaveth so too doth the man be created. Thus the provenance of each object would be known and hence contextualized. On the other hand, the centers could be purposefully used as both archives and educational centers for the communities themselves. All the research carried out by foreigners would ideally be stored there in book or digital form. Much of the results of earlier research is now housed in European museums, such as the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden, and some US museums, and has been digitized or is in the process of being digitized. It would then be the task of the few researchers who still carry out academic research in the south of Suriname, as well as the Museum of Ethnology and the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, where the largest collections of Surinamese objects are housed, to collate the necessary information and facilitate communication between the museal organizations, researchers and the Amerindians. Unfortunately little more than lip service is paid by the research-funding bodies in Europe to ensuring that research results, in whatever form, are shared with the communities.

An additional advantage or use of the cultural centers is their educational value. In an educational environment where a Dutch-only policy is upheld, one of the main reasons why the system is failing the Amerindian communities in the south of Suriname, the centers could be used as a location to listen to and watch storytelling Elders and to discuss the material. At present only one school, in Apetina, has traditional storytelling in an Amerindian language, Wayana, as an extra-curricular activity. Equipped with facilities to show DVDs and play CDs of the storytelling tradition enables children to have access, in modern terms, to old traditions, and to the Indigenous knowledge that lies hidden within them.

The challenges encountered to date have been of a financial and of a cultural nature. It has proven difficult to acquire external funding for the centers. Only one exhibit can be found at present in the Trio village Kwamalasamutu. This exhibit is a portable one that was installed in the village by a conservation organization (Conservation International) which is helping to facilitate the ecotourism venture owned by the village. While it is a wonderful start, it is very rudimentary and focuses only on the purely material aspects of the material culture and on photography mainly from different decades of the last century. By working with the Trio and the conservation organization on this project

we were able to identify and add the names of the people to the photographs.[5] This would need to be supplemented by more in-depth explanations of cultural elements and by a computer and audio-visual room for the immaterial culture. This exhibit has the disadvantage that although the provenance of the objects is clearly stated, on a card giving also the vernacular name of the object and its use, there was little Amerindian input in the actual realization of the exhibit. Nevertheless it is useful as a starting point to show the Amerindians how tourists react (very positively) to such a cultural explanation. Thus as the tourists or other outsiders are educated about the cultural manifestations of Amerindians, it also has the effect of generating respect and in turn raising the flagging self-esteem of the Amerindians. In addition, the cultural centers would need to be able to generate at least enough income to be self-supportive. Some ways to realize this would be to charge an entrance fee, and to sell souvenirs and perhaps postcards made from the photographic material.

A related major challenge is a cultural one, namely ownership issues. Culturally collective ownership is a difficult concept to work with. Possession and ownership are expressed in Trio and Wayana as temporal concepts with or without an element of control. Thus training schemes would be needed in order to run the centers as a business rather than as a family affair. In addition, gossip and mistrust are rampant in these small communities. These issues would need to be addressed at village level and not only at the level of the few people participating in the schemes. Nonetheless, if the Amerindians want to continue to pursue tourism they have to have something to offer the tourist, so the investment in training schemes and cultural awareness programs is a must.

Conclusions

In the above we have shown the advantages and challenges involved in establishing the planned cultural centers in the villages of Kwamalasamutu and Apetina, the two largest Trio and Wayana villages respectively in the south of Suriname. The idea for the centers arose out of the need to make accessible to the communities the results of research carried out in the area over the last two decades and from the need to have some cultural explanation of Amerindian lives to offer tourists and other visitors. The Amerindians have been, and often still are, the victims of outsiders who lack any knowledge or comprehension of Amerindian cultures or lives. Lack of understanding is often a cause of lack of respect. At the same time the cultural centers are conceived as centers where each and every Amerindian can have access to his/her own history and material and immaterial culture. This becomes all the more urgent as the cultures are being rapidly

5 One point of irritation according to the Trio is that outsiders take photographs of them and publish them in books as anonymous Amerindians. The Trio see this as a sign of blatant disrespect and often point out that no photograph of Barack Obama is ever published without a caption giving his name.

abandoned by the people in the race to live modern 21st century lives. It is often only when a culture or language is on the brink of death that an awareness arises as to what one is losing, and that awareness can only come from the people themselves, from their own experience of the process. U-turns can be made as history has shown us, but they can only be made if enough is known about the culture or language, if enough documentation is available. This is one task of the cultural centers, namely to house all documentation in a format and way that allows the people themselves total access. It ultimately remains the choice of the people themselves whether or not they give up their culture completely, but giving up one's culture or language on the basis of a negative attitude and low self-esteem will make the loss all the more poignant, and makes entry into the larger society a highly-charged disadvantaged one. Overlaying one's own cultural values or language with another from a basis of respect and pride gives one a stronger position in the new society, and will likely end up in bilingualism and biculturalism rather than loss. The political implications of this for these hitherto marginalized groups is not to be underestimated. In addition, while awareness is being generated within the communities, and tourists are being educated in the cultural centers, they also have an economic aspect in that money can be generated from opening the centers to outsiders and the sale of souvenirs and the like.

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Appendix

Interview with Marius Merenke of Apetina. **Int** = interviewer (Carlin), **Mer** = Merenke. Wayana -English: Eithne B. Carlin

Int: What were your impressions after seeing the artifacts at the museum depot?

Mer: Helë katïp wïkei ëja, Lauraja, tawake wai talë ïweitopëk. Ipok manai wïkei ëja. Tawake wai talë kuweitopkompëk ëhetao kutatëi talë hemalë, tïwëtïwëlënkom malë kutatëi hemalë. Zuid-Amerikaponu wai.

Maa, mïn wiki wenene museumtao uhpakatonom nïlïtpï. Apsik wëtahamane enetpoi ïtamupïtom eitoponpë wene, malalë inïlïtpëkom. Uhpakatonom nïlïtpï enetïhwë ïja wëtahamane hapon mëlëkompëk, talë ïtamutpï nïlïtpïtom esike. Malalë amolenpëkom ipëk esike.

Lome ehetïmna, enïk nïlïtpï tuwalëla wai, malalë enïk nekalëtpïtom helekom? Malalëla tëheke aptao tuwalënanu wai. Mëlë katïp aptao hapïm tëhetke, malalë eitë eutë aptao tëkalëi? Hemalë Apetina ëutë ihkïjan, 1943 tïlëi. Masike talanme Apetinaponukom iwekïtpë, tuwalëla wai.

English

Please let me start by saying to Laura [van Broekhoven] how happy I am to be here. Thank you for making this possible. I am very happy to be here, that all of us are here together, all these different kinds of people, we are all from all over, I myself am from South America.

Well, last week I saw the artifacts of our Elders in the museum. I have to admit that I felt somewhat nostalgic at seeing the history of my Elders, and the objects they made. As I say, when I saw them I did feel a little sad because these objects made by my Elders are here, and also because they are still vessels that house their spirits.

But my main concern was that the makers of these objects were unknown, they were not identified. Who made these objects, and who gave these objects away? This would not be an issue if the (white) people had recorded the names when they took the objects. Moreover, they also didn't note down which village they were in when they got these objects. The village of Apetina existed at that time, it was founded in 1943, so maybe some of these objects are from the ancestors of the people in Apetina, who knows?

Int: Given that these objects are from your ancestors, how should they be treated?

Mer: Masike ipetuwahe nai emna, moloinë ipok mënetïja, taakala mënetïja. Moloinë mololëken ipok esike. Ehmelë ipetuwatïhwë iloptailëla mënïïtïja, malalë tuwalë mënïïtïjatot, tïwëlënkomoja enepohe aptao iloptailëla, tïpetuwai esike. Lome ipetuwala aptao iloptailë.

English

These are from our ancestors and so we should like to ritually cleanse them. Then there would not be a problem for you to look at them. This is because this is the proper procedure. After they have all been cleansed then there is no problem for you to look at them and to learn what you can from them. It would not be a problem to exhibit them and let other people see them, that's because they would have been cleansed according to the proper procedure.

Int: How do you think we could all cooperate?

Mer: Talë Wayana nïlïtpï aptao ipok, Wayana patao malë aptao ipok, lome talërëken aptao ipokela. Malalëla talë Olandpo malalë Apetinapo hũwã aptao ipok. Masike kopie Apetinapo ipok malë, foto malë enetohme.

Maa, helë katïp man: ëhmelë inïlïtpïtom, fototom, CD malë tïïpohe nai emna, mëlë ipok.

Maa peitopït tuwalëla man hemalë kulturupëk. Masike mëlë katïp training tïïhe aptao ipok, mëlë katïp aptao ëtakëlë tëmamine kutatëi.

English

You know, it's fine that these objects that were made by the Wayana are here, it would also be fine if they were in the Wayana villages, if they are only here and not there, that would not be a good thing. In both places, that's how it should be done. We don't necessarily need these particular objects to be housed in a Wayana village, a copy would suffice, and photographs as well.

So basically we would like you to take photographs of the objects, put them on CD-Roms, that way would also be fine.

The young people nowadays don't know very much about the culture any more. So if we were to organize training sessions, that's a way we could cooperate and work together.

Int: Why do the Wayana want to know more about the culture?

Mer: Peitopït tuwalë eitohme, pëitopïtïja enetohme, tulesija enetohme malë. Ehmelë tuwalë ëtïlïmëtohme. Eneimëhe mantot pëitopïtom. ïu wai Wayana, een echte Wayana wai, inëlë Wayana wai, ehmëlë tuwalë wai ïweitopëk kulturupëk. Lome hemalë wai Palasisi kulturujao wai. Mene, kïnëjatëi tupokhe, Palasisi kulturujao wai hemalë tekenkimai, lome kulturujao eikë tïkai ëwaptao kulturujao wëtïïjai Wayana eitopjao. Ituhtao eitopëk tuwalë wai, malalë peitopït tëpai aptao iteinkapamïla mantot. Masike mëlëkom ëninomtahela nai emna emna kulturu.

Maa mëlë katïpïlëken wïkei ëjahe hemalë. Maa maka. Ipok manatëi!

English

So that the young people could come to know more about the culture, to show it to them, and to the tourists as well. So that the knowledge that has gotten lost can be known once again. The young people do want to see these things again and learn more about the past. Look, I'm a Wayana, a real Wayana, I know all about the culture. But at the same time, I have adopted whiteman's culture. Look! I am wearing Western clothes, I have become Western, but if you were to say, "be Wayana!" then I will quickly become a Wayana (show you Wayana culture). I know everything about the rainforest and if we teach the young people they won't forget it. So we are not going to abandon our culture.

And basically that's all I have to say about this now. Thank you all!

Sharing Cultural Heritage

Amazonian Feather-work in European Museum Collections

Andreas Schlothauer[1]

Since 2002, I have visited 40 museums in Europe (in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland) in order to photograph Amazonian feather-work.

Very few museums have made their entire collections available for the public to see. The so-called "viewable store rooms" are a rarity in Europe, and a desirable goal over the next few years, despite the fact that an average visitor will not have a strong interest in these overflowing storage rooms (the main attraction of the museums will still be their actual exhibits.)

The virtual opening of these museum store rooms brings photographs of the pieces, general catalogues, collection documents, and field photos together, and makes it possible to study the collections in an entirely new and simplified light. In the past it was very complicated, expensive, and time-consuming to travel to individual museums and physically sift through their vast collections in storerooms. With a digital catalogue, the search can be begun at home by sifting through stored collections. This can be followed by the specific investigation of the filtered objects in the respective museums.

It is helpful if these digital presentations are open for all to access via the Internet, and ideally the search words and the digital format should be standardized throughout the different museum databases. Some museums in the Netherlands, Switzerland, and France are on the way to realize this goal.

Digitizing the Collection: Sorting – Searching – Organizing - Commenting

The project pertains to the feather-work of the Amazon Basin Indians. This includes a wide range of items that are constructed from feathers. I am specifically concerned with pieces that can be worn on the body as well as other items that are decorated with feathers.

It was required that each individual collection piece was photographed with a digital camera at least twice from separate angles. This ensured that the method of production, as well as the specific feathers used in the pieces, could be effectively analyzed in a later session. Furthermore, this would ensure accurate documentation of each piece's condition.

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The resolution of each photo was approximately 3,000 x 2,000 pixels. As a result, multiple magnifications are possible. Without such high resolution, fine details would have been lost during analysis of the photographs. For the most part, the only light source was neon. The quality of the photos corresponds to the different lighting conditions of the various museums. Thus, the photos are meant to be used as research documents rather than professional, aesthetic, or artistic photographs. The file names of the photos indicate the specific collection information as well as the collection number. Thus, it is possible for me to perform a simple and efficient search for ethnicity, collectors, body part, piece number etc.

In many cases a piece was incorrectly allocated or not allocated at all. It was necessary for me to create a new allocation for these pieces so I denoted this in parentheses in order to compare museum data to my own evaluations. It is not always possible to confirm my deviating opinions in reference to allocation, because there is not always a similar piece to use as a comparison. Thus, it is important to know that my comments in parentheses are open to debate and not set in stone. After all, one purpose of this Internet platform is indeed to discuss the classifications.

To make it possible to search in all museums, it is necessary that there is a uniform search word listing amongst them (a thesaurus). There must be some sort of alignment of the different data and forms of writing and classification. This is particularly necessary with the designation of ethnicities. In one list the different ways of writing ethnicities is listed, and in each case a standardized way of writing the respective ethnicity is specified. In addition, body parts are designated if the pieces could be worn or carried on that body part. Decorative words such as bracelet, jewelry, cuff, crown, etc. were originally removed. This list is also a component of the thesaurus.

At this point in my progress, I have made it possible to search ethnicity, body part, birds, collector, and collection time period for all of the museums that I have worked at so far. This includes:

- Digital unification of pieces that belong together yet are separated because they are stored in different parts of a museum or different museums all together
- Alignment of the collection data from different collections in order to make comparisons
- Digital unification of pieces belonging in the same collection tank, which are physically separated in different museums
- Chronological sorting within an ethnicity

Seeing the Myth - Encounters with Indigenous Communities

Very few collectors, either academic or traveling, have ever inquired about traditional feather-work from its actual source. Very few people have ever asked feather-work artisans about the symbolic meaning of the colors and birds used

in their feather-work. If the question were posed, the answer might have been: "We make it like this because our ancestors made it like this". So it is understandable that in almost all actual museum exhibitions feather-work has been exhibited as "art". This means that the exhibitions isolate single pieces without an understanding of the connection and togetherness of all of the pieces.

The feather-work of the Amazonian Basin Indians appears to be a form of art from the European point of view. However, these pieces more accurately represent the philosophy, myths, and religion of their makers. All of these words standardize the physical and psychological correlation of a life which we could only understand - even partially comprehend - if we ourselves had lived for many years with these people.

In today's world, there are very few people who live according to their traditional culture. Thus, understanding the cultures of the past is not simple for most modern people because we have not experienced those cultures first hand. If we want to understand an artifact or custom from the past then we must undertake a laborious and intensive method of research to discover its meaning and purpose. We must realize that each group of humans was distinct and unique in their traditions and way of life. Under no circumstance can we assume that these traditional groups were identical just because words like "master art", "tribal art", "primitive art", and "non-European art" lead us to believe this. The material culture in the European museum storage rooms can be an important catalyst or *entrance* to understand the thinking and life of other cultures.

Thus, over the course of the next years and decades it is crucial for ethnological museums to invite the living descendants of these rich cultures so we can learn together, starting with their material history. Even without a deeper understanding we can see all of the spontaneous understanding, the aesthetic joy, the beauty of colors, as well as the attention and patience that an experienced and industrious craftsman had to offer.

Ethnological museums do not retain the historical property of their own countries because they focus on other cultures. These things embody world cultural heritage of a special kind, since they link and connect diverse cultures with the European culture via historical collections. If we want to share this cultural heritage in the future, we need:

Long-term common projects: museums and scientists and Indigenous communities

Digitization of the collections and publication on the Internet

This is particularly important for the living descendants of those who produced these articles in all parts of this world.

Afterword: 'Nothing is Impossible'

A Discussion in Leiden about Museums and Source Communities

Laura Peers[1]

Conventional understandings of the way that museums have begun to work with the communities that their collections originated from would have it that real change, real consultation, and real collaborations in this area have occurred only in North America and the Pacific. It was therefore inspiring to attend this meeting convened in Leiden with museum professionals, university-based scholars, and representatives of Indigenous groups from across Europe and North and South America, to share and learn from an impressive range of expertise in consulting with community groups, thinking about ethical issues, and finding creative ways to access museum collections across geographical and cultural boundaries. While drawing on local issues and projects based in North and South America as well as Greenland and elsewhere in the Arctic, the meeting had a sense of considering particular knowledge and projects within a refreshingly global context, and also of beginning to develop a European expertise in these new ways of working in (and with) museums.

The opening presentations in the meeting considered museums as closets of colonialism. We were reminded that repatriation is still sometimes resisted because objects are deemed to be important by museums, but at several points across the discussion it became clear that objects are not always treated as important by the same institutions. How important are things when they have not been stored carefully, when they have been misidentified (often by continent), when records have not been maintained, when items are "lost" when researchers come to see them? Sometimes it seems that ethnographic collections are more "important" in museums as a display of the collecting culture's power to acquire and keep them than as objects of knowledge.

The range of research projects discussed in the second part of the conference, however, showed that such older paradigms are entering museum history, and that working with source communities can change museums for the better at the core, as well as challenging them as institutions. While not downplaying the difficulties facing museum work with source communities, and Indigenous participation in museums, the case studies presented a wonderful set of crea-

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tive and ethical approaches to museum collections. Some of the major shifts in thinking within museums in this area, as discussed in the presentations, include:

- The shift from the assumption that museums exist to house relics of dying cultures to seeing museums as material archives, resources for living cultures
- The shift from museum staff being authorities on Indigenous cultures to acknowledging that Indigenous people are the authorities on their own cultures
- The shift from thinking about museum objects as things to thinking of them as potentially animate, and as embodying sets of relationships
- The shift from museums working in isolation from source communities to working in partnership with them

Perhaps the most important theme to emerge in the presentations was that of relationships becoming central to work between museums and Indigenous peoples.

Relationships

In thinking about these relationships, we need to bear in mind that many of us are trying to create new relationships between museums and source communities after a long period where relationships have been poor or nonexistent. Ethical methodology, and a willingness to address Indigenous community goals, is crucial in changing things: we heard of community bitterness at the sense of being drained of knowledge and objects by mainstream institutions.

While bearing in mind the diversity of the local situations discussed across the case studies—the situation in Greenland is very different to that in North America or Surinam—we also discussed the necessity of maintaining relations between museums and communities over time, and the need for personal investment in this process. I was so impressed by the number of speakers at this meeting who referred both to taking their babies with them, and to bringing pictures of their grandchildren for community friends to admire. For researchers, this is necessary: relationships which are crucial to the success of a project should not end when project funding does, or they were simply another form of exploitation. We were also reminded that honesty and personal engagement are fundamental to the respect required at the beginning of a project as well. Despite poor relations with museums and external researchers in the past, Indigenous people are willing to work together with museums if approached respectfully.

Objects and People

Relationships between objects and people comprised a second theme of the meeting. Franci Taylor noted one of the most important shifts in relations between museums and Indigenous people when she said that objects are people, and can be animate, and are made and cared about by people. This move from seeing objects as things owned by museums with authority over them, to understanding them as social in nature, and having communities and descendants with moral rights over them outside the museum, is the fundamental and most challenging principle of new museum praxis. I learned that objects are social by working with Sherry Farrell Racette, a First Nations artist and historian, who was looking at stitching on a very old coat and saying, "I wonder why she did the seam that way?"—I had never thought of attaching a person and a gender to a museum object in this way before. Such perspectives are central, however, to Indigenous peoples who are the descendants of these makers. As Jerry Potts Jr., a craftsman and ceremonialist from the Piikani First Nation has observed, working with historic artifacts is like having a conversation with the Elders who made them. Although these ancestors are gone from their communities, they can still teach through the artifacts they produced (cited in Brown 2000:191-192). What the ancestors can teach through the artifacts is not only technical skills, which are important in themselves for maintaining traditional gender roles and ties to land, but also the values and spiritual knowledge tied to those processes and materials, and the revival of cultural knowledge and social practices which may have fallen dormant or exist unevenly within communities as the result of assimilation pressures.

Within such perspectives, museum collections are anything but simply "objects". The relationship between Indigenous people and museum artifacts is not always joyous, however. There is another side to thinking of the people attached to things, which is grief. I was struck by Basja Marius' response to seeing objects in museums: sadness at realizing he hadn't known things from his community existed here in Leiden, and discomfort at seeing things in a museum and wanting things to be at home so his community can think about its heritage and identity. In my own work at the Pitt Rivers Museum, I have seen many visiting Indigenous researchers who have expressed grief when they see the old objects because they are reminded of how much has been lost from their culture over time. Museum staff need to acknowledge this and support people working with these collections, including structuring research visits so they are flexible and give people time to process emotions.

Knowledge to be Shared

In considering how to share knowledge surrounding museum collections, we need first to think of what knowledge there is to be shared. As Pieter Hovens noted, there is a lot of very basic work that museum staff need to do before en-

gaging in special projects. Several scholars at the meeting told of working with collections in museums that have been poorly cared for, and Bernadette Dean gave the account of how her great-grandmother's parka was lost within a museum; sadly, the under-resourcing of museums has led to such stories being all too common.

Sharing knowledge about collections also implies various forms of access to them. At several points we discussed the effects of the sociality of technology, and the different readings and responses one might receive from different cultures and generations when working with digital or hard copy images. We also discussed some of the basic problems of sharing images, and the fact that only a very small percentage of museum collections have ever been photographed at all. Images and other forms of digital access have become key to what we do because they show the important possibilities of digital technology in making material accessible and in bringing together knowledge. We discussed many website projects during this meeting, both those based on a collection at a single museum, and those which are beginning to digitally reunify collections dispersed across numerous museums, bringing them together with related digitized records, and adding community and museum knowledge about artifacts.

Projects and Pragmatics

Around the specific research projects discussed, we noted several issues and processes which are emerging as "best practice" in this field: sharing information and images with tribal communities and cultural centres proactively, without being asked; doing basic publications (both print and web-based) on collections to make them known more widely; and the need to publish in a language accessible to the source community. We also discussed, as a central part of the work of sharing, the need to link museum agendas with those of source communities, in order to make projects successful. One other measure of success for such new ways of working is that they should be embedded across museum staff within an institution, not resting with just a lead curator, and that they should become embedded into institutional policy to ensure that relationships continue after the specific project ends.

Power and the Meaning of Sharing

Such pragmatic issues circled in many ways around the related issue of power and authority over objects and knowledge. The Leiden discussants agreed that community members are often the experts on material heritage, and should have control over knowledge connected to material heritage: hence, as Jane Sledge related, The National Museum of the American Indian decided not to photograph sacred objects, for instance, out of respect for source community feeling. These issues become a problem within museums over copyright of im-

ages and institutional belief in the scholarly right to control and own knowledge generated through research. One of the real issues that museums and researchers need to accept in this new way of working is that one does not have to (and shouldn't) seek to know and record everything.

We also discussed some of the problems in the idea of sharing. The idea of "sharing knowledge" is admirable in many ways, but needs to be thought through carefully. In many Indigenous communities, knowledge is seen as contextual, traced to particular Elders and transmitted to people deemed appropriate under appropriate circumstances: for these communities, "putting it all on the web" is not appropriate. The very process through which research and sharing projects are designed and funded can also be deeply problematic. Mostly as museums we need funding before we can go to a source community, which means we start to create the structure and goals of the project before community members are able to bring their goals to it. Little wonder that Bernadette Dean said, "I still don't trust sharing knowledge sometimes". Indigenous people have been betrayed so often by researchers who persuaded them to share, that sometimes projects may simply not happen because of a legacy of distrust or the failure of researchers to incorporate community goals into project outcomes.

The extent to which museums can share was also raised. For the museum world, sharing means digitizing, doing collaborative exhibits, and research; for the Indigenous world, it means putting items where they are needed, at home. Museums in Europe, however, are generally not ready to consider repatriation. Museums need to build relationships with source communities in order to understand Indigenous perspectives on repatriation. We also noted that it is necessary to ensure that communities are ready for "sharing", either of knowledge of or artifacts. Museums must wait for as well as respond to community requests; it is inappropriate to push things onto communities that may not feel able to care for or deal with them.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most striking moments in this meeting occurred when very particular projects and perspectives suddenly came to represent this new way of working in a more fundamental way. Cliff Crane Bear reminded us, very strongly, that one person can make a difference in creating new relations between museums and Indigenous communities, and that nothing is impossible in this work: trying is everything. Samoe Schelts spoke of choosing to work locally rather than at UN level: if the house posts are not strong, he said, the roof will fall in. Jane Sledge emphasized listening, and the cultural context of listening, as fundamental to respect within the work that museums are trying to do with Indigenous communities. We were further heartened by the example of Greenland's museums and their relationship with Danish colleagues, as an example of what can be accomplished based on cooperation and mutual respect. And finally, as

Franci Taylor said, there is no single answer or way or perspective about the issues being discussed. We must come to this work with respectful spirits, willing to flex, willing to do things differently than we have before, willing to learn. I thank all the participants at this extraordinary meeting, who have contributed to the present volume in many ways, for showing us how.

Appendix: Discussions

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Wednesday 28 November 2007

14:00 | Discussion Round 1

Laura Van Broekhoven: Concerning ethical codes: Dutch ethnographical museums have an ethical committee that monitors the acquisition policies of the Dutch ethnographical museums. I believe we might be a bit stricter than other countries in that sense, since we also monitor eachothers' acquisitions along those lines, to make sure we only acquire objects along the lines of the UNESCO agreement of 1970 and according to our own formulated policies which are even a bit stricter than the UNESCO convention.

Gerard Persoon: In our case, new ethical codes are done by the CVD and I think it's the first ethical code that will reflect an open discussion between Indigenous peoples and the members of the United Nations, while other ethical codes are developed by professional groups. But the practical implications: whether it will overwrite other ethical codes, and who will overlook it, is unclear. Officially, if countries sign, it should apply to whoever is a signatory.

Jarich Oosten: I am sceptical of these kinds of general positions. I would be very interested what the representatives of indigenous peoples themselves think of this. To what extent they think these conclusions have been efficient and helpful for them. Maybe we can hear first reactions of what they think of this.

Franci Taylor: If you look at something like ESAI, they developed fairly rigid guidelines for ethics. It's just like talking about museums and anthropologists. The people sitting at this table are not the problem: the people who care are here right now. It's the ones out there that are saying: "We will do what we're doing, because those 'poor Indigenous people' don't know what they've got. They don't know their own history, but they need us to tell them. And so to save those 'poor people' we will do what it takes." That's the problem. Ethical peo-

ple don't need guidelines: they are already following them. But there are people out there, it doesn't matter how many papers you give them on ethics, who will ignore it, because they feel they know more than we do.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: There are enormous economic interests at play. And not simply individuals. We are talking about big corporations with big interests here: bio-piracy, pharmaceuticals, agricultural and biotech companies. It's an enormous economic concern.

Samoe Schelts: In Suriname we have the same now with the Wayana and the Trio. All kinds of projects have been set up to document traditional knowledge about herbs and medicine. And all that knowledge of those Amerindians, those Wayanas and Trios, has been collected and exchanged for a little money, for whatever. These people have been fooled: "We will help you, we will help you". For their websites they have been making pictures. The Wayana and Trio must wear their traditional clothes. Being photographed is something we don't like. Those organizations come here and collect money, for those poor little Amerindians: "Big name x conserved bio-diversity". And the issue is: what will happen with the data? Because these communities cannot read or write English So they really don't know what is done with these things. They really don't know what has happened with their knowledge. And in Suriname it was a big issue to them to rectify the first convention in 1989. I was there representing Suriname-Amerindians. Nothing has been done... But that's the whole issue now in Suriname for these Wayana. People are forcing them to do things. I brought Marius one week before this meeting to let him see Holland. And the first thing he mentioned: "What is that little picture doing there?" He was looking at an advertisement of [an Amerindian] child without hands. "Please help these little children". And this is the way the companies do it with your pictures there. But what can Amerindians do? They don't even have money to come to Paramaribo. Who will protect these Amerindians? It is so difficult. I know for myself. My mother was an Amerindian, a Kaliña. Half of the things are here in European museums, but the knowledge, everything has gone. As Gerard said, this funny little word "traditional", I have discussed myself. Am I Amerindian? Am I not? My father is from mixed [origin], Creole, with everything, with Dutch, with Negro. And my mother is a Native. Who am I? What kind of right do I have? Sometimes they say: "You may not speak, because you don't look like...". But when it comes to knowledge I know more than the "look-alikes". That's the problem with all these declarations. We are hopefully working this out with Eithne, because they have their own language. These things can be translated into their language, so that they can understand. Or, should these communities really be forced to learn English? Is that the way it should be? I think for the Natives from the US it's easy. They can speak English. But these Wayana and these Trio? Should they change? What these others are saying:

"They must! There is no other way." That's really confusing. So what we really want to do now, is, like the Inuit, to make our own documentary, make our own movies, pictures, to build a culture center where their things can be shown, for them, for their descendants. They have knowledge, whether they can read it or not. But it's our tradition and our language. And like Clifford said: "It's my culture and I want to talk about it; not the anthropologist who is giving a good lecture without knowing the real meaning of things."

Jarich Oosten: It seems to me that these terms are very weak. Take this term "indigenous". Of course the Chinese are also an indigenous people. But that's not much of a problem as long as you hold the political power. In fact, this term "indigenous" refers in practice to people who do not have political autonomy and who are fighting all the time in their own ways with those who hold political power. We should deal with the needs and problems as they are formulated by representatives of indigenous peoples. What are the challenges they are facing, and how can theye handle them. How can an anthropologist be of assistance in advising or solving them? I think this is a fruitful way to proceed. I am sceptical about formulating very general statements, with good intent, no doubt, but I don't think it will work.

Laura Van Broekhoven: I agree that looking at the praxis of foundations, or institutions like a museum, will bring us further than just looking only at international regulations. Now we work with ethical codes that were drafted solely from the point of view of museums or universities, or anthropologists. It might be very interesting to take new ethical codes into account from the perspective of Indigenous people and see if they should be integrated into our own ethical codes. I don't know who will be monitoring those. Apart from that here is another important point you were putting forward, Samoe: "In Suriname we're lacking certain information." It's difficult for a person working in a museum or the university to obtain information; imagine how it is for Indigenous peoples that are so often deliberately kept in the "unknow". There is this whole world of regulations, which is constantly changing. You cannot keep up with it. It's a business on its own. There are, of course, representatives of the communities, but as you say, sometimes you are not even allowed to talk, as you are supposedly not a 'real' representative. That's why within this setting we want to try to really make a link between one institute and the other, so that we can work from an ethical perspective and monitor ourselves. But we have to be on an equal basis to be able to do that.

Franci Taylor: One thing on the subject of ethical codes. You can either abide or not, but there is absolutely no punitive action if you don't.

Gerard Persoon: That's the problem exactly. In the medical world, if you make mistakes, there is an organization of professionals telling you that you should not do this, or you will be kicked out of the profession. I know no case of archaeologists or anthropologists who have been kicked out of the profession.

Laura Peers: There are no professional seats within AAA-guidelines or museum guidelines, where things really are grounded at the community level. I use that word deliberately because Indigenous communities are monitoring external researchers. But let me turn the discussion around a bit. We have been focusing on rather negative issues, and those are part of an historical legacy that has brought us to this meeting. But each of us represents a whole network of people: dozens and, hopefully, hundreds of people who are working in a new way, and who do bring new attitudes and new methodologies to this work. We wouldn't be here if there hadn't been ground cleared for us. I think what we can do most productively in this meeting is: Yes, we have to review the situation. This is a politics of desperation. But we can also share with each other over the next few days *what* is working for communities and *why*. How do we work in new ways to facilitate Indigenous access to social memory that is locked in collections? How do we facilitate knowledge repatriation? How do we facilitate visual repatriation? How do we facilitate the renegotiation of relationships between institutions and Indigenous people?

Laura Van Broekhoven: I could not agree more. We have to take into account the historical dimensions of how relationships have been shaped and abused in the past on the one hand, but at the same time really try to look towards the future for new and better ways to develop means of establishing a sort of postcolonial praxis. And that's why we want to look at our best-practices: the praxis and not at malpractice examples of this new way of working: facilitating access; facilitating recognition; reconciliation between institutions and Indigenous peoples. It seems obvious that there is a big gap between the way that Native American and Canadian communities are organized and have organized themselves compared to Middle and South America. In the South, there are hardly any forms of political or overlapping Indigenous organizations; sovereignty is non-existent. I think this was also one of the things that Samoe and Basja Marius told us: that it was so interesting for them to come here that they could actually learn what has already been done in the North in regard to these topics. There are hardly any of these projects in the South. This is largely due to the lack of political self-determination and political autonomy, which is basically non-existent. Overall it obviously all comes down to territorial rights: sovereignty is key, and so is organization, education and self-discipline and collaboration. And this is a crucial factor in these countries. Nonetheless, we don't have to solve the problems of the world, but we can see what we can do as a museum, and what we can do

from our collections and from our universities. How can we develop our own praxis, so that we don't have to wait endlessly for international policies to come into existence and determine the ways in which we can work together.

Bernadette Dean: There is a small group of us Inuit who were very disappointed that Canada did not sign the declaration [Human Rights], stating that Canada already has similar legislation in place. I know that aboriginal rights are in our Constitution, but it's not defined. And Canada does not even want to go there because to them it's opening a can of worms. To me, it's all about having power and control. Some of us say: "Colonialism is still alive". You could use the word globalism: it's the same thing. And there are 150,000 Inuit in the world. There are over 40,000 Inuit in Canada. I say that we Inuit are a 'minority of minorities'. But we are not the ones that go to the UN. I don't know who it is in Canada that goes to these meetings at the UN. And if Canada had signed that declaration it would have meant a lot to us, because it would mean recognizing our language, recognizing our culture. I know Canada is one of the G8 countries, and it's considered a wealthy country, but we're also struggling to hold on to our cultural knowledge; preserve it so that we could move forward. I can only speak for Inuit and for myself. I am Inuk. Some of us are really disappointed Canada did not sign. But we also know that Canada does not send us to these meetings.

Gerard Persoon: Samoe, I would like to address something you said earlier: "If you don't look like, you cannot speak on behalf of." The same counts for the way people speak at these international forums. On the one hand you have to look like an Indian or a Pygmy in order to be accepted as a speaker of this group. On the other hand, you have to be a professional diplomat to engage, to speak the language, have the friends, know who your enemies are. So there is always the debate: if somebody speaks the language and knows all the legal documents, there's always an argument that you don't come from the forest. No, of course not, because these are the kind of experiences you need to have. Because if you come from the forest and I don't speak the languages you cannot phrase the things you want to phrase. At the moment Indigenous movements have learned this and they have gathered in the Indigenous forum on biodiversity. They have pre-meetings. They are very well organized and they perform as a professional group. I think at these international forums the Inuit and the American Indians are relatively well represented.

Bernadette Dean: The Inuit Women's Association in Canada invited women from Peru and Panama to discuss intellectual property rights. And we submitted a paper that we wanted collective rights. And to Canada collective rights,

"Museums are vital to the education of the public, and especially children."

as opposed to individual rights, is a scary thing. There was a book produced: *Our Boots*. It's about our sealskin boots. Bernadette and others have noticed that fashion trends are imitating cultural styles. Inuit women of Canada are not really recognized by the Canadian Government. But they started to work on these intellectual property rights. But it has been sitting still, because Canada does not recognize the Inuit Women's Association as a national organization. And since Canada didn't sign it, we need a champion there to push this issue because it would not only mean a lot to Inuit but also to other aboriginal groups in Canada. It would be some recognition of our Indigenous knowledge. It would mean a lot to us because only French and English are the recognized languages, and recognized ways of thinking, in this big place called Canada.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: As an example of how something Indigenous has been taken out of that culture and then mass produced, look at the kayak. I imagine if Inuit received a royalty for every kayak that is commercially manufactured or sold!

Bernadette Dean: Or the symbol of the Inuksuk for the 2010 Olympics.

Pieter Hovens: There is an example with a different twist on intellectual property. Virgil Ortiz is an Indian artist who was raised in the tradition of making pottery in Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico. He has developed a national and even international reputation because of his innovative work, but that was rooted in the Puebloan tradition. He became so successful that the Donna Karan Fashion House asked him to make designs for their clothing and accessories. With the money he earned, he founded a local studio to train Indian youngsters in the ceramic arts so that they would ultimately be able to sustain themselves in life as artists. And there arose no discussion in the Native community about him making money from the village tradition, because he was giving it back to them. I found this very impressive.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: I think that was the basic tension in your presentation: this difference in perspective from our Western way of looking at things, which is very individually and property-oriented, compared to the collective way in which Indigenous peoples regard this knowledge. I thought one of the most impressive things that you said was the Indigenous group in Hawaii that refused to allow patents on the tapa. I thought, my goodness, how heroic. I mean really courageous. And so much apart from our capitalist way of looking at things, which is to acquire knowledge and patents and copyrights to fend off anyone else from having it and claiming it. We're talking about a basic philosophical difference in attitude here.

Laura Peers: Museums can play a crucial role in these meetings. At the Pitt Rivers Museum, we have a policy addressing commercial developments with collections. We were approached by two fashion production houses within a four-month period, who wanted explicitly to copy North American Indian garments and develop them for the commercial fashion market. And so we wrote a policy that says: "We can let you see the collection, which is open to all. But if you want to do a commercial application, based on one of the objects which we care for, we will first put you in connection with the community that the object comes from, or with the organization which acts as a steward for the intellectual property of the object involved." It's easier than everybody thinks. There are many difficulties in implementing, but you can actually take that step and further it with the commercial person involved. You do have to sit down and talk to people.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: This was similar to a situation that came up back in 1981 when we had an exhibition on the Inuit amautik (woman's parka) at the Winnipeg Art Gallery. We invited two seamstresses, Annie Napayok and Charlotte St. John come down and lead amautik workshops. Winnipeg is well known as a garment-producing city. And it became a problem that there was a concern in the city that wanted to start developing and mass-producing the amautik. Nothing came of it, but it brought us into a situation of having to figure out what were the legal aspects here, and then talking to the Design Council of Canada. Apparently, with any change that is made to a garment, you lose the copyright to the pattern. So it would have been very easy for someone to make minor design changes and then mass-produce these garments. It also became an issue when a representative from a New York fashion house visited a northern community and began to buy clothing with the idea that they would mass-produce it. Luckily, this was at a time when Pauktuutiit, the Inuit Women's Association could actually have the legal clout to keep that from happening. I think it's this formal organizational aspect that you need to be able to defend that Indigenous knowledge.

Franci Taylor: For generations and generations all of the roads have left our communities. The knowledge is drained off and nothing comes back. Even in something like our clothing; it wouldn't be so offensive if somebody reproduced it, if we got something back. On my reservation we have an 82% unemployment rate. And yet somebody can come in and take a garment and make millions of dollars, and our average family lives on less than $2,000 per year. Nothing comes back, the knowledge doesn't come back. I mean there have been some. Somebody like Mooney was great. He founded the Native American Church. Some anthropologists were diligent in bringing back. But even here [at Leiden

University] I hear kids talking about doing research without making prior contact; and I don't hear of anything going back. I always keep asking: "What did you send back to the communities?" – "Well, I plan on doing it". You don't plan on doing it, you do it. If you made a promise that you'd give us a document or a map, you do it. Before you write your thesis. That's the thing: the drain. And that's the key thing on Indigenous knowledge: we're not opposed to sharing. We have been the most generous sharing cultures on earth. But give us something back. Don't make empty promises. Speaking just for North American Indians: we have got long memories, and we remember all the broken promises. We are very trusting, we are very welcoming. Most of the people who have gone into our communities would come back and talk about how quickly they were welcomed. But by god, you have got to keep your promises.

At his request, remarks made by Clifford Crane Bear were not recorded

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Wednesday 28 November 2007

15:30 | Discussion Round 2

Laura Van Broekhoven: I think the NMAI [the National Museum of the American Indian] is a phenomenal example to EU museums. Especially the element of creating spaces for the input of Indigenous communities that lead to multi-vocality. Finally different voices can talk about collections.

Jane Sledge: It's recent that the NMAI has worked in this way. It was founded in 1989 and opened its first site in New York in 1994. We began to move collections from New York to the Cultural Resources Centre in 1999. It took us five years to open in New York, and then five years to build this building and open in Washington. During that time we created our first inventory, which was really basic. So it's only since 2005 that we are working on our expanded computer system, to uphold this diverse information-set and change the way in which we think about information.

Andreas Schlothauer: When did the cooperation start?

Jane Sledge: Well, it's something like a woman having a baby. We have a baby that is growing and will hopefully grow into a teenager, and then into a grown human being. It's a lifetime of evolving into a good human being. It isn't that we couldn't do it more quickly; it's that our ideas keep changing. We keep learning and growing, and so we keep adding things to our concepts.

Andreas Schlothauer: Developing the interest of the public is very special. I don't know any European museum that does it in such a consequential sort of way.

Jane Sledge: In the US and Canada, museums are putting their collections on the web, and it's very accessible. Our collections are not on the web. Right now, we are spending this year, and potentially part of next year, bringing a large part of our collections to the web. It will be in a fairly traditional way. It won't be this expanded view that we have internally which is probably more in the interest of communities with whom we work. It is our intention to return our electronic records to them with images and expanded information.

Laura Van Broekhoven: I find the ways in which you work with communities very inspiring. You seem to really show respect and work together to share knowledge and cultural heritage. There are many things that we have talked about in our curatorial meetings that we should be able to do, if we wanted to. Once we start to engage in these kinds of projects, we might want to develop and use the kinds of software you have, with differentiated access possibilities, etc.

Jane Sledge: Our software was made by a commercial vendor. We really worked with them to extend and employ that thinking, which might be most interesting on the definition of the pieces of information. Rather than your conservation model compared to our conservation data. I think it's more the information structure that is easily transferable, then you can get your vendors to adapt this. There is a layer of projects on sharing information that Laura and a number of other people work in. The University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology has a reciprocal information network, and there is another project being done with Ruth Phillips [of Carleton University, Ottawa]. So there are layers of projects. People are very interested in local areas, local regions, and local projects to which they will bring a wide variety of museum data. For all Indigenous peoples and nations, it is more particular groups of nations or communities that are interested. There is a layer of information that is easily shareable, and then there is another layer that is potentially deeper.

"Most important of all is the long-term relationship, of course."

Laura Van Broekhoven: We work with TMS [the Museum System] so we would need to look for ways that we might adapt our systems to those kinds of information layers. Our whole collection is on the Internet. I think that we have been forerunners in the museum digitizing world for a long time, but we have lagged behind in the last couple of years and are trying to catch up again. We are investing extra personnel into this. But we are thinking of how we can have more meta-data added to our system; and where should we put restrictions on information, that should not be on the Internet. For example, in the case of photographs which cannot all be on the Internet, for reasons of privacy, or in the case of human remains and sacred objects.

Jane Sledge: I think one reason to work with smaller projects, where you have closer relationships with communities, is to better understand contexts. Time on smaller projects will belong to meta-data, and in this relationship you understand that one piece of information is potentially public information, and one piece of information is private. Most important of all is the long-term relationship, of course. I think the NMAI has had a hard time coming to grips with the fact that 40% of our information is wrong. When we brought it to the Internet, we had a lot of people saying: "That's not correct. That's wrong information." We've been working at providing more of a context, so that the public can understand how we came by our information. We have issues where terminology has been used by George Gustav Heye that is offensive today. Should we publish a catalogue with offensive terminology on it? Or should we explain things? I think a lot of explanation is needed for objects to show why things are offensive. There are lots of things where you need layers of meaning and try to better understand things.

Andreas Schlothauer: I found the Cultural Resource Center remarkable. I have seen portals in European museums, and I've never seen something like this.

Jane Sledge: The CRC is where we house and store the collections. It came out of consultations where there is a series of principles of transparency, openness, accessibility, room for discussion and dialog, and room for prayer. The trees come as close to the building as possible to bring nature as close as possible to the building. We have windows in our collections area to let in light. People were enjoying working in there. Music was encouraged. The objects hear the music. The building was originally designed to facilitate public tours but we haven't been able to keep up the number of staff there, so we are now focused on researchers. Our sensitive objects are stored at a higher level. We also follow the guidance so that people normally coming through would not see the objects that they are not supposed to see. Every object - when we moved it - was re-housed within a box so that the box could be pulled out and turned around without touching the object. It's a very accessible collection, even for walking

through it. The storage area is movable storage for the convenience of space. But it is also 12 feet high. Having the ability to have 12 feet high is wonderful, because you can put your special objects up higher. But it also puts a burden on Elders who come to visit us to get up to that higher level. It probably would have been better to do eight lower storages just to facilitate the access of Elders. The rooms were considered so that we could bring a set of objects out for a community. The storage area in the Bronx is divided into the basket area, the ceramics area. Now the objects are held by communities, so that all the communities' objects are together. We had previously taken out the sensitive objects and put them in a very separate area. And then communities asked that all their objects be together, rather than that the sensitive objects be separated. These are the kinds of things that come into designing a storage area. It was really visualized beforehand by many people. The buildings themselves often take on a protective role for the objects; they are very special buildings.

Laura van Broekhoven: At the NME our storage is not here at Leiden, it is in 's Gravesande, a small town out in the Dutch polders, where most of the Dutch agriculture is located. It's so different from what you are describing. In my department at least everything is completely dispersed. Everything is mixed: cultures, the new and old, plastics, ceramics, feathers, male-female, sacred and profane. I remember when I went with a group of students to the depot, they were completely in awe that all these very sacred objects were somewhere in the Dutch agricultural fields, you may only imagine what it would be like for visitors from Indigenous Communities.

Laura Peers: But that's because there are no contacts and relationships. You were talking about starting contacts and developing relationships with multiple communities. I think it's certainly possible to renovate storage and access facilities. It has been done on a project-by-project basis, as relationships have been activated. At the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford we have tribal people coming to the museum to work with us on collections from their communities, and we ask them for their advice. For instance, Ojibwe people have asked us to remove objects from plastic bags in storage and wrap them in tissue paper so the objects can 'breathe'. That's something that I would do for that community because we had contact with people; we had contacts to go back to. But I wouldn't presume to do it. So it has to be on these bases, but it is still about establishing relationships and effecting change and context.

"Museums are used just to keep something, where ours is to live in memory with something."

Franci Taylor: Is there any attempt to take items that have a good providence, and you can tell what group or nation they are from, and put a description into that language?

Jane Sledge: It would be great to have that, but at the moment we don't. That's actually what we would like to work on with communities: to return those objects and have at least language preservation programs where they are talked about, potentially as audio or video clips with Elders. It would be very easy to attach audio clips to the record. Again, it comes out of relationships and the community that wants to do that. Again and again, you get into relationships and politics. The tribal colleges are very eager to do that. They'd like to use these in language preservation programs and American Indian Studies programs. It's almost "proceduralizing" that Elders look at objects and decide what records should be used in educational practices, depending on the age group of the people using them. I think long-term would be wonderful. It's not impossible; it just requires time, energy, relationships and motivation. And there is not a lot of funding for that. Language issues are the most critical thing. And, hopefully, some communities become wealthy through casinos or other resources so that funds can be dedicated to this.

Andreas Schlothauer: Did the concept of the exhibition change through this process of cooperation with the First Nations?

Jane Sledge: Initially, we thought we could work with 40 communities, but we ended up working with 24 communities for the opening. We have three long-term tenure exhibitions. One entitled *Our Universes*, which is about people's understanding of their community's way of knowing their ontology: the relationship to cosmology; the relationship to the land, the environment, and how things are organized. About eight communities present their ways of knowing. Then we have an exhibit on *Our Peoples*. Again, eight communities present their ways of understanding this enormous change that has taken place over the last 500 years. More recently, we brought in Blackfoot and Apache collaborators, and they designed their own exhibit. These new Blackfoot and Apache groups have better exhibits, because the community took more time to discuss, present, and shape their ideas. The third permanent exhibit is about *Our Lives*, which talks about identity and issues facing communities today: health issues, serenity, environment, land rights, water rights. Then we have a changing exhibit gallery, where we now have a fabulous show called *Identity by Design*, which is about Native American women's dresses, or the meaning of the dress, and what it means to the woman who wears it, and her relationship with her family and community. It's a powerful exhibit. It also provides dressmakers talking about their dresses, looking at the dresses in our collection. I cried when I went through this exhibit. You are so close to the objects. The thing that is the

hardest is time. We try to keep our exhibits on a schedule. Our next exhibit is a contemporary art show that we are developing on the artist, Fritz Scholder It seems that the more time you spend with people talking about their objects, the more you find out; yet, time and capacity are the problem. We have this exhibition called *Listening to our Ancestors*, which features eleven Northwest Coast communities. We had repatriated objects to some of these communities, and they came back to us for this exhibit. So when you repatriate an object, it does not mean the end or loss of the object. The communities sent representatives who were really proud to point out their community's objects. This is one of the wonderful things about repatriation.

Andreas Schlothauer: Do you see a change in the reactions of the visitors to the new exhibition?

Jane Sledge: We do a lot of audience studies. When we first opened the new museum on the National Mall, we discovered that 50% of our visitors liked the Museum, and about 50% didn't understand what we were doing. Young girls between the age of about 12 and 25 didn't have much of a relationship with what they were seeing. We discovered that we had too much text for a lot of kids who didn't read any more; they listened more than they read. So we have been slowly changing our audience There is a whole group of people that expected an art exhibition, and they didn't see it. So they were disappointed. There were also people who expected a linear presentation: a historic show illustrating change and time passing. The exhibit isn't like that either. It's more like you walk in the forest, and you see what you see; what communities have to say. The communities chose their own stories, so it's not a linear experience, and that disturbed a lot of visitors. You were seeing something you were not expecting. But, more recently, our exhibits "Identity by Design" and "Listening to our Ancestors" have been really well received by the Washington public. I think people have gotten used to us. And I think we have tried to make things better ourselves. One of the best things we have is our cafe, where we sell Native food. I think everybody who comes to the museum and eats there says: "This is the best cafeteria on the Mall". It's perhaps one of the best teaching mechanisms on how wonderful Native foods are. We're probably one of the largest consumers of buffalo products from the Buffalo Cooperative. We have different areas: South American, West Coast, East Coast, Plains. Having a great restaurant in a museum surprises people; yet food is just such a part of everyday life.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: Also, the way in which the NMAI is designed is such a holistic experience. The architectural design of the building itself is reminiscent of the pueblos of the Southwest. You really get a sense of texture from the exterior material with the use of stone and water elements. Native crops, like squash and corn, are actually growing outside the building, and

some homeless people come to the site to harvest them. Parents explain the different plants to their children. The Museum faces the U.S. Capitol, the home of Congress and you can go to the top floor of the Museum where it's all glass and look out onto the dome of the Capitol. It's such an impressive visual and political statement.

Jane Sledge: About the political statement: the ancestors of the Chiricahua-Apaches had been in concentration camps for 27 years. They were taken away in a railway train. Actually, they were photographed in the train car, and then they were taken out and put into bus carts, and transported to a concentration camp. At the Museum's opening, they danced out there. They danced facing the U.S. Capitol. And that sense of survival and victory was so powerful when they danced. Joy and survival being born again. Almost half of the museum is an open space. The foyer is this huge open space dance area. Sometimes it is incredibly still. Visitors have said that issues of genocide were so strong in the Museum. The emptiness of this great entry space really speaks to you powerfully when you sit there and think of everything that is not in the Museum. The Museum is really a sensitive and emotional experience.

Bernadette Driscoll: It is an amazing building. This foyer area is empty, yes. But there is the architect, Douglas Cardinal's use of a basketweave motif of interwoven strips of copper that surrounds and embraces it, creating a circular space. There is also a skylight in the ceiling so that sunlight comes down right into the centre of this space. There is an undulating stone bench that wraps all the way around the perimeter, so that people use the space much the way a ceremonial house would be used. Elders come and sit to be quiet. Lovers come, embracing each other. Families meet there. Children are playing, even cartwheeling in the center. It's an important place for public performances, but it is also interesting to see the way visitors are using the space.

Jane Sledge: Also, every second summer through the last three years we have hosted a powwow. It's that performance, the dance and ceremonial aspects,that are really important, and bring the Museum alive in a way that the exhibits do not. We also have our cultural arts program, educational programs, Native radio program, Native arts and visiting artist program, repatriation, seminars, symposia, and internships. It is a very active and alive Museum in so many ways. We are now entering into a period of reflection and consultation. How do we do things? What should we be doing? We constantly question ourselves.

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Thursday 28 November 2007

12:15 | Q&A and discussion of the project proposal

Cunera Buijs: I want to comment on Pieter's presentation which shows how difficult the situation of Inuit in the Netherlands still is, through the way in which people think it is appropriate to act towards local communities. Although we are making progress, it is still difficult to repatriate objects, or represent Native peoples from an Indigenous perspective. Thank you for putting this so openly on the table. I think this is just what this meeting is all about.

Pieter Hovens: When I was writing my paper, I tried to stress the practicalities of the situation in which museums and curators find themselves. Then to my satisfaction, I saw that in Laura and Alison's book on cooperation between museums and source communities, due attention is given to the circumstances in which institutions and curators have to work: especially, the constraints of funding, time, institutional politics, etc.

Laura Peers: You made it very clear that it is possible to do quite a bit, even under difficult circumstances. You are in a tough position. But with a little bit of creativity, it is remarkable how much one can do. The other thing that came across through your presentation was that often museums can give information to communities and be met with silence. There are many reasons for that. Sometimes a community is not yet ready to deal with a particular collection or a particular issue at that time. They have other issues they are dealing with: sometimes they change their minds, or rethink things. Sometimes you just have to wait.

Pieter Hovens: Yes, I also considered a number of explanations, and decided to continue the policy of accessibility and openness. One just has to be patient for results to emerge, and accept that one might sometimes not ever learn about positive results from one's endeavors.

Franci Taylor: There are a million problems. NAGPRA is a good example. Sometimes it seems that it was a beautiful baby that somehow has turned into a two-headed monster. A lot of museums said: "OK, here are your human re-

"...how our own work becomes a historical document..."

mains." –"Well, thanks for shipping us Ghost Sickness." It remains kind of this philosophy: "You asked for this, so now you deal with it; it's no longer our problem." This has been devastating in some communities, because all of a sudden you have back these remains or items that no one is capable of dealing with. I have to admit that the Navajo have dealt with it in a rather interesting way. They have a tribal historian cultural resource management program and almost everyone in it belongs to the LDS [Latter-day Saints] Church. I was talking to them, and I said: "I cannot understand how you can deal with bodies." And one man said: "Oh, piece of cake for LDS." Ok, that works for me. The Mormons, or Church of the Latter-day Saints, collect ancestors as part of their religious principles, because they have to expand their families. So for somebody from LDS, it is unproblematic to touch human remains; they have no connection to the old traditions where touching any sort of a human remain, or something that has even touched human remains, will be giving them a deadly disease called Ghost Sickness. So now the tribal cultural resource preservationist encourages kids that he knows are members of LDS to go into preservation work.

Laura Van Broekhoven: It shows how problems so often find solutions. Both your talks show that initially you found many obstacles. Nonetheless you were proactive, going towards a community and asking. First you were met with a lot of hesitance, but by communicating, you were able to establish the project -- which is a fabulous example of how relationships can be built. As you said, it's a question of building relationships. That's what this 'sharing knowledge and cultural heritage' is. It is establishing a protocol in which it is made clear in what kind of framework one will work, and what each party can expect from the other; and which rules should be obeyed by both parties. I think this is a very clear example of a proactive movement. It is difficult, but we should make it possible whether the projects are small or big.

Franci Taylor: What is absolute fact in Indian country is the efficiency of small projects. For every tiny project that is successful, it opens people's eyes to the potential that: "OK, there are people out there who really want to help our communities. There really are people whose hearts are in the right place. There is no bottom line of dollar." And so, the little projects get far more visibility.

Laura Peers: It should also be made clear that there was a time at the beginning of the Kainai project when it was not yet clear that this project would even go ahead. We initially worked in the way we did not simply because we were nice people, but because the Kainai made clear that it was the only way that the project would be permitted to proceed. And if we did not sign the protocol, if we did not agree to work within their cultural protocols, it would not have happened. At the beginning of the project, we were sitting together viewing the pictures. These are photographs from the museum collection, and they always

go out with the copyright statements attached to them. The copyright sticker says: "Copyright: Pitt Rivers Museum." Rosie Red Crow turned over a picture of her father, and looked at the copyright on the back, and said: "You do not own this picture of my relative. This is my relative." So I said: "Well, maybe this is an opportunity for my museum to learn. If this is clearly of interest to your community, how can we make this work?" There was a long discussion in Blackfoot, and then Frank Weaselhead turned to me, and said: "This is what we are going to do." All I could say was: "All right, let's try it."

Lea Zuyderhoudt: I would like to add something to that. I came to the German museum where I am now employed with your book in my hands. I was asked to make films and pictures for the museum. Learning from your book, and talking to you before, I said: "We will have to have copyright agreements where it says that the museum can use it for this and this purpose, and the person who is on the image or the descendants can always use it for their own purpose. So that it is shared copyright." I put your book on the table and said: "This has been tried." Because your project was so well documented, I could negotiate more easily. "Even if it's not the same people, it's the same confederacy. Here is what I suggest." And that allowed me and the museum to learn from it and take another step forward. The Kainai project was not only a very nice project, but because it is so well documented with all the steps -- even the consent forms in the back – it can be used in different ways. You said it works when you go back very often. The bottom line is: "You return, return, return." I think it is a basic rule we all need. We all apply for research funding, and we say: "I think I can write my thesis within this and this time." But then you have to go back; you have to show them the thesis. Now I go back to show the community what the publication looks like before it actually goes into print. You go back, and back, and back. And if we all recognize this more openly, hopefully our sponsors and funding organizations will have a little more experience in this sense.

Laura Peers: I wonder about two points here. One is that a museum curator is often constrained with regard to fieldwork, because one has a collection to care about too. So Alison Brown, as a post-doctoral researcher, did the Kainai-Project. She had the time to spend. She was the one who went back and back again to the community. It is crucial because of our constraints that we can work with research students. The other issue is the issue of copyright, and control over information arising from the project. It has to be negotiated and renegotiated along the way. Putting things up on the web looks good for a European museum, and we were pushed hard by our funders to make everything completely accessible. This is not a positive thing in many Indigenous contexts, where knowledge may be much more carefully controlled in its transmission. And we had long discussions with our funding body at one point because they assumed that anything generated electronically from its funding would go onto

a web-based database. I had to say: "That's not appropriate in Kainai Culture. This entire project is about restoring control to a community about research data, and I cannot be putting things on the web against their decision" You've got to think these things through, not just for the community but with your funding body and institution. You just have to keep negotiating.

Laura Van Broekhoven: It is also important for us at the museum to keep in mind what our directors want. Between 2009-2012, we are digitizing a lot of the collection. Really getting out there, putting up websites. We are actually also thinking of something like that for Suriname. But we now realize it is important to consider what information might be interesting to put on the website, and what kind of information should have restricted access, or no access at all. I think it could be interesting to have certain aspects on the website, for example, for school programs, etc. But other aspects you should indeed refrain from putting into the open. Everything was put on the net in digitized form. Recently we were discussing whether we should remove images of human remains, for example, mummies from Argentina, Peru, and Chile, and a tattooed head that we have from the Maori. One of them was actually repatriated. So we started to realize that to put it all into the open is not the only solution. Sharing is more complex than that.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: I would like to add to that. At the moment, I am involved in a small project where we are actually taking things off the web, with a remark saying: "Due to ongoing living traditions, ceremonial life etc. this can be viewed, but not through the website." So you have to go to someone and they will talk to you. I think it is important to not only take something off the web, but then also to say that this is in respect for current practices. People feel strongly about it being explicitly mentioned that this is out of respect for something that is going on today.

Laura Van Broekhoven: We should mention as museums that we are dealing with these things in a shared perspective.

Cunera Buijs: We should find out how the people involved would choose to put it on the Internet, or by whom it should be seen. This is not only a technical issue to open information for people on the Internet.

Laura Peers: Jane, how do you handle these kind of issues with the NMAI database?

Jane Sledge: Our database is an internal database and not everything should be made public. Some things are not written down. For example, we didn't image our sacred and ceremonial artifacts; we simply have the original cards and information that George Gustave Heye had. We are a federal institution and, there-

fore, we follow federal laws and freedom of information requests. It is almost better not to record something that should not be known, because our records are to a large extent public records. Can we actually deal with the ability not to know everything? Not to get hold of everything? Not have to have every object in the world? The ability to deal with a lack of information is equally important and is dependent on the curators themselves, their relationships with communities, what they feel and agree upon with the communities whether something will be put in a record or not. It's people's judgment based on the relationships they have, and the value of relationships and the respect for people. You can only conceal a private record for 50 or 100 years; after a certain time that record can become a public record. And so, some things should not be in a public record. So we may not be the place to put that information.

Franci Taylor: It's complex. When my uncle gave me the book *Sweet Medicine*, he sealed shut the entire section that deals with the arrows, because the arrows and the arrow-keepers are strictly male. But when you have something online like that, my grandson should have access to it. So you have all these complex issues: which society do you belong to; are you male, are you female? There are so many layers to it.

Jane Sledge: Certain software would allow people to see or not see it. And that is simply adding the capacity to designate it. Concerning our website, we would very much like to feature seasonal stories; stories that should be told in winter or in summer. So you have a website that changes seasonally, rather than existing in perpetuity. But deeper than that, there are things that museums shouldn't hold.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: This is another reason why local archives and museums can be very important. In Browning, Montana, when Jerry Spoonhunter and I made the archives, we copied books (this was her idea) and covered all the images of bundles without looking at them ourselves, in order to make sure that a Blackfoot person walking into the Blackfeet Archives would never accidentally come across something like that. Still you could have male information. For example, in some papers there was information about societies, but you can see by the title and decide not to read on. The images were a bigger problem, because you can open a book and the images might just stare at you. When I started the project, I had never expected that that would be one of the reasons why a local archives would be so important, but in hindsight it was.

"...when I see these objects in the museum. I cannot touch them without feeling that it is a chord to my heritage. I see people in those objects."

Franci Taylor: This was my thought about putting everything on the Internet: When my granddaughter is surfing, and hits one of these things, it can do her spiritual harm.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: I think that Western society is just beginning to deal with these issues of privacy. You look at something as common as Face-book which is opening up your child's private world to a large audience. The National Archives in Washington has recently signed an agreement with Ancestor.com to digitize military records from the Civil War which will soon be accessible on the Internet. Twenty years ago I sat in the reading room at the National Archives and read the original documents of my great-grandfather being wounded in the Battle of Spotsylvania in Virginia. This is personal family information, and soon it will be accessible to anyone with internet access who hits upon his name or that document.

Cunera Buijs: Yesterday there was something that struck me. We were talking about objects that were not to be seen by women. Then I was thinking about an experience I had with a Siberian collection. I worked with a colleague from the Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg. We went through the entire Siberian collection here. We took all the objects out of the stores, also the sacred objects. It was no problem. We dealt with one big drum and we discussed it together, it was OK. Later I visited St. Petersburg and I was invited at his home. On the wall in a container there was a drum of a type I had never seen from the Nivkh people. I was excited, and I walked to the wall and wanted to take it off. Then he started shouting: "No, no. Don't touch it, you're a woman." I asked him why this was a problem here, when it wasn't a problem as we were going through the whole collection of sacred things of the bear-ritual. He said that it was the context. This drum was a private gift of a shaman, and the drum didn't cool down. "It is still dangerous for you, and also for the object. It is inspirited. A spirit is there. In the stores it doesn't matter, because you are in charge; so it doesn't matter that you're a women. You can touch all the sacred objects. It is no problem because you are in charge."

Franci Taylor: This is an issue that has come up in one of the museums in Belgium. They had laid out bundles on display. They were originally sewn up. We went there with a group of Lakota, and asked about it. They agreed it would have been nice if they had never been opened and placed out. Yet, they have effectively killed them. Now it's like displaying a dead animal hide. Socially, culturally, spiritually, it was dead. As the bundle was closed, it was sleeping. It could be alive in the future some time, if the prayers were recreated or relearned. Then it could have a potential of being opened and brought back to life. But

when everything is just laid out, there is no way to put it back in. A part of it is how things were put into the bundles. There is a protocol of what you lay in, and how it is right. Once it is spread out, it is like disemboweling an animal.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: The differences between one clan, one tribe, one band are so vague that it is very important not to take a general stand on where something can or can't be done. In Browning in 2001 a group of people who had visited a museum in Edmonton had to be taken to hospital because they saw a bundle that was closed, and on display in a glass case. In all, about 80% of the group landed in the hospital within a week. In some cases, it is not a problem, but in some cases it is.

Franci Taylor: In the visit I mentioned, these were Lakotas looking at a Lakota Bundle. For me, it was relatively offensive, but to them, they said, it wasn't a big deal. We had the same thing with an anthropologist that was adopted into one of the Cree Societies. He was included in the ceremonies, and promised he wouldn't write about it. He published a book detailing of everything he had seen in the ceremony. He did not get to the signing ceremony because he had a heart attack and died on the way. Lots of non-Native people said it was a coincidence. There are no coincidences. It was because of what he did.

Jane Sledge: In the museum we have "male-handling" and "female-handling". Objects that should not be touched by females are marked: "male handling only." Our conservation department is mainly women. They are very careful to observe the distinctions of male and female handling. Even as staff in a ceremony, when we have a blessing and a woman has her time of the month, and it is not appropriate to be at the blessing, you don't go. You follow people's requests. It's part of the respect to the cultural context.

Farideh Fekrsanati: I did work as an intern at the NMAI for a year. Having access to that kind of information in terms of handling and not handling, is extremely important. Specifically to us, because we work really intimately with the objects. Sometimes over the course of a month we have to handle, touch, and treat the objects. So this kind of information is extremely important for us to do the work to the best of our knowledge, and in the best way we possibly can. During the time I was there, there was a part of the collection where essentially everything had to be handled by a man. We were fortunate to have a male intern at that time, so he got all the objects to treat. But, otherwise, there would actually be male conservators hired to treat the objects. The profession is mainly a female profession. Sometimes it is difficult to live up to all the proposals and requests made. I have found that even if it is not possible to honor the specific

"we all at one point mentioned that we can only speak for ourselves, because this is what we know, it's our truth."

request, it's still important to be aware of it. Maybe in the case of NMAI it is possible, but maybe in your or our case, it might not be possible. Knowingly doing something is a different thing than being aware of the risks, and having the possibility to judge the risks involved.

Bernadette Dean: Again I can only speak for myself, that's what we mean by showing respect. There were many different groups, and many different tribes, if you want to call them that. Some of them have been killed off. Clifford and Franci, we all at one point mentioned that we can only speak for ourselves, because this is what we know, it's our truth. There are a lot of similarities between Indigenous groups in North America. One thing that is similar with all of us is that we want our ways to be respected. I am glad some museums are attempting to show respect. If you are not sure, I know our Elders are sitting there, waiting to be asked. All you need to do is ask. And you have to ask in a good way. Ask very carefully.

Laura Van Broekhoven: I think that's a very important remark to museums. "We are not closed off. Just ask, we are willing to help. But ask in a way that we can give an answer." Another interesting remark from Franci was the statement that: "Objects are people, they are not dead objects." This struck me very much when we went with Basja Marius to the collection to visit. Basja often shook his head, and it was very clear that he wanted to say: "This should not be here." He was also very silent in the beginning. He told about how people are not able to go somewhere else because of these objects being there. They are the people. They are the people who use them, who make them. And often there is no mention of these people. Sometimes it is obviously difficult to find this information on the makers, the users of our objects, but in some cases it is possible. And I think this is what we would like to work on in the near future.

Cunera Buijs: I also had an experience in the stores. I was there with a researcher from Japan, which is very close to Sakhalin and Siberia. We took a look at the collection. There were grassroots dolls, which have been used in this area for religious purposes and curing ill children. He stepped back and said: "Wow, this is powerful stuff." So he could still sense the spritiual power of this collection. I myself felt so pitiful that I could not see it. It is also some extra information on this collection. And I never had this experience with Greenlandic people, although there are also amulets and spiritual objects from Greenland. Do you think that they have lost this spiritual knowledge?

Aviâja Rosing: I don't think we lost it; it is just sleeping.

Franci Taylor: When you are a child, you see marvelous things. But your parents say: "Cutie, you thought you saw something. You are seeing too many cartoons." And pretty soon, as children, when we see these things, we don't talk

about it. Pretty soon you say: "Well, they are probably right, I didn't see a spirit. How silly I have been." So you stop seeing it. If only we could be children again, and see what's around us.

Aviâja Rosing: Our memories are coming back. It takes time to get back to our spiritual culture.

Cunera Buijs: There are different sources of information connected to the collection: 'scientific' and 'native'. Sometimes there seems to be no relation between the two.

Bernadette Dean: I think that academia kills the spirit. Because academia is based on "here", on the head and how you think. The spirits in our heart and [the knowledge in our] head, both somehow have to work together. And that's why we are afraid to go to school. I respect what Sitting Bull said: "With education you are the white man's equal, without it you are his victim." But there is a fine line. If you get educated, you lose a part. A part of you is changed, and you are taught to think in other ways, some other methods, some other culture. I don't know, that's my theory.

Franci Taylor: It is a difficult balance and I struggle with it daily. The longest journey any human being can make is a seven-inch journey between "here" (head) and "here" (heart). And there is no greater journey that you can ever accomplish. And very few of us ever complete this journey. That's what the European education has done: Speed boats between "here" and "here".

Bernadette Dean: And our bodies were not meant to sit in front of computers all day.

Samoe Schelts: Five years ago we discovered these caves with petroglyphs in Kwamalasamutu. It was so secret for the Trio Community that their ancestors were on stones. Then, for yourself you have to learn what has been written. The white man taught us how to think about things you want to believe. My ancestors taught me to make the decisions, but wanting what you believe and what your heart is telling you is sometimes quite a conflict. One experience I had: when you have a certain dream you are not allowed to leave the house. Stay at home. Suddenly you are reminded: what if you are not at the appointment? What then? And this is a very difficult world for the Indigenous people in Suriname. Because once the spirits talk to them and tell them not to do something, they have been accused of being stupid. Once we made an expedition on

"You do not own this picture of my relative. This is my relative." So I said: "Well, maybe this is an opportunity for my museum to learn. If this is clearly of interest to your community, how can we make this work?"

the river and my engineer said: "I'm not going any further." And there I was in the middle of a lot of tourists who have booked their travel.If they don't reach their destination in time, they are in trouble. As the one responsible I should come up with a good answer that fits the white man on the one side, but also fits the Amerindian. That's what it has been like my whole life. Also with the anthropologist, who sais: "Yes, but, but, but... You should come up with some argument." I said: "We don't have arguments, we just feel it." That's so difficult. I have been to the museum storage. And something I have seen said: "No, this is incorrect." Wayana things mixed with Trio, mixed with Kaliña. We were Indigenous people, but we were not so friendly with each other. How can a spiritual thing, a maraka, from a Kaliña, sit side by side with Lokono material? We were really enemies. I don't think these spirits will stay that long. There was a broken maraka there. One thing Basja Marius said: "Have you seen it? The spirit did not want to be here." Then the white man would say: "Can you come up with an explanation? How has the maraka been broken?"

Laura Van Broekhoven: He said that it has been broken by the spirit. He ran away. It burst into two pieces. Basja said: "It did not want to stay there."

Samoe Schelts: We are very glad that we have those university people researching. This keeps us awake that we have special things. Otherwise with the big influence from education (in Suriname we have 26 languages: Maroon, Javanese, Lebanese, Chinese... You name it. And we have eight Indigenous languages) and the only thing you hear is: "You should learn Dutch". But this is not the lingua franca. The whole of Suriname is not talking Dutch, but Sranantongo. It is so difficult. We have to talk five or six languages to understand each other. You know what happens with translations; things get lost. This is what we have now with the Wayana and Trio communities. The church started there, and somehow they sealed it close. Nobody could enter without their permission. And they got the community so much involved in it, that they made a rule that you are not allowed to visit there. So it's not the church who said no, but the Amerindians who said no. It is not the church who said you may not dance, but the Amerindians. They said you are not allowed to dance. When I saw those pictures there [at the Museum], I can tell you that he [Basja Marius] had access to what we were not allowed to see for the last 15 years. We haven't seen any 'olok'(sacred headdress)". There is one in the village. The shaman says no: you may not see it. He has access to something that we are eager to see. Now you can see it on the Internet. It is on display here. OK, this was my part.

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Thursday 28 November 2007

16:45 | Q&A and discussion of the project proposal

and

17:30 | General Discussion Round

Laura Van Broekhoven: I think we need to do more of these kinds of projects, having Indigenous peoples as specialists.

Eithne Carlin: This came up in our discussions: Basja Marius mentioned that artifacts still have a soul in them. Or someone's soul is not able to rest because of where the object is or how it's being stored. He did suggest that there could be a ritual cleansing, so you could have a ritual and then put the spirits at rest. Then it may not be a problem anymore to exhibit them or to have them here.

Laura Van Broekhoven: Another issue that has come up is repatriation. The museum has to be prepared in case such questions would arise. Of course there is always the question of whether you need to preserve the objects or not. The preservation will be very different in Suriname than it is here. In this case, for example, with the maluana: if it were to travel to Apetina the idea would be to bury it. It is a different mindset.

Samoe Schelts: Museums are used just to keep something, where ours is to live in memory with something. So it has to go back into the earth where it came from. And that brings sadness. Once it has gone into the dirt, disappeared, the object is at last with the keeper. But you are keeping these from being put to rest. They said : "No, there is a spirit; and if the spirits come back into his house, it could bring badness. So, let it rest until it's needed." When the Wayana people are buried, there is a big hole, three times as big as a European gravesite, where they put in everything that was used by the deceased. But it's everything that is going back to heaven. Nothing stays or remains here. But I don't think the issue is to bring back those objects. What Eithne said, we could do some ceremony that it returns to the ones who are in heaven. They could be satisfied and possibly still have their belongings. That is what the question from Basja Marius was: "What was the reason for exchange?" Was it important for the man? Really important? Then we have to talk about doing some rituals. But maybe De Goeje [the collector] was a really good friend, and he needed a copy... Then there is no issue on that.

Laura Van Broekhoven: For example, with the feather works, Basja said: "This is all fine. This was just made for a dance. It was meant to feast." These are not objects to be kept.

Laura Peers: We also have to ask, in what form would the returned knowledge be most accessible?

Laura Van Broekhoven: That's a good question. We realize that making knowledge available is the most important part of our project. That is why I feel that there needs to be a stand-alone version on DVD. Samoe does have a Laptop. If there is information put in from the Wayana part, it could be uploaded in our file, and another version could be made with the integrated information. Nonetheless, this is only part of the solution.

Laura Peers: The even bigger, longer-term question is: How do you work these projects into the institution? How do they become more than just your project? How do they become a community to institution project for the next 50 years? How does the institution renew knowledge, when a hard copy or a stand-alone version needs to be renewed?

Laura Van Broekhoven: Good question, major issue. Our museum has decided recently that they want to invest in digitization and more web-based information. They have to write a program of course from 2009 to 2012. And the Suriname project is one of the pilot projects. In the long term, if this is a successful project, hopefully there will be many more projects. And, of course, there are the cultural centers that Samoe and Eithne work with, as well as a school project: these will be part of this whole project. This is how we try to deal with a long-term perspective.

Eithne Carlin: Could I just add: what the museum world should also think about is long term archiving. I know a project with my dear colleague, Grazyna Rowicka, who is working on Amerindian language preservation. She started a project to archive endangered languages. All the video and audio material that I have of their material culture is in the archive. Of course, there are all sorts of ethical issues with this restricted access, or no access actually, until the community agrees; but you should not forget that CDs only last for about ten years. People think, when they put it on CD, it's all digitized. That's the problem: it's not. So the museum world should also think about heading towards web-archiving on the long term.

Laura Van Broekhoven: What would also be interesting for this project is to work from a mixed statement idea, where you can have additions and constant updating. What Jane said, that it would be interesting to keep a meta-data record to document the history of change, the working process. So you can see

how we grow into this kind of research. And maybe find out at a certain point that this is something that does not work, that we should find another way. A long-term institutional embedding seems very important.

Eithne Carlin: A major part in the budget for a project like this will have to be the training element. So that when we step out of the project, and it continues in the cultural centre, the staff has the ability and skills to keep up a website, or to continue making CDs or whatever. So they need both computer skills and administrative skills to run a cultural centre. That sort of thing is a long-term plan. It takes longer than our project will probably last, but it's really important, and it's a cross-cultural element.

Franci Taylor: That's also a major issue for tribal colleges. It's a fact that technology is changing so rapidly, and our colleges don't have the funds to keep up the equipment.

Samoe Schelts: The question is whether it is necessary to have computers. When I first got into a project with Basja Marius, he was an animal trader. He was catching snakes, frogs, birds, and whatever. That was his income. And with him the whole community really collected a lot of birds, sending them to Paramaribo. That's when I started the idea: why wouldn't it be possible that these Wayana people, instead of always going into the forest collecting all the toucans, why can't they farm them somehow; everything that is bred, they can sell that. So we always reproduce. But then we have certain kinds of law. What kind of food they have; what a bird is; what is the condition under which this animal could be sent to Paramaribo? And then you need to decide a lot of these things upfront. Everybody says: "Yes, you should make nice souvenirs and then you can sell them to the tourists." But I can tell you, if you have a feather, some souvenir made from the feather, it's difficult. It is not allowed. What should these Amerindians do, because they don't have other knowledge? So when you think about developing something for the communities, think if it is possible in a discussion with them, whether they will have it or not, and which system to use.

Pieter Hovens: I try to imagine the reactions of tourists who come to the Amazonian Jungle in Surinam, expecting to find "wild" Indians and they are led into a local museum, where they see a movie on a white screen. I try to envision that.

Eithne Carlin: We also have to teach the tourists; we have to re-train them actually. That is the problem with certain conservation NGOs in Suriname. They actually refuse to allow any modern influences to come in. They think these people should be static and traditional. The people, on the other hand, want to go on. They have already moved on. But the technology just isn't there. And I

think it's our duty to do that. If you want to work with them, follow their line and not the line that comes from some NGO that says: "Let's keep them like this." And that's why a cultural centre is good. It's all concentrated there.

Cunera Buijs: In the Arctic you have similar discussions on seal hunting, if it's traditional or not, if the Inuit are using guns. This kind of discussion and the question of whether Eskimos live in igloos. So I agree totally with you. It's a fairly paternalistic attitude. People should be able to make their own choices on what they would do nowadays.

Franci Taylor: Inuit are required by the International Whaling Commission to use big caliber guns; and yet environmentalists say: "They are out there hunting these poor whales with these big weapons." They are required to. They are not allowed to hunt them traditionally. But that's what they use against them, the fact that they don't hunt them traditionally.

Andreas Schlothauer: In Amazonian areas there was a shaman from the Tucano. Some Kayapo wanted to visit the Tucano and they had their feather-works with them. They saw some yellow feathers and wanted to take the feathers back with them, but the Brazilian Government took these feathers from the Tucano, because it is not possible to exchange feathers between two Indigenous areas. It is the same land but as Kayapo you can have some feathers in your area and as Tucano in your area, but it is not possible to exchange feathers. If you have feather-works in Europe, it is close to being criminal. Because you have no possibility to prove that it dates from before 1910. And I think it's not the correct way. It is the same with hunting young seals, it is normal for the Inuit. And Indian people don't kill every bird. They pluck the feathers. Not every feather is from a dead bird.

Franci Taylor: We had dancers coming and being hassled because of the regalia. The state of Montana is really bad, because if you travel you have to have all your tribal identification with you, if you cross international borders. But then you also need documentation of the documentation that it is the actual documentation.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: Even the chief of the Blackfeet himself got arrested at the border with his feather-works. And usually he would be the one to write an introduction letter for someone else.

Laura Peers: When you are working on overseas chains of communications between museums and communities, the High Commissions and the Embassies can be really helpful. They are brilliant at facilitating communications, links, and logistics; and they really want to be involved in these kinds of things.

Jane Sledge: I just want to speak for a moment on repatriation. Sometimes it is the process to return objects to the soil, and you have to keep an open mind, and trust the communities to make the right decisions. At the NMAI we just did a return of a significant number of objects to the Apaches. They were funerary objects taken from graves that were disrupted in the process. The return has healed a lot; healed community, and healed relationships. We had a researcher working with the Apaches, to understand the significance and importance of returning these objects; to document what has gone on and present these to the boards, the recommendation for the repatriation. One of the really good things that it does is provide processes and opportunities for consideration and a way of returning things which should be reburied.

Farideh Fekrsanati: Involving the conservation department, or whoever is involved in the collection management within an institution from the planning phase of such projects, is also very important -- because this is the department that is in charge of the physical care of the collections. And the decisions that are taken within a conservation department or collections management department, can have a very big influence on the wellbeing of the collection: the way objects are sorted, the way they are preserved, or whatever is done to them. In a direct way, we actually have influence on that. That makes it the more important also to involve collections management and conservation directly in these kinds of projects. Then strategies and ideas can be developed together, and steps taken along the way. As a conservator, it is counter-intuitive to me to think about giving something back to then be reburied. This is not my mission; that is not what I learned. If the idea is developed from the beginning, together, it is a much easier process. It is a learning process for all.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: I also have a very practical question, because I have been looking at collections where nobody can tell me if the objects have been treated with arsenic or other toxins. I know that now many things are frozen, and different approaches are used.

Farideh Fekrsanati: The past use of pesticides. is actually a very big question and the subject of research in the conservation community. You could think of every single pesticide that was ever used in the history of mankind: the development went parallel to the development of agriculture. Anything that was in fashion in the agricultural area was at some point used in the museums, too, to preserve objects. It was not done in a purposeful way to poison objects or to damage objects, but it was meant in a way to preserve them. This now presents a problem to the people who work with these objects. As conservators, you are directly exposed to the fumes, crystal, dust, or whatever. There are no solutions

at this moment. Especially in respect to repatriation, it is a case-by-case decision that needs to be made. Discussions need to happen to consult with the community and make them aware of the problem. I know that the NMAI is very active in finding ways to identifying what is on objects. The work being done right now is mostly done in the U.S. and Canada. There is also work done in Europe, but the history is slightly different; the pesticides are slightly different. We also don't deal on a daily basis with repatriation, so it's much slower to be actually a pressing question. That is definitely a problematic thing to deal with, not only in a sense of working with these objects in a museum setting, but when objects go back to the community, for loan or for dances or for rituals, that can pose a danger to the person who is wearing them. There is no simple answer for that. Generally, pesticides are, at least in the Western world of museums, not used any more. We try to use non-toxic methods. A very big part of that is the "integrated pest management program", which actually aims at avoiding any problems with pests. So you actually do not need to treat anything against pests. But if there is the case that you do need to do treatments, then most frequently it is freezing or anoxic treatments, which means that the oxygen is taken away. Through this, the insects die. But with some cultural objects this also poses a problem, because you essentially have to suffocate the object before you can remove the insects. So often this is not really an option. But generally, pesticides are not used any more.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: When an object is repatriated, is there a full report on the pesticides, on the toxicity of the object, that is provided to the community?

Jane Sledge: Not with a lot of museums, and this is what communities have problems with. They work with many museums who don't do prior testing, and the community receives the objects back and then has to spend $250 or more to have the objects tested. Communities have ended up with objects that are toxic without knowing it. And pesticide testing costs a lot. At NMAI we do test, and provide the information to the community. Again, the results are provided within general guidelines, and not specific to say: Harmful to a young woman, or a young man, or to all. It's physical health. But in many museums people are not testing.

Farideh Fekrsanati: Also, not every museum is aware of their pesticide use history. It is a very difficult thing to follow up, especially if it wasn't documented or recorded anywhere. The most reliable sources can be old purchase receipts or order receipts. Sometimes it's also known that certain collectors had a history of preferring specific pesticides. But it is also a very time consuming affair for museums to actually bring their pesticide history together. Still, it is more guess work then actually knowing.

Laura Peers: We have no records whatsoever before 1974. We have objects that have been in the museum since 1650. We just assume that objects might be contaminated with arsenic. There are big hazard signs in the research areas.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: Are there guidelines in terms of the exposure of individuals to these materials?

Laura Peers: Because we don't actually know what's on them. It's very difficult...

Jane Sledge: It is possible to take blood samples to monitor the level of arsenic that is in a person's bloodstream.

Farideh Fekrsanati: It also depends on how an individual reacts. There are people who are more sensitive to one or another pesticide. When I go into a storage area that has been heavily treated with naphthalene, I just smell it immediately. It doesn't take me five minutes and I have a headache. But arsenic or mercury you don't smell. Sometimes you see the arsenic. It's not easy to know what's on an object; often it's a cocktail of different things that then react together in a different way.

Jane Sledge: I think this world of safety for museum staff is something that hasn't been followed up or questioned for a while. If you have a staff members working on an exhibition, handling objects, and conservators preserving objects, they are more at risk. More care should be taken to realize you are at risk, and should regularly be checked.

Franci Taylor: Are most of these pesticides stable?

Jane Sledge: They are stable. It's about handling it. People haven't realized the dangers of certain parts of the museum profession.

Laura Peers: We have anecdotal evidence about conservators who have spent long time really close to objects being prone to certain kinds of cancers and neurological diseases, but there have been no formal studies.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: Even within the medical profession, toxicology is a relatively new subfield.

"... He will speak our lingua franca in Suriname so I can better understand to translate for him."

Andreas Schlothauer: I studied the feather-works in German museums over three years. The first time, I photographed without any protection; the second time, I wore a facemask; the third time, I covered my whole body. They made blood tests, and there was no significant risk. But people have worked there for 20 years or more without any protection. It's not so strictly organized.

Franci Taylor: I have to think back to the days when they treated vermilion paint. We painted our hearts and our hair and the whole forehead with vermilion, which is mercury.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: Another thing that has come up as an issue in museum studies is the whole idea of what we mean by replica. Is it a replica of a specific object, or the desire to have something that represents or epitomizes an artifact type?

Eithne Carlin: No, I think what was meant was a natural object, because many of these things are not made any more. The skills for making them have for a part already been lost. We were talking about how to do this with Samoe. Bring the people here to the Museum and show them what we have. They will know how to make them. They can study them and learn how to make them again. Because many of the skills have been lost.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: It seems that within the museum world there is this sense of a replica being inauthentic. But there is an interesting case from the Canadian Arctic of a shaman's garment collected for the American Museum of Natural History in New York. It was collected by a whaling captain in the early 1900s and illustrated by Franz Boas.. It's a wonderful garment, reported to represent a vision that the *angakok* [shaman] had. When I was a graduate student, I photographed it, then went back to the community and talked with a member of the family, who said: "Yes, this is my grandfather's garment. But it's a copy of the garment; the actual garment would have been buried with my grandfather." And here it is at the American Museum of Natural History. Because it is so unique, replicas of the garment were made by a team of Inuit seamstresses in the 1980s and are in several museum collections.

Franci Taylor: I went through about the same in the Museum of the Rockies, with a pair of what we used to call "burial moccasins". One of the Elders came in and said: "I don't see what the problem is. There is no left and right foot." They had been on display forever. This had no cultural meaning whatsoever, because you make the moccasins to actually fit the feet and they had no left and right… But nobody had ever noticed that before. There was a big discussion on that: "You should send them back, because they were their burial moccasins" -- which never were burial moccasins by the way.

Eithne Carlin: Sometimes I come across words in the languages -- words that aren't even known to the younger people. The old men love it when you come with these old words. They know how to make these artifacts, still. But sometimes I ask the old man: "would you make me one?" For example, with the fish trap. The word for fish trap is "Masowe". People under the age of 40, they don't even know the word. Because they don't fish in such a way these days any more. They use the nets or shoot the fish. Once I got a Mawayana to make me one, and he was thrilled. I was walking through the village, people stopped me. They were so delighted to see this. Some people tried to guess what it was. And they didn't know a word for it. And the older people said: "Oh, that's a Masowe, we used to make those." And the word just made them happy to see something like this. So this wasn't any less authentic than some old fish trap that would have already disintegrated.

Franci Taylor: We talked about this the other day, of making an exact duplicate. But in the U.S., I have heard people say: "But then it's not real." But if you don't tell them, they never know the difference. If these things could be copied and replicated, it could make a great college industry through something like the tribal colleges, where you can get relatively lucrative fees for making these things. If museums would just accept the fact that it does not have to go through a ceremony to have a value as an educational tool. But again, that's my personal opinion. The whole question of what is real is like identity.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: We talk a lot about historical objects and collections, but what about continuing acquisition? It seems there is not a lot of museum purchasing being done these days.

Franci Taylor: Also, it's pretty sad when our museums start selling things off. Some of the stuff from Sotheby's does have prominence for museums.

Jane Sledge: When a museum acquires an object, it may put the object in a condition of accession which means perpetual care; to ensure the responsibility to take care of that object. Then to de-accession means to take it out of this status, and put it into a status that the museum can sell the object. But under the code of ethics when we sell an object, the money from the buyer must go back to enhance the collection which is deprived. This object may not enhance your collection anymore, or may not be in an area you have been used to collecting. But it surprises me that people get rid of their objects.

Franci Taylor: The one that concerned me the most was a Plains man's shirt. It was green on the top. I could just not understand selling that thing. There would be small museums who would love to have it, besides the money issue.

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Friday 29 November 2007

14:00 | Q&A and discussion of the project proposal

Pieter Hovens: I would like to open the floor for discussion for people who have questions and want to contribute their ideas to the presentation given by Cunera.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: I think Cunera's presentation gives us a much better understanding of how our own work becomes a historical document and the need for people doing fieldwork to be cognisant of how we are creating a historical record. And that it is only with time that we will be able to look back and see the distance from which we have come. So we must recognize the need to preserve our own material: our field-notes and photographs -- recognizing that we too are part of a historical process. Cunera, I think you presented this very beautifully. You are talking about a person, Gert Nooter, just one generation away from us, and the amount of knowledge that he and his colleagues passed on: the incredible documentary history they created through photography and their field-notes. We must all come to appreciate this, that we are part of a larger historical process.

Cunera Buijs: I was impressed by the now living Greenlanders. Not only the knowledge they have of those generations far back, pointing out names and relationships, but it is more. This man is connected to another person as an uncle. But for that man, this person was his grandfather. It is all about kinship and, therefore, also "community". I was struck by another situation when I was looking for Paulus Larsen in Dileriilaq [East Greenland]. I could not find him, and my visit was too short. His wife told me that he was working in the community house with the youngsters. "Go over there, and ask for him. It's not a problem". So I went over, and we took a look at the photographs. We had made an improvised "book" to show to the people in Greenland. Taco has been a great help to me as a student. The Tunumiit youngsters of fourteen years old with their baseball caps, who were just playing table tennis, they came over to see what these two old people with reading glasses were doing with these cute photographs. They were interested and curious. This is how a collection produces a new process within a society. I was looking for what this can mean for the Greenlandic society or how we can implement this. It is now only an individual initiative. I really need your help to figure out a way, not only to make it avail-

able in the [Greenlandic] museums, but also to give these photographs a greater impact in society -- in the education curriculum, or whatever. I'm an outsider... I need your input on this.

Jarich Oosten:. One of the things you are doing is to bring back the photographs. Getting the information, which is still available because the old people still live, who witnessed the photograph and so on. There is a lot of documentation to do. The quality of ethnographic documentation, is often poor. Many anthropologists and ethnographers think that their analysis, their studies and theoretical reflection, are the most interesting aspect of their work. But within one generation these are usually outdated and lacking in interest, whereas their ethnography and documentation remains a source for future generations.

Cunera Buijs: You mention a very interesting point here. It is an advantage that we work in a museum. We are trained to document. So what we did with the Van Zuijlen photos is that we put them into TMS, the collection database at the NME, which is perfectly structured to put in all this information. We recorded the names, which can be found in the catalogue system of the museum. Nooter wrote information on the objects and photographs on the typewriter in that time before computers. From his first visits to Greenland we have lots of recorded information. I already spoke about it with Taco, that it would be very interesting to take this documentation back and find out what this means for the Greenlanders now. To try to get their reactions to this documentation. Nooter often recorded several pages just on one photograph. For him, it was an entrance to the culture behind. I also find it interesting that there are possibilities to make cross connections to databases; we have the names of the makers of the material culture because Nooter documented that. The same names of Greenlanders portrayed in the photographs appear in the descriptions he made of the objects and in his publications. So there must be all types of cross-links in the databases. Again, this relatedness comes to the fore. And I don't know what we can do with this, but I have the impression that this type of information is most interesting for the East-Greenlanders, because they always ask for names. The first thing they do, when I show a harpoon-head or a garment, they ask, "Who made it?" and "Who used it?". So this personal information seems quite worthwhile.

Taco Bakker: The database is still not accessible for Greenlanders?

Cunera Buijs: Yes, it is in a way. The museum collection is online, accessible via the museum website [objects but not all the photographs].

"The museum is like a library of my sacred knowledge."

Taco Bakker: With all the extensive captions and information?

Pieter Hovens: Maybe three words indicating the artefact. Not more than that. We are thinking about extending the programme with additional data.

Taco Bakker: Will there be an outreach programme to inform the people and instructions on how to use these databases?

Cunera Buijs: This is still undefined. We now have an employee who just started working to cope with these problems. We were the first ethnographic museum in the Netherlands with its collection online. That was ten years ago; now we are not in the forefront anymore. The photographs are still not accessible. We started with the collection. The entries in the database are still problematic. A lot of work still has to be done. I am looking now for a good way to share this collection with the source community.

Aviâja Rosing Jakobsen: I think it is a very good thing that you want to hand over some of the pictures from East-Greenland. We learn every day, and photographs are very good documentation. We know that not all the people are still alive; some could always tell us something about the presence of the time. It's a good process to hand over some photographs.

Daniel Thorleifsen: We have a collaborative agreement with Danish museums on the registration of all the objects, where we make our databases convertible to the Danish systems. In this way, we know which objects they have in Denmark and we also know what to find at different museums in the database. So it's a question how we can do this with your database, so that it is accessible for all Arctic researchers to see the Inuit artefacts. Maybe we could also do something like this with other museums in North America.

Cunera Buijs: We should also include the Museon [Museum for Education in The Hague, the Netherlands]. There is the 1930 collection from East Greenland that is really marvelous; and it would be great to have a joint project.

Ronald Kerkhoven: Yes, I think to combine this would be very fruitful. Of course we also have to reckon that we are children of our time. We have a limited insight, limited to our time and its knowledge, so the more we get data about the objects on different levels -- the more people with new data entries, with new visions on it, with new scientific data, we can compare things of the past. For many people, their photographic albums are in museums on other continents. We must share this with them, because we are filling a gap on their level. This is very important for their future and their identity. At the same time, what Nooter did, was to give insight on the differences appearing in a certain time.

Bernadette Dean: I just wanted to support Aviâja's comments about photographs or copies of them being send to Greenland. Because in my generation, our parents and a lot of Inuit didn't own a camera. I was nineteen years old when a researcher came to our community. My mother was still alive then. That was the first time we ever saw a picture of Shoofly. My parents never got to grieve the death of their grandparents or their parents because they died so quickly from TB and polio. Our own family history was something they did not talk about; so I became very curious, just from seeing my mother's face and her eyes, when she saw a picture of her grandmother, Shoofly. And I was asking her, who she was, where she is, and why she didn't talk about her. My mom died some time after seeing that photograph. We are still searching. I am very lucky to have my great aunt and my father, who are in their late eighties. They are still alive, and remember those people. It's very important that Inuit communities see old photographs of their ancestors while some of our elders are still alive. It's critical. It's urgent.

Cunera Buijs: Could you say that by means of these photographs a part of the history is given back?

Bernadette Dean: Oh yes, part of the family history is given back. Ever since then, I know the name of Shoofly's mother and the name of Shoofly's first husband -- all these things from collecting and finding old photographs. The girl in the film we watched [recording Terto Kreuzmann from Greenland in the museum-storerooms in Leiden] says that there is a missing link in her past. The photographs show us a part of this missing link, and someone wants to find out what that missing link is. Museums are willing to send photographs to the communities. In Canada, every week the National Archives publishes a photograph, asking them to identify who these people are. Not too long ago, there was a photograph of my dad's younger sister and the adopted mother of one of the elders we have now. When people are still alive, we just bring the photographs to elders and ask: "Who is this?" and "Who is that?" They can identify them. Thousands of photographs are unidentified in Canada. Thank you.

Andreas Schlothauer: How many photographs do you want to include?

Cunera Buijs: About 4,000 black and white photographs, and about 8,000 colour slides. I don't know how many there are at the Museon.

Ronald Kerkhoven: I don't know how many photographs we have from Tinbergen and Nooter. From Tinbergen, maybe 100 and from Nooter, maybe 1500..

Andreas Schlothauer: Because there are two ways to work: one fast possibility, and easy to share, is to use an ordinary camera to make digital photographs of the photographs. You can make 100 or more in one hour. Then you make a

system where you put only some information in the file list, so you have the photos and then you can work with them in every computer and you need no program. It's only on the system level. The second possibility is to take the photographs only with the museum number and bring them into the database of the museum. It's the same photo, but you work in two different ways. I have done so with the museum in Berlin. I gave them the photos only with the museum number, without information and make it for myself in another special way. Two different ways that are not mutually exclusive.

Laura Peers: We scan the original negatives and the original prints because we feel it's better to work from the original. Otherwise, you lose details.

Andreas Schlothauer: But it takes ten times longer.

Laura Peers: Yes, it does. When you go for funding for a project you need to budget for that time; you need to budget for all the costs to do it properly. You only get one chance at it, or you might never get the funding again. Better do it all properly at the same time.

Cunera Buijs: Most of the photographs are already digitalized here, I think most of the arctic collection.

Andreas Schlothauer: To work with a camera you have 4,000 photographs within 40 hours. And 40 hours for a project is about 1,000 Euros. It's not much money. So you have two different qualities of photographs. With one, you can work; the other is very slow and much more expensive. If you have a lot of money, then it's better to scan; but in Germany, nobody has money for ethnological work, so you have to improvise.

Farideh Fekrsanati: Despite money problems, it's also important to see what the long-term aim is for the photographs, if they are scanned or photographed from a photograph. Also the format in which they are saved: a JPG is very handy and easy to work with, but every time the JPG is opened and closed, you lose a certain percentage of the data. Over time you lose information of the photograph. The long-term preservation of any digital material needs to be taken into consideration. Otherwise, you are faced at some point with the problem of files not opening any more, or not being accessible.

Andreas Schlothauer: This is very easy to solve. You make one master-file, and don't open this master file.

Farideh Fekrsanati: But a protocol for this has to exist. It really has to follow a certain scheme. Otherwise, you end up with all sorts of different formats and different ways of doing it. We live in a digital time. Everyone does their work in their own way, and that does not necessarily correspond with the way others do it. I find that this is easily forgotten in projects like this.

Laura Peers: These technical issues need to be aired or they can't be solved. I just want to shift things slightly to another observation. I was thinking of Samoe and Basja Marius, about what is possible once you establish a local institution. Suddenly, other institutions become more willing to work with you. There is something about the culture of institutions that more things are possible.

Jarich Oosten: Getting the photographs to the people is making a connection. We have a huge collection of photographs, and they were shown to people. People will usually respond to photographs depicting people from their own community. In this way you can make a connection and acquire important information.

Jane Sledge: Bernadette [Dean] mentioned the National Archives of Canada. They are publishing their photographs, but they also had groups of people go out across the arctic with a computer and show the pictures. So that people can sift through lots and lots of pictures and identify them. When they see somebody they recognize, they put the information in right there. Then they go back and deposit it at the museum. They developed a protocol to send people out at Christmas time. The lady who has written this up, I think, is Beth Greenhill. And there are a couple of articles on the website of the National Archives of Canada. I really liked that they had these teams of people from the Canadian Government to go out with the images.

Bernadette Dean: I don't think the students received any money. And there were only twenty of them all across Canada. I don't know if they do it every year.

Jarich Oosten: We have a great photographic collection that you would like to connect to people, obviously.

Cunera Buijs: I am also thinking of the collection in Leuven of Father van der Velden, the Oblate missionary. I don't know how many photographs there are there; they are not digitalized.

Ronald Kerkhoven: 3,000 – 4,000.

"How do you work these projects into the institution?"

Cunera Buijs: These are photographs of Canadian Inuit. This might also be interesting for you and for Bernadette. Next time you come, visit Leuven.

Jarich Oosten: The ones you are talking about are copies. The originals are in Ottawa, in the Oblate archives. There are thousands and thousands of photographs.

Samoe Schelts: I would like to make a small remark, namely for Suriname and in South America, where we have a lot of Indigenous peoples. In the Amazon, wherever, it is difficult to have access to these communities. On the other hand, people are doing a lot of research. One thing that I have learned and what we see in those areas is that it is almost forbidden to photograph, because a lot of people have seen themselves, somehow, somewhere. You may have relatives living in Holland who say: "I have seen you on a picture in a book; these white men are making money out of you." There it starts, and there it stops. For instance, Maroons have seen relatives, some of them on postcards. But the difficulty in Apetina was that people were not allowed to photograph. But what we tried to change is to tell them that of their ancestors; also people have been photographed by de Goeje [Leiden University professor in "Languages and Ethnography of Surniname and Curaçao"], and others. The best way is that they understand for themselves and organize themselves. What we want to do with Laura, we hope to help every community to get connected. For example, in Apetina you have small groups working and they get the pictures from de Goeje -- not only from the Wayana, but also the Trio, the Wapichana, and the Wayakuriana. You name it. So we can go to all these communities, spread the photographs out for them and, hopefully, we can create a database with the information about who these people are. Hopefully, for everybody we can move ahead to connect and let people organise themselves. This is difficult sometimes for the government, that people organise themselves. For instance, Brazilians are not allowed to go to the Amerindians in Brazil, even though they are relatives. Although you have pictures of them, it's not allowed. It's only the Funai who are managing things there. So, this was on my mind.

Workshop and Expert Meeting – Sharing Knowledge & Cultural Heritage

First Nations of the Americas, 2nd LEF Expert Meeting

Friday 29 November 2007

16:00 | Closing round

Laura Van Broekhoven: In this closing session, I would like to invite all of us to mention some of the strong points of the conference: a moment or a statement that inspired or impressed you. As for me, I truly enjoyed the conference, the whole atmosphere of it was exceptional. I felt a great sense of trust and expertise. Probably the most touching moment for me personally was when Bernadette Dean gave the video of this incredible documentary [Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit] to Basja Marius. Apart from the moment when we visited s' Gravenzande, together with Basja Marius and Samoe; and everything that has come out of this meeting for our museum, and for me, personally. I think also for Basja, things have been established here which will keep going on for a long time; with Samoe, too. Also, the moment when Clifford talked about his museum was inspiring for me -- to see that these projects are making it possible for representatives of First Nations from across the American continents to really meet each other and share experiences. I think that we could agree that it was very, very special. Thank you to Clifford and Bernadette for these incredible projects. And I hope the Wayana will be able to continue counting on your support for their project also. For us, this was an important first step to orient ourselves in how to develop these kind of sharing trajectories.

Andreas Schlothauer: Thanks for all the stories and the kind moments here; and the intellectual thoughts that you shared. As I reflect on the comments of the different persons here, it seems that we all share the same attitude. Everyone had a project they are working with, in different countries, but I think there is a similar attitude of seeing things, and similar aims that we have. This is very interesting for me because I work with South American feather-works and there is nobody in the whole of Europe who works with these, really. There is one friend of mine, but he is nine months of the year in Brazil which is sometimes not great for communication purposes. I think the very important point to take home is to make the work possible in Germany. In Germany, there are 50 museums of different sizes, and they have giant collections from every part of the world, collected in good ways and in bad ways. There are twelve or thirteen provinces in Germany, and they all have their different directions and aims.

"It is a long-term process. This will take time."

If you want to make it to be a European project, it's good to initiate it from Denmark or the Netherlands, because we haven't had any colonies in the last hundred years, who have come to us and said: "We are interested." There are different persons who were in South America in very early times. They were friends of the Indians, these people, I think; also in Africa. It is very interesting for all the indigenous communities to see these collections. The most interesting things about South America are in Germany, I think. Thank you.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: There were several things that really struck me. Because of the way I work, I am sometimes the front-runner in a specific organisation. This means you cannot look to other people for advice. For me, the network function is very important because it allows me to learn from other people, both indigenous and other, and to come up with ideas. What I have done for years is basically call people I know and say: "What would you do?", "What do you think?" This conference gives me a whole extra arena, and I'm very grateful for that. What specifically struck me is that it is so important to learn who made it, who wore it. What I found in the archive when I worked there: people have a name in their hands and say that they want to find a certain person's name. When I learned that at German museum levels, the way in which you could basically Google a name and look up an object. This was perfect, because we always had the problem that everything was organized by the white transcribers, and not by the person who actually shared the story. One of the things we also saw was how important and useful it can be that new persons look at an item and say things about it, because then maybe in the future someone will not only go back to the object, but can say: "That is my great-aunt, now talking about that object." This continues the relationship with the objects in the museums. Even if they cannot be returned, this is an extra connection -- an extra way in which these connections can be maintained. I like the idea of layering and having different stories with one object. The bottom line for me is that I found it extremely inspiring to see that we can all do what we do in an even better way. And I very much appreciate the Leiden museum for giving us all this chance.

Clifford Crane Bear: I worked at Glenbow Museum for ten years. When I started working there, my job, my focus, was to get the spiritual bundles back to the people, and for indigenous people to talk about their own history, their own culture. When I started working at the museum, especially at Glenbow, I would get very angry; I would get mad. How come the bundles aren't going back? How come indigenous people are not talking about their culture? How come the Euro-Canadians are always talking about us?

I worked there for ten years and I successfully got the spiritual bundles back to the people and they did their Sun dance. I was successful to get the museum to change their mind and to get indigenous people to talk about their own history. We have done that for ten or fifteen years, and I feel it hasn't really changed

yet. I see some people sitting here still trying to get their pictures back, and all these things. For me, museums are getting pictures every day. And when I was working at Glenbow, I, too, found my grandfather who I never saw. He died before I was born. I was so proud that I saw my grandfather. I always wanted to see him. But I got to see him in a suit -- somebody put on a suit for him, so that they would take a picture of him. Maybe this wasn't his outfit. Then I saw my great-great-grandmother, and my great-grandfather as a baby.

So, for me, the museums were good, because without them all these artefacts would not be around for me to see my ancestors. This is why I am very thankful, and I hope that some of us get their pictures back. That's my work at the museum, at my museum, because of all these things that I have done. I am not an intellectual, as you guys. A lot of you probably have lots of degrees on your walls, or something like that. I was told once by the old man that the knowledge that was given to me, or the stories, would be important one day. I am glad that this day has come, and that the Euro-Canadians are opening their doors, and let us in. And all of them have let us take our spiritual bundles back, and our clothing, and whatever we need. I was really glad that this happened. When you are working on an exhibition, call us. We will be there to help you out. We want to be recognised in the way we should be, instead of how other people talk about us, or what they write about us. There are things that I see that are written about us, and some of them aren't right. Especially the old ones that were done on my reserve, that were written in the 1880s or 1890s. I found my grandfather in there too, but there is still a lot of discrimination in these old books. We were still called "savages", we were still called "red devils", especially as Blackfoots. Anyway, it makes me feel good that all these indigenous people are here to support and help each other. To say to each other: "Keep going. We will be behind. We will help you out as much as we can". I am glad that this conference has happened. And thank you for inviting me.

Christoph Rippe: It has been mentioned before, but what struck me most during these days were the multiple meanings that objects can have. What is this ambivalence they can create within people. What I found especially interesting here is to see both sides. In books I have read before, curators talk about indigenous people and what the latter feel about the objects, but here I was happy to see that not only the identities of indigenous peoples have been rebuilt, redefined, renegotiated, but also hearing from curators that identities within museums are being redefined and reconstructed.

Sigvald Persen: I have not participated all the time, but what I noticed today is that my fellow Inuit from Nunavut and Greenland, and I saw the elders from Nunavut visiting different museums and seeing how ancestors have done

things. There is a struggle for building a museum in Nunavut? I've heard some few years ago. But, if it is necessary, we can advise, we can co-operate on things such as the issue of our expertise on repatriation between different countries. It struck me that your elders saw things which they never knew existed.

Jane Sledge: What also struck me in Bernadette's film was that she was the producer of the film. When I first came to the NMAI, we were in the middle of having almost forty communities coming to visit us over two or three years, and I said to my colleagues: "Are you going to document the meetings?" And they said: "Oh no, no, Jane, we don't make relationships like putting a microphone in front of somebody. We have to make relationships before we film people." We didn't record these initial meetings; and so there is nothing recorded, except notes taken for the most part; or specific interviews with people. That's why Bernadette's film was so wonderful -- that she made it herself with her elders and did her own view of the meeting. It was just a fabulous experience. And I wanted to thank you very much for sharing how your elders saw the collections through your elders' eyes. That was very, very moving.

Farideh Fekrsanati: Almost everything has been said. I felt very privileged to be here during the past few days and to meet and to talk to all of you; to hear about all these wonderful projects and stories. It is very energizing. to see the video of Bernadette. Also hearing the reactions of people when seeing the objects made me sometimes think of my own reactions, when as a conservator I see an object, and have the privilege to touch it to work with it, and to look at it in detail. Often I have to think about the person who made it, and I wonder about the life of that person. Being here the past few days will be valuable for my work.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: What has struck me most is the idea of gifting -- that in many ways, the collections that are housed in museums internationally are a gift. They are a gift from those people who made them. Through a real generosity of spirit, they allowed them to be taken away. I think it is time that we must think of re-gifting. What can museums do to give back; to return that gift? A gift is also an exchange. Our curatorial work is the privilege of working with this material, and now in communities with elders and native cultural historians. I think we all feel a real passion for this work. When we look back over time, we can see that politically there has been a fundamental change. Initially, things were taken out of communities. Now we are in a period of giving back. It's a more bilateral relationship. But we need to make it multilateral; it needs to be on many different levels and, most importantly, it needs to be among our young, especially within the so-called majority people, because this is where ideas truly need to change. To change the way in which cultures around the world are viewed, education has to start at a very young age. Watching the way in which my children have been educated with only minimal exposure to the

real native history of the Americas, I feel embarrassed. Museums need to more fully reclaim their educational role. Museums are not just cultural institutions, or educational institutions in the status quo. Museums are vital to the education of the public, and especially children. Clifford's discussion of sacred bundles is very apropos; museums have a caretaking responsibility. It is not merely custodial as keeper of the collection – it is a responsibility of care-taking and returning – returning in all its many forms. It has been a wonderful experience to be here. Thank you very much.

Samoe Schelts: What was also in my mind, is what I think that my Elders taught me. Just follow the voice of your ancestor, the spirit. And he will guide you to this meeting, as what has happened with Basja Marius. Thank you.

Basja Marius Merenke [translation by Eithne Carlin]:

… He will speak our lingua franca in Suriname so I can better understand to translate for him.

... He is very glad to be in Holland and to be with you. He has never known Holland before, so it's amazing for him.

... That's why he is really glad to attend, to give his opinion about things he has learned in the museum.

... He says he is an Amerindian, they call themselves Wayana. He is glad to see other Wayana, because Wayana means Amerindian in his language; to see his other families here.

... Don't forget this meeting. We will be together and keep the relation. And as soon as you need him just give him a call.

... He hopes to meet you soon, that we can come back once when the spirits got the call for the running off of this meeting.

... Many thanks.

Jarich Oosten: There are several levels to discuss, the content, strategies and a sequel. To start with the content. I really enjoyed the conference, workshop, seminar, whatever you want to call it. I am sorry that I couldn't be here yesterday, so I missed a lot of presentations. But I enjoyed the contributions, particularly the one by Bernadette Dean, because it concerned the area where I work.

"These are just concepts to live by: love, respect, co-operation, generosity, humility, reciprocity, sharing."

And it is very nice to see some of the elders you worked with. The quality of the contributions and the substance was excellent. But, I think there is also another side to it. This is also why I enjoyed Daniels presentation, because it shows some of the problems we really face. He was clearly aware that we are dealing with very long-term processes. It is very difficult to realize goals, which we have here. In the meeting there is a general atmosphere of sympathy that we understand each other and respect each other's perspective. But this can obviously not be taken for granted. Here we have representatives of indigenous people, and anthropologists and curators, working closely with indigenous people. But when we talk about museum administrations, or administrators of universities we are dealing with a quite different mentality. Obviously these institutions are by their own standards absolutely competent in dealing with these problems. They are prepared to negotiate with indigenous people but they don't have the perspective that they really need them. There was just recently a case of an Indian child that had been kidnapped in India. The Dutch minister of justice admitted that the little boy had been kidnapped, and that he shouldn't be here. But now that he was here and he had been adopted his parents had become attached to him, and so there was of course no point of sending this child back. Anyway it would not be fair towards the child, because it could grow up in this splendid country. If you send him back to India, obviously anything could happen. You have similar reasonings with respect to museum collections or to other objects.. There is a need for dialogue between researchers and indigenous people. They should work together.

How should we deal with the problems of sharing knowledge and repatriating objects in the future. It would be good if we could come up with recommendations which ensure that policies and processes that we are in the favour of supporting these processes, can be stimulated.

I come back to what Daniel said. It is a long-term process. This will take time. Mentalities are changing. But it is a very slow process. You cannot take anything for granted. So you really have to think about how to continue and to build on what has been done. We have to think about strategies. The whole idea of this expert meeting was not just to bring people together, to have a good time, enjoy themselves and make good contacts. We have to look into the future and see how we move on from here.

Laura Van Broekhoven: I think it is indeed very important to institutionalize these projects, coming back to what Laura [Peers] said earlier. Institutionalize them in order to ensure that the relationships we build as curators, directors or conservators go beyond the personal scope to become part of a daily practice that is embedded in the museum as an institution. We can only do that together with Indigenous peoples as our partners in this trajectory of Sharing Knowledge and Cultural Heritage. And we really need to work on that.

Cunera Buijs: It is exactly what we should do at this table, to make a start with this.

Franci Taylor: If you count all the hours we spent in this room together, I come up with twenty-eight hours. It has been a powerful experience for me. It was very difficult for me to think of coming into a meeting like this. Sitting here and looking at these esteemed people that I respect so much. I still feel pretty much like the baby of the group in many ways. Like all of us, Bernadette's movie, and what I got out of this when I see these objects in the museum. I cannot touch them without feeling that it is a chord to my heritage. I see people in those objects. And this is part of why I say they are living. I see those people that strove and lived and died, for me in every stitch in those objects. We haven't commented here on Indian humour, which is so inherent to everything there. Nothing is made in silence. It is made with joy and with the expression of that joy and laughing. What was the most that I got out of this conference? I was about to say, really nice places to eat, besides the University cafeteria. But I didn't know if the Indian humour would go over. Some of the things I made notes of reminded me: it's a sense of hope. I do come out of this conference with a sense of hopefulness.

I have been reminded of the sacredness and the power of words. It was amazing to see a whole documentary [Bernadette Dean's film: Inuit Piqutingit: What Belongs to Inuit] in an indigenous language. A majority of my family, my group in Montana, we have a 97 % loss of language. And so the only thing left to us is English. We are starting to get back our languages, but we don't have it. If you go and ask the elders what something is, the most common response is: "We no longer have a word for that." And that makes me sad. Second, I have been amazed to understand how incredibly difficult it is to step outside our own point of view, and look at it from another point of view. It's like the old saying: Don't judge somebody, until you have walked a mile in their moccasins. And every time you point at somebody, you need to remember that there are three fingers pointing back at you. It is very easy to look with a critical eye at the past and say: "Look what they did, we didn't do that." We weren't in that time. I was reminded of the things I was told I should live by. These are just concepts to live by: love, respect (Thank you for talking about respect, Jane) cooperation, generosity, humility, reciprocity, sharing.

An example of sharing: For my particular group, forgive me I might get a little emotional here. My particular family, we went to a series of battles, where everything we owned was burned. When the army came in and hit at Wounded Knee, the Rose Bud, everything was gathered up and burned. So when I enter a museum and see something that was made by a distant relative of mine, it's like a library. The museum is like a library of my sacred knowledge. Not over a year ago, my sister died. And one of her dying expressions was: "There is so much

I wanted to teach my grand-daughter. And now I can't." There just has to be somewhere, where she can go to connect with this knowledge that her grandmother was denied giving her.

So I am hoping that somewhere that we can come to a resolution. It is so difficult. We all walk our own roads, and it's so difficult not to see the benefit to all of us if we come together in the middle. We all have to give up something, we all have to gain something. I also think of all the hands on museum keys that I have made for the Historical Museum in Montana. I made the educational trunk that travels. And how devastating that would be if the contents of that trunk disappeared, because I want all children to know the beauty of my culture. My culture is the most beautiful ever. But that's just my personal opinion. But I would be devastated if anybody took that after I am gone. This is one of the things that grandchildren do. They give us our suits of mortality and immortality. I would really be upset if somebody took all that stuff that I created as an educational tool and got away with it. I created that stuff for a purpose; I created that stuff as a door to education. And I guess, in retrospect, I probably should put a letter with it stating that. So that, when seven generations from now, when somebody looks at it, they think that it had another purpose. Other than that, it has just been such an absolute great honour to be here. And then I hope that there is future for my granddaughter to cherish contact with her culture and language. Thank you.

Pieter Hovens: You asked what impressed us most? Of course, there is the knowledge, the experience, and the wisdom that people brought to this conference. But this happens at many conferences I've been to. What impressed me most was the amount of goodwill people brought to this conference. Goodwill to work together, and to share what makes us all richer as individual human beings, and as societies in the end.

Aviâja Rosing Jakobsen: First of all I want to thank you, because I forgot to say that in the morning. Many things are already said by the other participants. I would also like to say Thank you to Bernadette. You took the elders to see the objects so close, which they thought were gone. And also, Thank you, Franci, for telling us that you were brought up to these storytellers. This is also a way to continue our cultural heritage. And also, Samoe and Basja: Good luck to you and your project. It is a good way, not to start from the upper level but with the local communities. And also thank you, Cunera, for involving us into this photograph project.

Leise Johnson: What I think is that we all have to keep on asking questions, and not being shy about having our opinion, as well. Keep on asking, because when you ask questions you get answers. And the answer almost always reflects what people think about other things too. Questions can create rings in the water, so

asking questions is always good. Another thing that I have experienced in my Greenland-travelling is that when you come with respect, you will be shown respect. So that's very, very important. And another thing, for my own sake, that my upcoming project will always have an outreach for young people. I think that's a very important thing, too. Not only going back, but going forward, going ahead to see what happens in a hundred years. What would be the image of this being in a hundred years? Also, for my own sake, I will incorporate other media because I can see how powerful moving objects are, both here but also in the exhibition. Everybody goes together when things are moving. So I will incorporate moving things in my upcoming project. That's for sure, because that's very powerful, and it's very easy now with Youtube and Myspace. You can connect all these new ideas and new media to the old institutional museums. So I have been enlightened and inspired. I will always be available on email. Thank you.

Laura Peers: I was struck about how much I learned, and how ignorant I am about some things. I am one of the only people in Britain, and probably in Europe, teaching at a graduate level at university on the relations between museums and indigenous people. I realized, particularly today, I know nothing about Greenland. I have been trying to get to Greenland for several years now to see the Museum. I have discovered a whole area that I want to learn about, and I look forward to doing so. Thank you for teaching me. Thank you all for teaching me.

The other thing that struck me is that to my knowledge this is the first time that a European Museum on the continent has asked people to come and think about ways of working with indigenous people. It has been a great privilege to be here. I want to thank Laura and Cunera and the other staff from this Institution for having the courage to open the door. Thank you all for being on it.

Cunera Buijs: I think we all learned a lot. It was an eye opener for what we can do. What struck me most in the film was the way that people reacted to the garments. Not only as objects; they reacted to them as persons. The clothing pictured, clothing that has been drawn, it is not only the design they paint, but the drawings, and in a way the objects themselves are persons. Because it is connected to human nature and identified to the persons who used the clothing, and to the persons that have been depicted. The way they are dressed is directly related to persons who are living in the Arctic. We can learn from this way of looking at objects as living entities. I liked it very much that there are so many cultures represented here, and I liked the open atmosphere at the table. It will

"This is one of the things that grandchildren do. They give us our suits of mortality and immortality."

help us - both ways - to co-operate and find new ways to create connections, and new functions or processes or roles of collections, in modern societies as well. Thank you very much.

Bernadette Dean: Thank you everyone for your kind remarks. Our film was for Zacharias and I a labour of love. We didn't have very much money. Both of us thought that, because we have no museum, and because we are losing knowledge so quickly, we need to do something. We worked very hard, and it was very tiring. One of our elder got sick towards the end, because you have to do everything on a typewriter. I left the job that I loved at an Inuit organisation that was recognised, territorially and nationally, as an Inuk representative organisation. We did the film partly when I was still working there. It was a job that I loved. Museums are not a priority. The Canadian Government and mining companies spend almost every year over $100,000,000 on mining exploration. One community of 1200 people had twenty five helicopters this summer, all for mining companies exploring for uranium, gold, diamonds, whatever you can find. The budget for our museum film project was under $100,000.

The work of my friend Zacharias is driven by the question: "Who am I?" and "What happened to us Inuit?" These were my questions; this is still part of my journey, being here. And for all of you receiving me, I hope good things come your way, because of the kindness you have shown me. This is part of my journey, when I left the job that I loved, with all the potential it has. But it is losing focus on culture and language. Every year there is $4,000,000 for French language work in Canada. The language money they give us for the Inuit language, if they gave all the money to Inuit, would be five dollars per person. I don't know what you are going to do with this video; I am not putting down my country. Like I said, we are a minority of minorities, and we happen to be in one of the richest countries of the world. Since I quit my job, this is the third museum I have gone to and this is part of my journey. It is not about who am I, and what happened to us Inuit. It is now about: I know who I am, I have to do everything I can to make sure that two, three, four, five, seven generations from now, some Inuk girl, who is searching, can get the right information in her language, and in other languages. And when I say I don't trust sharing some knowledge, it is only me. The elders feel the urgency; they want to work with museums. For them, the accurate information has to be preserved. First in our language, because all these books on this table you see here, they are all either in English or in your languages. There are very, very, very few books in our language. I said we come from an oral culture; we are still developing into a literal culture. In the beginning I said that we are not responsible for the past, but we are for the future. All of us, whether we are museum-educated or university-educated, or whether you are an old man like Clifford, or a little girl like me, we all have a sacred responsibility to all of our cultures. And you are so lucky to

have pieces of our history in your museums. You heard the elders say that they are grateful. It's our grandparents and our great-grandparents that are somehow speaking to us. Thank you so much. I hope all good things come your way.

Bernadette Driscoll Engelstad: May I add one thing and that is, when we say "minorities", there is a difference between a 'minority' people, and a 'marginalized' people. And I think that this difference is pride and cultural heritage. This is why this journey is so very important -- to restore this pride, and to ensure pride in one's cultural heritage.

Laura Van Broekhoven: Thank you all so much for sharing your thoughts, for sharing your knowledge.

Cunera Buijs: I would like to ask if you can make recommendations for us, and suggestions for future co-operation.

Lea Zuyderhoudt: I would like to rephrase one of the things you mentioned: whenever possible, to let the local community be involved from step one. We know that it's not always possible, but as a recommendation, if it is possible, to go out and say: "What do you want?"

Laura Van Broekhoven: This is very important. It was mentioned several times that we should find ways for us to make sure that this is institutionalised, and that it goes beyond the individual. On the other hand, I think that it is also the individuals that count. And I think that being on boards, being the people who write in the way we are writing, will change the way that this work is done in the future. I think this is essential in formalising institutional guiding; and talking to directors, and boards of directors to make sure that it really will change. We not only need money to do projects; we mainly need good intentions to make sure that these changes become a reality.

Jane Sledge: Perhaps when you listen to the tapes you will come up with a series of principles that could be presented formally, so that you adopt a series of principles for future action. Adopting those principles will in turn motivate people to move in new directions, and then you can establish goals to meet those principles, and strategies to meet those goals.

Laura Peers: I agree with that and I am happy to turn in the summary of what everybody has said. I think it would be really useful if Daniel could share his slides because there were, as Jane said, principles, embedded in these various points. Then you can take the material arising from this meeting to come up with a set of ideas that you might wish to adopt.

Jarich Oosten: I think you should do that. But it is important to go beyond the legal points. For instance that you see in the argumentation not the exact grading, but sometimes the claims of the museums or indigenous people, which should be respected. And the next sentence says:" Historical rights of the Danish Museums should be similarly respected." Then you don't end up anywhere. You know that on beforehand. So you have to go one step further by saying: "We also have to lift the discussion to another level." Realize this important point that you are dealing with cultural heritage, which is really essential and vital to the indigenous people in a way that it is not to the countries and museums. It has its importance and historical relevance, but it's something different, too.

Laura Peers: The principles should be possible to formulate from this meeting. And then, how do you engage with the legal and bureaucratic systems? Here is, I'm afraid, another problem.

Franci Taylor: Based on the European legal system and law, most of what we work with is based on concepts of property rights. It comes from the ancient land laws, and how the Crown would give land to a victim. It is a very commercialised, commodified system. It would be wonderful somewhere in the dialogue if we could switch our dialogues and discuss rights and responsibilities. How many people discuss their rights? Nobody talks about what our responsibility is. This is one of the key philosophies of the seventh generations: that we have a responsibility, a sacred responsibility, to children that are born. Just somewhere in the dialogue I want to hear people talking about responsibility to the descendent communities; the responsibility to the future. This is just my personal thing. . .

Jarich Oosten: I think it's a perfect suggestion, but it should be worked upon further. If we basically agree on something, it should be formulated in a proposal indicating the direction in which we want to move.

Laura Van Broekhoven: I think there needs to be a follow-up on this, to discuss what came out of the meeting, either virtually, or in person, or in a book.

Cunera and I would really like to thank all of you from the bottom of our heart. And I think that I speak for all of us here, it was really a wonderful meeting. We want to thank, especially, people who came from far away for their contributions: listening to all our questions and giving us great advice. I am really happy that we had this meeting. We are confident we will continue with this line of research and projects. Thank you very much.

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